

# THE COMMON CAUSE OF HUMANITY.

The Organ of the National Union of  
WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.

NON-PARTY.

Societies and Branches in the Union  
602.

LAW-ABIDING.

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The N.U.W.S.S. is an association of over 52,000 men and women who have banded themselves together, under the leadership of Mrs. Henry Fawcett, for the purpose of obtaining the Parliamentary vote for women on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men. At this great national crisis, however, they have for the time being suspended their political activities, in order to put themselves and their Union at the service of those who are organising the relief of distress caused by the war. They desire to help in the most effective way, by work rather than doles; to preserve the life of the race for the future by special care of mothers and young children; and generally to illustrate in their own lives the truth that the Suffragists' demand is for duties rather than for rights, and their ideal is the service of humanity. WILL YOU JOIN?

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## Notes and News.

### The Kingsway Hall Meeting and Madame Vérone.

A great demand for tickets for the Kingsway Hall Meeting on February 5th, is anticipated, as it is held in connection with the N. U. W. S. S. Council Meeting, at which important decisions will be made. Moreover, as our readers know, the audience will have the privilege of hearing one of the most brilliant orators and distinguished Suffragists of this generation. Madame Marie-Vérone, whose portrait we publish this week, is a barrister of the Court of Appeal in France. She began her career as a professor, and undertook the editorship of the *Fronde*, the first daily paper exclusively composed, edited, and financed by women. She has for long been one of the leaders of the feminist movement in France, and has written in French and other papers on the subject. But her feminist sympathies have not induced any ill-feeling to men as men; she is a member of the Central Committee of the French League for the Rights of Man, where, as she says, she frequently finds opportunities to plead the rights of women. She was admitted to the French Bar in 1907, and is especially known for the good work which she has done for the children, being the only woman member of the Committee for the defence of children brought before a magistrate, and of the Commission for the compilation of a Children's Code. In France, as in England, since war began, women have used their organisation to help to relieve the distress caused by the war, and the work in which Madame Vérone has been most interested is that of workshop canteens, which have been opened for women. She therefore has undertaken the management of two of them, which give employment and free meals to from 70 to 100 women. Generous owners of music-halls, closed since the beginning of the war, have lent their premises, and in these luxurious surroundings the work has been carried on. The articles on show have sold to good advantage, a collection of dolls in historic or local costume, dressed by the workers, was bought by Mr. John Wanamaker, of New York, for 3,200 francs.

### Mrs. Fawcett Appeals for the N.U.

Under Notes from Headquarters we publish Mrs. Fawcett's appeal for funds for the relief work of the N.U.

### The Meeting of Parliament.

Parliament meets on February 2nd, and it is already evident that there will be some difficulty in interpreting the policy of "truce" to which all parties desire to adhere. According to *The Daily News*, a Home Rule Amending Bill will be introduced, and the Plural Voting Bill will be proceeded with. If this is the case, it is difficult to see what is meant by a "truce." The Amending Bill may conceivably be "an agreed Bill," but how about the Plural Voting Bill? On the other hand, if the latter is not proceeded with, it loses all the advantage of having already passed the House of Commons twice. The position is clearly a difficult one. Meanwhile, we have to point out that both Bills raise the whole question of Women's Suffrage.

### Child Wage Earners.

We look with extreme uneasiness on the widespread desire to get children exempted from school attendance at the age of twelve, in order that they may begin to work on the farms. In some counties it is reported that children of twelve, and even eleven, are actually at work. It is useless to talk of their "going back to school" after the war. The time lost now will not be regained, and we trust this question will be raised in the House of Commons and not allowed to drop. There are women who could do farm-work, and we hope and believe they would, if they were given a chance, rather than allow the children to become premature wage-earners now.

### The Payment of Pensions.

The Select Committee's Report still lingers on the way. Presumably the opening of Parliament will hurry it up. Meantime, we urge once more the importance of administration being largely in the hands of women. Of the various existing bodies which have been suggested for this work, probably the most hopeful is the Old Age Pensions Committees, but if they are to be entrusted with it, a great change will be needed in their composition. At present, they are empowered to co-opt women, but not obliged to, and very few have done so. Co-optation should be made compulsory, and at least half of the members should be women. And the actual work of administration should be in the hands of women officials. Customs officers are no doubt excellent people for the purpose for which they were appointed. They are entirely out of place in the difficult and delicate work suddenly laid upon them, of deciding the questions which arise about payments to soldiers' and sailors' "dependants."

### The Rise in Prices.

A Cabinet Committee has been appointed to consider the question of the rise in prices, and for this we are thankful. Indeed, it was time. When it takes 24s. to buy what, before the war, could be bought for 20s., we are already face to face with tragedy. Tea, coal, and bread, are necessities even—indeed most of all—to those who live on a pound a week, and all these have gone up. If the rise is inevitable, we must at least raise the pensions to soldiers' families. If it is not, the case for Government action is clear.

**"A Great Outcry."**

The Suffragist deputation which went to the War Office on January 26th to protest against the police surveillance of soldiers' wives, did a very great service to us all. They not only registered an important protest, but (if Mr. Cubitt is correctly reported) they elicited from him a very interesting admission. Miss Boyle was objecting to the discrimination against women in certain orders, notably those issued at Cardiff, and the restrictions placed on the sale of alcohol. Mr. Cubitt, Assistant Secretary to the War Office, asked what could be done; and Miss Boyle justly replied—"Why not restrict men from drinking also?" Mr. Cubitt answered that if that were done, *there would be a great outcry*. In other words, when public opinion demands that "something be done," the great object is to decide not what will be most effective, or who is the greatest sinner, but who can be made a scapegoat without "a great outcry." Such methods can do nothing but harm. They are not merely less than ideal, or merely ineffective: they are actively and positively harmful. They create in women a feeling of intense resentment, and in men the belief that drunkenness is only an offence in women. We deal with the whole question in our leading article.

The Societies taking part in the deputation were the Women's Freedom League, the Northern Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage, the East London Federation of Suffragettes, and the United Suffragists.

**Women in the Civil Service.**

It is really preposterous that at the present time the Civil Service does not throw open more of its posts to women. In April last, in the fourth Report of the Royal Commission on the Civil Service, recommendations were made pointing out the desirability of throwing open more of the posts in that Department to women, and showing their eligibility for work in museums and libraries, and for Inspectorates in the Departments of Education, Local Government, and Prisons. It was further recommended that a Commission of Inquiry should be formed to consider the question. At the present moment, when such vast numbers of men have been called away from their ordinary work, and when so many women have lost their employment, Suffragists feel bound to urge the necessity of facing the whole question of the extension of employment to women in the Civil Service Department, rather than of postponing inquiry and action on account of the war.

**"Writing Assistants."**

Considerable dissatisfaction is felt among the women sorters and clerks employed in the Post Office with reference to the new proposals by the Postmaster-General. It is true that the increase of salaries recommended by the Holt Committee have been granted, and arrears due since last February have been paid. The point they regard as unsatisfactory is that, contrary to the recommendation in the Holt report, a new class has been created between women sorters and women clerks, to be called "Writing Assistants." This class is to be recruited by open competition, which will lessen the opportunities of promotion of the sorters.

**India, "Comrade and Friend."**

There is no aspect of the Woman's Movement in which British Suffragists take a keener interest than that which concerns their sisters in India. They realise that women alone can reach the women of the East, and they realise also that towards the women of India they have a special responsibility. This responsibility will only be discharged rightly if we appreciate to the full the proud sensitiveness of the Indian races, and their deep sense of the age and beauty of their own civilisation. India is not, and has never considered herself, a conquered country. Recent events must surely have made the dullest of us realise that she is, and must be treated as, "not a dependant, but a valued and trusted comrade and friend." (*India*, January 22nd.) That our Government is realising this is shown by the fact that official recognition was, for the first time, accorded to the Indian National Congress, which held its twenty-ninth session at the close of last year. We notice with interest that in his opening speech, the President, Mr. Bhupendranath Basu, referred with gratitude to the "indefatigable labours of that veteran friend of India, Sir William Wedderburn." Sir William Wedderburn's important article in *THE COMMON CAUSE* of January 8th, will be in all our readers' memories.

**America's "Women's Peace Platform."**

Readers of our articles on the war and peace problem will be interested to hear that Miss Jane Addams has founded a "movement for constructive peace" in the United States. It

is right that the neutral countries should take a lead in this matter, and America, being the greatest of them, has a peculiar duty laid upon her. We are proud to know that the women are leading, and especially glad that Miss Jane Addams's name should be associated with the movement, for it is one that stands for all that is constructive, sane, and gracious in public life, not only in her own country, but over all the world. Her programme, or (as our American cousins call it) her "platform," includes the following points:—

(1) The immediate calling of a convention of neutral nations in the interest of early peace. (2) Limitation of armaments and the nationalisation of their manufacture. (3) Organised opposition to militarism in their own country. (4) Education of youth in the ideals of peace. (5) Democratic control of foreign policies. (6) The further humanising of governments by the extension of the franchise to women. (7) Concert of nations to supersede "Balance of Powers." (8) Action toward the gradual organisation of the world to substitute Law for War. (9) The substitution of an international police for rival armies and navies. (10) Removal of the economic causes of war. (11) The appointment by our government of a commission of men and women, with an adequate appropriation, to promote international peace. It was adopted at a mass meeting in Washington, D.C., at which, besides Miss Addams, Mrs. Chapman Catt, Mrs. Perkins Gilman, Dr. Anna Shaw, Madame Rosika Schwimmer, and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence were present.

**The Infectious Character of Women's Suffrage.**

In spite of wars and rumours of wars, and all the obstacles fate can invent, Women's Suffrage grows and spreads. The great thing is to make a beginning; when that is done, the good example is followed. Mrs. Chapman Catt points out that in America, the States which have granted the vote to women cover an area of 1,710,029 square miles, or more than 56.4 per cent. of the entire area of the United States. "We are certain," she says, "that a little more time, a little more effort, and a little more education, will bring the surrender of Eastern prejudices to our demand for equal justice to men and women."

**Work of the Church League.**

The Church League for Women's Suffrage is doing a work for which all Suffragists, whether sharing its creed or not, will be grateful, in holding services of intercession for its members and friends. At a time like the present, when political work is to a great extent necessarily suspended, the need for some other and deeper expression of the faith that is in us is felt with peculiar keenness, and the services have been very largely attended. The second was held last Saturday (Jan. 23rd) at St. John's, Westminster, by permission of Archdeacon Wilberforce, and was addressed by Rev. Percy Dearmer, D.D. The collection was given to Mrs. St. Clair Stobart's Hospital.

**A "Very Wonderful Lady."**

Those who saw a brief notice which appeared in the press last week, of the death of Miss Slesser, will read with interest the account of her life and work which we publish on page 686. Her name was probably quite unknown to the mass of her fellow countrymen, but it is impossible not to agree with Mrs. Bishop's description of her, as a "very wonderful lady."

**Business Meeting for Federation Secretaries.**

A Federation Hon. Secretary writes of the meeting proposed to be held before the Council meeting: "I very much hope that there will be a good response from Federation Hon. Secretaries to the invitation to meet next week at the N.U. Office. I feel very strongly the need at the present time that Federations should draw their bonds with Societies more closely together. It is true that local work is very absorbing, and that the claims of the N.U. are paramount; and it is easy, in a time of storm and stress, to let go this intermediate agency, which has neither the pressing and intimate claims of Societies nor the prestige and importance of the N.U., but it is just this comparatively insignificant piece of machinery that keeps the whole organisation together. May I suggest that Federations should, if possible, arrange to send an organiser free of travelling expense to visit every Society in its area to give help or advice to local Committees at a time when they are facing a crisis in our movement such as we have never known before? This is not with the idea of urging impossible propaganda work, but it requires all the united wisdom that can be brought to bear on the new problems that have arisen; and a friendly visit or a little timely help would often be a great encouragement, especially to small and young Societies."

**THE POSITION OF INDIAN WOMEN. I.**

Before we talk of the present position of women in India it will be proper and necessary to see what is the position assigned to them by the religious works of the Hindus and Mohammedans, the bulk of Indians being either Hindus or Mohammedans. We take the Hindu scriptures first. The Hindu scriptures and the Hindu Law as administered and understood in India, before Buddha (500 B.C.) assign a very high position to women in the social economy of the nation. Difference of sex is no ground of inferiority. Man is treated as man and woman as woman, without any stigma of inferiority on the latter, unless the solicitude shown by the Hindu *Sastras* for the honour and care of the women by men, be considered such. Marriage is a necessary condition of life according to Hindu ideals. No man or woman can fulfill his or her destiny without marriage. Marriage only, makes them perfect. Unmarried, they are only human units; married they are social units. Unmarried they are incomplete, by themselves, waiting to become *complete wholes* by marriage.

Marriage makes them citizens. Before marriage they are not supposed to be under any civic obligation. All the ceremonies or functions which they are required to go through, either to gain religious merit or to perform civic duties, must be performed by *husband and wife* together as *one civic person*. For example, when a child is to be given away in marriage, it must be given away by *both*. In fact the idea is so strong, that whenever it is impossible for the mother of the child being given away in marriage or the wife of a male relative who is officiating at the function, to be present at the ceremony by reason of death, illness, or other unavoidable cause, the validity of the ceremony is secured by fiction taking the place of fact. The place of the mother is filled by a figure or a piece of cloth representing her. This is by no means confined to this particular civic duty. A Hindu has to perform many religious ceremonies called *yajnas*, in Hindu terminology, most of which are religio-social functions. Hindu scriptures and ancient Hindu law did not divide life into so many different compartments, as the modern civilised people do. They recognised the individuality of human souls, but they laid emphasis on their social affinity. With them life was one complete whole. Religious merit depended on social purity, social strength, social efficiency and willing and fraternal co-operation of the different social units.

Religious merit and social dutifulness were thus mixed up, and it was freely and fully recognised that man and woman or, say husband and wife, must join hands for either. The idea was that the married couple formed only one civic personality, liable to fulfil their religious and civic obligations together. The idea of the superiority in one and inferiority in the other, had no place in the ancient Hindu conception of married life. This is a supreme fact of ancient Hindu society which stands pre-eminent in all Hindu literature free from Buddhistic or Islamic or Greek influences.

In the eyes of foreigners, the laws of Menú stand for Hindu conceptions of life. It is true that the Code of Menú is the best known code of Hindu law and is highly respected among the Hindus. It is equally true that there are certain articles in this code which lead to the inference that in the eyes of the authority that made those "laws" or the person who composed them, woman's position is inferior to man's, but it must not be forgotten that the Code of Menú as known to us to-day, is not the code which was known as such to the pre-Buddhist Aryas (Hindus). It is recognised by all scholars that the present code bears the marks of extraneous influences. It is a manual of decadent Hinduism. It is a work which evidently codified or suggested compromise. The present code is believed to have been compiled about 200 B.C. i.e., after the Hindus had come in touch with the Greeks and after Buddhistic influence had permeated Hindu life. I do not say that the difference in the spirit of the Hindu Law as laid down in the Code of Menú in the matter of the position of women is necessarily due to these influences. It may be so or it may not be so. Yet we find that even the present code assigns a very high position to women and exhibits an extraordinary solicitude for their safety, for their welfare, for their purity, and for their honour. For example, Menú says (Chapter II., 33) that where the women are honoured, there alone the gods are pleased; but where they are dishonoured then all religious rites become fruitless. In another place he symbolises the love of a woman and says that the mouth of a woman is constantly pure and ranks with the running waters and the beams of the sun. Menú furthermore

commands that whoever meets a woman, must make way for her just as he would if he were to meet the aged, the Brahmin, the King, and the bridegroom among men.

It is further provided that whoever accosts a woman, other than his own legally wedded wife, shall do so either by the title of sister or mother. In another place, expounding the laws of hospitality, Menú ordains that "pregnant women, brides and damsels," shall have precedence of *all* other guests whatever their rank or position in life. It is evident that children are not included in the list of guests in this provision, because in another place it is laid down, that in a household children must be served with food first and then the servants or dependants of the household and the master and the mistress should eat last. Another Hindu sage says: "Strike not even with a blossom a wife (though) guilty of a hundred faults"; "a sentiment so delicate," says Col. Tadd, "that Rignold-de-Bow—the prince of troubadours—never uttered any more refined." According to Col. Tadd, if devotion to the fair sex be admitted as a criterion of civilisation, the Rajput must rank very high. His susceptibility is extreme, and fires at the slightest offence to female delicacy, which he never forgives. A satirical impromptu, offending against female delicacy, dissolved the coalition of the Rahtores and Cutchwoetias, and laid each prostrate before the Mahrattas, whom when united they had crushed; and a jest, apparently trivial, compromised the right of primogeniture to the throne of Chitar, and proved more disastrous in its consequences than the aims either of Moguls or Mahrattas. Professor H. H. Wilson, another eminent authority on Hindu culture, adds his testimony in the following words:—"And it may be confidently asserted that in no nation of antiquity were women held in so much esteem as amongst the Hindus." The following provisions of the Hindu Law establish the equality of husband and wife in their marriage relationship, in the eyes of the law.

When Menú says that a husband must be revered by his wife he also says that a wife must be honoured by her husband. Under certain circumstances remarriage is allowed to either, for example, in case of death of either party, or desertion or irreconcilable aversion to each other, or the established immorality of either; to a wife if the husband be impotent; to a husband, if the wife be barren, and so on. I am not aware of any provision of Hindu Law as accepted in ancient times, by which a right given to husband, under certain given circumstances, is denied to wife under similar conditions. Yet it must not be forgotten that marriage is a sacrament under Hindu Law and ordinarily the tie is indissoluble. The dissolution of the marriage tie is so restricted by possible and impossible conditions as to make it a rarity. But all the same whenever a provision is made for such dissolution, under exceptional circumstances, it gives equal rights to either party.

It is said that the Hindu rules of inheritance imply the inferiority of a woman as such. I do not agree. A Hindu family may be joint or otherwise. The law presumes that the family is joint unless it is proved that it is not. In a joint Hindu family, no member of a family has any definite rights in the family property. Males and females all are subordinate to the head of the family who must, of course, be a male, as the family is *patriarchal* and *not matriarchal*. In other respects the legal position of woman in a joint Hindu family is much better than that of men. The first charge on joint family property is that of the maintenance of the ladies of the house, including unmarried girls. The men may starve; the law makes no provision for them if the liabilities of the family exceed its assets; but not the women. No transfer of the family property is legal without providing for the maintenance of the ladies of the house. Every transfer, voluntary or involuntary, is subject to that charge. Even the head of the family has no right to destroy that charge.

Then while the separate property of the male members is liable for the debts of the family, after the family property has been disposed of, the private property of the ladies is not. In a joint Hindu family the ladies have, as a rule, more private property than the males. The married women have full and unrestricted control over the property gifted to them by parents, brothers, or other parental relatives, or even by the husbands' family. The *Stridham* (or the private property of a Hindu lady) is sacred and cannot be touched except in the discharge of her own personal liabilities. She has full rights to add to her property, by skill or by prudent investment, or by good management or otherwise, and all additions and improvements exclusively belong to her. A woman may help her husband or husband's

family with her property; she might sacrifice her all to preserve the honour of the family (as women often do) but no one can force her to do so.

Besides maintenance, the family property of a joint Hindu family is also liable for the education and marriage expenses of every unmarried girl. The marriage expenses of a girl are a legal charge on the family property, though not those of a boy. In all this the principle is to keep the mother function free of all anxieties and pecuniary cares. Every woman is a mother in embryo. That is her supreme function in life. That is her social mission. For the purposes of that function she must have no monetary anxieties and must be secured against all contingencies. The distinction then is not based on the idea of any inferiority in her sex but on the superiority and sanctity of her mother function. She has no voice in the management of the family property, nor in its disposal, nor at the time of partition, but her right to be maintained according to the rank and position of the family out of the family property is secured against all claims, internal or external. Then she is the full master of her private property and can dispose of it as she likes. In a divided family a woman is an heir under certain conditions. The widow of a sonless man succeeds to his estate on a life tenure to the exclusion of his brothers and other parental relatives, male or female, and so does a mother in the absence of children, widows and brothers; a daughter succeeds where there are no sons, nor widow and so on. These distinctions are based on the notions of property peculiar to Hindu law just as succession to real estate in England is governed by similar notions of property peculiar to English conceptions of family life.

LALPAT RAI.

(To be continued.)

### THE LOT OF THE CHAIN-MAKER.\*

In this interesting little book on the effect of the minimum wage in the Cradley Heath chain-making workshops, Mr. Tawney is careful to point out the difficulty of getting anything like an accurate estimate of its result on the rate earned by women workers, owing to a variety of causes, chief of which is the wide divergence between rates given by different employers. He explains that "only the most meagre information exists as to the past and present weekly earnings of chain-makers, and what there is requires to be handled with great caution." As far as men are concerned, Mr. Tawney's tables show, among those cases examined, what he calls himself "a very striking increase in wages." Even here, however, a curious fact emerges, that of the 222 cases investigated in October, 1913, between one-fifth and one-sixth of these men workers were earning less than the 5d. an hour, the lowest minimum fixed by the Trade Board for men making the smallest size of dollied and tommied chain. But the result of the tables dealing with women's earnings is even less encouraging. Out of 588 cases examined in July, 1913, 118 were still earning under 6s., and 113 under 7s. Earning between 1s. and 5s. there were 101 women. Those earning the higher rates (over 7s. and under 15s.) amounted to 255. Besides this, two were earning over 15s. Thus it will be seen that the majority, 331, were earning under 7s.

This enormous discrepancy between the maximum time rate fixed by the Board of 11s. 3d. per week and the actual piece-work rate earned, is very disappointing. On the face of it, it seems as if it must be due to one of three causes. Either the minimum is not enforced, or a miscalculation has been made in the technical work of adjusting the actual piece-work rate to the standard fixed by the time rate; or else the employers have evaded the higher payments by decreasing the output of work, and the workers have thus been put on what is practically short time. Mr. Tawney suggests as a possible partial solution of this problem that the Trade Board may have omitted to allow for a rise in the price of coal. As the worker pays for coal out of her wages, he suggests that a rise in the price of the commodity would reduce the net result of the piece-work rate. But it is difficult to believe that such an obvious contingency could have escaped the vigilance of the workers' representatives, and apart from this, it is hard to imagine why the amount of coal consumed should vary so enormously in different cases—or, indeed, that the difference caused by a rise in the price of coal should work out at over 6s. in 118 cases out of 588, and 5s. in 113 cases.

Any considerable decrease in the amount of work given out

\* "Minimum Rates in the Chain-Making Industry." By R. H. Tawney. (G. Bell & Sons, London.)

would, of course, easily account for the small amounts earned by the women, and it may be that the employers have taken this method of keeping wages down. Information is very scanty as to the amount of hours worked before and after the Trade Boards Act, partly because the hours varied so much then, as now, in different workshops. Still, in the 588 cases examined, it is noticeable that the majority of women, 311, are working between forty and sixty hours, 136 between thirty and forty, and 128 under thirty hours. The most cursory comparison between the tables of wages and hours will show, however, that a majority of 331 are earning under 7s., a majority of 311 are working between forty and sixty hours. So that both long hours and low payment seem to be the lot of most.

The lowness of the practical rate earned is, of course, by far the most important matter to the workers in Cradley Heath itself, but Mr. Tawney has a few words of very just criticism for the lowness of even the theoretical rate of 11s. 3d. He says: "It is lower than the time rates fixed by any other of the three Boards established under the Act of 1909." He explains the circumstances that led to the Board accepting 2½d.\* an hour as an adequate wage for a woman. And he remarks that "what the members of the Chain Trade Board did not perhaps sufficiently realise was that, by fixing a low rate, they might be helping to keep down wages in other industries. The rate established by one Board is inevitably quoted when other Boards are fixing wages. One of the commonest objections to the rates of 3½d. and 3¼d. proposed for women in the clothing and cardboard making industries respectively, was that the Chain Trade Board had fixed a minimum of 2½d."

So far, speaking generally and judging roughly by past experiences of prices in Cradley Heath, it is impossible to shirk the conclusion that the Trade Board has not yet made any substantial increase to the amount of wages actually brought home at the week end by the women chain makers. The old, much-abused 5s. and 6s. rate is still, according to Mr. Tawney's tables, predominant. The question is a very serious one, as the chain-making trade is in some ways a valuable one for women. The majority of the women employed work at home at their own hours. Mr. Tawney points out that "as is natural in the case of an industry which permits of domestic duties being combined with work at the trade, a very large proportion of the women working at home are married or widowed." Industries carried on in small workshops, or, as they call them in Cradley, "Brewhouses" attached to the cottages, easily provide a solution for the problem of the employment of married women, by giving them the means of reconciling the claims of their home and of their industrial life. The work itself seems very skilled. Though no doubt prices may suffer from the distant menace of machinery, the workers seem to regard this danger as rather a "bogey," as so far machine-made chains have not been able to compete seriously with hand hammered-made ones. It is surely a very significant and serious fact, for anyone interested in the industrial position of women, that these skilled workers are still unable to earn anything like a living wage for their work, that in fact three-quarters of the workers—74.09 per cent.—whose wages were investigated in July, 1913, were found to be earning under 2½d. an hour.

EVA GORE-BOOTH.

### NEWS FROM ABROAD.

#### SOUTH AFRICA.

Mrs. Fawcett sends us the following touching extract from a letter from South Africa:—

Here in South Africa there has been a great wave of sympathy for poor desolated Belgium, which has taken practical form in the making of many garments and collecting good second-hand clothes, besides liberal donations in money; even our coloured people have sold their eggs and vegetables, and had concerts, until in Stellenbosch alone they raised £50, a vast sum when you remember that they live from hand to mouth on a few pence a day. But, as my old brown washer mammy said to me in the Dutch patois, when I asked her what made them do it: "Why, the English made us free, and these are their friends." No whys and wherefores of history troubled old Salva; just the big elemental fact that Britain had freed her slave parents.

#### NEW ZEALAND.

*Jus Suffragii* reports that the Legislative Council Bill has been amended by the House of Representatives by a large majority, so as to qualify women for election to the Council.

\* The theoretical 2½d. rate is in process of being altered to 2¼d., a gain of 10d. in a 40-hours week.

## A CHANCE FOR THE "OUT-DOOR" WOMAN.

While in France women are filling the places of men in all sorts of occupations, and filling them remarkably well, in this country there are thousands of strong, capable women anxious to be of service, while no use is being made of their energy. A paragraph in *The Times*, of January 19th, calls attention to the lack of private chauffeurs, owing to the superior attractions of War Office service. Here is an opening for the "open-air" woman, for whom office life has no attraction. In the same issue appears a letter from Lady Castlereagh, in answer to an article on the Dearth of Farm Workers, which suggested that the school age might be relaxed in order that "boys from twelve to fourteen years old could be brought into service." Lady Castlereagh writes:—

"Has not the fact been overlooked that there is a large reserve of women who are able and willing to take the place of absent men? Anyone familiar with the Lowlands of Scotland knows how much work on the land is performed by women in many districts.

"Agricultural work should present no very great difficulties for the right sort of women, and to many open-air country life would be most congenial. Only last month I read with interest an article appearing in *The Times* describing the rural conditions of France during the war; the article laid particular stress on the good work the French women had rendered in connection with the harvest. At a time like the present, the employment of women as farm workers is an experiment that should certainly be tried in England; the women would be proud to help 'in work that is of national importance and well within their capacity.'"

#### APPEAL OF THE GOVERNMENT TO THE WOMEN OF FRANCE.

Conditions in France are thus described by a correspondent from a small French village:—

"Not a man, only old ones about, and yet you hear the harvest is splendid and the vintage the best there has been for forty years; that will tell you everything. Perhaps you read the appeal of the Government to the Women of France last August, how they must keep agriculture going and feed the Army. It is hard work; they'll do it all right. Only yesterday I was talking to a farmer's wife here, and she said, 'Well, madame, it was feasible this year, but next, if we have no oxen, what shall we do? You know that every horse under eighteen years of age, carts, and all motor-cars have been requisitioned, and hay and corn. Now the oxen are being taken.'—*Times*, January 21st.

The Report issued by the Board of Trade on the state of unemployment in December, points out that there is likely to be a difficulty in getting the necessary agricultural done in the spring, even in districts where there is sufficient labour for winter needs. Already shortage of labour is marked in the Wold district of Yorkshire, and in the Home Counties in the case of milkers and market gardeners. Yet no appeal is made by the Government to the women of England.

When will our own Government begin to realise that the women of the nation can be an asset, not a burden? When will they cease to regard them as mere "dependants," and make full use of them? Frenchwomen may at present be more efficient—for they are more accustomed to work side by side with their menfolk in commerce and agriculture, and to take responsibility—but if Englishwomen were trained and encouraged, instead of being made to feel themselves a drag upon the State, they could do as good work as the women of any Continental nation.

This should be the chance of the outdoor, athletic girl, of whose splendid physique little or no use is being made, while lads accustomed to a sedentary life, and none too robust, have joined the Army in thousands. In farming, gardening, driving (both horse and motor), as postmen—even as dock labourers, the dearth of whom is causing such congestion at our ports—the muscular young woman of the middle classes might do good service, if she were only allowed.

The price of firewood is going up, while many of our woods and forests need thinning. Here is a task which women accustomed to outdoor life could easily perform with a little training. There is a shortage of milkers, as dairy work, once performed almost entirely by the farmer's wife or daughters, has now

passed mainly into masculine hands, and so many milkmen have enlisted. Here, again, the athletic woman might make herself useful, and at the same time set an example to the "genteel" young person to be found in so many of our farms, who looks upon all kinds of dairy work as quite beneath her dignity. In some districts women still do the milking, and it would be an easy matter to arrange for girls to be taught before the shortage of workers becomes a really serious matter. They might also help as carters, who in some places are badly needed. In Liverpool, though the horses taken by the army have been largely replaced, carters cannot be found.

Several funds have already been started for helping professional women, and part of these might well be devoted to training suitable girls for outdoor work. Many well-to-do girls would no doubt be willing to pay for training, if they felt their services were really needed, and would be glad to give any money they might afterwards earn to help others less fortunately placed.

M. M.

#### Queen's Work for Women.

During the week just closed the London County Council has entered into close co-operation with the Central Committee. In districts spread over London unemployed women could be seen every day going cheerily to school to learn, at L.C.C. Centres, cookery, laundry work, home dressmaking, and health hints. In one case the women's workroom has itself become an educational centre with daily regular classes. The Council has also opened its trade classes to unemployed women belonging to a trade, or desirous of entering one, and at the Hammersmith Trade School unemployed women sent from the relief workrooms in neighbouring Boroughs are attending evening classes in trade upholstery, tailoring, dressmaking, and millinery.

#### PROSPECT OF GOOD WAGES.

We are glad to learn that the 10s. a week wage to which we alluded in our last issue is not regarded as a full-time wage for trained workers, but as a part-time wage during training. The rate is 3d. an hour, and the workers are not employed more than forty hours a week. Their work also is of the nature of a training, and it is confidently expected that they will command a higher

wage when they return to the labour-market than they could before. Most of the girls attending the classes recognise the fact that they will find it much easier to get places when they can say that they have learned their trade. "If I could just say I'd been under a man," said a girl who is determined to learn tailoring thoroughly. The dressmakers generally see the advantage of going into the tailoring class, even with only the view of being able to make good coats and tailored skirts.

The milliners are each set to do what they have never done before in their limited knowledge of the trade. One girl who has been five years at the work is proudly making a "block shape" for the first time. A showroom assistant is learning the practical part of the work, for she said: "If you can't tell a customer what is wrong with a hat, you're not much use." The dressmakers are modelling bodices on dummy figures, taking their measurements from and copying the lines of a French pattern. They learn to fit as they go along, for they are told which lines may be interfered with, and which must be rigidly left alone. A girl who had been years in dressmaking had never had such an opportunity before. "This kind of work was kept in the fitter's hands," she said. "I was just given collars to make and finishing to do, or making tucks in petticoats."



Henri Manuel, Paris.]

#### MADAME VÉRONÉ.

Orator, Writer, Barrister, and Feminist (Speaking at the Kingsway Hall Meeting, February 5th).

## The Case of the Separated Wife.

Everyone knows that a Parliamentary Committee is sitting to consider what payments should be made to a wife while her husband is serving in the Army, and what pension should be paid to her in the event of his death. These are very difficult questions, and among the thousands of individual cases covered by them, I want to call attention to one particular class which has not received anything like justice hitherto. I refer to the women who have been obliged, through no fault of their own, to go to the magistrates and get a separation order against their husbands. The lot of these women is hard enough in any case. They are still wives, not allowed to marry again, but lacking almost all the advantages of a wife's position, except the precarious subsistence money of 10s. a week, or whatever the sum may be, which the magistrates have ordered the husband to pay. Still, as long as the husband remains in civil life, the woman has her legal remedies against him if he does not pay. If, however, he joins the Army, as many such husbands have done during the present war, then the woman loses, for all practical purposes, her civil remedies for recovering the money; and as I shall show directly, the Army authorities offer her a miserable pittance of 3s. 6d. a week instead.

I am obliged to use the word "separation" in two quite different connections. First, there is the separation ordered by the magistrates, with the weekly payment of 10s., or whatever it may be, consequent upon such "separation order." Secondly, there is what the Army regulations call "separation allowance," being the sum which the Government allows to a married woman during her husband's absence on service, over and above anything she receives out of his pay. This Government separation allowance for the soldier's wife amounts, in ordinary cases, to 9s. a week, and in addition she receives (except in some special cases which I need not go into) 3s. 6d. a week, stopped out of her husband's pay. This last is called compulsory allotment. Thus, altogether she receives 12s. 6d. a week. But in the case where the wife has been obliged to get a magistrate's separation order, and where the man has subsequently joined the Army, the Army authorities, while they stop 3s. 6d. a week out of his pay and send it to his wife, refuse to give her the 9s. separation allowance or any part thereof. The net result is that these wives (who were getting 10s. a week, or some such sum, from their husbands) are now getting only 3s. 6d.; and they have no remedy.

The argument of the authorities, as far as I understand, is, that the man's joining the Army has not in fact separated him from his wife, and that, therefore, the Army is not under any obligation to pay separation allowance. But the Army does not pay the ordinary wife 9s. a week simply for the loss of her husband's society, but because the State by accepting the man's services in the Army has deprived the woman of her bread-winner. The State, therefore, is under an obligation to make her compensation for that loss. Surely the same reasoning applies to the case of the woman who had been obliged to get a magistrate's order against her husband. He was still her bread-winner, although his obligation in that respect was limited to 10s. a week. The State, by accepting him as a soldier, has, therefore, deprived this woman of her bread-winner; or rather, has reduced the 10s. a week to 3s. 6d., which the Army authorities compulsorily stop out of his pay. Her claim is that, as a wife she ought to receive from the Army the 9s. a week separation allowance which other soldiers' wives receive; or at any rate such part thereof as may be necessary to bring up to the 3s. 6d. a week compulsory allotment to the 10s., or other sum, which the magistrate ordered that she should receive.

ANEURIN WILLIAMS.

P.S.—The above was written some time ago, and correctly represented the practice of the authorities, so far as it could be ascertained up to the beginning of December. Then comes word from the War Office that "If a soldier has been contributing regularly to the support of his wife, who has been living apart from him, Separation Allowance may be issued to her as a dependant up to the amount ordinarily paid to the soldier, and within the limits laid down by the Regulations governing the issue of Separation Allowances to soldiers' wives and families." From this it appeared that the wives in question were at least to receive something in addition to the 3s. 6d. a week compulsory allotment. It seemed, therefore, better to let the matter rest pending the decision of the Committee of Inquiry. It now, however, appears that these women are still, at least in some cases, being refused any separation allowance whether as wives or dependants.—A. W.

## Correspondence.

It is necessary to remind our readers that there is no editorial responsibility for opinions expressed in the correspondence columns.

### NATIONALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM.

MADAM,—Your anonymous correspondent who "would be dumb" has a correct instinct, for it is better to be dumb than anonymously to darken counsel by words misrepresenting those with whom you disagree. In my letter of January 15th, I did not say that people who disapproved the idea of an international congress were more ignorant than we who approve. It is our own sense of our own ignorance which makes us wish to take all occasions of learning. I did not (1) advocate a congress to voice "women's opinion"; nor (2) suggest that there were "recalcitrants"; nor (3) that they were afraid of mines.

(1) We, Suffragists at least, know that there is no such thing as "women's opinion." But there are women (as there are men) who hold even in war time that national interests are not opposed to international, and that there is loss all round in the settling of differences by the crude arbitrament of brute force directed by nationalist partisanship. The Suffrage movement is not a movement of women; it is a movement of men and women with certain views of the right basis of government, and some Suffragists feel that this basis involves a certain development of international relations. It is these men and women who might fruitfully meet in congress.

(2) The talk of "tyrannies, dogmas, formulas, shibboleths" is mere throwing up of dust, and so is the suggestion that anyone wishes to leave "recalcitrants" at home. Mrs. Fawcett herself wrote that nationalism was for the moment in the ascendant, and therefore a congress whose object it was to express internationalism would be a failure, owing to the risk of disputes. I replied that those who felt this opposition between nationalism and internationalism would have no inducement to attend an international congress. Why should they? Mrs. Fawcett, with that admirable frankness we expect of her, says she would not.

(3) The kind of accidental outbreaks of temper to which Mrs. Fawcett referred could only occur if a number of people attended the congress in an irresponsible mood. Those who disapproved would not come; those who are in the habit of attending congresses as a sort of superior picnic (and there are thousands of such people) would not encounter the risks and discomforts of travel. Busy people will only go if they think they can get and give some good.

One more word about my use of the word "partisan." It is not a term of abuse; it is a word which precisely connotes the precise advocacy of the "national cause" to which Mrs. Fawcett alluded. Anyone who, because he believes the cause of his own country just, cannot exchange ideas and courtesies with one of an opposed country, is a partisan. Anyone who, believing the balance of right to be on the side of his own country, feels himself compelled to admit no right in the opponent and no wrong on his own side, is a partisan. There are many people (perhaps most, I do not know) who hold that without partisanship no one could fight. If so, that is one of the strongest reasons I have ever heard against ever fighting. But it is possible to hold that a combination of Allies, with a high ideal like the abolition of militarism, is an approach to a more truly international enforcement of Public Right, and such a combination might fight without partisanship. Just as a judge, who uses the warder or the executioner to enforce the finding of the jury, altogether repudiates partisanship, so, it seems to me, might an International Court use and direct the force of armies. H. M. SWANWICK.

### AN EDUCATION POLICY.

MADAM,—I rejoice that the subject of an education policy is being discussed in your columns. Splendid as is the work which Suffrage Societies are doing to meet the immediate needs of the nation during the war, they have a wider duty, and are specially called upon to consider the future. There are many women who think it is almost unpatriotic to look beyond the present moment, and yet peace will come some day and must not find us unprepared. Could not the N.U.W.S.S. arrange a series of addresses given by competent speakers on the social and internal political conditions of all the belligerent nations, including Germany? Some people say that they do not want to know anything about Germany because she is so wicked. If we could abolish Germany by ignoring her there might be some sense in that attitude, but as we cannot do this, surely it seems reasonable to try and know something about the inner life of our formidable opponent.

Many of the horrors which have befallen unhappy Belgium are primarily due to German ignorance of the psychology of other nations, which has led them to commit acts which in the long run will be more harmful to themselves than are the guns of their adversaries. If we succeed in invading Germany armed with no better knowledge than what we have gleaned from Bernhardi, selected fragments of Treitschke, and ill-digested spoonfuls of Nietzsche, varied by novelettes dealing with scandals in small garrison towns, we may also do things from sheer ignorance which will not conduce to a just and lasting settlement. Women do not always use their influence to counteract the evil effects of a sensational Press, but if they had knowledge they would realise their international responsibilities, even before they receive the rights of citizenship. Let no one think she is powerless; each individual may form a centre of enlightenment, the beneficial results of which she cannot measure. MARION CHADWICK.

### NATIONAL SERVICE.

MADAM,—I am a regular reader of THE COMMON CAUSE, and a great admirer of its clearly expressed broad-minded views, so please allow me to protest against the article called "National Service," which is most reactionary. The writer tells us that even earlier than 1813 Prussia started Conscription or Personal Service, whichever you like. Surely this proves that if you train boys and men to military ideas they will grow into a military and aggressive nation, such as we see in the Germany of our present day.

There is the brute element in all of us, which can be cultivated or checked by education. It is surely time that this instinct of the savage should be repressed and the higher ideals of citizenship and regard for humanity encouraged. Instead of urging her young men to discipline themselves so that they can kill a greater quantity of other young men

who happen to be of another nationality, England should devote her strength to making an alliance of peace with America and her own Colonies. She should encourage the formation of a united navy for the safe-guarding of her own and their trade routes, and with this navy large armies would be unnecessary. It would be a bold power that would rise against America united to England and her Colonies. On the other hand, those at peace and free from fear of invasion could exert themselves to teach the rising generation what true freedom means, which certainly does not lie in conscription. It is childish to say that had we had a million more trained men, this war would not have occurred. Nations well-armed and trained for war will never lack an excuse to fight.

Democracy and internationalism are what we want now. Naturally, to the military mind, a better army than your neighbour is the ideal, but the military attitude is not democratic. It is because the world has been blinded by its conquerors, its Alexanders, its Caesars, its Napoleons, and not listened to the voice of freedom that humanity to-day is struggling on the Continent.

We hear rumours of a United States of Europe, of the strengthening of the International Woman's Movement; may they one day become facts, till men and women of every shade from white to black will acknowledge each other's humanity, and then there will be no need of armed peace.

HELEN COTTER.

[We have to remind our correspondent that the N.U.W.S.S. has not, up to the present, made any official pronouncement about war. It would not, therefore, be right for the organ of the N.U. to discuss, even in signed articles, one side of the problem only.—ED., "C.C."]

### WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE IN AMERICA.

MADAM,—I notice that in your issue of the 22nd, you say in reference to the vote on Women Suffrage in the American House of Representatives that: "This is the first time in history that such a vote has been taken as the policy of our friends in America has been to fight the Suffrage in each State separately, and not . . . in the Federal Legislature." It may be interesting in this connection to note that the conditions in America are precisely the opposite of those in Australia. The American States are Sovereign States, and can act even in opposition to the Federal Legislature. It is probable therefore that an amendment of the Constitutions may be necessary before the vote can be granted to the State Legislature. Before this can be effected, it is necessary that a majority of States and a majority of voters in each State should be in favour of the Amendment of the Constitution. Carrying the vote therefore in each State is a necessary preliminary to carrying it in the Federal Legislature. In Australia the vote was granted to women by the Federal Legislature before the question had been raised as a political issue in some of the States. Carrying the vote in one State means doubling the number of voters in that State, and under the present political conditions this acts as a powerful inducement to other States to go and do likewise. The question of carrying the vote in the American Congress is therefore one only of time. It will come about almost automatically when the majority of the States have pronounced in favour of it. GEO. E. BOXALL.

### INDIA'S HELP FOR BELGIUM.

MADAM,—I should like to tell you of what our Treasurer, Miss Stehelin, a lady farmer, is doing to help at the present time the future need of poor devastated Belgium. She has sown quantities of peas and tomatoes on her land near Debra Doon in the united provinces, by which she hopes to be able to raise quantities of good seed for sowing when the time of repatriation comes. In this country tomatoes especially are very easily grown in the open, and so the seed is not such an expensive item as it is in England. She also hopes to grow onions in large quantities for the Belgians, and in time to be able to send a consignment of seed. This should prove of real permanent benefit—probably other lady farmers are doing the same—for when this wronged people get back to their country, doubtless life will have to begin all over again. The soil will bear richly, though the fact of this only saddens one in thinking of the cause; still the land and its fertility will be an undoubted blessing, and what we want to do more than anything else is to make self-help possible.

I wish you could see our Indian-Belgium fields. I would our poor Belgian friends could see them. They would be glad to know how many hearts in far-away India are thinking of their terrible need, and seeking to minister to it. In Mussoorie over £200 has been sent to the Belgian Fund, and last week I sent the whole of the balance in hand of our Mussoorie Suffrage Society for the Active Service Corps.

J. G. WEATHERLEY.

Hon. Sec., Mussoorie Suffrage Society.

P.S.—Our President, Mrs. Hallowes, has also written a very important pamphlet, "Women and War: An Appeal to Women of All Nations." Headley Bros., 140, Bishopsgate, price 2d. It should be read by all women.

### PLEASE SEND NO MORE!

MADAM,—The readers of THE COMMON CAUSE will be glad to hear, I am sure, that the hundreds of bandages I have been able to send to H Company, R.A.M.C., the 46th and 60th Field Ambulances, and the 71st F.A., have been acknowledged by the respective C.O.'s and N.C.O.'s in terms of great gratitude, and I have been asked to convey their thanks to the "kind ladies" who helped to supply the much-needed bandages. H Company has left Fleet for good, and as I have enough money in hand to supply several new ambulances expected to arrive shortly in a neighbouring camp, I earnestly beg the readers of THE COMMON CAUSE not to send me any more money or calico. DOROTHY EDWARDS.

### WOMEN'S PATROL COMMITTEE.

Under the auspices of the National Union of Women Workers, a Women's Patrol Committee has been formed in Leeds. A trained organiser spent three weeks in the city in December, and the work has been started under favourable conditions, as the good-will of the Chief Constable and the Watch Committee and much local influential support have been obtained. During the holidays the work was in abeyance, but an organising secretary and strong committee are now at work, and twenty-eight patrols on duty in two districts. Many more patrols are needed, so that the beats may be increased in number and adequately patrolled.

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 NOTICE.—This paper is obtainable at newsagents and bookstalls by mid-  
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The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies being  
 a body which exists to obtain the enfranchisement  
 of women, holds no official view upon any other topic.  
 Opinions expressed upon other subjects must not be  
 regarded as necessarily those of the Union.

### Double Standards.

War, with its clamant needs and pressing dangers, is always apt to have a reactionary effect on public opinion, for people, at its insistence, fly to panic remedies for pressing ills. In the present war the desire to suppress social diseases by violent cures has already shown itself several times, and there is an aspect of this danger with which women are specially concerned. It is that aspect of the case which hurries people into suppressive measures against one sex only, not because it is the greater sinner, but because it can less easily resist.

There is no subject on which Suffragists feel more deeply than that of the "double standard of morality," which such measures inevitably create or enforce. There is probably none which the outsider—whether man or woman—finds it more difficult to understand. And since (if we are right) this question is one of vital importance to the race, it is worth while to try many times to clear away the misunderstanding if possible.

To those who differ from us on this point, our rejection of the double standard seems like feminism gone mad. "Why," they ask, "demand for women freedom to imitate the vices of men? Why not recognise that the higher standard is the greater honour? If women are commonly expected to be more chaste, more self-controlled, more temperate, and more unselfish than men, they should be proud of the distinction, and think it not an injustice but a glory." It is a pity, such critics would agree, that public opinion should expect comparatively little of men; but it is not the women who should complain. And a recent protest against the restrictions placed on the sale of alcohol to women only, drew forth, from a correspondent to this paper, the amazed inquiry why anyone should want women to have freedom to get drunk?

Such a question, it is true, implies a curious misunderstanding not only of our position, but of the meaning of the word freedom. One cannot be "free" to be sober without also being free to get drunk. Compulsory sobriety is not freedom, though many people would prefer it; and where "compulsion" is freely accepted (as in the case of men or women who vote for prohibition) there is no difficulty in reconciling the two principles. In any case, we believe there are many women—perhaps the majority of women Suffragists—who would, at this time, welcome a measure of compulsion equally applied to both sexes. Women have everything to gain from temperance, and we hear of no complaints from France or Russia against the sweeping measures enforced there. Indeed, as readers of THE COMMON CAUSE are aware, a considerable measure of prohibition had already been locally applied in Russia (before the abolition of the Government monopoly of vodka), and this "local veto" had been supported by women's votes. Now *La Française* reports the prohibition of absinthe in France as a triumph for the women. Even without votes—local or national—they have been working for this reform for years, and its achievement is their victory very largely.

It is not then from a desire for "freedom to get drunk" that women resent the distinction made between the sexes. It is from a consciousness, very present with Suffragists, that the double standard has been disastrous to morality. It has not answered its purpose. It has destroyed the standard it hoped to raise. To emphasise a virtue—no matter what—as peculiarly necessary to one of the two sexes is to suggest that it is not

### "Si Pacem Vis—"

[We published in preceding numbers, articles by Lt.-Col. E. Gunter on National Service. This week Mr. Fenner Brockway presents the case for the other side. Contributors are left free to express their own views, as we believe it to be in the public interest that such questions should be freely discussed. The articles are signed, and must not be taken to represent the official views of the N.U.W.S.S.]

necessary to the other. The suggestion is inevitable. And the sex which dispenses with one or other virtue will fortify itself against criticism by pointing with pride to the splendour of its ideal for the other sex. Such vicarious virtue is not moral, but demoralising.

We heard recently of a small boy who was allowed to break his sisters' dolls, on the ground that this proceeding taught the little girls to be unselfish. What about the effect on the boy? We have all met men who felt their religious duties adequately discharged because their wives were regular at church; and in few households is attendance at family prayers exacted from sons with the same zeal as from daughters. What is the result? The churches are emptying, family prayers fall into desuetude. The less not the more exacting standard prevails.

It has become a truism among Suffragists that in matters more urgent the double standard has been destructive of morality. Purity being demanded of women as the special virtue of their sex, men have tended to regard it as unnecessary or even impossible for theirs. The direct, logical, and inevitable result of this distinction has been the creation of a whole class of women, outcasts from society. And, again, the men who make that class necessary, pride themselves on the standard they demand from their own women. But can women any longer assent to such a "morality"? Or, when they denounce it, must they be supposed to be asking for freedom to be vicious?

Again, it is suggested, as we have said, to impose special restrictions on the sale of drink to women. If this special measure were designed to unify the standard of the sexes, there might be something to be said for it. But it is not. The most hostile critic could not prove, and has, indeed, not attempted to suggest, that women as a sex are more given to drunkenness than men. The case is notoriously the other way. Allowing for any possible margin of error, from secret drinking, the fact is still undisputed that men are far larger consumers of alcohol than women. If, then, special restriction on sex lines was required it would seem that it is the men who should be restricted. When women—the lesser sinners—are selected, what possible deduction can be drawn but that society accepts the double standard, and regards drunkenness in men as a venial offence?

The law, and the administrators of the law, can recognise or ignore a fault; can, in legal terms, make a vice into a "crime." It does not necessarily follow (though it is very apt to) that public opinion is affected by such recognition. Certain offences are regarded with extreme disgust which are not legally "crimes." There are, for example, many kinds of lies which would make the liar infinitely more contemned, if they were found out, than some kinds of libel: yet the libel is a crime, and the lie, quite likely, is not. Where it is admitted that the law is not the right kind of instrument to deal with certain offences, public hatred of them is not lessened by the absence of legal recognition. But if, by some legal or administrative order, it is admitted that the offence is one which the law may rightly recognise, then its application to one sex only must affect public opinion. If drunkenness is in this class, but the sale of alcohol to women only restricted, who can fail, consciously or unconsciously, to draw the conclusion that in women only is drunkenness blameworthy? But against such a conclusion Suffragists will always contend.

Women, with the spread of education and the wider outlook that education brings with it, are realising with growing clearness the awful consequences of alcoholism to the race. They have seen, and they will never forget, what impurity has meant to women, to children, and to men. They have been forced to face the horrible results, and with that knowledge has come the knowledge that the double standard of morals which they so long accepted, if not with complacency at least with submission, involves these horrors as a necessary sequence. Now they are beginning to learn the facts about intemperance in alcohol also. They know something of the consequences to children of alcoholism in a parent. They watch in the police-courts the inexorable working-out of the connection between alcoholism and lust. They know now that it is not only (only!) a matter of submission to brutal treatment at the hands of a drunken husband, but of submission to something which affects them and their children and their children's children, that is involved. Everywhere women are the enemies of intemperance, and in America the battle between the Suffragists and the liquor interest is openly joined. Whatever measures are taken to meet the different needs of different circumstances and races, one thing is certain—women will be forward in this cause. But for this very reason they will consent to no measure which suggests that temperance is a virtue for one sex only, and drunkenness a venial sin in a man. They have seen what has come of specialising in virtues, and they will not consent again to this corruption of the moral standard.

The Provincial Council of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies has endorsed the principles of peace laid down by Mr. Asquith in his historic speech at Dublin. Before a permanent peace can be secured, he declared, there must come, "first and foremost, the clearing of the ground by the definite repudiation of militarism as the governing factor in the relation of States and of the future moulding of the European world." Mr. Lloyd George was equally explicit in the address he delivered to Free Churchmen at the City Temple. "We are all looking forward to a time when swords shall be beaten into ploughshares," he said, "and spears into pruning hooks, and nation cannot rise up against nation, and there will be no more war. . . . The surest way of establishing a reign of peace upon earth is by making the way of the transgressor of the peace of the nations too hard for the rulers of men to tread it. That is what we are engaged in doing now." "We know that we can gain nothing from the war except two things," Mr. Bonar Law stated on December 4th: "Peace when it is over, and security for peace in the future."

These pronouncements could be multiplied a hundredfold. The assertion that we are fighting to overthrow militarism and to establish a permanent condition of peace has been made so repeatedly and by such representative authorities that it can be justly claimed to be our national policy.

To some of us, however, it has always been clear that those who are now concentrating their energies on "overthrowing militarism in Germany" would have to turn their attention to the menace of militarism in their own land before the war was over if they really desired to be liberated from it. We, in Britain, have our Treitschke and Bernhardis and the like. I hesitate to quote the late Lord Roberts now that he has passed from us, but the danger to which I refer is illustrated in a passage of a speech he delivered in Manchester in 1912. Speaking in favour of a system of compulsory military service, he said:—

"Germany strikes when Germany's hour has struck. That is the time-honoured policy of her Foreign Office. That was the policy relentlessly pursued by Bismarck and Molke in 1866 and 1870. It has been her policy at the present hour. And, gentlemen, it is an excellent policy. It is, or should be, the policy of every nation prepared to play a great part in history."

Or, let me quote from Major Stewart Murray, whom Lieut.-Colonel Edward Gunter instances in THE COMMON CAUSE, as one of the ablest writers on the subject of compulsory service. In his "Peace of the Anglo-Saxons" he reveals a temper which is exactly what we have come to term "Prussianism." "In such dangerous things as war," he says, "the errors which proceed from a spirit of benevolence are just the worst," and he continues thus:—

"Now this is an elementary fact which it is most desirable that those of our politicians and Exeter Hall preachers and numerous old women of both sexes who raise hideous cries about 'methods of barbarism,' &c., every time we have a war should endeavour to learn. By their very outcries for moderation and weakness they clearly show that they know nothing about war. . . .

"And the worst of all is that such velvet-glove methods of barbarism politicians may be in power, or, if they be not in power, may influence those who are, when our next great war comes. Therefore, unless this vital error be extirpated before that war comes upon us, there is too much reason to fear that it might be entered upon with this worst of all errors underlying its conduct."

And, again:—

"Let us put aside at once as childish all talk of international law as any protection. There is no such thing as international law, for the thing so miscalled is merely international custom, and a new custom can be added at any time by any nation powerful enough. To break through so-called international law is no more than for an individual to break through the conventionalities of social intercourse. . . .

"We ourselves have been the greatest offenders of all in breaking international conventionalities. We have frequently made use of our naval powers to attack other nations by surprise. In international intercourse nothing more unconventional has ever been done than our surprise of Denmark and seizure of the Danish fleet in 1817."

Now, if Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George are right when they say we are fighting to overthrow military barbarism, and to vindicate international law, Major Stewart Murray and those who think like him ought to be in the camp of the enemy. If the issue is then peace and war, democracy and militarism, the power of the spirit and the power of force, then the advocates of compulsory service (or universal training, or conscription, or whatever they may choose to term their system of training every

young man in the art of killing) ought obviously to be on the other side.

It is no use for them to argue that they desire peace, and that, conditions being what they are, universal military training is the best safeguard against war. The present conflict has shattered for ever the argument that to prepare for war is the most effective method of preventing war. The fact is that every additional armed soldier in Europe, every additional gun constructed, every additional warship built, made the conflagration more inevitable. Of such material the magazine which exploded in the early days of August was composed. Had Britain announced that she intended to train every man for military service the conflict would merely have been precipitated. When Germany increased her army (after realising that France and Britain were co-operating against her), France retaliated by a Bill to extend her system of military service from two to three years. If Britain had adopted the proposals of the National Service League, Germany would have realised that her only chance lay in striking before the system was in effective operation. To prepare for war is to produce war. Permanent peace will only come when we prepare, with equal zeal, for peace.

But I admit readily enough that compulsory military service is the logical accompaniment of the foreign policy Britain has pursued during the last ten years. We have allowed ourselves to be entangled in continental quarrels, and, that being so, required a continental army. From 1906 onwards we have, to all intents and purposes, been committed to support France (and thus, more recently, Russia) in any war in which she became involved\*, and, since the issues were bound to be decided primarily on land, such a policy demanded that we made ourselves a military as well as a naval power. If the present policy of alliances is continued after the war, conscription appears to me inevitable. The British navy is, first and foremost, a weapon of defence, and, although it is of enormous service to France in the present conflict in protecting her shores from attack and in keeping her trade routes open, an ally has the right to expect aggressive assistance also. For this reason I do not think it of much avail to argue the merits of compulsion and voluntarism apart from other considerations.

If the nation is to be saved from the menace of militarism it must not be contented with defeating "Prussianism" in Germany. It must revolutionise its own foreign policy. It must revolutionise its own Imperial policy. It must revolutionise its own policy of armaments' construction.

We will hope that at the conclusion of this war Europe will no longer be divided into two armed camps, ranged provocatively one opposite another. We will hope that a League of Nations will be formed, and that arbitration will become the rule between them. But if this desirable goal is not reached, Britain would be far better advised to stand aside from European alliances in the future than to commit herself to one side or another. Boldly she should declare herself to be the friend of every Power which walks in the path of peace, the champion of every people subjected to tyranny and wrong, the sympathiser with every democracy struggling to be free. Had that been our policy during the last ten years, we could not have been indifferent now to the fate of Belgium (though it is probable this war would, under those circumstances, never have occurred), but neither could we have been indifferent to the fate of Persia when she was outraged by Russia, or to the fate of Morocco when she was outraged by France. And among the nations of the world we should have won a respect which would have been our surest shield against attack.

When this sorry war has concluded, a new opportunity will come to us. Are we ready to accept it? The paramount duty of the moment is that all who hate militarism and abhor war should unite to overthrow the dragon of Prussianism wherever it lifts its head. And that head has many masks. Sometimes it appears under the disguise of Secret Diplomacy. Sometimes under the disguise of Imperialism. Sometimes under the disguise of High Finance. Sometimes under the disguise of Compulsory Military Service. These masks must be torn from the face of the dragon and the fiery eyes and blood-red lips of War which hide behind them revealed to all. But if our State is ever to be rid of him, many changes must take place, not the least of which is the recognition of women's power and place in the counsels of the land.

A. FENNER BROCKWAY.

[Next week "The Prussianization of Germany," by Cloudesley Brereton.]

\* The "conversations" between the military authorities of France and Britain which have been pursued for the last eight years, and the naval arrangement by which France withdrew her fleet to the Mediterranean, undeniably denote an understanding.

### "THE COMMON CAUSE" SOLDIERS' ROOMS.

AN EXAMPLE TO BE FOLLOWED.

The Lincoln W.S.S. decided to give expression to its belief in the value of natural comradeship between men and women by opening a mixed club for soldiers stationed in the city; recreation rooms, to which they might bring their relatives and friends, and where they would be entertained by women Suffragists! Rumours of this monstrous proposal reached the ears of the unbeliever before the scheme was very far advanced, and our committee was deluged with "good advice"—grave warnings of the inevitable pandemonium that would ensue, and threats of the disapproval of all the military authorities from Lord Kitchener downwards! Nothing daunted, we took our proposal to the Colonel-in-Command. At once he gave it a warm welcome—the men were too cramped, he said, and we might do much good; he added, moreover, that he was a Suffragist himself. Then he recommended to us some of his most trusted men, N.C.O.'s and privates, and this nucleus has given invaluable help to our Committee in starting on the right lines.

By the generosity of a Nottingham firm, Messrs. Dixon & Parker, we were able to obtain most delightful rooms over their shop in the very centre of the city. The Corporation have granted us electric light, gas, and water at half-rates. The response from members and "friends" has been magnificent. Some gave or lent furniture and crockery, others provided coal, newspapers, writing materials, food, &c.; others again subscribed money from one penny a week upwards. Everybody finds scope for his or her special talents in some form of personal service. Light refreshments are sold at cost price, and those of our members who belong to the W.C.G. devote their housewifely gifts to the work of catering and cooking. We pay for one day's thorough cleaning a week; the rest the members do themselves.

There are two moderate sized rooms, one empty for dancing and entertainments, the other arranged for reading and writing; there are also cloak rooms and a small room for serving food. The club is open every night, except Sunday, from six to ten. On Monday there is always an informal concert, on Wednesday there is dancing. On other nights our guests read, write letters, or play games, unless some special entertainment is provided. There are other recreation rooms in the town, but the men say these rooms are so cosy and not too vast. The whole atmosphere is jolly and friendly; they are quite at home, but always courteous. The sergeants are especially appreciative and tell us that it has made the different bodies—Yeomanry, Kitchener's Army, Territorials, and Red X—mix up better.

THE COMMON CAUSE is, of course, prominent among the papers provided, and it is read with deep interest by many of the men. The name of our rooms may be taken to have more than one meaning, but it is soon to be displayed on a flag or signboard in N.U. colours, hung over the High Street.

### "COMMON CAUSE" SELLING.

We wish to bring THE COMMON CAUSE before a much larger public, in order that they may know how women are helping their country and how they can do their part. No better way can be found than street selling. Will you help?

If you cannot sell yourself please send us some money so that we may employ out of work women to sell the paper. Donations should be sent to the Manager, "The Common Cause," 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

The following additional donations have been received for this purpose: Miss Rosa Button, 5s. (third monthly instalment); Mrs. Fyffe, £1 (fourth and fifth monthly instalment); Mrs. J. Johnson, 10s.

### Where to Sell.

A list of important London pitches is kept at the Shop, 50, Parliament Street, and at the "C.C." office, and we can do with any number of volunteers. Sellers are urgently needed for outside Hyde Park every Sunday afternoon. Copies can be obtained on that day between 2-3 p.m. from 44, Great Cumberland Place, W.

### "Common Cause" Camp Fund.

Will the contributor who is kindly sending THE COMMON CAUSE to the Hatfield Camp (Y.M.C.A. room), kindly send instead to Mr. T. K. Banks, Y.M.C.A. Tent, The Barracks, Lichfield, as the Hatfield Camp has been moved. The following additional donations have been received towards our fund for supplying camps with the paper: Mr. Arthur Scott, 3s. 3d.; Miss Annie Cooke, 5s. (two months' instalment of 2s. 6d.)

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### N.U.W.S.S. SCOTTISH WOMEN'S HOSPITAL.

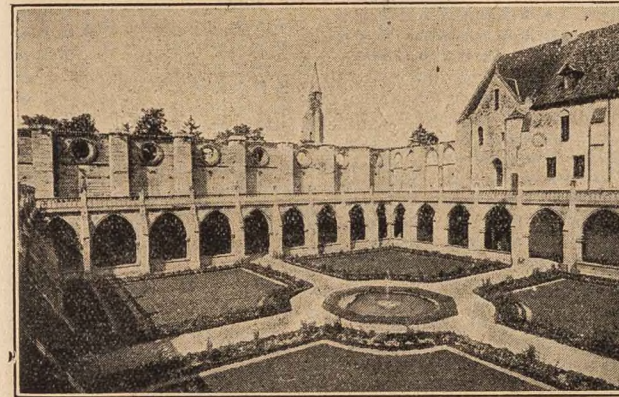
FRENCH UNIT.

We have received the following description of the Hospital at the Abbaye de Royaumont from a correspondent who visited it just before the first patients arrived:—

"All at once we saw the Red Cross and then we knew we had really gained the object of our pilgrimage. A little peering along deserted pathways and into mysterious doors, and we found ourselves in a large and hospitable kitchen where a homely looking French cook was making an ample meal. She told us that the 'dames écossaises' were truly there, but they lived in another part of the building. . . . A few minutes more, and we passed through the beautiful cloisters of Royaumont, which surround the garden quadrangle, where the fountain still plays in the centre of little box-edged beds which should be blazing with flowers in summer time, but which for many years have been overgrown with moss and grass.

"I discovered the first member of our Unit cutting wood with a hatchet and making bed rests in a magnificent stone-vaulted hall, the old library of the monks. In a room—I think it was the refectory—further up the splendid old stone staircase, we found Dr. Ivens and Mrs. Owen. . . . Ever since their arrival, the nurses and orderlies had been busy cleaning down the Abbey, which had not been touched since the nuns were turned out ten years ago. We were taken through the huge stone-roofed halls, now white and spotless, which have been made into the most admirable wards, well-lighted and ventilated. A hundred beds were already prepared, and we were told that there was room in the Abbey for 300 patients. Each bed had the scarlet Scottish Hospital coverlet, and one ward was already provided with a piano. Miss Ross was especially proud of the medical store room, and said that the equipment had travelled splendidly, 'only one bottle of iodine broken.'

The X-Ray apparatus, our correspondent reports, was ready for immediate work; water and electric light had been laid on throughout the building, and all seemed excellently prepared



Frémont, Beaumont-sur-Oise.]  
COURTYARD OF L'ABBAYE DE ROYAUMONT.

for the first patients. A short time before, the French General had inspected and reported on the hospital with the greatest appreciation. "Les dames Anglaises sont si pratiques, si habiles!" Their equipment is magnificent. They have even thought of tooth-brushes for the soldiers.

There were, however, still some demands from Dr. Ivens, who said that she needed bed rests, cradles, and bed screens, and some large bath towels and bath mats.

Our correspondent continues:—

"In the kitchen we found Miss Helga Gill, busy at her task of preparing tea for thirty-five people, and our *cocher* surrounded by a group of nurses, and whispering in a hoarse and mysterious voice tales of subterranean passages and disappearances of notable personages in former days. . . . Fighting was going on only some 30 or 40 miles to the east, and the guns, the nurses said, could be heard when the wind was in a certain direction. One of them thought she had even seen the smoke of the firing from the top of a neighbouring hill.

"It would be difficult to imagine a better and a more health-giving site for a hospital. The wind sweeps from the distant hills through the forests, and the sun pours into the wards, and though the war wages only 40 miles away the peace of the saints and the spirit of St. Louis still seem to linger in the old walls and in the chapel where he once prayed."

The Radiographer of the Hospital writes how greatly delighted the Creil doctor was with all that he saw on his inspection. "He was enchanted," she says, "to find X-rays, as there is no X-ray installation in any hospital near here." Later on, this doctor is to come to see examinations made in difficult cases, and he may send from Creil for X-rays.

A most welcome and generous gift of coal was made by Mr. Heyworth, father of one of the doctors, and its receipt has specially cheered the purse-bearer, who has been paying seventy-six francs a ton for this primal necessity of life!

The Secretary of the Unit, Miss Cicely Hamilton, writes on January 17th:—

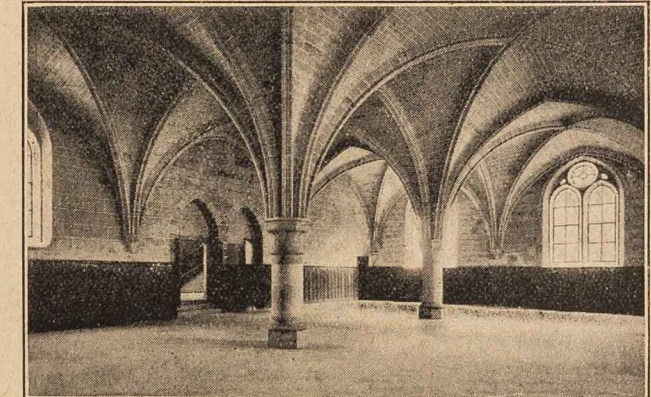
"The excitements of the week have included the arrival of our first patients who have been coming in pretty steadily since Wednesday. They all seem glad to be here, poor things, having many of them been banded about for weeks from one field hospital to another. We gather that Royaumont has already got a good reputation in the district; one new arrival told me last night with a cheerful grin that he had been told at Creil that he would be most comfortable here—and our director's report is that the local medical officials look upon the Scottish Women's Hospital as something quite out of the ordinary. This encourages us—as I hope it will you.

"From a purely amateur point of view, the most interesting patients are our Turcos—one of whom doesn't speak any French. Another had a serious disagreement with his next bed and went out and sat on the stairs, declaring that he or the next bed must immediately leave the hospital. I understand that he was enticed back to the ward by Miss Ivens with chocolate—of which, apparently, his race is inordinately fond.

"To-day, being Sunday, we have had the usual influx of visitors. The people here love looking round—and they are most helpful in supplying our wants. I collected six bedsteads in Asnières the other afternoon; we are told to ask for what we want and, if it is in the place, someone will try to provide it. Nothing could be more friendly than the attitude of our neighbours; and quite a lot of my time is taken up in compounding, in my best French, letters of thanks for their help and offers of service.

"The orderlies are all immensely happy now their real work has begun. They literally beam—but I observe a certain rivalry among them as to the merits of their various patients. I spent some time in one of the wards yesterday, talking to the men; and was asked rather reproachfully, later on in the day, by the orderly of the opposite ward, why I hadn't paid a visit to her men who were in every way more interesting."

The Scottish Red Cross, whose headquarters are in Glasgow, have made a valuable gift to the French Red Cross, earmarked for the Scottish Women's Hospital, of a motor ambulance and motor lorry. These are now on their way to the Abbaye, the lorry loaded with additional stores—medical, surgical, and domestic.



A CHAPEL, NOW UNUSED.

We have to announce with regret the resignation, from reasons of health, of the administrator, Mrs. Owen, to whom and to whose family, we are indebted for generous help of very varied kinds. The place of administrator is to be filled by Mrs. Harley (General French's sister), of whom it is superfluous to speak at any length to readers of THE COMMON CAUSE.

### CALAIS.

There is no further news this week from the hospital at Calais, to which the Scottish Women's Hospital supplied two doctors and ten nurses at the request of Dr. Depage. This hospital, of which an account by Dr. Alice Hutchison appeared in our last issue, is under the ultimate control of Dr. Depage and the Belgian Red Cross, but the N.U.W.S.S. Hospital Fund pays the salaries of the doctors and nurses which it has supplied.

### SERBIAN UNIT.

A cable has arrived from Kraguevatz begging for further supplies of tea, butter, margarine, and various surgical necessities. How impossible it is for these to be obtained on the spot will be seen from this extract from the letter of a Serbian lady to the Federation office this month: "Kraguevatz is a small town—quite a small one, not having, perhaps, at this moment of war, the most ordinary things. I know one of the English nurses who is working in a hospital there was complaining not to be able to get in shops stockings for winter. I can quite understand it, as we have no factories, and the importation of goods was absolutely stopped by this war. I suppose they will have a pretty good building for their hospital, because all schools, male and female, are turned into hospitals for the present moment."

A Serbian officer writes of the nurses of the N.U.W.S.S. Scottish Women's Hospital:—

"They look very fit and capable lasses. Would there were more of them, for wounded are all over the place."—Times, January 25th.

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Council Meeting, February 4th, 5th, and 6th.

It is very desirable that there should be a full attendance at the Annual Council Meeting to be held next week. The agenda contains motions of great importance, and it is hoped that the Council will be in every sense representative of the National Union.

The future activities of the Union, as decided by the Council, will be announced at the public meeting to be held at the Kingsway Hall on Friday, February 5th, at 8 p.m. The presence of Madame Marie Verone, the distinguished French barrister and orator, who is to be one of the speakers, gives additional interest to the meeting. Tickets, price 2s. 6d. and 1s.

Delegates to the Council are entitled to free tickets for the meeting. The last date for making application has been extended from January 27th to Monday, February 1st. Applications should be sent to the Organiser, N.U.W.S.S., 50, Parliament Street, Whitehall, London, S.W.

National Union Van.

The housing of the Van during the winter months is an expensive item. Will anybody give it hospitality, and thus save a sum of money which might be much more profitably spent?

Appeal for Funds.

The National Union of Women Suffrage Societies has issued the following appeal, signed by Mrs. Fawcett, to members and friends to help with generous contributions:—

It is well known that the ordinary political activities of the Union have been suspended since the outbreak of war; but we have nevertheless held it to be a patriotic duty to hold a watching brief for women and to protest vigorously against recent attacks upon their personal liberties, of which the most conspicuous was the Army order sanctioned by the Home Office placing soldiers' wives under police surveillance.

The main work of the National Union since August 4th, which may be either modified or extended at the approaching Council meeting, has been directed to various activities having for their object the sustaining of the vital energies of the nation during the present grave crisis—e.g.:

- 1. The swelling of the general volume of employment, professional and industrial.
2. The preservation of infant life by helping to organise assistance for necessitous mothers; the provision of schools for mothers, baby clinics, &c.
3. The despatch of Hospital Units entirely officered by women to France and Serbia.
4. Help for the Belgian Refugees; the provision of hostels and the organisation of hospitality.
5. The provision of recreation and refreshment tents and clubs in the Soldiers' Camps.
6. Clubs for Soldiers' and Sailors' wives.
7. The establishment of Women Patrols in the neighbourhood of camps.
8. The promotion among young girls of a higher standard of national responsibility.

The National Union has now in view a fresh scheme for helping women of the professional classes who, in consequence of the war, have had to face serious loss, amounting in too many instances to destitution. No adequate scheme in connection with the large funds under Government supervision has been initiated for the help of this class.

The National Union has also established a standing Committee to guard against infringements of the personal liberties of women.

All these efforts, and others which may be decided upon at the Council, depend on the generous help afforded to us by our friends, and we ask you once more to show that the National Union not only has been in the past six months, but is capable of being in the future, a real power for good, helping the nation very substantially under the new conditions brought about by the war.

Subscriptions may be earmarked for the Central Funds or for any individual Federation or Society affiliated to the National Union.

Contributions to the General Fund.

Table with columns for donor names and amounts in £ s. d. Includes entries like 'Already acknowledged since November 1st, 1914' and 'SUBSCRIPTIONS'.

Active Service Fund.

Table with columns for donor names and amounts in £ s. d. Includes entries like 'Already acknowledged' and 'Professional Women's Patriotic Service Fund'.

SCOTTISH WOMEN'S HOSPITAL FUND.

Table with columns for donor names and amounts in £ s. d. Includes entries like 'Forward, as per list of January 18th, 1915' and 'Per Miss Bury, proceeds of Flag Days'.

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# THE NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES & THE WAR.

## PUBLIC MEETING, KINGSWAY HALL

(KINGSWAY, LONDON, W.C.),

**Friday, February 5<sup>TH</sup>, at 8 p.m.**

To announce

The Position and Future Activities of the N.U.W.S.S.  
as determined at the Annual General Council of the Union,  
Meeting on February 4th and 5th.

**Chairman: Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.**

**Speakers: Mdme. MARIE VÉRONE,**  
*The brilliant woman barrister and orator  
of France,*

**Mrs. F. D. ACLAND,**

AND

**Speakers Representing the National Union.**

**Organist: MRS. MARY LAYTON, F.R.C.O.**

**ADMISSION FREE.**

Reserved and Numbered Seats 2/6 and 1/- Tickets to be obtained from the  
special office of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, 50, Parliament  
Street, Whitehall, London, S.W. 'Phone: Victoria 6896.