

The Common Cause OF HUMANITY.

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

LAW-ABIDING.] *Societies and Branches in the Union 524.*

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Notes and News.

An Uncontroversial Bill.

On Friday last Mr. Long received at the Local Government Board a deputation from the Women's Co-operative Guild, who urged the importance of immediate legislation dealing with the care of maternity and infancy. Mr. Long's reply was markedly sympathetic. It would give him great pleasure, he said, to bring before Parliament a Bill on the lines suggested—*i.e.*, for the purpose of rendering universal the Notification of Births Act, at present optional on local authorities. It is a reform for which Suffragists have been asking for years. It was discussed again and again in the course of our own educational campaign, and last year demanded by women in numerous conferences and meetings on the subject of infant mortality. The difficulties in the way of reform, however, were said to be insuperable, financial complications, hardly to be grasped by women, barred the way, and, after all, the local authorities were coming into line by degrees. Women without votes could only protest and wait. Now all is changed, the financial problem is to be solved by a simple division of responsibility between the Treasury and the local authority, and the promised legislation is no longer regarded as even controversial. Mr. Long believes it will be unopposed. We rejoice to hear it, and earnestly hope that the other reforms asked for in regard to the care of maternity will also receive full attention.

"A Touch of Real Life."

This is how a *Times* Special Correspondent views the employment of children in agriculture: "Educationally, a touch of real life at the age of 12 to 14 is of greater value in bringing out new interests, mental independence, and latent capacity than six months spent in cramming a lad with snippets of learning which he has not the mental digestion to assimilate." Whether a touch of life is preferable to a touch of learning, we are quite unable to decide; but the attacks on our elementary education system which have recently appeared in the press seem to us to have failed conspicuously in justice and in common sense. The workers are said to be suffering now from lack of discipline in their school days—hence the sins of omission and commission of which they are so freely accused. As *The Nation* says, "the same thing is true both of the public-school class and the working classes, that the needs of the nation have awakened a noble and instant response, and that, whatever else in our circumstances and conduct may cause us misgiving and shame, the

readiness of men and women in all classes to make this great sacrifice, to undertake this simple and terrible duty, has been such as to make every Briton proud of his country. It is only ignorant prejudice that can be blind to the remarkable achievements in this respect of the class which is accused of recognising no claims but those of its own pleasure."

Thrift and Luxury.

The necessity for saving is emphasized on all hands, and is incumbent upon all classes according to their capacity. The Board of Trade has circularised householders in regard to restricting the consumption of meat. A correspondent writes to ask, "Do the women of England realise that, by continuing to order veal and lamb, they are acting in a manner detrimental to their country? Only full-grown beef and mutton and New Zealand lamb ought to be purchased in these days. Butchers say that they must stock veal and lamb, as their customers continue to ask for it." It is one of the signs that the necessity for foregoing luxuries is hardly yet grasped. "It is a matter," says *The Times*, "which affects the rich, who live in less anxious contact with the margin of their income, more than it does the poor. Yet every great manufacturer of luxuries—we have first-hand evidence from the makers of the most costly motor-cars in the world—will bear witness that the demands of their ordinary creditors have not been materially abated by the war." The Chairman of Lloyds Bank, writing of working-class saving, gives it as his experience that it is the women who usually bring money to the bank. "It would be a good thing," he writes, "if a workman earning increased wages would retain the portion of the money he formerly kept back for his own spending, and let his wife save what she did not use of the remainder"—a rather cryptic utterance, but we take it to mean that the woman is to have charge of the superfluous funds, and save what she can of them. Surely an excellent suggestion.

Mothers of Heroes.

Under the title "Mothers of Heroes," a leading article in *The Morning Post* calls attention to the way in which from the very beginning of the war, women have taken up the work nearest at hand, and quietly devoted themselves to it. "When the cry went abroad calling upon the men of the country to organise themselves or to be organised, the women had been doing that very thing for months." These things, says the writer, should be held in remembrance, though the time for their acknowledgment is not yet. "It is too soon yet to talk of the end of the war, but not too soon to recognise that on the war's imperishable roll of honour the women of England will deserve an honoured place." We allude again to this article in our Press Report, on page 149.

Sweated Work.

Mr. Lloyd George at Bristol made an appeal to Trade Unions "to relax and suspend altogether the strict application of Trade Union rules with regard to girls and unskilled labour." Meanwhile the Labour Leader reports the formation of a new union, dealing mainly with that same class of worker. It is called the United Garments Workers' Union, and is an interesting result of the prohibition of sub-contracting, which has driven the workers into the factories, and hence given an impetus to trade unionism. Its chief work will be to organise the lower grades of garment workers, whose sweated wages are a hindrance to organisation in the tailoring trade.

In Parliament.

Wednesday, June 9th.

OUR FOOD SUPPLY.

In discussing the expenses of the Board of Agriculture for Scotland, several speakers pointed out the disastrous effects that are likely to ensue from the killing of cows in calf, and also of calves and lambs, and urged the necessity for strict economy in our food supply. MR. MACCULLUM SCOTT pleaded for the development of afforestation, and other members for the establishment of more small holdings.

The question of the slaughtering of lambs and calves in the United Kingdom was also raised by MR. HUME WILLIAMS, in answer to whom the PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE (Mr. Acland) replied that the question was most difficult, but was engaging the earnest attention of the Board.

Thursday, June 10th.

REGISTRATION OF WOMEN.

In reply to a question from SIR WILLIAM BYLES, CAPTAIN PRETYMAN replied that, up to June 4th, 78,940 women had registered for war service, of whom 1,816 had so far been employed. He pointed out that, in filling vacancies, the supply of suitable labour on the ordinary register was first exhausted, and that the main object with which the special War Register was compiled was to ascertain what reserve labour would be available if required to meet emergencies which might arise in the future, rather than to recruit labour for existing vacancies generally. Special steps were, however, about to be taken with a view to bringing to the notice of employers the large reserves of women's labour which have been discovered, and the possibility of obtaining therefrom substitutes for men whom they may be able to release for service with the colours.

SIR W. BYLES did not consider that this formed a sufficient explanation why exceptionally qualified women who were invited to register, and have registered for many, many weeks, have been unable to obtain any employment.

SUSPENSION OF FACTORY ACTS.

In reply to questions from MR. KING and MR. BUTCHER with regard to the proceedings under the Factory Acts against a Leeds firm, THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. Brace) stated:—

"It is fully recognised that there are cases in which substantial relaxation of the regulations, enforced in time of peace, is called for in time of war, especially when Government work is being done. Exemption orders relaxing rules as to hours and other matters are granted on application in all proper cases, and thousands of such exemptions have been given. The hon. and learned Member for York has, however, been very seriously misinformed as to the facts of this particular case. It was not one of slight overtime, as suggested in the question. Women and young persons had been worked through the whole of Friday and Friday night up to mid-day on Saturday—a period of thirty hours on end, and were brought in again, also illegally, on Sunday and worked from six in the morning to five in the evening. Such hours not only inflict great hardship on the workers, but as my predecessor pointed out, in reply to a question on this case on April 27th, they diminish the efficiency of the workers, and so far from assisting are detrimental to the national interests. The proceedings were taken after the fullest inquiry and consideration, and after consultation with the War Office, who concurred in the prosecution."

MR. KING: Will the hon. member bring these facts to the notice of the new Minister of Munitions, so that provision may be made that no such evils will recur?

MR. BRACE: It is a matter for the Home Office, and we will look after it.

MR. BUTCHER: Might I ask if the summons was eventually dismissed?

MR. BRACE: Yes, Sir; we cannot help it if the magistrates make a mistake.

WORK FOR WOMEN.

In reply to a question by MR. JOYNSON-HICKS, MR. FOSTER stated that about 15,000 men of military age were employed at Woolwich Arsenal, but most of them were employed on work that could not be done by women. Most of the remainder could only be replaced by workers with a certain amount of training and experience.

Asked by MR. GINNELL whether he would take steps to open the two branches of the legal profession to women, and also give the Parliamentary franchise to women on the same terms as duly qualified men, THE PRIME MINISTER replied that these were both highly controversial questions, which could not be dealt with at the present time. In answer to a further question as to how many women capable of serving their country in this way were now available, he stated that he would require several days' notice of this question. Members seemed to regard these answers as humorous.

THE ADVOCACY OF PEACE.

MR. GINNELL asked the Prime Minister whether it was with his sanction the advocacy of peace was being treated as an offence under the Defence of the Realm Act; and, seeing that the majority of Englishwomen desire the termination of the present waste of human life, and that they have no votes in the election of members of the House, whether he would consent to receive a deputation from them and give an early opportunity for debating the subject in the House. MR. ASQUITH replied that, so far as he was aware, the advocacy of peace had not been, and cannot be, treated as an offence under the Act. He believed that the desire that the war might lead to an honourable and lasting peace was shared by all classes without distinction of sex. He did not, therefore, see any sufficient reason for adopting the concluding suggestions in the question. MR. GINNELL asked whether Mr. Asquith would consider the advisability of taking a vote of women on the subject, to which MR. ASQUITH replied: "If the hon. member will suggest a means of doing so, I will consider it."

Monday, June 14th.

INFANT MORTALITY.

In reply to a question by MR. LOUGH (Islington, W., L.), calling attention to the increase of infant mortality, MR. LONG repeated that he hoped to deal with the matter without delay.

MR. C. WASON (Orkney and Shetland, L.): May I ask the right hon. gentleman whether he will confer with his colleagues as to the enormous quantity of drunkenness there is among mothers and other women in many parts of London?

MR. LONG: I can assure the hon. gentleman we are in possession of very full information on the various aspects of this case, and I think he may rely upon it we shall do our best to improve the general conditions.

[As we are going to press earlier than usual, owing to the Council Meeting, we are unable to deal with Tuesday's debates.]

NEED FOR WOMEN IN MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS.

A meeting of the Women's Municipal Party, held on Friday last at Sunderland House, by kind permission of the Duchess of Marlborough, was so well attended that it was necessary to arrange an overflow meeting.

Councillor Margaret Ashton explained the work of the different committees of a municipal council, and the part which women could play upon them. The work of the Sanitary Committee was perhaps the heaviest. On some Councils this included the supervision of midwives and infant welfare, yet, though this was peculiarly women's work, there were hardly any women on the majority of midwives' committees.

The care of maternity and child life was much to the fore at last in England. We were waking up to the scandal of our infant death rate. Very few facilities were given to working-class women to keep their babies alive. The mothers were robbed of their vitality and strength, and the babies died like flies. The houses were small and overcrowded, and the babies had to be reared in a room where all the processes of family life were carried on. Many children died of croup because they had to be in a room with washing hanging up to dry. It was the business of the comfortable middle-class women to see to it that public washhouses were provided. It was their duty, too, to see that it was possible for poor women to obtain milk for their children. There should be a municipal milk rate, as there is a municipal water rate, and Councils should supply milk to babies as they supply water to manufacturers. The care of babies should be the first charge on the community, not the last.

Miss Ashton also pleaded for women on the Town Hospitals, where they would be able not only to cut down expenses—which were far too high, owing to men's lack of housekeeping knowledge—but to develop the human side of the work, and provide all those little comforts and dainties which were such a help towards the patient's recovery. The lighting and cleansing of the streets, too, were of special interest to women. Plenty of light was needed in our streets for the protection of women and children, and there was need for much better guardianship in our parks and open spaces.

COUNCILLOR ELEANOR RATHBONE explained the organisation of the Liverpool Women Citizens' Association, which aimed at organising the working women for the purpose of influencing municipal affairs, and urged the necessity for enfranchising the working man's wife, as well as his widow. At present women generally got the municipal vote too late in life to form fresh

interests, and many were too much occupied with the hard struggle for existence.

THE REV. W. F. COBB, D.D., spoke of the need for women in connection with education.

THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH, from the chair, suggested an "Emergency Flying Corps" of women to pay flying visits to women voters, and interest them in municipal affairs.

WOMEN PATROLS.

The first public meeting on the work of the Women Patrols was held by the National Union of Women Workers at the Mansion House on June 10th.

MRS. CREIGHTON, who presided, said that women patrols were started because it was felt that extra protection, help, and friendship should be given to the women and girls throughout the country owing to the very unusual conditions which prevailed. The movement had succeeded in a marvellous way. There were now 2,014 women patrols in England, while in Scotland there were some hundreds. London at present had 235, but a much larger number was wanted. They owed a great deal to the authorities. Sir Edward Henry, their first friend, had instructed the police to give any help they could. Mr. McKenna had also been of great assistance, while Lord Kitchener had circularised the commanding officers throughout the country, saying that he approved of the work of the Union.

THE BISHOP OF LONDON said that for this work they wanted women of tact, humour, judgment, and sympathy; they wanted money to help the movement; and lastly, they needed counter attractions such as clubs, where the girls could learn to turn their energies and sympathy into the proper channels.

SIR EDWARD HENRY, Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, said that from the reports he had read and the inquiries he had made the military and civil authorities were well satisfied and grateful for the help that was being given them in suppressing unseemly conduct, and they spoke well in London of the kindness, tact, and discretion shown by the patrols. He ventured to hope that the work would not cease when the war ended, as the need for it would always continue. It was perhaps at the Crystal Palace that the most pronounced success had been attained. Commodore Sir Richard Williams-Bulkeley, of the Royal Naval Division, was enthusiastic in his appreciation of the work done by the patrols, and attributed to their presence the improvement noticeable in that neighbourhood.

MISS TALBOT appealed for more women who were willing to give two hours one or more nights a week to this work. One of the most striking facts was that the mere presence of duly appointed women known to be on that particular work created a healthier and better atmosphere in the streets.

THE COUNTESS FERRERS referred to the fact that the war had brought to light the behaviour of some of the young women and girls in the streets, and to a certain extent their behaviour was nothing new. We had not done enough in the past to help them and to teach them self-control.

THE WOMEN'S HOSPITAL FOR CHILDREN.

The third Annual Court of the Women's Hospital for Children (Harrow Road, W.) was held at the Kensington Town Hall on June 10th. Lady Brassey was in the chair, and the speakers included Miss Elizabeth Robins, Lady Hall, Doctor Louisa Garrett-Anderson, and Doctor Flora Murray (Doctors in charge of the Military Hospital, Endell Street).

Lady Brassey spoke of the work of women in the war, and of the incredulity with which a prophecy of women doctors being put in charge of a large military hospital by the War Office would have been greeted a year ago.

Miss Elizabeth Robins described the splendid work the Hospital for Children in the Harrow Road is doing in a poor neighbourhood—"a little fortress of the future," which must be held, unless the public played the enemy's game by neglecting the children in their absorption in the overshadowing interests of the war.

Dr. L. Garrett-Anderson expressed the thanks of the Women's Hospital Corps to the Committee of the Hospital for making it possible for some of the doctors and nurses to serve their country in another way. They had gone to France, knowing the work of the hospital was in excellent hands. Dr. Flora Murray made an eloquent appeal for subscriptions and donations for the Building Fund. She announced that the babies from the infant school in one of the very poorest districts had sent a contribution of 10s. 6d.—which was a fortune to them. The hospital would be wanted still more after the war.

A Cul-de-Sac.

Lou was a wicked woman; that much was clear to her, since, tempted by the warmth and light and the sound of the singing, she had ventured one night into the new mission hall which had been opened in Lower Canal Street.

"I allus lets me fire out arter tea," Mrs. Towle had said to her; "allus now, of a Sunday; it saves the coal a bit, and the mission warms you up beautiful afore goin' to bed." So Lou had gone, and taken Artie, who enjoyed it all immensely; but the result had been very unfortunate for Lou's peace of mind.

"I wonder," she thought wearily to herself, as she strained her eyes over her work in the winter afternoon, "I wonder why the Almighty keers that much about these 'ere morals and things; I can't see as it makes such a lot of difference; it ain't like murderin', now, or stealin'." And as she looked back on the pitiful tangle of her life, she only grew more depressed and puzzled over it all. She had been married at eighteen, one August Bank Holiday—oh, so long ago! She tried to recall the feeling of shy happiness of that day, but failed, her capacity for happiness being atrophied by long disuse.

Her husband had been employed at a small brass foundry where the "boss" himself was but a successful working-man. It was rough, hard work, and the man who had made his way at it ruled by a sort of harsh justice that took no account of "extenuating circumstances." Thus it happened that when the young husband returned to work on Wednesday instead of Tuesday, and, being still a little excited as the result of his wedding and his wedding feast, answered the boss back when remonstrated with, a quarrel sprang up between the two, which ended in summary dismissal for Lou's husband.

The man was stunned by his sudden misfortune. He stood out in the street when the foundry gates shut to behind him, dazed by the consequences of his folly. Lou had supported her invalid mother, and had only consented to be married on condition that the cripple remained with them. He felt utterly unable to go home and say that he had lost his job. A heavy rain was falling, and dully he turned into the nearest public-house for shelter. Meeting there a man he knew, the tale was soon told, and the advice to enlist as the only way out impulsively followed.

When Lou heard it, she set her lips and returned to her work at the factory; and with her wages and the meagre allowance of a soldier's wife all might have gone well, but for the baby. Bitterly indeed the two women anticipated the coming of the child. There was no maternity benefit then; work was short, and winter was approaching.

The invalid mother broke down from anxiety and want of food; the rent collector threatened to turn them out; the baby would come in a few weeks, and nothing was ready.

It was then that Artie's father came forward. He had been an old lover of Lou's, and raged inwardly against the man who had won her from him and then deserted her. He earned good wages, and implored her to let him "do" for her.

The poor child had been wounded to the quick, and this other love soothed and comforted her; she had felt outraged by her husband's desertion, and was touched by the generosity that offered to take her as she was now. She was ill, hungry, and frightened, and two people would soon be wholly dependent upon her. She yielded, quieting her conscience by the belief that she was acting for the sake of her mother and child. That was fifteen years ago; her husband's child had died, and in spite of what she had done, he had sent money for its funeral, which Artie's father had made her return. Then the husband wrote and asked Lou to come back to him, but she had by that time two other children, of which the youngest, Artie, was "simple." She could not go to her husband with two children that were not his, one of them an imbecile, and she could not desert them. Artie's father dreaded to lose her, and made a hopeless effort to bind her legally to himself.

He entreated the soldier husband to divorce her, but the husband only replied that if she did not come back to him he did not care what became of her. He "did not want her that partic'lar, and divorce was for nob's with money, and not for the likes of them."

So once again the power of choice seemed to have been taken out of Lou's hands, and as about that time the children's father had a long and severe illness, every thought not connected with the urgencies of the moment receded into the background of her mind.

The man recovered to find his work gone, and after vainly trying for another "place" elsewhere, he took to the precarious and unsatisfactory life of a hawker. Lou's mother, meanwhile, had drifted to the workhouse infirmary, where, in spite of the fact that her physical necessities were far better attended to than they had been for many years, she drooped under the sense of loneliness, the stigma of disgrace, and the strange fear so prevalent amongst the very poor (though rarely mentioned to anyone not of themselves) that "in the infirmary they kills you quick, so's to be quit of you."

Lou followed the example of the more unfortunate among her neighbours, and took in hooks and eyes to card. Artie managed to learn to "link," which he did with great rapidity, sitting on a stool behind the wooden sofa, lest the School Board Officer, that ravaging creature seeking to devour children, should find him.

The little girl worked at the cards out of school hours, often till she dropped asleep over them at night, and Lou herself persistently slaved at them twelve hours or more out of the twenty-four. There were three hundred and eighty-four hooks and eyes to be sorted, linked, and stitched on to the cards for a penny, and three to four shillings a week was the utmost they ever made at it.

And in order to achieve that sum, Lou neglected the house and cooking, with the result that the man who supported her spent less and less time at home, and quickly deteriorated.

Poverty and hard work Lou was accustomed to; she accepted them very much as a cage-bird accepts his imprisonment. But the fear that haunted her life was what made it well-nigh unbearable. And her life was full of fears, each more terrible than the other. Her mind distractedly flew from one, only to encounter another. There was the dread that the man over whom she had no legal hold would cease to care for her or the children, and just desert them; and this dread had been increasing of late. There was the fear that she would be hauled up before the magistrates for not sending Artie to school. There was growing anxiety about her mother in the infirmary. And now this new haunting uneasiness, this fear of the anger of God, possessed her.

The gentleman up at the mission had a kind voice and smile, but his burning eyes seemed to look right through you; he was convinced that the Almighty was very strict in the matter of morals, which seemed to be a new name for marriage lines, and Lou felt sure, when last he had spoken of judgment for sin, that he had looked straight at the seat by the door where she sat between Mrs. Towle and Artie.

And some day her little girl would get to know; but "she'm one of me own sort," she reflected with a sense of comfort; "she'd understand 'ow I was placed." It was getting too dark to see to thread the needle, and Lou got up to light the small oil lamp. At that moment Mrs. Towle came in, as one sure of a welcome.

A greasy newspaper parcel was in her hand. "I 'ad these 'ere bits of faggots* left from me dinner," she said, with kindly mendacity; "I thought as 'ow yer old man 'ud like 'em fer 'is tea. Ain't yer agoin' ter tidy up a bit?" she added, looking round the comfortable room.

"I got this lot ter finish," said Lou. "Well, I shouldn't be so set on carding, ef I was you," said her friend. "E spends more'n you can earn in the public, as 'ud bring 'is bit of money home if yer'd keep the place like you'd ought." Lou did not answer, and, after a pause, Mrs. Towle added, significantly, "E ain't bound fer ter bring yer nothink', which you ain't got no marriage lines."

Lou looked up with white lips. "I know; that's what I'm feared on," she whispered. Then suddenly she flung her arms on the table, and buried her face in them. "Oh, it's bad ter be a woman," she cried bitterly; "yer 'usbud can leave yer an' go soldierin', and no one ter 'elp yer; and if yer lets someone else do for yer, it's very wicked, but yer can't never get so's 'e can marry yer. I done all I can fer 'im and the children an' nursed 'im fourteen weeks, an' worked me fingers ter the bone, but fer all that 'e could sell up th' bits of things an' go off, an' no one wouldn't say nothin' to 'im, nor to me 'usbud."

"It's all the woman as is wicked; an', what's more, I'm 'sponsible fer the children, an' not 'im, fer that there School Board Officer told me so. Yer gets it all roads, if yer a woman. I reckon th' Almighty is very down on womenfolk."

"Tain't the Almighty. 'E knows a lot more'n you'd think," said Mrs. Towle sagely. "It's men as has made all these 'ere laws as is down on us, but sort of winks at wot they does themselves."

"But you drink this cup of tea, there's a dear," she said. She had been quietly busying herself about the room as she listened, and now put a teapot without a handle, and a tin half full of Swiss milk, on the table.

Lou lifted her head; she was only thirty-three, but the haggard face she raised to Mrs. Towle was that of a worn woman of fifty.

"It's like bein' locked in," she said hoarsely, "where there ain't no way out."

CAROL RING.

WHO ARE THE SHIRKERS?

"As Barmald, a respectable young man."—Advt. in MORNING ADVERTISER. "Shirkers should take up this idea and disguise themselves as women. It ought not to be difficult."—Extract from PUNCH, June 2nd, 1915.

Shopwalker of World's Emporium to Shirker who comes to get "disguised as a woman".—

Women's outfits? Walk this way Sir, let us take your manly girth—Try our "Red Cross Active Service," ask the wounded what they're worth. Ah! too wide across the shoulders—you dislike the bullet-holes? Doctors? Ammunition makers? Yes, we're selling these in shoals.

'Women drivers'? 'Tram conductors'? (Sorry, I forgot your strike) Women clerks' and Railway porters'? Is a newsboys' what you'd like?—Yes indeed, the hours are long, Sir—hardly suit a slacker's powers. Then there's knitting, prisoners' parcels, First Aid training out of hours. What, you want's a "Lady's Rest Gown"? Sorry, Sir, they're out of stock. No demand in this department; here's a woman's working frock, Guaranteed against all shrinking, costumes for the Country's Call—No, you're right, Sir, they don't suit you; somehow make you look so small.

Yes, Sir, these days women's outfits all are made for those who work. In the home, the shop, the City, freeing men to go—and shirk? Women all can serve their country, guide the plough or drive the pen; Nothing here to suit your style, Sir, these are substitutes for men.

A. E. PARSONS.

* Faggots are rissoles made of odds and ends of cooked meat, and can be bought very cheaply from small eating houses.

Correspondence.

THE SPECIAL COUNCIL—AND AFTER.*

MADAM,—As I shall be unable, I am sorry to say, to attend the Special Council at Birmingham, I shall be very grateful if you will allow me space in THE COMMON CAUSE in which to put forward certain considerations with regard to the issues which the Council will have to decide, and the consequences it will have to face as a result of its decisions. I want to amplify somewhat the suggestion of a "fourth alternative" in the last paragraphs of the letter you published last week from retiring members of the Executive Committee and others, and to carry a little further the line of reasoning pursued by Miss Rathbone in your issue of May 28th.

In considering the various possible solutions of the present situation, we have all been influenced very strongly by the desire to preserve unity in our ranks. The Union has meant so much to us all, our belief in it and our work for it have, for many of us, determined so large a part of our lives, that it is natural for us to regard its unity and integrity as very precious things. But there are some things even more important than unity. One of them is sincerity; another is vitality. Our desire for unity at the last Council meeting led us to sacrifice both these things, with results that have proved disastrous. The Union agreed to pass certain resolutions in order to please one half of its members, and then consented to their remaining inoperative in order to please the other half—a course which did not satisfy the real convictions of either side, and, moreover, combined the disadvantages of both policies with the advantages of neither.

I think we are all convinced now of the futility of a compromise on those lines. A compromise on a different basis—viz., the freedom of Societies to take individual action—will be put forward at the Special Council. There are also two resolutions on the agenda, either of which, if carried, would mean the definite repudiation of one or other of the two conflicting points of view; I refer, of course, to Resolution D. 1, moved by the Executive Committee, which would, in effect, rescind the contentious resolutions passed at the Annual Council (it would, I think, be more satisfactory if this were stated in so many words), and Resolution D. 2, standing on the agenda in the name of the Manchester W.S.S., the object of which is to make the resolutions passed at the annual Council fully operative.

I want to face the situation that may arise if, as the result of passing either D. 1 or D. 2, a cleavage in the Union seems inevitable.

I do not think that such a conclusion need be disastrous, or even damaging, to the progress of the Suffrage movement, provided that the true line of cleavage is recognised and followed—i.e., that the cleavage takes place, not on party grounds, nor on personal grounds, but on the question of how the interests of Women's Suffrage can best be served.

For that is the real cause of difference, as is made abundantly clear by recent correspondence in THE COMMON CAUSE, and by the Election addresses of candidates for the Executive Committee. One section of the Union thinks it is essential to isolate Women's Suffrage from all other questions; the other section thinks it is essential to link it up with the fundamental principles which underlie the Suffrage demand (sex-equality, democracy, the repudiation of the doctrine of physical force).

Now I think there is truth in both points of view, contradictory as they appear; and I want to put forward, for the consideration of Societies, a proposal which would, I believe, retain for the Suffrage movement the full advantage of both, and of the policies to which they respectively lead. It must be clearly understood that in doing so I speak for myself alone, and not on behalf of any group or organised body of opinion in the Union.

The advantages of the isolation policy are that it enables the Union to unite in one organisation all who are in favour of Women's Suffrage for any reasons whatever, and to avoid raising any controversial issues which might divide its members. It is undoubtedly the way to secure the largest possible range of membership, and in the early stages of the Suffrage movement this was the first object to aim at. But as the volume of support grew, yet Bill after Bill failed to get through Parliament, the Union concerned itself more and more with the question how to apply that support most effectively to the political machine; and it became evident that mere weight of numbers was not enough. Vigorous political action was needed, in support not only of the bare demand for the vote, but of the principles on which that demand was based. The need for such action was generally admitted. The only question was whether the N.U. was the body to undertake it; for directly an organisation takes action of this kind it is bound to make some enemies (unless its action is entirely ineffective); it is bound also to trench on controversial ground, and to raise issues on which its members will not all be agreed. The N.U. decided that it would undertake action which might bring it enemies when it adopted the Election Fighting Fund policy, which for the first time took account of the attitude towards Women's Suffrage of the Party to which a candidate belonged, and not only of the candidate's personal attitude. The work of the Women's Interests Committee is an example of action which has led the N.U. on to controversial ground. It is easy to agree to the general principle that women's interests should be safeguarded; but, as Mrs. Fawcett has said in another connection, directly you "try to translate the general into the particular, there is room for any amount of disintegrating differences of opinion." It is therefore not a new thing to propose that the N.U. should abandon some of the advantages of the isolation policy in favour of a policy which had advantages of another kind.

Of late years both these policies have been pursued by the N.U. side by side; and I believe it has been to the advantage of the Suffrage cause, so far, that this should be so. The question is, Can this course be advantageously continued? Or would it be better for the future progress of the Suffrage movement to agree on a division of labour? Has the time come when the two policies, if continued within the same organisation, will tend to stultify each other, though perhaps, carried on by two separate but allied organisations, they might prove mutually complementary and helpful?—both being necessary for the attainment of our ultimate end, but sometimes demanding conflicting methods of work? Dissension within the Union, or the secession of a discontented minority,

* This letter was written before the Manchester Society decided not to proceed with their resolution.—ED., C.C.

would alike be bad for the Suffrage cause. Might it not be best for the two sections of the N.U.—the section which wants to revert to the "Suffrage only" policy, and the section which wants to continue and yet further develop the more controversial lines of work recently adopted by the Union—to agree to divide, as a one-celled organism divides into two cells when it has reached a certain stage of growth?

The natural division would be for the present branches of the Union's work which are likely to lead into controversial regions, and to incur criticism and hostility not necessarily incurred by the simple demand for the vote, to be undertaken by that section which thinks these risks are worth running; and for the other section, which thinks the first essential is to avoid causing controversy within the Union and making enemies without, to devote its energies to education and organisation, and to making as many friends for the Suffrage cause as possible. The latter body should, in my opinion, whether in the majority or the minority, retain the name and organisation of the N.U., and its organ, THE COMMON CAUSE.

I believe there is room and need for both kinds of work; but if, as seems evident, there is a fundamental difference of opinion in the N.U. as to which is the best way of working for Women's Suffrage, I do not think that both can any longer be advantageously carried on within the same organisation. A mutual agreement to separate, and to continue to work in friendly co-operation, would be better than a "split" in the ordinary sense; and if some arrangement of this kind were come to, there would be no need, as I see the position, for any of us to leave the "Suffrage only" body. We could all stay in and help to swell its numbers, although those of us who want a wider policy would transfer part of our work to the other body—a body which would include in its scope the advocacy of the fundamental principles which underlie the Suffrage demand, and all that those principles imply, and all work for the general advancement of women's position—socially, industrially, economically, and politically.

I do not put forward this proposal as a plea for cleavage, nor as an alternative to the passage of any of the resolutions on the Council agenda. If unity can be maintained without sacrificing either sincerity or vitality, then I imagine we should all welcome such a solution. But in case a cleavage of some kind becomes inevitable, I suggest this as the best form for it to take—a way of making the next step a step forward, and not a step backward, in the progress of the Suffrage movement.

CATHERINE E. MARSHALL.

THE MANCHESTER RESOLUTION.

MADAM,—The repudiation by the Manchester W.S.S. of the Resolution B₂ standing in their name on the final Council Agenda, shows that there is still grave misunderstanding of its meaning and intention, which again may be difficult to clear up by speech in the Council, if permission is given to Maclesfield W.S.S. to move it.

The division of opinion in N.U. appears to have arisen on the intention of the Resolution B₃ carried by the February Council, and the interpretation of it by the N.U. Executive Committee, taken together with the action, or lack of action, on it. The Manchester Executive Committee drafted their resolution to carry out the idea of B₃ in a form which allows of a straight vote on three points—i.e., the preamble asking that the N.U. should give effect to its belief and resolve to work—aye or no—

"(1) By propaganda demanding the enfranchisement of women as essential to the constitution of a democratic State." Aye or no.

"(2) By co-operation with other organisations working for these objects, having accepted the principle of the enfranchisement of women, and in discussion with women of other nations, to promote the establishment of a stable system of international law and mutual understanding, upheld by the common will of men and women; it being understood that Societies shall be at liberty to concentrate their efforts on that part of the propaganda with which they feel themselves ready to deal." Aye or no.

The last sentence was an attempt at compromise, by making the whole action permissive, and not compulsory, as in February's B₃.

It seems to me that if only this is clearly understood, and the Council gives its vote on these three points, there should be no further difficulty in carrying out its will as settled by the majority. I hope the Council will not spend time in discussing whether N.U. should have been represented at The Hague Congress or not; that is over, and the Resolution B₂ relates only to the future.

Resolution B₁ on the final Agenda, moved by the Executive, is not as definite as B₂, and would be more clearly understood had it asked only to rescind the first clause of February's B₃, which is what it does in effect. It is the earnest desire of those who drafted B₂ that this Council (which is called solely to clear up the doubts left by the last one) should give a definite instruction to both Societies and Executive as to its will in this matter. In this way, and this way only, can the Union maintain its self-respect and remain an efficient organisation.

MARGARET ASHTON.

THE POLICY OF THE UNION.

MADAM,—Are we not in danger of forgetting that the Union consists of its members, and not of the Council or the Executive: and that these latter exist for the members, and not the members for them? Ours is but a small Society, and from conversations I had gathered that we were all fairly united upon a compromise as the best solution; but when I called the members together to discuss the matter last week, it appeared that no two of us could agree together on any point but one, and on that we were all most emphatic—viz., that it was intolerable that such controversial matters should be raised at a time like this. Perhaps we, who are more at the mercy of an enemy's raid, feel a greater urgency for unity than those in the West. Therefore we all agreed that all the resolutions under B, C, D, and E, if not withdrawn, should be met by the "previous question"; and I was requested to take this course if I should be at the Council meeting, though it was thought I ought not to have to go.

After a letter of the Manchester Society, which has been sent to all other Societies, how can even those of us who support the seceding members' principles desire their policy carried out by the National Union? They say they want the N.U. pledged to a "democratic" and "progressive policy." The words of the letter are exactly those I should use in recommending my party politics. How can I any longer as an honourable man look those people in the face whom I have asked to join the

N.U., because it is a "non-party" Society, if a resolution supported by such a letter be carried? Moreover, some of the signatories would agree with me that these "democratic" and "progressive" policies involve a definite religious basis. Therefore, when we have got rid of all members of the N.U. who object to "democratic" and "progressive" policies, we must further get rid of all who differ from us in religious views!

HERBERT DRAKE.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE INTERNATIONAL.

MADAM,—Many members of the National Union will have been reading Mrs. Fawcett's article on The Hague Congress, in the June number of the *Englishwoman*, and as it will doubtless affect the judgment of many, I shall be grateful if you will allow me a few comments.

May I say, to begin with, how very glad that Mrs. Fawcett has shown that she now sees there is really no tenable position for the Union between acting upon its resolutions and rescinding them. This is what the seceding members have, all along, been urging. In the face of the awful calamity upon the nations, there is something repulsive in the meeting of a great need by the passing of inoperative resolutions only.

Mrs. Fawcett's strictures on the new International Women's organisation are less comprehensive to me. The seceding members of the N.U. Executive were told by Mrs. Fawcett that there was no need for them to resign, since they were free to work for their pacifist principles outside the N.U., and yet she suggests that somehow the organisation of an independent Congress of women was an offence to the Alliance. Why? Again, she claims that the officers of the Alliance, who were consulted by Mrs. Chapman Catt, formed a "fairly representative international group." I do not know how fairly the foreign officers represented their national associations, but we all know that Mrs. Fawcett gave her voice against a Congress of the Alliance in direct opposition to the opinion of the Executive of the N.U. which voted, with only two dissentients, for a Congress; this was subsequently ratified by a large majority at the February Council. In this particular Mrs. Fawcett did not represent the only British society affiliated to the Alliance, and as a matter of fact, one of her British colleagues, Miss Chrystal Macmillan differed from her. The method of election of the Board of Officers of the Alliance is not territorial. The officers do not "represent" their countries, any more than members of the N.U. Executive "represent" their counties or towns. If Mrs. Fawcett had represented the National Union, she would have been bound to take and act upon the vote of the National Union. She chose to act as an individual and she had the legal right to do so.

Now as to the good which our international Congress did and the good it may do in the future. One very good thing is that it falsified the prophecies that we should come to blows. Miss Addams, Miss Courtney and a crowd of witnesses proved that an earnest desire to promote goodwill, held in common by women meeting under the burden of a common sorrow, may prove a healing power. They had courage to meet because they had faith and they held firm by that faith. They ran risks; they were well aware of that and every woman carefully guarded her lips from evil speaking. It was a fine achievement. We may be proud to think that women of our blood and language helped to amend the resolutions, and from what we know of these women we may be sure that the Congress would have been the poorer by their absence; Mrs. Fawcett even suggests this; why should she have desired their absence? Should she not rather regret the enforced absence of the 180 British women who were prevented by the Admiralty from going?

Mrs. Fawcett makes a rather oddly grudging admission that when the Belgian women arrived at The Hague towards the end of the Congress, their doubts were dispelled and their approval secured by the account of what the Congress had done. Is not this in itself a powerful justification of the Congress? The suggestion that it was the Belgian women alone who desired or secured the inclusion of the notion of "justice" in the terms of peace approved by the Congress is erroneous, and it is difficult to understand how Mrs. Fawcett could have made such a suggestion after carefully reading the resolutions. The Congress was entirely devoted to thinking out the principles of a permanent peace, and the basic principle was that a peace, to be permanent, must be felt to be just. The restoration of Belgium was necessarily included in the resolution that "the right of conquest should not be recognised."

If one began to answer all the innuendos that run through several other articles and notes in the same number of *The Englishwoman*, one would take more space than your courtesy could allow, but I should like to draw attention to an announcement on page 269 which is given special type and display, and which is a model of the *suggestio falsi*. The new International does not profess to speak for all English Suffragists; it does not advocate the breaking of "the pledged word"; it does not desire the abandonment of the weak. It desires, and it intends to work for, "the idea of public right as the governing idea in international politics." H. M. SWANWICK.

PRIVATE COMPULSION.

MADAM,—May I protest with all my strength against the tone of your paragraph headed "Ecclesiastical Conscriptio" in the issue of May 28th. Some persons hypnotise themselves with such words as "tyranny" and "liberty." What is the liberty claimed for able-bodied men who refuse to serve their country at this juncture? Liberty to watch their mother insulted, bled to death, and trampled on, without raising a finger to help her! Where a Government is hopelessly weak and cowardly, ~~mean~~, it becomes the duty of every patriotic citizen, or group of citizens, to exert any pressure they can bring on those who are hanging back. The object of all law is to compel the unwilling to make a right choice, under penalties. We are at this moment fighting for the existence of our homes as much as if the Germans were actually investing London. If the Teuton spirit is victorious, we shall know what real "tyranny" means. There will not be much "liberty" left in Europe then!

E. A. ACLAND.

[We refer to this letter in our leader.—ED., "C. C."]

LOST LETTERS ADDRESSED TO THE N.U.

In view of the fact that several letters containing Cheques and Postal Orders have lately failed to reach us, we shall be glad if any contributors who have not received an acknowledgment will communicate at once with the Hon. Treasurer, at 14, Great Smith Street, S.W. In order to ensure safe delivery all letters containing money should be registered, and all cheques and postal orders should be crossed.

THE MYSTICISM OF WAR.

Miss MURIEL MATTERS will deal with this subject at the fourth of the Friends' Constructive Meetings on Peace at DEVONSHIRE HOUSE, 136, Bishopsgate, E.C., at 6.30 p.m., on Wednesday, June 23rd.

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The last LECTURE of the Course arranged in aid of the above by the SOUTH KENSINGTON BRANCH of the LONDON SOCIETY, will be given at the KENSINGTON TOWN HALL, on WEDNESDAY, JUNE 30th, at 3.30, by

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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 suspended their ordinary 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.

On Recruiting.

We have little sympathy with those sensitive persons—often, by the way, conscriptionists—who object to recruiting posters as "vulgar" and "undignified." Indeed of all forms of recruiting, we regard the poster as the least "undignified." It makes a simple, straightforward appeal, and uses no form of compulsion. It is a constant and a cheerful reminder to the man whose conscience is urging him to the front, while it causes the minimum of worry to him whose conscience takes a different view. It stirs without dominating, and, so long as the Government are responsible for pursuing the war, this seems the fairest means open to them of filling up the ranks. We may call it recruiting by suggestion, and in the same category we would place all straightforward appeals from those who honestly believe a man's first duty lies in fighting. Everyone has a right to appeal to the consciences of other people to do what in his own eyes is a righteous act; and the great majority of people at this moment do undoubtedly regard fighting as an act of righteousness. It is a method of recruiting with which the most convinced pacifist can surely have no quarrel, however deeply he may disagree with the convictions of the recruiters.

But there is a different kind of recruiting—not by suggestion, but by compulsion. In another column we publish a letter from a correspondent, taking strong exception to a paragraph in THE COMMON CAUSE, denying "the right of wealthy or influential bodies or individuals to exert pressure to enlist upon those they hold in their power." Our correspondent asks: "What is the liberty claimed for able-bodied men who refuse to serve their country at this juncture?" We will answer her. The liberty claimed is the right—at present a legal right—for every man to determine for himself how best he may serve his country. Our correspondent may find it hard to believe, but the fact is undeniable, that some men believe fighting to be wrong, and therefore not the best service they can render their country, even at this moment. For example, at the recent annual meeting of the Society of Friends, it was reported that, although over 200 have enlisted, "the young men of the society have in large measure maintained their stand, and are prepared to continue it at whatever cost to themselves." These people are neither criminals nor lunatics, and no one except the State, for reasons of public necessity—and even here opinion will not be unanimous—has the smallest right to coerce them. We repeat that such coercion is tyranny, and the failure to understand that is a failure to take all the facts into account.

There is a third sort of recruiting. We may call it recruiting by personal influence, that same "indirect influence" which anti-suffragists ask women to regard as a satisfactory substitute for political power. Women have no direct voice whatever in questions of peace and war, but they have the power of sending out men to fight; and, unhappily, very many of us are well enough content with this limited rôle. It is an ancient and surely an ugly little corner of "woman's sphere," this indirect part which women have always taken in the carnage of war. Anti-feminism and war find many meeting-grounds, and one of them undoubtedly is the age-long and inevitable subordination of the recruiting woman to the fighting man. There is much nobility in fighting, there is more in giving up our best-beloved for our country; there is very little nobility and surely very much impertinence in using the kind of power which some call "women's influence" to urge strangers to enlist. This is not to be confused

with what—for want of a better term—we have called recruiting by suggestion. The form of recruiting we now have in mind is not a single-hearted appeal on moral grounds (whether mistaken or not) to a man's sense of duty. It is an appeal made by those who are themselves dazzled by the glamour of war to the martial emotions of others, an act of which surely only light-minded people can be guilty. Sentimentalists are apt to be deficient in imaginative power, and those who have formed no plain mental conception of war as it is, but only a spirited picture of fancy warfare, are dangerous recruiters. Of all forms of recruiting, this surely has least to recommend it.

Work of the Birmingham Society.

The Society in Birmingham, where the Council Meetings are being held this week, is one of the oldest in the Union, having been founded in 1868. It is now included in the Central Counties Federation. Mrs. Osler has been associated with the Society from 1873; President since 1900, and member of the N.U. Executive for three and a-half years. Among its Vice-Presidents the Society numbers the Dean of Worcester, Miss Fry (also on the N.U. Executive), Professors Muirhead, Hughes, de Selincourt, and Granville Bantock, Mrs. George Cadbury, and Alfred Hayes, Esq.

The Society has a membership of 955, with about 5,000 Friends of Women's Suffrage, and it is in Birmingham that the "Friends' Leaflet" (at present discontinued) was first produced under the editorship of Mrs. Ring. The Friends have proved a great strength to the Society, and twenty-five different trades unions have passed resolutions in favour of Women's Suffrage, a similar resolution having also been passed by the City Council.

Birmingham has only two M.P.'s, out of a total of ten, who are favourable to Suffrage, Mr. Steel Maitland and Mr. Amery. It has one woman Councillor, Miss Clara Martineau, who is a keen Suffragist, and twelve women Guardians, nine of whom are Suffragist, seven of them being members of the N.U.

Since the war broke out, Birmingham, like other societies in the N.U., has tried to take a share of the common burden. About 364 members have given practically their whole time, or at least the whole of their leisure, to various kinds of war relief work, 29 members of the Society, 12 of whom are men, serving as officers under the Citizens' Committees.

It is hoped that Delegates will pay a visit to the Lady Mayoress's Dépôt, which is almost opposite the Institute where the Council meetings are held. This Dépôt for collecting and sending out clothes to hospitals, ships, and camps, and to the Front, is one of the most successful and largest in the country, receiving and distributing between two and three thousand garments every week; and it has been from the beginning under the management of Mrs. Jesper, one of the members of our Suffrage Committee. In fact, most of the Committee have taken prominent part in the relief work of the city; while our President, besides being on the Executive of the Citizens' Committee, and the Work for Women sub-committee, has worked from the first as Vice-Chairman of a District Committee, in addition to superintending our own special activities.

Among local attempts to relieve the distress amongst women and girls, which made itself felt acutely in the earlier months of the war, owing to the inevitable dislocation of industry and the delay in receipt of allowances, may be mentioned a workroom for unemployed women, opened by the Society in the beginning of November, where, until Easter, regular employment was found for about forty women at the rate of 3½d. an hour, their labour being brightened from time to time by music and addresses. The large proportion of the garments made were sent to the Lady Mayoress's Dépôt. In addition to this workroom, a smaller one was run by the Bournville Branch of the Society and the Women's Co-operative Guild.

A dinner-room for expectant and nursing mothers, with medical advice and help given by Dr. Olive Elgood Turner, member of the Birmingham Executive, has also been organised, and the Society co-operated with the N.U.W.W. in the organisation of Women Patrols and a Girls' Club, and with the League of Honour, in its extensive work among women and girls.

Delegates will find copies of THE COMMON CAUSE in all the free libraries of the city, besides many of the restaurants and waiting-rooms, though, unfortunately, some openings of this kind were lost, owing to militancy.

On June 7th, a meeting of the Birmingham subscribing members, called to pronounce on the immediate question of policy at issue, decided to support Mrs. Fawcett and the Executive Committee at the forthcoming Council.

POSITION OF MANCHESTER SOCIETY.

A general meeting of the Manchester Society was held on June 8th to consider the questions coming before the Special Council of the N.U. at Birmingham. The resolution put on the agenda of the Council by the Manchester Executive Committee in the name of the Society was considered in its final form, as amended to meet objections raised to its stringency:—"This Council, being convinced that the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies should give effect to its belief, expressed at the annual Council in February, 1915, that all human relations should be governed, not by physical force, but by the recognition of mutual rights, resolves to work for the realisation of this ideal—(1) by propaganda demanding the enfranchisement of women as essential to the constitution of a democratic State; (2) by co-operation with other organisations working for these objects having accepted the principle of the enfranchisement of women, and in discussion with women of other nations to promote the establishment of a stable system of international law and mutual understanding, upheld by the common will of men and women, it being understood that societies shall be at liberty to concentrate their efforts on that part of the propaganda with which they feel themselves ready to deal."

The majority of the meeting refused to accept this resolution, and the following motions were carried:—"That the delegates be informed that this meeting is of opinion that owing to want of unanimity, it is not desirable that they should proceed with the resolution"; and "That this resolution be submitted to the special Council meeting."

At a special meeting of the Executive Committee held next day, the following members resigned:—Miss Margaret Ashton (chairman), Mrs. Hiller (hon. treasurer), Miss G. Taylor (hon. secretary), Mrs. d'Auquier, Mr. and Mrs. George G. Armstrong, Mrs. T. Dehn, Mrs. Brooks, Mrs. Norbury, Mrs. E. Ogden, Mrs. Ransome, Mrs. C. G. Renold, Mrs. Muter Wilson, Miss A. P. Forrester, and Miss K. Radcliffe.

The Committee now consists of Miss Lucy Cox, Mrs. S. J. Chapman, Mrs. Conway, Mr. Crane, Mrs. Williamson Lee, Mrs. Oppenheimer, Mrs. A. Simon, Mr. and Mrs. E. Neville Smith, and Miss Woolley. A special general meeting of the Society is being called for early next month to fill the vacancies among officers and committee by open election.

OUR HOSPITAL UNDER CANVAS.

Another stage in the history of the N.U.W.S.S. Scottish Women's Hospital was marked on June 9th by the official opening of our hospital at Chateau Chanteloup, which not only differs in many respects from that at Royaumont, but from all other French hospitals, as it is the first time the French wounded have been nursed under canvas. In consequence, our Tent Hospital is causing a great deal of excitement and interest; at first the rumour went round the town that 200 English wounded were coming to Chanteloup, and the surprise and delight of the townspeople were quite touching when it was explained to them that we were here to care for their own soldiers. In order to avoid an invasion of curious sightseers, we are obliged to issue cards of admission to those who are genuinely interested, and to keep a strict guard over the gates to hinder unauthorised people from over-running the place.

Before being given the final permission to receive patients, General Treffand, Medical Inspector of this division, made a formal inspection of the hospital, and expressed himself thoroughly satisfied with all the arrangements made, and assured us that full use should be made of it. Both he and General de Torey have hinted that a further enlargement might become necessary, and pointed out to us that there was space enough on the ground for more tents if necessary. At the present, though, we shall be quite content if the 200 beds are kept full. Another new feature of our hospital is the fact that we are a hospital working directly under the military authorities, and not under the French Red Cross. That is to say that the N.U.W.S.S. Scottish Women's Hospitals, through their representative, have made a definite agreement with the Ministère de la Guerre to continue to work this hospital during the war, and have received General Joffre's personal approval that it should be a military hospital and under military control. Many of our kind subscribers will be glad to picture to themselves the surroundings of the hospital they have helped by their kind gifts to bring into being. Will they in imagination follow me to the historical old town of Troyes, and about a mile and a half from the railway station pass through two large iron gates, above which and flanked on either side by the Union Jack and French flag, they will see in large letters the device "Scottish Women's Hospital."

HOSPITAL AUXILIAIRE BENEVOLE, 301.

To the right of them they will see a long building which goes by the name of Chateau Chanteloup—a chateau only in name, as it is too small even to accommodate the whole staff—but bright and airy, with large windows. In the middle of the Park, about a hundred yards from the House, stand the Hospital tents—a double row arranged with as much regularity as the ground will permit. Each tent is a ward in miniature, furnished with sixteen beds, with pink coverlets, small white tables, and a long narrow table between the two poles with shelves underneath. Three clever soldier carpenters have transformed the large packing cases into ward cupboards, which are the delight of the sisters. All is arranged with a view to the economy of space, and our visitors tell us the mise-en-scene is very attractive. Wooded walks and large trees and flowering shrubs surround the open space for the tents. Near at hand a field kitchen in wood and red brick has been built for the cooking of the patients' food. Another wooden building has been erected for bathrooms, besides a dressing station, where septic wounds are attended to. The theatre, or, as they say in France, the "Salle d'operation," has been installed in the orangerie, a large, light, airy room, and with one or two alterations made by our surgeon-in-chief, most perfectly adapted for its use. This is but an imperfect picture, but it will serve its purpose if it inspires the readers of THE COMMON CAUSE to renew their efforts to help us members of the Troyes Unit to make our new Hospital a lasting memorial in the minds of the French people of English goodwill, skill, and practicability. K. M. HARLEY.

SERBIAN UNIT.

Dr. Elsie Inglis writes the following from Kraguievatz on May 20th:— "Things are developing quite quickly. Colonel Hunter came over again yesterday to see what I was doing about the Mlavadovatz plan, and I told him I had telegraphed home to find out when our tents would be here. Then he said that what he would like would be three Scottish Units, one at Mlavadovatz, one at Posheravatz, and one at Palanka. He said that with us at these three places, and working with his Sanitary Commission, he believed he could bottle up the typhus, and really make some headway towards clearing the country. He said he would like our Units because he knew from what we had already done that we were good workers! That was good hearing! "Colonel Hunter said he wanted these Hospitals in a fortnight! But I told him not to ask for impossibilities." If my tents are on the way, and nearly here, I'll start Mlavadovatz at once. Dr. Hutchison's whole equipment is at Salonika, and the moment she arrives from Malta, shall go up to Posheravatz, but for the third Unit, he must wait, even if you approve and proceed with it at once. "Sister Horn and Sister Adamson were given a little holiday by Matron and went up to Belgrade. Sister Adamson told me she had enjoyed it so much, 'and do you know, Doctor, we had such luck, it might just have been arranged for us. There was a bombardment while we were there.'"

NURSING OUR OWN WOUNDED.

A letter written by Dr. Hutchison before she left Malta, has just been received. Dr. Hutchison gives a touching description of our wounded "Tommys," and says that it is "lovely to have a chance of looking after our men for a bit." She seems to have been greatly impressed by the splendid spirit shown by our Colonial Troops—"They all died game! One glories in such pluck, yet one loathes war more and more every day because it makes you see everything through Blood and Tears." On parting at Malta she tells us that the Chief Medical Officer's words were:—"We have worked together like a happy family and I should like you to convey my thanks to all your workers for that fact." She adds:—"The Australians and New Zealanders we found delightfully frank and easy to get on with. They were always ready to jeer at the sentimental effusions of the Malta Chronicle over 'our wounded heroes.' When an Australian was asked one day where he had managed to get a coat he was sporting, the quick reply came: 'Pinched it off another wounded hero doctor!'" She likewise tells us that:—"There was almost a spirit of insurrection abroad when 'Tommy' realised that his woman doctor was shortly to be replaced by men." From a telegram just received we learn that Dr. Hutchison and her Unit have been sent up to Valjevo. This town is nearer the Frontier than Kraguievatz, and has suffered considerably at the hands of the Austrians. From the equipment department, we learn that our supplies of cotton pyjamas, dressing-gowns, bed-jackets, handkerchiefs, and pillow-cases are running short. The late Matron of the Serbian Hospital tells us that the Serbian fancies himself immensely in an English pair of pyjamas, and handkerchiefs are regarded as something precious. The National Union is at the present time supporting 800 beds in France and Serbia, but further help is urgently required to carry on the work of our Units. Subscriptions should be sent to Miss S. E. S. Mair, 2, St. Andrew Square, Edinburgh, or the Hon. Treasurer, Mrs. Laurie, Red House, Greenock. Cheques to be crossed "Royal Bank of Scotland." Contributions for the London Units should be sent to Lady Cowdray, 58, Victoria Street, or to the Treasurer, 14, Great Smith Street, Westminster. Gifts in kind should be sent to Dr. Elsie Inglis, 2, St. Andrew Square, Edinburgh, and to Miss Hunter, Equipment Secretary, London Society, 58, Victoria Street, S.W.

Mrs. Harley in her letter appeals for jam and marmalade, packed in tins; she says it is so expensive to buy in France. Perhaps some kind friends would help us to provide this toothsome dainty for those at our new Hospital at Troyes.

A Beacon for the Blind.

A BEACON FOR THE BLIND, BEING A LIFE OF HENRY FAWCETT, THE BLIND POSTMASTER-GENERAL, by Winifred Holt. (Constable & Co., 1915. 7s. 6d. net.)

It is nearly thirty years since "The Life of Henry Fawcett," by Sir Leslie Stephen, was given to the world. The author of this new life tells us, in the preface to it, that Sir Leslie Stephen wrote with the reticent dignity of one recently grieving for the loss of his friend, and that she will have executed her task if she has succeeded in throwing a more personal light on the heroic figure of Fawcett. This she has done, though indeed the earlier biography is far from wanting in the portrayal of the personal traits which gave so marked an individuality to all that Fawcett did, and characterised the full and joyous life that he shared with the "troops of friends" who loved and honoured him.

There are many who will desire to know all that this volume tells them of the personality of a man who, on the threshold of a public career for which his antecedent life had been a preparation, finds it suddenly barred by such a calamity as the total loss of sight, and yet bates not a jot of heart or hope but presses right onward to its destined aim, and, in its course, though it came prematurely to an end, rendered public services of the highest value. The reader of this new biography will find in it abundant illustration of his candid and genial nature, and of that sympathy with the masses of the people, and fervent desire to remove restraints on their enjoyment, which lay at the root of so much that he did. It is shown in his "Political Economy," in the recognition there of the "malady of poverty and misery," and in his consideration of the best means to provide a remedy; in the powerful help he gave to the successful efforts made for the preservation for public resort and enjoyment of commons, forests, and open spaces, against the enclosure of them by landowners, in measures for benefiting the lot of the native people of India, in throwing open to women employment in the Civil Service, and in promoting legislation for their advancement in many ways. Reference also may especially be made to the great reforms which he instituted in Post Office administration, and the extensions of its services, by the reduction of the cost of telegrams, the introduction of postal orders, and above all of the parcel post, and by the provisions for facilitating saving. In the many occasions on which it was a question of extending by due means the enjoyment of the necessities and amenities of life to the classes that suffer so sadly from the want of them, his powerful aid was always rendered on the right side, his strong common sense, united with his sense of justice, giving him every qualification to intervene with efficiency.

It is hardly necessary to add that he fully appreciated the principle that Parliamentary representation is essential to secure justice, and therefore was from the first a convinced promoter of the cause of Suffrage to women, of which his widow, Mrs. Fawcett, is the honoured protagonist.

As regards the political success which came to Fawcett, though it may certainly be said of him that "his armour was his honest thought," it would be an injustice to add "and simple truth his utmost skill." There was more than that. There was abundant common sense, with shrewdness of the good-humoured order, the innate disposition to be just, and useful, and kind, which so promote efficiency in all the relations of life. His great capacity goes without saying. But there was also hard study; as a reason for not undertaking any other than public work, or that which was connected with it, he said that the duties of a member of the House of Commons required almost a lifetime of study. It would be a defective legislature, indeed, that did not comprise many of the captains of industry, and others who can give to legislation and administration the benefit of their experience of large business transactions, and their professional knowledge. But there are those among them with whom their own personal advancement in some way to which they attach importance is a weighty consideration, and it is refreshing to find among politicians one so candid, straightforward, and sincere, and so courageous as Fawcett was, and whose thoughts were so absolutely and loyally devoted to the public service in guiding the course he took on all occasions. But all that has been stated would not be enough to account for his personal eminence. There was beneath all this the inspiring feeling of warm human sympathy with men and women, as such, which was the never-failing stimulus to action—not merely towards persons with whom he was associated from day to day, but towards all classes, including the agricultural labourers and the poorest women. As Miss Holt tells us, he was genial with all, making them his friends, fond of gossip about them all, taking immense pleasure in doing any of them a personal kindness, and "there was an incredible number of people whom he called in all sincerity his intimate friends."

In the fateful conflict for the maintenance of civilisation against organised barbarism in which Europe is now plunged, one may give expression to the conviction that it will be well indeed if all—or perhaps it may be said if most of—our public men are animated by the simple-minded devotion to public duty which ruled the life of Henry Fawcett.

The June issue of JUS SUFFRAGII (I.W.S.A., 7, Adam Street, W.C., price 4d.) contains a very full account of the International Hague Congress—the resolutions passed, the public meetings held, and the impressions of some of those present. It also publishes letters from the Austrian, French, and German Societies who declined to take part in the Congress, and interesting reports from some of the Societies affiliated to the Alliance, showing what the women of the different countries are doing.

Notes from Headquarters.

The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. President: MRS. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D. Hon. Secretaries: Miss Evelyn Atkinson, Miss Edith Palliser (Literature). Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Auerbach. Secretary: Miss Crookenden. Offices: Parliament Chambers, 14, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W. Telegraphic Address—Voiceless, London. Telephone Number—1960 Victoria.

Press Report.

The Standard is continuing its articles on Women's Work. A good account of the Royaumont Hospital, with pictures, has appeared in The Sphere.

The Huddersfield Examiner and The Forby Times have long Weekly Notes. The Scotsman has had a good article on the Scottish Hospitals. The Grain Growers' Guide (Winnipeg) has a long article on Women's Suffrage.

The Daily Mail and The Morning Post have had excellent articles advocating the recognition of the value of women in public life. We have heard (how many times have we not heard it?) that women cannot think imperially, but we now hear "that a nation's strength depends, not upon its possessions, but its character, and character is formed in the home, and the mother is the centre of the home."

"It was not the women of England who made the immense and the disastrous mistake, which brought this country very low, of believing that the strength of a nation consists in its money, and the proof of their wisdom shines in the battle-line to-day. In the terrible war of commerce, inherent in a gross industrial civilisation, the women have for generations been sacrificed body and soul. In the war of shot and steel, they are found giving all for the country, and consecrating themselves to the heavy and lamentable toil of repairing the ruin and devastation left in the track of armies. It may be their consolation and their hope to believe that they have given sons, brothers, husbands, to the end that in the new time of peace, other women's sons and brothers and husbands may reap in joy what the women of our generation are sowing in tears."

Obituary.

We have learned with deep regret of the loss sustained by Mrs. Robie Uniacke in the death of her husband, Lieut.-Col. R. F. Uniacke, Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, accidentally killed at the front. Col. Uniacke was born in 1869, entered the Regular Army from the Militia in 1891, and was promoted Major in 1913.

Active Service Fund.

Table with columns for £ s. d. and list of donors including West Riding Federation, Professional Women's Patriotic Service Fund, Royal Holloway College, etc.

Contributions to the General Fund.

Table with columns for £ s. d. and list of donors including Kirkealdy Burghs W.S.S., Orcadian W.S.S., Blackburn W.S.S., etc.

Advertisement for John Wight & Co., Ladies' Tailors and Outfitters, 104-105, Princes Street, Edinburgh. Includes illustration of a woman in a long coat and text: 'FOR FIELD OR HOSPITAL. Every requisite for Nurses wear, correct in detail, most reliable in quality, and moderate in price.'

Advertisement for Petticoats and Silk Summer Petticoat. Includes illustration of a long skirt and text: 'PETTICOATS. Owing to the remarkable change of fashion that has recently taken place, underskirts have again become an absolute necessity.'

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

FURTHER LIST OF DONATIONS.

Table listing donors and amounts for the N.U.W.S.S. Scottish Women's Hospital. Includes names like Nelly and Annie (1s.), Miss Munro (1s.), and various other individuals and groups.

Table listing donors and amounts for the N.U.W.S.S. Scottish Women's Hospital, continuing from the previous table. Includes names like Miss J. MacGavin Reid, Miss Fisher, and various other individuals.

Erratum Note—Re Ashton-under-Lyne W.S.S. Sums under 5s. amounting to £3 7s. 6d., read sums under 5s. amounting to £2 7s. 6d. Mrs. G. H. Kenyon, Mayoress of Dukinfield £1. £25 earmarked to name a Bed in Serbia.

The name which appeared in the Scottish Women's Hospital list in THE COMMON CAUSE of May 7th as "Dr. Farengy" should read "Dr. Earengy."

FURTHER LIST OF BEDS NAMED.

Table listing names of beds donated, such as "Baltimore", "Worsley Golf Club", "The Perse Girls' School", etc.

Further help is urgently required to carry on the work of our Units. The cry for assistance comes from all. Subscriptions very gratefully received, either by the Hon. Secretary, Dr. Elsie Inglis, 2, St. Andrew Square, Edinburgh, or the Hon. Treasurer, Mrs. Laurie, Red House, Greenock. Cheques to be crossed "Royal Bank of Scotland."

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S FRANCHISE CLUB, 9, Grafton St., Piccadilly, W. FOR MEN AND WOMEN. No Entrance Fee during the War. Subscription: One Guinea per annum from date of Entrance (Ireland, Scotland and Foreign Members, 10/6).

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What Some of Our Societies are Doing.

Balham Branch of the London Society. A most successful drawing-room meeting was held at 170, Bedford Hill, by invitation of Mrs. Marvin. Lady Frances Balfour took the chair, and Miss Christich spoke on "The Needs of Serbia." A collection of £8 was taken for the London Units of the Scottish Women's Hospitals, and great interest was aroused both in the Hospitals and in Suffrage. In less than a month £25 has been given to endow a "Balham" Bed; and over £7 collected for making Red Cross requirements.

Harrow Branch. The annual meeting was held on June 4th by the kind invitation of Mrs. Campbell at Hatch End. The Officers and Committee were elected for the ensuing year. Mrs. Campbell was re-elected Chairman, and Miss Colbeck, Hon. Sec. and Treasurer, and four new members were elected. When business had been transacted, Miss Ashford for the Society for "International Right" gave a short and very interesting lecture on "The necessity of studying the general history past and present, and of knowing the geographical situations of nations and the responsibility of men and women to educate public opinion in demanding a first place; the respect of treaties and the existence of small nations."

Clevedon. On Friday, June 4th, a very well-attended meeting of the members of this Society was held at The Garstons, Clevedon, the residence of Miss Henry, President of the Society, who took the chair. The Hon. Sec. gave a brief account of the present division of opinion in the N.U., and the main issue to be decided at the Council meeting in Birmingham. A useful discussion followed, in which Mr. and Mrs. Arnold, Miss Brocklehurst, Miss Boulton, Miss Bowen, Miss Thomas, Mr. and Mrs. Whitty, Miss Wilkerson, and others took part. The following resolution was carried unanimously:—

"That this meeting of the Clevedon Women's Suffrage Society is of opinion that the forthcoming special Council meeting should not give permission for propaganda other than that for Women's Suffrage, the members of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, though united on that question, being otherwise of widely differing views."

It was also resolved to send a delegate to the Council meeting. Surrey, Sussex, and Hants Federation. CAMBERLEY.—Mr. Thomas Secombe delivered four N.U.W.S.S. education lectures to large audiences, the profits going to finance another set of lectures on "Economics in War-Time." Miss Stockdale, lecturer to the National Food Fund, gave two courses of the latter, specially adapted to Friends of Suffrage. Some working-women present wrote capital papers for the lecturer. A Members' Meeting will be held to discuss the agenda for the Council, and instruct delegates. On May 4th a very successful crowded meeting took place at the Central Hall on "War Service for Women," organised by a Committee of the N.U.W.S.S. and N.L.O.W.S.S. Mrs. Rackham gave a lucid account of the Government scheme and the conditions which should govern the employment of large numbers of new workers. As a result of the meeting, a special registration office has been opened, and it is hoped to start local training schemes.

CENTRAL SUSSEX.—On May 26th a garden meeting was held at Banchory, Hurstpierpoint, when Miss Helen Wright and Miss Chute Ellis spoke on "Women's Work during the War," Mrs. Darby presiding. Miss Wright described the N.U.W.S.S. Scottish Hospitals for the French, Belgians, and Servians, testifying to their great practical and diplomatic value. Miss Ellis pleaded for support for these hospitals, and urged people to keep Suffrage Societies together, in view of much legislation after the war, affecting women and children.

EASTBOURNE.—£25 has been raised since February for an Eastbourne Bed in the Scottish Women's Hospitals. On May 15th Mrs. Stracey presided at an "At Home" at the Club, Miss H. Wright speaking on "War Work for Women." A resolution re the compulsory enactment of the Notification of Births Act was carried unanimously.

NEWPORT.—The annual meeting took place at the Friends' Meeting-House on May 18th, Miss F. J. Monk in the chair, in the absence of

Miss Mercer. The report showed increased membership in spite of the lamented deaths of two strong supporters, Mrs. Russell-Cooke and the Rev. A. H. McElwee, and the removal of three more. Miss Monk was elected Chairman of Committee, as Miss Mercer had been appointed head of the Princess Christian Training College for Nurses at Manchester. It was stated that several thousand garments had been dispatched for Belgian refugees by the Mayoress's War Guild. The President had organised a Red Cross Hospital at her house at Hythe, and Lady Baring was Commandant at Northwood House V.A.D. Hospital. A resolution was passed that the Society should devote immediate attention to the needs of Serbia, members promising to send garments, money, and hospital stores; Belgian relief work was to continue. Miss Monk explained the position in the National Union Executive Committee, and a vote of confidence in Mrs. Fawcett was carried unanimously.

SEAFORD.—Mrs. Pickering addressed a small drawing-room meeting on May 17th on "Social Work," and Miss Wright spoke on "Hospital Units sent to France and Serbia." A collection of £1 6s. 4d. was divided between these two objects.

WOKING.—The annual meeting was held on May 12th at the Tipperary Rooms, when it was decided to try to raise £10 for the Scottish Hospitals, and over £3 was promised. A large open meeting followed, addressed by Mrs. Julius West, on "The Government Scheme of War Service for Women." Mrs. Handley-Spicer took the chair. Much interest was aroused.

GUILDFORD.—A Study Circle at the office is well attended, and rouses great interest. On June 3rd Canon Masterman lectured on "The Balkan States" to a good audience.

Oxon, Berks and Bucks Federation. ASCOT.—Dr. Elizabeth Sloan-Chesser lectured at South Ascot Parish Hall on May 29th, on the subject of "Women's Hospitals in Invaded Countries," to a large audience. Dr. Chesser's personal tour among the Hospitals in France gave deeply interesting material. A collection was taken for the Hospitals in question. Following this the third annual meeting of the Ascot Society was held, with Mrs. Robie Uniacke in the chair. There was a good attendance of members and friends. Progress was stated to be very satisfactory considering the general preoccupation in the War and the abstention from propaganda work. Members are working for their country in very varied ways according to capacity and opportunity. Suffrage work-parties have been held continuously and a very large number of well-made garments supplied for war purposes. An Ascot bed has been subscribed for in the Scottish Women's Hospital.

OXFORD.—A special general meeting of members was held at the Principal's lodgings, Jesus College (by kind invitation of Sir John Rhys, our President) on June 1st, Professor Gilbert Murray in the chair. Business: To inform the members of our Society of the events which have led to the calling of a Special Council at Birmingham on June 17th and 18th, and to ascertain how the Society wishes its delegates to vote. The Secretaries laid a summary of the resolutions passed at the last Council meeting and the Agenda of the approaching one, before the members, who had evidently studied and weighed most of the points, so that little explanation was needed of the Committee's views. There were few dissentients. Mrs. Stocks urged forcibly that the N.U.W.S.S. is not the only organisation; there are Peace Societies which can be joined. Dr. Ruskin, Head of Ruskin College, stated very clearly that it was especially as a pacifist that Women's Suffrage appealed to him, but that he did not consider that a body of opinion could take shape till women, in possession of the Vote and through that power, should be able to work out their views. Resolutions in support of the majority of the N.U. Executive were carried.

ROCHESTER. The Rochester Branch of the N.U.W.S.S. had the honour of a visit from Mrs. Henry Fawcett on June 4th. There was a large attendance at the Victoria Hall, where Mrs. Fawcett spoke upon the wide subject "What Women can do during the War." She tabulated a list of useful forms of work taken up at the present time by Suffragists, who feel it to be their highest aim to help their country at this crisis. The Countess of Darnley, although not a recognised Suffragist, kindly presided and £11 8s. was collected in aid of the local fund for the relief of Kentish Prisoners of War. It was also suggested that a Rochester bed, costing £25, should be given to the N.U. Hospitals.

Forthcoming Meetings.

Table listing upcoming meetings for various branches of the N.U.W.S.S. Scottish Women's Hospitals, including dates, locations, and speakers.

Church League for Women's Suffrage. Owing to pressure on our space, we are obliged to hold over a report of an interesting meeting held last week by the Church League, which discussed the question of Women and Church Councils.

An International News-Sheet. An International News-Sheet, giving a full account of the International Congress of Women and of pacifist work in this country, is issued this week by the British Committee, and contains an article by Miss K. D. Courtney dealing with the Congress, and contributions from Mr. Romain Rolland, L'Antigonie Eternelle, Miss E. Sharpe, Mrs. P. Lawrence, Mr. Oilet, Mr. Ogden.

Hot Weather Diet. Some of our readers will be interested in the series of vegetarian cookery classes, of which particulars are given on page 146.

Now Ready. Volume VI. OF THE COMMON CAUSE. Indispensable as a work of reference to every Suffrage and Anti-Suffrage speaker and writer. BOUND IN N.U. COLOURS. Price 8s. 6d. Loose Covers and Index, Price 2s. 4d. and postage. Apply, The Manager, "C.C." 14, Gt. Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.

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ANNOUNCEMENTS.

AT THE SUFFRAGE CLUB, 3, York-street, St. James's. Meeting, Tuesday, June 22nd, at 3.30 p.m. Speaker, Mrs. F. E. Smith. Subject, "Astrology as a Guide in Life, to the Individual, the Family, the Nation, and the Race." Collection for Mr. Clayton's Fund.

NATIONAL SERVICE.

ACTRESS-MANAGERESS (A.F.L.) desires support National Service play "A Nation in Arms," London-Scotland. Woman's Management Staff and Play. Guarantor seats or shareholders. Unity is strength. Write Box 5,109, COMMON CAUSE Office.

EXPERIENCED WORKER, middle-aged, offers half-time voluntary work in connection with Suffrage Society during summer holidays; must be in bracing pleasant country.—Apply Mrs. Fyffe, 79, Victoria-road, Kensington.

WAR SERVICE.

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FOR OUR SOLDIERS.

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