

The Common Cause

OF HUMANITY.

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

LAW-ABIDING.] *Societies and Branches in the Union 602.* [NON-PARTY.]

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Notes and News.

Are the Workers Unpatriotic?

Controversy is rife as to the alleged lack of patriotism among the working classes. "Our working men as a class," writes a correspondent to *The Times*, "are unpatriotic." "The wage-earner," declares a leader, "is taught to think first, last, and all the time of himself." That all classes and both sexes must be ready for ungrudging sacrifice in the national emergency, suffragists are always foremost in urging; but the kind of panic "patriotism" which ignores the conditions of labour, so long as the work somehow gets done, and is content to pledge the future of the race for the moment's need, cannot be too strongly deprecated. It is exactly in such a state of public opinion that exploitation and sweating are apt to thrive.

Sweated War Workers.

The Times's Birmingham correspondent quotes Mr. W. J. Davis, President of the Trade Union Congress, as giving several instances in which women are being exploited by some of the worst of the employers. He has successfully interfered in a case where women had been put to shell work which was too laborious for them; and he produced a pitiful letter from a woman working at soldiers' buttons, begging him to look into the miserable conditions under which she was labouring. "All that I can earn from Monday to Saturday," she writes, "was 7s. 6d., and out of that had to pay for a baby to be minded. That was 3s. 6d., so you may guess how much is left. We have to work by candle light, and slave hard. It is very mean. Begging you to look into this. They stop 3d. insurance and we do not get 2s. a week sometimes. Do look into this." We may also instance the differences in piece-rates paid to women for making up khaki clothing, as a source of complaint in Manchester.

Women's Register for War Work.

The first returns gave 16,020 as the total number of women on the new registers up to Tuesday, March 23rd; 4,000 more had registered by Friday, and the Board of Trade anticipates a speedy increase upon these numbers. The pressing needs of agriculture are recognised and hundreds of women have expressed a choice for agricultural and dairy work. Some of the occupations sought after show, as *The Daily Telegraph*

remarks, "the extraordinary range of activity and ambition of the modern woman." There are applications for work in wireless telegraphy, in butchering, grooming, and even for the care of wild animals at the Zoo! The question of payment raises many difficulties, and we note an interesting proposal by *The Nation* that the Government should appoint an advisory Board of representative and experienced women, including Trade Unions and Suffrage Societies, to keep in close touch with the men's unions, and to confer with them and the Government as to the terms of the agreement under which registered women should engage themselves for work. It is for such a conference that the National Union is asking, in the following resolution sent to the Government: "Since the Government has invited a large number of Women's Societies to assist in the organisation and mobilisation of women's work for war service, the N.U.W.S.S. asks the Government to call a Conference of these Women's Organisations and Women's Trade Unions with a view to coming to an agreement as to the basis on which the Women's Societies and Trade Unions can co-operate with the Government in mobilising the women's labour of the country."

Women as Tram Conductors.

We learn that the Glasgow Branch of the National Women's Suffrage Aid Corps, has persuaded the local Tramways Committee to ask the general manager to submit a report on the proposal to employ women as conductors on tramway cars. This report is now in preparation and should be ready in a few days. There are many reasons why the experiment should prove successful, and we note with satisfaction that the men's minimum of 27s. is to be insisted upon for the women, who, however, are to be employed only during the war, a condition which, of course, detracts greatly from the advantages of this work regarded as an opening for women. One other drawback is the great length of the working day; and we gather that on this account the occupation is not altogether popular among male workers. It appears that 1,800 tramway men have joined the army, and there is now a shortage of 300 employees on the car service.

Safety at Sea.

The question of the sea law—"women and children first"—is once again raised by recent happenings at sea. It may reasonably be held that youth, not sex, should be the basis of selection, and so death be cheated of as many years of human life as possible. In any case, the following words in *The Times*, whose correspondent has been interviewing representatives of the chief shipping companies, are of interest: "While any action which might frighten passengers is deprecated, it is stated that if a number of male passengers, under the present circumstances, were to ask the captain of a liner for an explanation of what would be expected of them in the event of mishap, the information would be given." This is delightful in its quiet assumption that women are in no need of such information. We are reminded of the order to male non-combatants to "prevent panic among women and children," to whom no rôle is assigned unless that of providing the panic for the men to deal with.

A Woman Major.

In these days the value of women's work is meeting at last with a certain measure of recognition. Sometimes even the

accustomed note of patronage is absent, and service, not sex, becomes the basis of promotion. We have already noted with the utmost satisfaction that Dr. Garrett Anderson has been asked by Sir Alfred Keogh to organise and manage a military hospital of 500 beds in or near London, and now we learn that for this purpose she has been accorded the rank of Major.

An Indian Entente.

A member of the Council of the N.U.W.W., writing to *The New Statesman* makes a suggestion of singular interest to British and Indian women. "Australia and Canada possess their National Councils of Women, also federated to the I.C.W. New Zealand, South Africa, and Turkey, have their hon. Vice-Presidents, as the National Councils are not yet formed. Why should not India fall into line?" The writer goes on to suggest that the necessary link with Great Britain might be an advisory Committee, composed of Indian and British men and women resident in this country. Each Indian Province and Native State might have its own President and other officers, and each can be linked up with the National Council of Women Workers of India.

Women and the Peace Settlement.

Viscount Milner, presiding at a meeting on March 27th, to consider "Australia's Stake in the War," urged with much force and justice that our self-governing Overseas Dominions have a right to be consulted upon the terms of the settlement after the war. It is inconceivable that their views can be ignored and the proposal is specially attractive to Suffragists, since in parts of our Dominions women have full political rights, and should thus have a voice in this momentous question of the terms of peace. We note that *The Sydney Daily Telegraph* for March 29th expresses the same opinion: "Unless some means are adopted to ascertain the views of the Dominions, there must be a very grave risk of future misunderstandings, and probably disappointments."

Mr. Asquith's Dublin Speech.

The views of the Headmaster of Eton upon the same question of a future settlement, seem to have attracted some rather hysterical comment in the press. He quotes those words of Mr. Asquith's speech, which the Council of the National Union has endorsed, and he urges, with much sincerity, that when the war is over, these recommendations should be put into practice even at the cost, if need be, of definite national sacrifice.

Military Law and the Right of Free Speech.

Socialist women in Germany continue to conduct a vigorous peace campaign in their own country, although the German military authorities have suppressed a pamphlet written by the President of the German Women's Peace Society. In France there appears to be a sterner suppression of opinion even than in Germany, and M. Meunier, in his speech in the Chamber on March 4th, made a strong protest against the undue suppression of news and of free speech. According to a Parisian writer in *The New Statesman*, certain Prefects have ordered the Mayors of their Departments to arrest persons who talk of peace in private conversation.

I.L.P. Conference.

The I.L.P. will hold its annual Conference on Easter Monday and Tuesday at Norwich. The resolutions on the agenda are of considerable interest to Suffragists. There will be discussion not only on Foreign Policy and Peace Settlement terms, and such questions as maximum prices and civil rights for soldiers and sailors, but also on electoral reform, including "the immediate extension of the franchise to women on the same terms as granted to men." A report of the Conference will appear in our next issue.

"An Ancient Wrong of Women."

Dr. Sarola (Medical Adviser to the King Albert Hospitals in England) informs us that some of the violated women of Belgium are undoubtedly now in this country, though he is not able to trace them owing to their own wish "not to be the object of insane curiosity." We are making inquiry whether there is any way in which these victims of the war can be reached and helped, and their children (if they wish it) taken care of.

WOMEN AT THE FRONT.

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

FRENCH UNIT.

From the Abbaye de Royaumont, Miss Hamilton writes:—"Our patients have been pouring in of late, and as they have poured ahead of the new equipment, there has been a good deal of shifting and borrowing. Some of the doctors are developing into really expert thieves. I imagine they have mapped out a time-table of the unit's hours of work, and swoop down on the bedrooms which they know they will find unoccupied. People coming off duty find themselves bereft of their blankets, and even bereft of their beds. My bed, fortunately, is a local one, borrowed from Asnières, and suffering from chronic deformity in the shape of a pronounced lean to starboard; being thus unsuitable for curative purposes, I feel I can leave it alone, with the reasonable expectation of finding it when I come back."

The Unit is looking out eagerly for the additional equipment which has just been dispatched.

SERBIAN UNIT.

It will be a matter of profound satisfaction to the National Union to feel that it has for months been doing its share in helping the little state of Serbia in its grim fight with death and disease. Thirty nurses are now being selected to go out, as soon as possible, with Dr. Alice Hutchison, whose previous experience in the Balkans will doubtless prove of the greatest service in her new Eastern experiences. It is hoped that we may ere long be able to establish a unit at Valjevo, near the frontier, where the state of things is said to be even more terrible than in Kraguievatz.

CALAIS CONTINGENT.

The scourge of enteric in Flanders is so far stayed that Dr. Alice Hutchison feels there is no longer sufficient work to employ her full time in the Ambulance Rue Archimède. She has, therefore, gone on a tour of inspection to Troyes, south-east of Paris, where there is some possibility of a new Unit being established by us. Later, she hopes to go out to Serbia as Chief Medical Officer of a new fever Unit.

Dr. Elsie Inglis's short speaking tour in England and Wales has, of course, resulted in the quickening of interest in the work of the Hospitals, and already the Treasurer has been gathering in the fruits of her stimulating presence and eloquence.

The Equipment Committee will be glad to receive the following gifts in kind, in large or small quantities. They may be sent to Dr. Elsie Inglis, at 2, St. Andrew Square, Edinburgh:—

Bed jackets, dressing-gowns, bedroom slippers, pyjamas (flannel and cotton), day shirts (flannel and cotton), blankets (old and new), draw sheets, feather pillows, sheets, towels of all sorts, pillow cases, helpless case shirts, pants, vests, hot water bottles (rubber), hot water bottle covers.

CANTEENS FOR SOLDIERS.

The following account of the work of the canteens started by the Women's Emergency Corps has been received from the front:—

"The Head of the Canteen Department of the French Army has given us his card and full permission to use it for founding canteens wherever there is need. At C—we have a large new cattle-truck, fitted up with three cooking stoves, a couple of tables, four chairs, and a neat arrangement of packing cases converted into a store cupboard. Here we have a nice little chateau as billet quarters.

"We have our own packing and clerical offices in the General's headquarters, and our store of warm garments in the Military Eclipsés department, where we are the only women, French or English, who have a right to enter. First thing every morning we go to the barracks and give out personally small packets to the men going into the trenches at once; the packets contain cigarettes, matches, a handkerchief, piece of soap, some biscuits, &c. The gifts are the cause of so much pleasure to the men. In the afternoon two of us work in the Dépôt d'Eclipsés with the Officer in Command, giving out clothes to the soldiers. It is to this dépôt that all the clothes of the men who are dead are brought to be brushed and made ready for others.

"Then, we perhaps hear that four squadrons of dragoons have been ordered out to the trenches, so we hurry off to make up their packets of cigarettes, biscuits, &c., as there is only a few hours before they start. At 5.30 two of us catch the only afternoon train to the next junction, a little further down the line, arriving there to serve on the coffee-stall for the men who pass through the station all night en route for the front. Here

THE BELGIAN WOMAN'S MOVEMENT.

The following extracts are translated from an article contributed by Mme. la Fontaine, President of the National Council of Belgian Women, to the March number of *Le Mouvement Feministe*:—

"It is nearly a quarter of a century since the woman's movement first took root in our country.

"The early years were taken up in meetings and conferences. We were the laughing-stock of legislators, and even of our friends. Criticism was bitter, and we needed all our courage; but once this period was over . . . we set out to bring together a few devoted women and enlightened men to work for the improvement of the position of women. The co-operation of the economist Hector Denis, was of great value, also that of the Socialist Deputy, Emile Vandervelde, of the feminist, Louis Frank, of my brother Senator La Fontaine, of members of the Liberal Party, and of a Catholic Minister, Jules Lejeune, well known as a champion of justice; and thus we were able to found the *Ligue Belge du droit des femmes*.

"Our programme was by no means revolutionary. We set out to deal only with questions of justice, believing that gradual changes in the law could alone satisfy our just demands, and Suffrage was placed at the end of our programme. Still, many women feared to join us, and it was the men who usually discouraged them. The husbands said: 'We want women to amuse us—not jurists.' The League could only gain a few hundred members, in spite of wide propaganda, both by speech and writing. For nearly twenty-five years we have ceaselessly pursued our feminist ideal: to make woman a fully conscious being, one who desires rights.

"Our first victory, in December, 1880, was the passing of a law on the work of women, young persons, and children in factories. . . . On March 31st, 1898, we obtained a law on l'Union Professionnelle, an association for the study, protection, and development of professional interests. . . . A woman can join a Union Professionnelle unless opposed by her husband, supported by a Justice of the Peace.

"In February, 1900, came the law on the savings of the married woman and the minor, then in March, 1900, the law on contracts of work. The married woman might undertake work, with the authority of her husband, or a Justice of the Peace. . . . In June, 1905, a law enforced the provision of seats for women workers; in January, 1908, women could be witnesses in civil courts."

After describing further legislation for the benefit of working women, and their urgent needs, Mme. la Fontaine continues—

"The Suffrage section has, for the first time, had the satisfaction of uniting groups of women of all parties in favour of Women's Suffrage. An open letter has been sent to the members of the House of Representatives.

"If we have the great happiness of regaining our beloved country, we intend to continue our feminist work with zeal, and to form educational committees, persuaded that it is through the children, through the young people, that we shall form a new generation, conscious of its rights and of its duty. Feminism will then have conquered. Woman will have her own place in the social order. Justice and peace will reign in the world."

NEWS FROM ABROAD.

DENMARK.

It is reported from Copenhagen that Danish political parties have agreed, after years of violent antagonism, to pass unanimously a proposal for the reform of the constitution. The Storthing (Upper House) will be placed on a much more democratic basis, and a system of universal franchise will be established, under which women will be enabled to vote. The new constitution will not be put in force till after the war.

Kvinden og Sarnfundet reports an invitation of the Danish Peace Union to all unions and individuals to join in preserving international sympathies so far as possible, and in keeping open communications between civilised countries. A bureau will be established in Copenhagen to keep in touch with other international organisations working for mutual understanding between nations, and information will be disseminated. Well-known Danish Suffragists are among the signatories.

SOUTH AFRICA.

At the Conference of the Women's Enfranchisement Association, the President, Mrs. Macintosh, indicated the outstanding features of the nine months' hard work since the last Conference as follows:—

(1) The shelving of the Wyndham Bill, the first Bill for the enfranchisement of women, "a discouraging and at the same time an encouraging event"—encouraging because of its revelation of the strength of our position. (2) The great extension of the municipal franchise to women throughout South Africa. "Men and women are now in a position of exact equality as regards civil life." (3) Affiliation to the South African National Council of Women, and to the British Dominions Women's Suffrage Union. "In this connection, I would urge this Conference to make definite arrangements for more frequent and systematic correspondence, not only with our sister Dominions overseas, but also with Great Britain. We have so far not done enough in this respect."

we have an old railway waggon, which we have fitted up to make an excellent canteen; the officers and orderlies do their utmost to help. We work here from 7 p.m. till 3 o'clock the next morning.

"At our original cattle-truck canteen work begins at four o'clock in the afternoon, when we begin stoking the fires with charcoal, filling the cauldrons with water and grinding the coffee. The station sergeant arrives at 4.30, to tell us the approximate number of men we may expect during the night—at 7.5 p.m., 28 men; at 7.50 p.m., 16 men; Amiens train, 58 men; and so on all night, ending up with 2.45 a.m., 23 men. This canteen does not provide food for the wounded, but for those who have been wounded and are now better, men who are for any reason, on their way to the trenches a few miles north.

"When we hear the mustering of our men outside, we hastily fill our jugs with coffee and milk, and with knapsacks full of biscuits and sticks of chocolate, we file down the wooden steps to where the men are drawn up in line awaiting us, each with his tin cup ready. All of them are tired, some of them are ill, some of them have been without food for ten hours or more, many of them have had nothing hot to eat or drink for four days, and they are all journeying back to the zone of fire. Their faces light up—it is amazing how much happiness can be bought at the price of a cup of coffee, two biscuits, and a bar of chocolate. 'Vive l'Angleterre,' they say as they salute and pass on into the darkness; while many a man will come back and offer a penny or halfpenny and whisper, 'Towards your work, Mesdemoiselles.' So it goes on all night, and every night, until at half-past three we walk back to the chalet where we are billeted, within the sound of the boom of the heavy guns that come across the hills.

We have opened another canteen near S—we are not allowed to mention places in our letters, where we were driven in a Red Cross motor transport. After a run of eleven kilometres, we turned into the drive of a chateau, which is a replica of the Grand Trianon. In the garden beyond the crouching stone lions are cunningly contrived 'Soixante Quinze' shelters, and beyond the grounds, laid out on Louis XIV. designs, are mud-stained squads of 'piou-pious' throwing up earthworks and entrenchments, funk-holes, and dug-outs. The curious hollow, spreading sound of the German heavy artillery echoed from the hill, and now and then on the horizon we could see the light grey balls of smoke of exploding shells and hear the whistling sound of the answering French guns.

"Earlier in the day an aero duel had taken place over these fields between a German Taube and a French bi-plane, and the great human birds had flown towards the distant town of S—.

"There was an old moated farm-house at the chateau gates, and it was here we found a place for our canteen—a white-washed outhouse for our stores, a covered place outside the adjoining garage for our table in wet weather, and in the old farmhouse, rooms where our workers could be billeted. The Mayor had to be formally asked for permission to establish the canteen; he gratefully accepted the offer. Our work here is for men relieved from the firing-line or engaged in constructing defences close at hand, and the keynote of all our necessary arrangements is the money to buy the few but essential materials to provide 250 or more men every day with hot soup or coffee, both before they go off in the morning and when they return at night.

"On our way back through C—we pass the market place where the statue of Joan of Arc stands, and where, in September last, the nation who had burnt her as a witch defended her memorial and the little city she loved best."

SOME HEROINES OF THE WAR.

Madame de Freycinet, general superintendent of auxiliary hospital 5, at Orleans, has been mentioned in dispatches by the general in command of the district, for the devotion with which she has worked since the beginning of the war.

The Minister of War has decided that a gold medal shall be awarded to Madame Clara Muriel Kipling, a nurse of the American Hospital at Paris.

La Française reports in its latest issue the death of several women who have succumbed to maladies contracted while nursing the wounded. Mlle. Léone Hector d'Espagne became ill while tending Belgian refugees at the Cirque de Paris. Sœur Cecile, of the Order of Filles de la Charité, has died at St. Malo, and Mlle. Lefelire contracted an infectious disease while nursing in a temporary hospital at Bucaille, near Cherbourg.

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 - April 22nd. Chairman, Dr. ABRAHAM WALLACE, M.D. "What the 'Dead' Teach Us."
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on Wednesday. Advertisement representative, S. R. Le Mare.

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.

Women and Fashions.

The fool hath said in his heart "the demand for luxuries is a demand for labour." The knave re-echoes it, not because he believes it true, but because it would be so extraordinarily convenient if it were. All who can afford luxuries want to buy them, and if in doing so they can feel that—far from acting selfishly—they are benefactors to humanity, who so happy as they?

Discussion rages in the daily press on the subject of the change in women's fashions. Naturally, a large number of shopkeepers and dressmakers, suffering severely from the reluctance of most women to spend much on dress at the present time, are concerned to force them to do so if possible. Nothing could be simpler or more natural. Accordingly, the change in fashions is to be complete, and the dresses of last year are to be made, not dowdy, not old-fashioned merely, but utterly impossible.

It is no doubt extremely comic to the outsider to see women throwing away good clothes which they cannot afford to lose; buying new, which they cannot afford to buy; changing their shape, distorting their outlines, and hampering their limbs. It is all so utterly idiotic that no one with any sense of humour can grudge his jest to the observer. But when we have joined in the laughter and bewailed the imbecility, we have still to face a real difficulty and find the way out.

First of all, let us try once more to kill the thrice-slain but probably immortal belief that to buy imbecilities is "good for trade." The dressmakers are hard hit? Very likely. Buy, therefore, what you need for yourself, and buy—and give away—what more you can afford. It is less economically rotten than buying more expensive and perishable and "luxurious" clothes than you really require. To produce clothing is to produce something worth while, having a "real" value, and economically profitable. To produce luxuries beyond what is really required, for warmth, decency, and beauty, which includes suitability, is economically wrong. A woman who is employed making elaborate embroideries on chiffon, is taken away from the work of producing something that is really required. Thousands have not got clothing enough for decency or warmth. If you want to "employ labour," employ it on meeting that real need. To employ it on creating luxuries is to waste it. It is true that your dressmaker will urge you to do it, but this is only because she thinks an appeal to your vanity more likely to succeed than an appeal to unadulterated common-sense.

But even the woman who does not allow herself to be misled by nonsense about the demand for luxuries being a demand for labour is in a difficulty when the fashions change. For—absurd as it seems at first sight—it immediately becomes almost impossible for her to continue to wear quite good garments which she has got by her. She is compelled to embark on new ones, and against this compulsion "A Husband," "A Father," and "A Patriot" write letters to the press and rage in vain. She rages just as much as they; but she sees no way of escape.

Most women—and nearly all busy women—buy their clothes now ready-made. They cannot get anything that is not in the fashion, because there is no such thing to be got. Even if they order their dresses, the dressmaker will not make them unfashionable. It is childish to say "go to another dressmaker," for in this all dressmakers are alike. It therefore happens that women, if they buy any clothes at all, must buy what is the shape, colour, and character of the hour.

A dressmaker here and there is willing to make something

different; a woman here and there courageous enough to persist in wearing out her old dresses. So great, however, is the prevailing uniformity, that she merely looks like a freak. She may be all right, but she looks all wrong. She, probably, can afford to look like a freak still less than she can afford new clothes. She has to get and keep her post, commend her cause, please her relations.

Is there no way out? We believe there is. Women, instead of wailing and lamenting, should start shops of their own on the co-operative system, where the wishes of the buyer are consulted before the profits of the seller. At such shops, clothes should be obtainable whose design is governed by the intention to be as little extreme in fashion as is possible without making the wearer look peculiar. The general appearance must be in harmony with the fashions, but a clever designer can, if she will, modify them to a good deal. For instance, a narrow skirt, at the worst period, could look narrow without being either hampering or indecent. And now, we do not doubt that a wide skirt can be made to look all right without being too heavy to wear with comfort. Moreover, those who never allowed their skirts to shrink to a tube can still wear what they had without looking absolutely mad. But most of us, as has been seen, had to wear not what we liked but what we could get.

Such co-operative shops would exercise a moderating influence on the fashions, and might in the end altogether control them. In the meantime, individuals can already do something, especially if they are women of means and leisure. Let them all buy the least extreme in fashion, of anything that is offered to them, and if they are not obliged to buy ready-made clothes, let them insist—not on what is unfashionable, for that is impossible—but on the most moderate form of the fashion. If they do this, they will make things a little less difficult for women who literally cannot afford new clothes. If the women who can will help, even as individuals, much may be done. And if these fortunate ones can afford not only new clothes for themselves but more yet, let them remember that it is much sounder economically to order two dresses that are really useful to two persons, than to order one "luxurious" garment for one.

Sore Places in Europe.

III.—The Southern Slav Question.

Problems of War and Peace are discussed in THE COMMON CAUSE in a series of articles by well-known writers. Contributors are left free to express their own opinions, which must not be assumed to represent the official views of the N.U.W.S.S.

Even after eight months of war, there are large sections of the British public who still fail to realise the true meaning of war and its attendant horrors. I wish that some of these people could have accompanied Mr. Trevelyan and me on our visit to Serbia last January. None of the belligerents have suffered from such terrible handicaps as Serbia, and yet she alone of all the belligerents has hitherto been uniformly successful. Since the autumn of 1912 she had waged two fierce wars, and quelled a formidable rising, under circumstances such as strained the material resources of a small country of three million peasants almost to breaking point. And yet, despite the exhaustion consequent upon such events, Serbia, after a brief respite of nine months, has become involved in a third war against a far more powerful and dangerous enemy, and so far from allowing herself to be overwhelmed, has successfully repelled three successive attempts at invasion on the part of Austria-Hungary. Those who already knew at first-hand the splendid qualities of the Serbian infantry, the deadly precision of their gunners, the ideal relations which unite officers and men in a common bond, had from the first only one fear—that they might be overwhelmed by sheer force of numbers. Happily, the Russian offensive in Galicia compelled Austria-Hungary to retain her main forces in the north—and though the armies sent against the Serbs were each time superior, they could not resist the victorious élan of veterans defending their native soil. The sudden rally of the Serbian army last December, and its decisive rout of the enemy at the very moment when their "punitive expedition" seemed at last on the point of succeeding, will unquestionably rank as one of the great achievements of the war. Nor have we heard the last of the Serbs. When Roumania's entry becomes an accomplished fact, they will form the left wing of the great offensive movement which Russia is organising against Hungary, and of which the fall of Przemysl was the necessary preliminary.

The Serbs, like their Bulgarian neighbours, are a race of peasant proprietors, organised on the most democratic lines possible. Their whole history for centuries has centred in a

desperate struggle against the Turks. The mediæval Serbian Empire has produced more than one great ruler, lawgiver, and saint, and under Stephen Dushan (1336-1356) it assumed for a short time the position of a Great Power. Yet only a generation later came its Flodden, the great battle of Kosovo, or the Field of the Blackbirds, where the last of the Serbian Tsars perished, and with him Serbian independence (1389). The four succeeding centuries were a long nightmare of utter subjection, which proved up to the hilt the brutal proverb, "The grass does not grow beneath the Turkish hoof." But despite the extermination of its nobility by the conqueror, despite the human bloodtax which swelled his armies and perpetuated their sway, despite economic decay and physical bondage the Serb race stubbornly preserved its national tradition. Its popular ballads kept alive the memories of past renown, its national priesthood, backward and ignorant as they were, upheld their belief in the dawn of a brighter future. At length, amid the convulsions of the Napoleonic wars, the dry bones of nationality began to stir; and of all races under Turkish rule, it was the Serbs among whom the first assumed the breath of life. Other Balkan nations—Greeks, Roumanians, Bulgarians—owe their freedom to the intervention of one or other of the Great Powers. Serbia alone can fairly claim to be what she has made herself. Unaided, she wrested her independence from the Turk, unaided—indeed, often hampered by the intrigues and jealousies of the Powers—she laid the foundations of a new peasant community. To Russia, to France, and in common fairness be it said, above all to Austria, she owes much in the way of inspiration and example; but the decisive work has always been that of her own sons. Russia saved her from annihilation in 1877, when the Bosnian rising had involved her in a fresh war with the Turks; Austria rescued her from the results of her own aggressive folly in attacking Bulgaria in 1885; but all the time her constitutional, educational, and agrarian development followed peculiarly Serbian lines. Equally characteristic is the fact that the Serbs alone of Balkan races established a national dynasty, unlike Greece, Roumania, and Bulgaria, which imported their rulers from Germany and Denmark. But, unhappily, with their usual exuberance, the Serbs were not content with one dynasty; the families of their two great national leaders, Kara George and Milosh Obrenovitch, contended for the throne, and on three occasions stained with each other's blood the otherwise glorious annals of the little state.

Assassination has always been rife in the Balkans from the days of Byzantium to those of Enver Pasha; and never has it been employed more frequently than in the civilised West during the last three decades. But the peculiar curse of the Serbian feud lay in the fact that each dynasty inevitably gravitated to one of the two Great Powers whose struggle for political predominance in the Balkan Peninsula has been the central fact of Serbian foreign policy for a century past, and has done so much to precipitate the present war. Milan and Alexander, the two kings of the Obrenovitch dynasty, were little better than paid agents of Vienna, and at the same time secured for Serbia a permanent rubric in the columns of the Yellow Press, as a result of their repeated violations of the constitution and the endless scandals of their private life. In 1903 the hideous but inevitable crash came; the impossible king, and his still more impossible wife were removed by a crime whose peculiar brutality will long secure for it pre-eminence in the records of political assassination, but which certainly produced the same effect as a drastic operation on a festering sore. Since the nightmare of this feud has been removed, the Serbian nation has taken a new lease of life, and changes alike in politics, in thought, and education, and in the army have been rapid and radical. The proof of this change lies in the triumphs of the Balkan wars.

Parallel with this national revival in Serbia, there has been a corresponding growth of national feeling among her kinsmen in Austria-Hungary. For it can never be emphasised sufficiently that Serbia and Montenegro—that warworn but impregnable fortress of Serb mountaineers, which alone of all the Southern Slav race maintained its freedom throughout the centuries—are only one half of the problem which this war has raised in so acute a form. The other half is provided by the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes—seven millions as opposed to four millions in the two independent Serb Kingdoms—who form over 90 per cent. of the population of the southern provinces of the Dual Monarchy.*

* Serb and Croat, it should be noted, are the closest possible kinsmen, the Serb language being merely Croat written in the Cyrillic alphabet, or the Croat language being Serb written in Latin characters—the sole dividing line between them is that of religion, the Croats being Catholics and the Serbs Orthodox. Slovene is a kindred dialect, but the difference between Slovene and Croat is less than that between Danish and Norwegian.

But though united under one dynasty, they are far less united than their kinsmen across the frontier; for they are split up into a number of provinces, enjoying varying degrees of autonomy and subject to different legal and administrative forms. Dalmatia, Istria, and Carniola with their local Diets own allegiance to the Austrian Parliament: Croatia-Slavonia is autonomous under Hungary, but subject to Magyar political control: the Banat and the Bacska are integral portions of the Hungarian Kingdom; while Bosnia and Herzegovina are governed jointly by Austria and Hungary.

Political discord has been accentuated by economic factors; the systems of freights and local taxation in Croatia and Bosnia have been exploited in the interests of the Magyars, and in their interests, too, railway connections between these two provinces and Dalmatia have been artificially prevented or manipulated. This and the corrupt political regime established in Croatia by the Magyar oligarchy, led to a growing perception among the younger generation of Croats and Serbs, that progress without national unity was impossible. The formation of the Serbo-Croat Coalition in 1905 marks a turning point in Serbo-Croat history. For the last ten years the current sets ever stronger in the direction of unity, and every fresh attempt on the part of Budapest and Vienna to stem it has only served to deepen the channel. The gross scandals of the Agram High Treason Trial and the Friedjung forgeries revealed to Europe the methods employed to ruin the Southern Slavs. At last, in 1912, Magyar repression culminated in the arbitrary suspension of the Croatian Constitution by the Hungarian Premier, and in the suppression of the charter of the Serb-Orthodox Church in Hungary. Then came Serbia's victories in the Balkan Wars, and henceforth all the aspirations of the Southern Slav race have centred in Serbia the Liberator.

Unity above all, is the cry opposed to the old catchword of "Divide et Impera." If Austria had been prepared to achieve this unity for them (as some far-seeing politicians at Vienna wished), all the Southern Slavs of the Monarchy would have been enthusiastically Austrophil, and such a reconciliation would soon have transformed Austro-Serbian relations for the better. If Hungary had been willing to renounce her traditions of oligarchy and racial dominance and to place herself at the head of a free federation of races, then they would as certainly have been Hungarophil. But the proof of the pudding is in the eating. While Austria theorised about unity and Hungary openly misgoverned, Serbia assumed the leadership of the race by her triumphant expulsion of the Turks from Macedonia. Events have shown only too clearly that Austria was too inert for the task before her, that Hungary was irretrievably hostile and resolved to ruin her partner's best intentions, and that history had reserved for Serbia the rôle of a Southern Slav Piedmont. To-day Serbia is not merely engaged in the defence of her independence; she is also fighting a war of liberation, and her victory will remove a permanent danger centre from the map of Europe. It is Britain's duty to help her to achieve her dream of unity.

R. W. SETON-WATSON.

The Way of Permanent Peace.

Never in the whole history of the Women's Crusade has there been greater cause for activity than at the present time, and there is reason to fear that, with hearts and minds absorbed in the pressing need of attempting to alleviate suffering, the voice of woman eloquent in pleading, the strength of woman exerted to the utmost in executing this noble and necessary work, may be lost in the clamour of congested interests which will make itself heard when the dawn of peace approaches.

The present great world tragedy, among other things, has hammered home a realisation of some elementary truths which, if clearly pointed out, will do more to hasten men's appreciation of the justice and reasonableness of the demands of the Suffragist, than would have been gained by twenty years of ordinary campaigning.

The main stock argument against the Suffragist has always been that at "rock bottom" the world was governed by brute force, and that the man who "paid the piper" was entitled to "call the tune." It was never a sound argument, because it applied equally to all men over 40 and to all Quakers; but let that pass. More important is the fact that the press of the civilised world is unanimous in protesting that the day when rule by brute force was possible is past, that the forces of

civilisation must combine to prove that such archaic dreams of Empire by conquest, though not Utopian, are more valid than any idealistic vision, and that the basis of authority for governments, at any rate among civilised people, is the wish of the people governed.

Civilised people have come to regard the national conscience as expressed by a Parliamentary majority, as the best available expression of what a nation thinks just and right. If the whole nation is represented, if each individual man and woman vote according to his conviction, if Parliamentary voting is carried on by genuine majorities, not by the grouping of small sections to further the interests of one another, the position would be absolutely sound. The vote of the individual would represent his political conscience, the vote of a member would represent the political conscience of his constituency, and a Parliamentary majority would represent as nearly as possible, the national conscience. Government would be carried on with as great a degree of divine authority as the mind of man has up to the present been able to conceive.

For such a government, any man who preferred law to anarchy might reasonably be called upon to exert active force, regardless of his personal sympathies, if it needed force to suppress an appeal to force in opposition to its expressed judgments. If a Parliamentary majority, by grouping of sections for the purpose of materially forwarding sectional desires, passes legislation not desired by the actual majority of members, there is a logical argument created for an appeal to force. If a large section of mankind are unrepresented, they have a logical right to the same unlawful appeal.

The practical wisdom of that appeal is another question. The ethical righteousness of such an appeal, if logically carried out on a large scale in a world slowly muddling along towards kinder, juster ideals, is also another question. The logical justice of such actions holds a strong position for argument. In order to make all anarchical actions absolutely unjustifiable and universally hated, we have first to see that all who are governed have a voice in the government, and then to see that our machinery of government is such that it expresses the wish of the majority. Civil war would then become a practical impossibility. How might international war be made equally unlikely? The theoretical principles are absolutely the same. It is obvious that at present the machinery is lacking. There can be no expression of the international conscience without an international council, we no longer allow an individual by his personal strength, to fight to forward his interests. The McPhersons no longer fight the McGregors to forward their interests; even the Scotch group of clans is unlikely to fight the Welsh group, but will more probably agree to arrange any clashing interests in a common council. But nation still fights nation according to the old laws of tribal warfare. The individual may not fight the individual; the family may not fight the family; the tribe may not fight the tribe; but, roughly, race still fights race. There is a strong tendency to distrust alliances, to regard only as trustworthy and permanent such alliances as are founded on community of interests and of race. Community of interest alone is enough. Scotland, Ireland, England, and Wales differ widely in race and religion. Their interests also often clash—but they have come to agree that their common interest to be at peace with one another is greater than their clashing interests.

With more perfect parliamentary machinery, the risk of anarchy on a small scale, or of civil war on a larger scale would be reduced to vanishing point. This indicates the only way in which permanent peace may be rendered probable. The road is no matter of theory, but a simple process of growth in the evolution of civilisation, a simple process of expansion of organisation of the forces for law against lawlessness. The solid basis of alliance for nations, as it has been for units and for tribes, is the desire for peace, the desire for law and justice rather than lawlessness and injustice. The machinery, in the form of an international council, must be created.

All nations wishing to rank as civilised and to belong to such a confederation, must agree to support its decisions, if necessary by force. If a few powerful nations joined such a confederation, others, even if they wished it, could not afford to stand out. If they did, they would be unrepresented on the Council, and could not hope to oppose its decisions. Armaments would dwindle by a natural process. An artificial limitation in the absence of fresh legislation, would only prolong war. No nation would be satisfied that they were beaten until they had time to prepare the utmost fighting force of which they were capable, and had found it ineffective.

R. D. PARKER, M.A., M.D.

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Table listing donors and amounts for the N.U.W.S.S. Scottish Women's Hospital. Includes columns for names, amounts, and cumulative totals.

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The International Women's Relief Committee—7, Adam Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Destitute Aliens' Committee—Secretary: Mr. E. Sebag Montefiore, Home Office.

Aliens' Relief Fund—Hon. Treasurer: W. Hanbury Aggs, Esq., Barclay's Bank, Pall Mall East, S.W.

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