

The Common Cause

OF HUMANITY.

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

LAW-ABIDING.] **Societies and Branches in the Union 561.**

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IMPORTANT NOTICE.—Owing to war-time conditions it is now impossible to have as much matter set up on Wednesdays as we have hitherto been able to do. We therefore beg that articles and letters should be sent in not later than Tuesday morning, first post.

Notes and News.

Restoration Committees.

On Friday last the President of the Board of Trade received a deputation representing the Trade Union Congress Parliamentary Committee, which presented resolutions passed at the recent Congress at Bristol. Among the issues raised was the employment of women as war emergency workers in the engineering trades and their replacement by men after the war. Mr. Runciman stated that in regard to the position of women war workers the Government had anticipated the deputation, and the Board of Trade had already under consideration the setting up of Restoration Committees, so that when the war ended some machinery should be available for dealing with questions which might arise owing to the return of men and women to their normal occupations. The Committees, when established, would, he hoped, be fair and impartial, and of such a character as to prevent any suspicion arising in the minds of workers that pledges given by the Government would not be carried out in their strictest sense.

It is essential that a considerable proportion of women should be placed upon these Committees. The restoration, after the war, of trade union restrictions, which has been definitely undertaken by the Government, may mean that thousands of women will be thrown out of skilled employment which they have only just been allowed to enter by a temporary suspension of union rules. We hope that, having grown accustomed to working with women, men in the engineering trades will take a more broad-minded view than in the past. But it would be folly to count too much on this. Plans must be made in advance for drafting women into other trades, and, where necessary, for providing training. Much is being written about capturing German trade, and in this future industrial competition women can play as important a part as they are doing now in keeping our troops supplied with munitions. But if full use is to be made of their services they must be trained and organised.

Trade Board for Tailoring Trade.

Another question raised by the deputation was that of the extension of the Trades Boards Act to women employed in tailor-

ing work, and the appointment of more inspectors in connection with the tailoring trade. Mr. Runciman, in reply, said that however much the Government might desire to do so it was impossible for them just now to deal with questions involving legislation. He acknowledged that good work had been done by the Trade Boards, and promised that any request for the extension of their scope at the proper time would receive his support.

Wanted—Eleven Women in the Cabinet.

"Would the war be in a better state if the Cabinet had been composed of an equal number of men and women?" says the *Daily Mail*, of February 21st. "The question is being seriously discussed by many, who have been amazed at the quick and splendid way in which women are taking to war life.

"We are inclined to think that the quick wits and vigorous tongues of eleven practical ladies would have insisted that out of the Twenty-two there should be selected a real leader, able and willing to say firmly 'Yes' or 'No,' 'Look ahead!' and 'What about the weekly bills?' Would the Twenty-two be so fond of praising themselves and each other in public if a few home truths were regularly uttered by some shrewd feminine critics at those interminable and futile mutual admiration debates? Women, the practical-minded sex, not only talk but also act."

"We Shall Need Their Help—"

"In literal truth," says the *Glasgow Herald*, "we are being saved by our women, and when the war is over we shall find that it will be as impossible to re-establish the fabric of peaceful life and industry without their active assistance as to hope to finance our obligations without taxation continued upon a war basis. But we do our women-folk an injustice by placing their help in a category with a depressing fact. . . . We desire them to accept our appreciation of what they are doing now in the shape of a candid admission that we know that we shall not be in a state to bear the burden that will well-nigh crush us unless they deign to give us that buoyant comradeship which is now easing the way to victory. We shall need their help in almost every department of the nation's multifarious activity, and, without mental reservations of any sort, we ask them to consider themselves henceforth as of ourselves (!)—not for the period of the war only—endowed with all the responsibilities of citizenship. Is there any taint of the self-conceit of mere man in this?" continues the *Glasgow Herald*. "If there be, we crave that it will be believed it is the spirit and not the form of words that they are desired to regard, for the gods know that man in his heart has long since lost faith in the primal superstition of his sex-superiority. . . . We sum up everything in this: the women are magnificent, and the nation is more indebted to them than it can at present express."

The Men Won't Stand It.

"In consequence of a report of the Chief Constable that drinking among women in Berwick is increasing," reports *The Manchester Guardian*, "the local magistrates have promoted a petition asking the Government to retain a portion of the separation allowance of soldiers' wives. They have invited the support of the clergy."

Here is an interesting instance of the grandmotherly legislation which "you can't expect a man to stand." The male dipsomaniac is permitted to squander his own and his wife's earnings, to starve his children, and break up his home with practically

complete immunity from the attentions of the magistracy. No portion of his pay is likely to be attached for the purpose of supporting those dependent upon him. No suffering which he inflicts would be thought sufficient ground by a magistrate for "promoting a petition" to the Government to take measures to protect the mother of the coming generation from the intemperate habits of the male parent. It is seldom even thought ground enough for issuing a separation order. But the wife is another matter. Legislator and administrator vie with each other in devising new restrictions, pains, and penalties for the voteless sex. It is a game which, apparently, possesses infinite attractions, and it can be played with impunity. The magistrates of Berwick would never dream of any encroachment on the right of the male to drink to his own detriment and that of the community; but women, who are not protected from the consequences of their husbands' intemperance, must be protected against themselves, even at the cost of establishing an inquisition.

Women for the Land.

Good progress has been made in the Board of Agriculture's scheme for organising women to replace men on the land. The Women's County Committees, appointed by Lord Selborne, have done real service in bringing home to women the urgency of the need, and preparing a register of those willing to help, but a large number of volunteers are still needed. Miss Talbot, who is in charge of this new branch of the Board of Agriculture, states that she is receiving satisfactory reports of the way in which women are responding to the appeal and taking up their duties, not only in the lighter classes of work, of which alone most people believed they would prove capable, but in carting, ploughing, and the management of horses and other stock.

A uniform is to be provided, consisting of a long coat made of strong washable linen, to be worn with or without a short skirt of the same material, knickers, black leather gaiters, and strong nailed boots. These can be obtained through the secretaries of the Women's County Committees.

Women's Suffrage in Holland.

FROM A CORRESPONDENT.

A manifesto has been issued by the Netherlands National Council of Women to the Second Chamber of the Staaten-Generaal demanding that the Constitution Bill shall be so amended that the right of women to vote shall not only be accepted in principle, but that permission for its immediate practical application shall be introduced into the Constitution, so that women, as well as men, may immediately be able to exercise this right.

After pointing out the success of Women's Suffrage in those countries where it is already in force, the Memorial continues:—

"The Netherlands National Council of Women, believing that the work of man and woman must in every sphere complement that of the other, if the perfect human task is to be accomplished, have missed no opportunity to make their position clear. In their address to the Minister of the Interior, in 1909, and to the State Commission for the Revision of the Constitution, in 1911, they insisted upon the necessity of granting political rights to the women citizens of the Netherlands, and, later, brought to the knowledge of the Minister of the Interior the Resolutions of their General Meeting, of April, 1914, accepting the principle of the constitutional equality of men and women.

1. The Netherlands National Council of Women wishes, in the first place, to express a word of thanks to the Government for giving special thought to this question in their Bill for the revision of the Constitution, and for having, in part at least, met the wishes of the women of the Netherlands.

They are grateful to note that Article 80 places on the legislator the duty of admitting women to the ballot. They note with special satisfaction that the Netherlands Government recognise, to quote the *Memorie van Toelichting*, "that it is more advantageous than disadvantageous for a State that women should share in its management." They see in this conviction the only just, and in itself acceptable, argument which is decisive for, or against, the introduction of Woman Suffrage.

2. The Council is the more surprised that, notwithstanding, no guarantee is given in the Bill for the actual introduction of votes for women; indeed, the actual wording of Article 80 has the effect of making the practical application of the principle, for an indefinite time, illusory. Besides, in additional Article VII. it is proposed to change the basis of the franchise by immediately giving universal suffrage to men—whereas the exclusion of women is continued; and the proposed constitution at the same time fails to put any pressure on the legislator, suggesting that he should soon alter the basis of the franchise law so as to bring it into accordance with the new constitution.

Where to Apply.

In some districts women wishing to work on the land do not seem to know how to find out where their services are needed. We are informed that local Labour Exchanges are sent daily from Headquarters lists of vacancies in all parts of the county, and the Exchanges, too, would be able to give inquirers the address of the secretary of the Women's Committee, if one has been formed in the county.

It is part of the Government's scheme to establish Women's Committees in each county, with some person in every village to act as registrar, working under the Committee. This part of the scheme is, however, only working at present in some twenty-five counties. The Committees will receive applications both from farmers in the neighbourhood who have openings for women and from women who wish to work upon the land, and will bring the two together.

Women on the Appeal Tribunals.

Bearing in mind the recommendation of the Local Government Board, that "the women of the country are as intimately concerned in the outcome of the war as are men, and many of the cases which will come before the tribunals will be of a kind in which the advice of women will be of great service," the Farnham Urban Council has decided, by seven votes to four, to include two women on the Military Service Tribunal. We learn that women have also been appointed at Brighton and Worthing.

Latest News of Serbian Units.

We are hoping that Dr. Elsie Inglis and the remainder of the party will return to this country from Vienna at the end of the week.

Dr. Mary Blair writes from Ajaccio that the Refugee Hospital is invaluable for the soldiers, who were worn out with the hardships of the retreat. They have so far only had three deaths among patients, and are triumphant at having pulled nearly all the acute cases through, though some were desparately bad.

By the immediate introduction of Manhood Suffrage the pressure now brought on the Legislature for the alteration of the basis of the franchise by men will be lost, because all men will have votes. The danger in that case is that the women of the Netherlands would have to be contented for many a long year with the empty promise in the Constitution.

3. In the second place, the Council of Women is astonished that the Government propose to leave to the legislator the solution of a problem as it affects women, which they themselves have declared "to be insoluble," in the case of men, namely, to find a criterion on which could be given a limited suffrage.

"The Government official argument in favour of their Bill is:—

(a) That capacity and economic position—"the most recent expression of the idea which originally was the condition for the granting of the suffrage"—give no sufficient guarantee for the electoral capacity of the individual voter.

(b) That even the idea of combining the vote with special conditions must be given up, because the individuality of the voter has been lost in that of the masses; and because the value of the decision of the voter lies in the collective opinion "about principles of justice," and because "what one asks of the voters to-day is not the capacity to judge about different questions of government, but to take such interest in public affairs that he is able to judge about the programmes of the political parties and to make up his mind as to which political party he may wish to belong."

(c) That, consequently, the exclusion of a part of the citizens from the right to vote has no justification and will divide the nation into two parts, the one, the governors, and the other, the governed.

"The consequences of such action have been quite recognised by the Government in the case of man suffrage. But would not the consequences be the same if the action were taken with respect to woman suffrage? The Government, so far as appears from their present Bill, has answered this question in the negative, quoting the opinion of those who see in women's taking part in the life of the State a weakening of their natural function. But as this opinion must necessarily lead to maintaining the principle of the exclusion of women, the Women's Council desires to say a word in vindication of their right.

It is of opinion that the question of what is women's calling or vocation in society can never be decided either by giving or withholding the vote. That depends on the development of internal forces, the growth of which cannot be kept back by the peremptory decree of an external power. On the contrary, taking part in government does not cause any change in the womanly function; but the great change which the position and

work of women has undergone makes her demand with ever greater force a share in government and her rights as a citizen. The factors which effect a change in the function of woman are outside the sphere of the practical statesman. He may refuse to recognise her development, but he cannot keep it back. He may stop the clock but he can't keep back time.

"The Dutch Government say that the time for a decision on this question has not yet come. The National Council of Women declares its conviction that the vocation of women in our common life (of which it recognises the great importance and special difficulties) need not be solved by the Government, and cannot be solved by giving or withholding the vote; but that the question has advanced so far in their country that the introduction of Woman Suffrage can only be considered as the legal recognition of a phase in their development, which is, in fact, already here.

"The wish of the Government to meet the opponents of Woman Suffrage made them propose a solution, by which the constitutional exclusion of women was removed, and made them leave to the legislator full liberty to give the Suffrage to women at such time and on such terms as he may decide. This proposal, with its two sides, satisfies neither party. The opponent does not

agree with the proposal which accepts the principle of Woman Suffrage and leaves its practical application by gradual extension to the legislator. The supporters cannot be satisfied with a theoretical recognition of the rights with its practical application postponed to the Greek Kalends and dependent on a criterion which it was impossible to find in the case of men.

"The Dutch Government, although of opinion that the present democracy is dangerous and has many weaknesses, have yielded to the general pressure because the reform cannot be held back. May this expression of the desire of the National Council of Women, the central council of the organised women of the Netherlands, help to convince them that the Woman Suffrage problem has also reached a phase when it cannot be kept back.

"As the Government have recognised the danger of dividing the population into governing and governed ("division leads political energy into revolutionary channels"), they should also see the danger of excluding women. Society can only gain when the forces and energy of its women, which are now concentrated on the struggle for the vote, can be used along with the men's in finding a solution of the many social problems for which the insight of both is necessary."

Separation Allowances.

AN EXPERIMENT IN THE STATE ENDOWMENT OF MATERNITY.—I.

The traditions of the War Office and the Admiralty are proverbially conservative, and their officials are doubtless unconscious that in the system of separation allowances they have been conducting what is, in effect, the greatest experiment that the world has ever seen in the State endowment of maternity. In intention the system was, so far as one can judge, based on no considerations other than those of military and naval necessities. The outbreak of the war found the country the possessors of a great Navy and a small standing Army, both composed mainly of unmarried men. It had always been one of the traditions of the Navy not to recognise marriage. Jack Tar might have liked to have a wife in every port, each with a family of children. The authorities took no cognisance of any of them, except to protect the sailor from even the very moderate and ineffective amount of constraint which the civilian's wife is able to bring upon an errand husband in order to exact maintenance for herself and her little ones. In the Army, from the Boer War onwards, a small proportion of the men were permitted to have wives "on the strength," and these were entitled, while the soldier was on foreign service, to a very modest separation allowance provided partly by Government, but with a considerable contribution out of the soldier's small pay. At the outbreak of the present war it quickly became obvious that these provisions were insufficient, and that it would be impossible to secure men enough for either Navy or Army unless the recruits could be assured that in addition to risking their own lives they were not leaving their families to penury. Separation allowances were promised, first to the wives and children, and afterwards, in succession, to all other classes of dependants of both soldiers and sailors. The amount contributed by the State was increased and increased again; the contribution required from the soldier was diminished. The scale at present in use dates from March, 1915, and is commonly agreed to be as generous as any flat rate of allowances could reasonably be expected to be. It is sufficient at least to place the large majority of dependants of soldiers and sailors in as good or better a position financially than that which they occupied before the war, while the needs of the minority of better-class families for whom the flat rate was insufficient have hitherto been met partly by grants from employers and partly out of quasi-official voluntary funds.

At present, the separation allowance for the wife of a soldier of the lowest rank is 12s. 6d. a week, of which the soldier contributes 3s. 6d. To this is added an allowance of 5s. for the first child, 3s. 6d. for the second child, and 2s. for every subsequent child. The sailor, being considerably better paid than the soldier, is expected to contribute a higher proportion and the State a lower proportion of the wife's allowance, and the total works out, according to the measure of the husband's generosity, at a sum rather greater or less than that of the soldier's wife.

It is sometimes wrongly supposed that the separation allowance is part of the soldier's wages. If this were so, obviously a raw recruit who happens to have a wife and six

children would not receive something like treble as much as an experienced sergeant unmarried and with no dependants. Further, the separation allowance is the possession of the wife and not of the husband, and cannot be drawn by him even with her consent. It is a grant made to her by the State so that she may keep up the soldier's home and maintain his children for him until he returns, and it can be forfeited if it is proved to the War Office that she has neglected to perform this duty, either by infidelity to her husband or neglect of the children, or aggravated drunkenness. Thus, the allowance has, in fact (whatever the intention of the Government may have been), two characteristics which we should expect to find in a system of State endowment of maternity, viz., it is a statutory payment to a woman in respect of her functions as wife and mother, and it is proportionate in amount to the number of her children.

This aspect of separation allowance has, I think, been rather strangely overlooked by most students of social economics. They do not seem to have realised that the system affords a priceless opportunity for studying some at least of the actual workings of State endowment as we might expect to find them if the system or something similar to it, were continued in times of peace and extended to all civilians' wives. Of course, the analogy is very incomplete, because the conditions under which separation allowances are granted are so abnormal. To mention only a few of the probable differences between the present system and a permanent universal system of State endowment of maternity: First, the allowance given under the latter would not be *separation* allowances, because in the great majority of cases the husband would be resident at home. Secondly, the childless wife of a soldier draws an allowance, because, the war being an unexpected and temporary emergency, it would be unreasonable to *compel* her to become a wage-earner. But it is unlikely that the State would think it necessary to endow childless, able-bodied wives of civilians. Thirdly, the full economic effects of State endowment upon the wages of men and women find no exact parallel in the separation allowance system, because the conditions of employment in the Army are both abnormal and temporary.

But, making allowances for these and other points of difference, the points of similarity are quite sufficient to make the present system profoundly interesting and significant to all social students, and especially to all feminists who are not too absorbed in the problems of the war to keep their eyes open to the problems of the future. What lessons can we learn from it as to the probable effect of a State endowment of maternity on the welfare of the race, on the homes of the people, on the health of children, on the status of women, on the relations between married couples, on the relations between men and women in industry, on the organisation of labour and its productivity? The limitations of space available for two articles in THE COMMON CAUSE only permit a very brief reply, just sufficient, it may be hoped, to suggest to readers the necessity for a more detailed study.

The first point about separation allowances which "saute aux yeux," is that the amount depends on the size of the family. It is not so, of course, with the civilian's wage, although it is

the source out of which his family has to be kept. He cannot go to his employer and say: "My wife has borne me another child. That is another mouth to feed. Please increase my wages by two shillings." In some trades and professions, where skill is slowly acquired, it may be that increases in a man's wages due to his improved value coincide roughly with the growth of his family. But, in unskilled labour and even in many skilled occupations where physical strength is very important, a man's maximum value is attained at an early age, often before he is married. As a bachelor his income affords an ample margin for his pleasures. When he marries, what has sufficed for one has to suffice for two; as children come, it has to suffice for three, four, five, six, seven, eight—for as large a family as he chooses to have. This has several alternative results, all of them more or less unfortunate. At the best, husband and wife restrict more and more closely their personal expenditure, till all but bare necessities have been given up. As each child is born, a bit is pinched off the share of its elders in order to make a portion for the new-comer. If the husband is selfish, it is the wife and children who do all the pinching. In an assembly of married working-women one can usually pick out at a glance which is the newly-married woman with a first baby. She is well-clad and comely; the baby kept "like a little prince." As the claims on her money and time increase her standard must be lowered. The home is less well-kept, the children are worse clad and worse disciplined. She herself becomes haggard and forlorn, or coarsened and shapeless. (Of course, there are miracle-working mothers of large families of which this is untrue, but they are a minority, though a substantial minority.)

If the couple are cautious and far-seeing they meet the difficulty in another way, by restricting the number of their children, without themselves suffering any inconvenient restraints. Public opinion has recently been getting alarmed at this rapidly-growing practice of limitation of families, but its quantitative effect is not the most serious. What really matters is not that the greater part of the upper, middle, and upper working-classes restrict their families, but that the strata below them, including the whole slum population, practice no such restriction. They multiply quite freely, and public health authorities combine with private benevolence to do just enough to keep the babies so born alive, but not enough to make them healthy. Hence, we are, as a nation, recruiting the national stock in increasing proportions from the lower and least desirable elements in the population, from those who have sunk into the lower strata because they are physically or mentally or morally degenerate.

The first advantage of separation allowances is, then, that it removes the temptation to undue restriction of families from those far-seeing and cautious parents who now practice it, and that it gives to the younger members of large families a better chance of healthy maintenance than they have ever had before. Almost unanimous testimony is borne by the visitors of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association to the improvement in the feeding, the clothing, and the health of the children of the men who have been serving during the first year and a-half of war, and that in spite of the burden of fear and anxiety which their mothers have had to bear.

ELEANOR F. RATHBONE.

(To be continued.)

Modern Russia.*

It is at least a conceivable thesis that if the peoples of the world were more interested in each other and could acquire more knowledge of each other wars would cease. But if we dare hope that mutual knowledge will in the future beget peace, it is equally true that war sometimes begets knowledge. This is certainly the case with the present "war of liberation." The European nations who are resisting the material and moral invasions of the sinister phantom which calls itself Germany, are bound together by something more than a military alliance, and it is not surprising that a passionate curiosity has been awakened amongst them. The nations are asking one another "What has Prussian militarism done to you? How have you resisted it in the past? How will you conquer it now?" And from these questions we necessarily pass to the kindred ones: "What are you? How have you grown? To what future are you tending?"

This intellectual interest is, moreover, strengthened by a more instinctive passion, the natural love of human beings for those whom they help. It is an encouraging fact that the gallant

* *La Russie Moderne*. By Gregoire Alexinsky. A new edition. (Flammarion, Paris. 3fr. 50c.)

men and women who devote themselves to the relief of suffering in the parts of the world in which suffering is greatest, commonly return to their own homes imbued with the belief that the people of the nation to whom they have been ministering are the bravest and noblest and the most interesting in the world. This is an additional proof—if any additional proof were needed—of how many brave, noble, and interesting people there are.

Even before the war the people of Western Europe had begun to realise that Russia is one of the most interesting of countries. English and French children, who had been used to picture it as one vast wilderness of snow over which troops of howling wolves pursued prisoners escaping from a still more distant and horrible place called Siberia, had grown up to marvel at the literature and music which revealed undiscovered regions of the soul. But not all of those who in the early months of 1914 were reading *The Brothers Karamazof*, or yielding themselves to the enchantments of the Russian opera, can be said to have had a very sympathetic attitude to the Russian nation; certainly very few knew anything of Russian conditions, and to many of us the Russian Alliance was one of the severest shocks of that dreadful summer.

Since then many things have happened. We have seen the greatness of the Russian people in victory and in reverse; we have seen what love and enthusiasm they inspire in those of our own compatriots who have worked for them and with them, and we have begun to understand—though still rather dimly—what this war of liberation means to Russia.

All this has made us want to know more, and the books dealing with Russian life that have recently appeared have found numerous and eager readers. One of the best of these is the book published in French and English by M. Gregoire Alexinsky, late member of the Duma. *La Russie Moderne* originally appeared in the spring of 1912. Its object, as stated by the author, was to help foreigners to study Russian conditions, and "to say a great deal in a very few words." In this task he has succeeded admirably. The book contains an extraordinary amount of matter compressed into a very small space, and every page of it is interesting. M. Alexinsky does not give a roseate picture of Russian life. The evils of a capitalist system superimposed on conditions which in other respects are almost mediæval, the evils caused by an overgrown, selfish, inefficient bureaucracy, the evils which result from the entire lack of understanding between the educated class (which contains both the reactionaries and the revolutionaries), and the peasants are all painted in dark colours. But, even in 1912, Alexinsky had the courage to declare that the freedom of Russia was not—in the words of the Russian proverb—"beyond the mountains." In the chapter which he has written to complete the present edition of his book, he shows that the events of the last eighteen months have only increased his faith. It is his belief, as it is that of many modern Russians, that the worst elements of reaction in Russia are of German origin, and that the German autocracy has had a corrupting and destructive influence over Russia.

In the present war he sees the greatest hope that the Russian people will throw out the poison. In his eyes it is, in the truest sense, a war of liberation. If he is right we may hope that the victory of the Allies will set free a people at whose immeasurable possibilities of greatness we are only just beginning to guess, to do their full service to humanity. Whatever happens Russia will no longer be isolated from Western Europe. We hope and believe that none of the Allied nations will easily forget the knowledge of each other that they have acquired in this war.

I. B. O'M.

MATERNITY AND INFANT WELFARE.

The Women's Local Government Society has sent a memorial to the President of the Local Government Board urging that pressure should be exerted on those local authorities which are least conscious of the need for co-operation of women in maternity and infant welfare. The memorial says:—

"We venture to suggest that local authorities whose schemes have not as yet been approved by the Board might be advised by circular as to the provisions of some of the best local schemes and might at the same time be informed that no scheme will be approved by the Board which does not make full provision for the co-operation of women on committees and sub-committees for the care of mothers and young children. We should be glad if the Board could also see their way to introducing some similar condition (i.e., as to the co-operation of women as administrators) into the regulations under which grants in aid of local expenditure will be made by the Board after the termination of the year ending March 31st, 1916.

"It is more urgently necessary to seek the aid of the Local Government Board in this matter because on most of the councils all the members are men, and during the operation of the Elections and Registration Act no woman member can be added by popular election."

Correspondence.

MISS MARSHALL'S "COMPLETE SURRENDER."

MADAM,—It would interest me to have some elucidation of a curious phrase in your review of the "Labour Year Book." Your reviewer wrote—in reference to Miss Catherine Marshall's article on "The Future of Women in Politics":—"We are inclined to dissociate ourselves from her complete surrender to our old enemy, the Physical Force argument."

The Physical Force argument, stated syllogistically, runs, I imagine, something like this:—*Major Premise:* Government (being the application of compulsion) is directed solely by the physical force it can command. *Minor Premise:* Men always will be superior to women in the possession of compulsive physical force. *Conclusion:* Therefore men always will govern women (by the application of compulsion).

There is nothing wrong with the argument. If you admit the two premises, the conclusion justly follows, and no one can deny the minor premise. It is the major which all democrats (and Miss Marshall most assuredly) are concerned to deny. It was restated in an extreme form in the House of Commons, on November 15th last, by Mr. Bonar Law with regard to foreign affairs. He said that, in diplomacy, it is "the sword and the sword alone" which produces results. We do not deny that, far too often, this has been the case in the past. But we say that this is bad government and bad diplomacy, and that "sabre-rattling" of this kind leads to wars and militarism in foreign affairs, and to the loss of liberty and initiative and the death of democracy in home affairs; inevitably it leads to the subjection of women. Representative institutions, of which we have had the beginnings in the British Empire, are based upon the civilised conception of government by consent, informed by knowledge of the needs of the people and by their living co-operation.

Miss Marshall sees that the conception of government involved in the major premise is still strong, and that, if it were to prevail, women and small nations would remain subject to men and great nations, and she is doing her utmost in her generation to show the better way. Is that "surrender"?

H. M. SWANWICK.

THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL QUESTIONS.

MADAM,—I was delighted with the common-sense point of view in the admirable article by M. E. Burns in last week's COMMON CAUSE, and should like to echo it with all the emphasis I can.

A short while ago some men and women in Birmingham had a kind of semi-public discussion, or dramatic debate, on the question of "the kind of settlement that is to follow the war." Each country was represented by one person who was responsible for stating that country's point of view as far as it was possible. I happened to be Austria, and was made to realise, as I think many of us were, how profound and all-embracing our ignorance of the entire subject was. For days I worked hard every spare minute out of the twenty-four hours at Austrian history, especially modern history, the terms (secret and otherwise) of Treaties; the geographical and economical position of the Dual Monarchy, her relations, commercial and political, with other States; her ambitions, and the urgency of her various necessities in the way of facilities for trade expansion, &c.; her excellences and faults of internal government, her dangers and misapprehensions. Of course, I only got a very sketchy idea of all these subjects, but found them absorbingly interesting and enlightening, so far as they went. All the belligerent nations stated their case in short, concentrated speeches at the meeting, and then the neutrals stated theirs. There was naturally a good deal of fun, but the audience was serious and in earnest under the fun, and seemed intensely interested. A genuine Russian who was there to represent Russia was so much in earnest that he expressed his antipathy to me more vigorously than he apparently intended, for after the meeting he sought me out, though we had not met before, and shook hands to prove that there had been no real personal animus!

We did not arrive at any plans for a settlement that night; but two things came out with startling clearness from the debate: (1) That one of the vital causes of all wars might be found in *jealousy*; and (2) That the need for trade expansion and trade facilities was a need so paramount that each country might easily feel itself justified in going to war for the sole reason of keeping or obtaining commercial advantages and opportunities.

I have often wished since that such discussions could be held widely and often, even in schools. They might be made most profitable and instructive, and not only help us to be ready to take our share of the measure of responsibility which, as M. E. Burns points out, will fall to everyone when the time for settlement arrives, but also help to guard against future misunderstandings with foreign states.

CAROL RING.

A REAL ECONOMY.

"I was greatly interested," writes "B.Sc.," "in the Martha and Mary correspondence. I think that our war economies must be carefully thought out if they are not to absorb the little time the Marthas manage to save from household duties, but for my part, though I cut these down to the lowest possible limit, I think baking bread at home is worth while. From my experience of the western and southern counties I know that this is almost a lost art (except in some rural districts), and is generally considered difficult and burdensome. Here in Yorkshire, nearly everyone bakes at home, and, as a newcomer, I was forced to do the same, as delivery bread is almost an unknown thing. I spent one afternoon learning, and have now for five or six years baked one to two stone of flour every week without any serious mishap. I might perhaps meet an objection I have often heard: 'We have no proper oven.' Any oven will do provided it can be made hot, and a gas oven is the least trouble of all and quite economical."

A THOUGHT FOR THE WEEK.

"It has long been a grave question whether any government not too strong for the liberties of its people can be strong enough to maintain its existence in great emergencies."

Abraham Lincoln.

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R.S. 134E.

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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 Mr. 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.

The Council Meeting.

"Non avvertema, disse il mio Signore;
Fatti sicuro, chè noi siamo a buon punto:
Non stringer, ma rullarga ogni vigore."
PURGATORIO, CANTO 9, v. 46, 48.

Anyone who was labouring under the delusion that the Women's Suffrage movement had suffered eclipse, or from the strange misapprehension that the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies had given up the object for which it was formed, must have been agreeably surprised by the vigour and optimism of the Council Meeting held at the Chelsea Town Hall on Thursday and Friday, February 17th and 18th. The hall was crowded by delegates from every part of the country, and the proceedings throughout showed no decline in the vitality and keenness of the Societies forming the Union.

The prevailing note was one of optimism, and well it might be. During the year that had passed since the last annual meeting Suffrage had made notable progress: Denmark and Iceland had been added to the European countries which had enfranchised their women, and, more important still for this country, full Suffrage, with the right to be elected, had been given to women in one of the great Western States of Canada, Manitoba. Our Canadian friends tell us that it is certain that a similar measure will be adopted almost immediately in Saskatchewan and Alberta. These victories must have an influence in hastening the day when the women of the Dominion, as a whole, will be enfranchised, and this in its turn will have a powerful reflex action on our own status here. For everyone is agreed that after the wonderful way in which the great self-governing Daughter States sprang to the assistance of the Mother Country in August, 1914, and the great and heroic sacrifices they have made ever since for the common cause, it will become an absolute necessity, when the war is over, to form some federal bond between them and the Mother Country, and give their electorates some definite share in the control of policies which lead to peace and war. On the very day when Mr. Andrew Fisher, lately Premier of the Australian Commonwealth, came to London to take up his new duties as High Commissioner, he spoke to representatives of the Press on this point. Everyone knows that he has the proud record of having risen from the position of a working miner in Scotland to the Australian Premiership. He pointed out that he had more power over Imperial policy as a Scottish miner than he had as Head of the Government of the Australian Commonwealth. He is reported to have said, "If I had stayed in Scotland I should at least have been able to heckle my member on questions of Imperial policy, and to vote for or against him on that ground. I went to Australia. I have been Prime Minister. But all the time I have been there I have had no say whatever about Imperial policy—no say whatever. Now, that can't go on. There must be some change." When these words which we have italicised are translated into action what will happen?

Let us imagine that the next Imperial Conference is being held to consider how and in what proportion to give to the electorates of Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and South Africa their due share in the construction and guidance of Imperial policy, Imperial defence, and so forth. If Canada has by that time enfranchised its women, the great self-governing Dominions will, in the proportion of three to one, enter the Council Chamber, representing true democracies, i.e., the men and women of their countries, not sham democracies, with one-half of the

people entirely left out. This must in itself have a powerful effect in hastening the end of the political serfdom of women here. If women of Australia, New Zealand, and Canada may have their part in framing the Empire's policy and constitution, why should the women of Great Britain be left out? We should claim, and they would join us in claiming, that we, like themselves, should have our share in political privileges and responsibilities.

Already the annual Report had drawn attention to remarkable conversions, especially in the Press, to the conviction that the enfranchisement of women would be a national asset of great value. The only comment made by the delegates assembled at the Council upon this part of the Report, was to add new instances of this change of view. The work that women have done for their country during the war has changed many anti-Suffragists into Suffragists. One of them has said, in so many words, that this change was produced in him by "the adaptability, freshness of mind, unselfishness, and organising skill" of women; and he added what a good many of us had thought, that men had made such a mess of the world by their own unaided efforts that they needed helpers without "their prejudices, idleness and self-indulgence."

Another wonderful thing that has happened during the year was the breaking-down of the compulsory exclusion of women from the skilled trades. This is really an industrial revolution of the first importance, and, to my mind, one that is wholly to the good, not for women only but for the nation. The more a country can organise its social and legislative institutions so as to get the best work of which they are capable out of all its citizens, the better for that nation. To condemn women to low-grade industry, with miserable wages, to keep them out of occupations and professions which call forth their highest powers, is a wicked waste of national resources. I have likened an industrial change which is now taking place to the breaking-down of serfdom and villinage in the fourteenth century. This was done by the Black Death, and, similarly, it has taken this war, the greatest and most world-wide calamity of modern times, to break down the walls of exclusion which shut women out of the skilled industries.

How Women Can Increase Our Exports.

"WE MUST INCREASE OUR PRODUCTION."

We have all been told over and over again that national economy depends largely upon the savings made by women; so largely that the fortunes of the war and of the country have been said to rest in women's hands.

The fortunes of our country certainly rest, in another sense, in women's hands just now. For every man who goes to the firing line leaves behind him a gap which, after all the shifting is done, cannot be filled unless a woman comes forward somewhere to take up a man's work. Thousands upon tens of thousands of women have done this, and a heavy proportion of the wage-earning population has been diverted into war industries. But that is not enough. There are other industries beside munitions which are vitally necessary to us all.

WE MUST MAINTAIN OUR EXPORT TRADE.

We must maintain our export trade. We ought even to increase it, if that were possible. We must produce goods to sell abroad to help to pay for the debts which we are piling up. The more we export the more we earn, the more surely we maintain our financial strength. The more we produce at home for ourselves, the less we depend on neutral nations, the stronger our position will be. Yet all the while more men are wanted for the country's defence. Strength and skill go out of the trades, out of the factories, out of the fields; who is to carry on till the tide of war turns for us? Where are the labour and the brain-power to come from? We women of Britain know that we must look only to ourselves.

The women of Britain are saving and will save. The women of Britain are taking the places of brothers and husbands, working the lathes and guiding the plough. Women are wanted as "hands."

BUT THE NATION NEEDS WOMEN'S BRAIN-POWER AS WELL.

The rank-and-file is being replaced by women, but the higher commands, in the commercial world especially, need women badly enough. Doors that have been shut and bolted

The great astonishment expressed by many men at the industrial capabilities of women has been a little hard to bear. They studiously excluded us for generations from the skilled trades, and have taught themselves to imagine that it was because we were incapable of doing skilled work. They are now speaking in an awed voice of the "new and astounding revelation" of our powers. But this is one of the little trials which we must put up with and even smile at. The great fact remains that the walls of exclusion have been broken down and can never be put up again. Numbers of women are now beginning to do skilled work and to get suitable wages for it—large numbers of industrial women are getting £2 a week, and a few are getting £5 a week or even more.

It is with a justifiable complacency that the National Union may reflect that as early as August 27th, 1914, only three weeks after the declaration of war, the Executive Committee, on the motion of Miss Courtney, seconded by Miss Marshall, resolved to press upon the War Office the substitution of women for men in certain employments, specifying particularly "light machinery for armaments." We urged that arrangements for this should be made promptly in order that women might have time to get suitable training. Our suggestion met with no encouragement, and the "wait-and-see" policy was then predominant. But the whole Government is acting on it now, and, doubtless, entirely forgets that we ever suggested it to them.

A few of the speakers at the Council took gloomy views as to the industrial difficulties and disasters which they believed would ensue after the war. There certainly was a very bad time of industrial depression after the South African War, and there may be a similar and a much worse time after this war. It is most important to look forward and begin now to make arrangements with the view of preventing these disasters, or, at any rate, minimising them. We shall best do that by saving every possible penny now: by attending to training of all kinds, so that the best powers of both men and women are strengthened and developed; by promoting goodwill and mutual understanding between class and class and between sex and sex. The motto from the "Purgatorio" at the head of this article will perhaps be our best guide. MILLICENT GARRETT FAWCETT.

are opening wide. The war has broken down prejudices and altered conditions.

We have depended too much of late years upon foreign brain-power. We have "put out" too much of our commercial thinking in certain industries; and we are told that we are not careful enough of waste-products, and that (for want of applied chemistry) we "pour away money down the drains." But now, just when men are wanted for urgent reasons of national defence, manufacturers are realising that expert chemical knowledge and research are necessary for commerce. Industries are being revolutionised. A new impetus has been given to the study of coal-tar products and the dye trades. Workers are wanted. We cannot afford to lose time at the psychological moment. Under these circumstances, the entrance of scientifically-trained women into commercial chemistry should mean an increase of production at a moment when this is a national need of the first importance. We hope that our readers will recognise that this is an opportunity for putting women into the new field. Advertisements are now to be seen in technical journals, of good posts offered "to a qualified man or woman chemist." The new dye industries are giving a further impetus to research, and it is this specialists' work which is at present likely to be in demand. We appeal, therefore, to our readers for the very moderate sum necessary to endow.

TWO COMMON CAUSE SCHOLARSHIPS.

so as to give two qualified women science-students the necessary further special training of one year. ONE HUNDRED POUNDS would provide TWO SCHOLARSHIPS of fifty pounds each, which would cover all the expenses of lecture and laboratory fees, books, and equipment. Some donations have already been promised. Will not our readers who have taken up and worked at the problems of national economy with such keen and sustained interest, do their best for a scheme through which, it is hoped, women will add to the nation's resources?

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

Table listing donations to N.U.W.S.S. Scottish Women's Hospital, including names, amounts, and dates.

Table listing further list of beds named, including names of donors and the names of the beds.

The Hon Treasurer begs once more to thank all those who have helped and will be grateful to receive further donations to carry on the work.

FURTHER LIST OF BEDS NAMED.

Table listing further list of beds named, including names of donors and the names of the beds.

Would those of our subscribers who have so generously given beds, kindly refrain from sending tobacco to the occupants of the beds of France?

What Some of our Societies are Doing.

Eastern Counties Federation. The annual meeting of the General Committee of the Eastern Counties Federation was held at Cambridge on Saturday, February 5th, and was attended by about twenty members.

to the fund from the Federation as a whole, in addition to the collections made on various occasions, and sent in direct from separate societies. The energy of the Hon. Sec., Mrs. Vulliamy, had been largely responsible for this excellent result.

members met every week, and were given an address by a doctor, and tea was served at 1d. per head. This society had given £40 to the Scottish Hospital Fund. It was proposed by Miss O. J. Dunlop, Hon. Treasurer, that a Thrift Exhibition should be held in Cambridge, the proceeds to be used to provide funds for a Thrift campaign throughout the Federation, but as the meeting felt there was little likelihood of such an exhibition proving a financial success, the idea was abandoned.

There was also some further discussion as to the advisability of retaining the County Committees with their secretaries, the general sense of the meeting appearing to be in favour of the status quo.

Mrs. Vulliamy having resigned the secretaryship, and not standing for re-election, Miss Pullar was unanimously elected hon. sec. Mrs. Kellett also signified her resignation of the office of Hon. Press Secretary, and it was agreed that Miss Waring should be asked to undertake this office.

Miss Dunlop reported a balance in hand of about £90, which was being held for Federation purposes.

CAMBRIDGE.—At the annual meeting of the W.S.A., held on January 28th, the President, Mrs. Heitland, in her opening remarks called attention to the progress that had been made during the war in general appreciation of the work of women.

The meeting then exhaustively discussed the E.F.F. policy, and the various resolutions relating to it on the agenda of the forthcoming Council meeting. The meeting was small, but fairly representative, and it was generally felt that the society was keeping together in spite of the altered conditions and change of work.

West Riding of Yorkshire Federation. HUDDERSFIELD.—The monthly meeting of this Society was held at 41, Spring Street, on Wednesday afternoon, January 26th. Miss Siddon presided.

An urgent appeal for funds to send a maternity unit to Russia was read, and it was decided to collect from the members and send a subscription.

Miss Harrop gave the report of the work the Society is doing in aid of the Scottish Women's Hospitals in Serbia and France, which was as follows: Since August, 1915, a sum of £91 has been raised; £50 has been sent to endow a bed, £35 has been spent in material for the working parties that meet weekly.

WAKEFIELD W.S.S.—The sewing party for the Scottish Women's Hospitals continues to have most successful and well-attended meetings, and Mrs. Renton gave an interesting address to the members on January 26th. On February 3rd a very well-attended Whist Party was held at the Assembly Rooms, ably organised by Mrs. J. Moorhouse, which resulted in a clear profit of £8.

Forthcoming Meetings.

- List of forthcoming meetings including Birmingham Food Economy, Glasgow Drawing-Room Meeting, Edinburgh-40, Sharnwick Place, etc.

London Units of the Scottish Women's Hospitals.

- List of London units of the Scottish Women's Hospitals including Birmingham Food Economy, Glasgow Drawing-Room Meeting, etc.

Working Parties.

- List of working parties including Birkenhead-Theosophical Society's Rooms, Blackheath and Greenwich Sewing Party, Bolton-Suffrage Shop, etc.

South Kensington—Belgian Hostel, 1, Argyle Road—Working Party for London Units of the N.U.W.S.S. Scottish Women's Hospitals.

Every Tuesday and Friday, 2 to 4.30. Wakefield—"The Laurels," St. John's North—Sewing Party, Every Wednesday, 2.30-6.0 and 7.0-9.0. Warwick and Leamington—35, Warwick Street, Leamington—Working Party to make Sand Bags, Every Tuesday and Friday, 2.30. Hospital Garments, Every Wednesday, 2.30.

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ANNOUNCEMENTS.

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S FRANCHISE CLUB. 9, Grafton-st., Piccadilly, W.—Meeting, March 1st, 8 p.m. "A Woman's Experiences as a Painter," by Miss Anna Afry, R.E., R.O.I.

LEITCHWORTH BRANCH, N.U.W.S.S. SOCIETY.—ANNUAL MEETING, Howard Hall, March 1st, 3 p.m. Speaker, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, on "National Union Work in War Time." Chair, the Hon. Mrs. Fordham.

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