

The Common Cause

OF HUMANITY.

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

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Notes and News.

"Unfinished Tasks."

The Prime Minister, writing to the Liberal Chief Whip to justify the change of Government, concludes as follows: "Meanwhile, the pursuit of our special aims in the sphere of domestic politics is not abandoned, but suspended, and when the national cause has been vindicated against the enemy, we shall take up again the unfinished tasks to which the Liberal Party has set its hand." There is, for instance, the unfinished task to which Liberal principles are so deeply committed of securing to the whole nation the right to government by consent, which is already conceded to the masculine half. When the war is over we shall look to the Government to finish off this long-delayed task, and get it finally out of the way. "At the end of the war all those thousands of women who have awakened to their usefulness, their intelligence, and their directing powers will insist on the enfranchisement of those powers; they will insist on a partnership with us men in the shaping of the new and better world we must mould out of this awful crucible." We quote not from a feminist organ, but from *The Daily Mail*!

Control of Drink.

It is officially announced that the Government have appointed a Central Control Board (Liquor Traffic) to deal with the drink problem in the munitions, transport, and camp areas, under the powers created by the Defence of the Realm (Amendment No. 3) Act. Within the areas in question the Board has complete control of the liquor traffic, not only in the public houses, but in clubs, grocers' shops, and railway bars. It can take over any licensed or unlicensed premises, and establish refreshment rooms of its own, for the sale of intoxicating or non-intoxicating liquors. In regard to the latter experiment, it has a precedent in various voluntary efforts, some of which have been already described in THE COMMON CAUSE. "A large dining room," says a contributor to *The Times*, "has lately been built for the girls employed at Armstrong's works, and promises to be highly successful. It is managed by the local Ladies' Committee. . . . There are great possibilities in the canteen systematically applied."

Buffets for Soldiers.

Princess Victoria has been visiting the free refreshment buffet for soldiers and sailors at London Bridge, where 1,500 men are served daily, under the superintendence of Lady Limerick.

Large numbers of women are devoting their activities to such work at various centres, and we have the testimony of eye-witnesses to its "system and thoroughness" and "freedom

from fussiness." "I have spent an afternoon recently," writes one of these, "in a sailors' and soldiers' free buffet, where countesses incognito in tea-shop girls' aprons stood weary hours cutting bread and butter at a rate and with a dexterity that made man feel ashamed of his useless hands. And one of those honorary waitresses had worked from seven that morning."

Overwork and Lost Time.

Although lost time has frequently—far too frequently, we believe—been associated with drink, the strain of overwork is admittedly a potent cause of the trouble. We learn from a Special Correspondent to *The Times* (not prone to sickly sentiment in regard to the workers!) that "work is now carried on continuously in the munition areas, day and night and seven days a week. It is divided into two shifts, averaging twelve hours each. . . . Men undeniably get overdone by the continuous strain. They are not necessarily exhausted . . . but the length of hours continuously kept up, week after week, becomes intolerable." Or we may quote an employer on the Clyde. "Strike! There's been nothing worth calling a strike. The men had been overworking themselves for six months, and they simply had to have a rest." As *The Nation* remarks: "What a commentary!" We have already noted the conditions under which the Elswick girls are working. The cause of the trouble must lie partly at least in lack of workers; and yet we are given to understand that large numbers of women who registered for war work are disappointed that they are not called upon to serve. The whole responsibility for lost time cannot be laid, as *The Times* would suggest, on Trade Unions; nor is it possible that so complex a labour question can be solved by the simple application of military discipline. The optimists, who hold that you can cut the knot of all industrial difficulties in war time by clothing the workers in khaki are doomed to disappointment. However, this is now Mr. Lloyd George's problem, and the country anxiously awaits his solution. Meanwhile, industrial troubles are reported in many quarters. The Tram strike, now ending, has been prolonged by what the workers naturally regard as "limited conscription"; the cotton crisis is reported as "less hopeful"; the Leicester hosiery dispute awaits settlement by conference, and the Wolverton printing girls who struck work for a war bonus are still dissatisfied.

"Wait till June."

"Wait till June," said Mr. Asquith last February, in regard to the question of rising prices. It is a question underlying nearly all the present industrial disputes, and the workers, struggling for their war bonuses, are finding themselves confronted with almost prohibitive prices. Bread has gone up to 9d. a quarter, and meat is costing the working classes nearly double as much as it cost them a year ago. Figures are given by Mr. W. Gillies, the Secretary of the Labour Party Information Bureau, showing that up to the end of April the cost of food of the normal working class family had risen by about 27½ per cent. Food that cost 25s. in July, 1914, cost 31s. 9d. in April last. The workers have waited "till June," and the situation is worse than in February. The War Emergency Workers' National Committee have decided to ask the Prime Minister what action he proposes to take in the direction of carrying out the recommendations of the Committee on Retail Coal Prices, and also to bring pressure upon the Government to form a Committee to inquire into general food prices.

The New "Family Allowance."

According to the terms of an Army Order recently issued, it has been decided to introduce an allowance known as the "family allowance" for married soldiers living in their own homes in the United Kingdom. The allowance will be issuable as from May 3rd last, and will have effect for the period of the war only; and when received is to take the place of all other allowances. It will vary in amount from a minimum of 19s. 10d. up to a maximum of 36s. 8d. to the family of six, with a further allowance of 2s. weekly for each additional child. These rates vary further when the soldier, living at home, messes away from home, or when the family is installed in public quarters.

The Soldier's Wife.

Much thought is bestowed to-day upon the soldier's wife, and we believe a sincere attempt is made to deal with her just grievances so far as our male authorities are able, in the nature of things, to appreciate them. This emboldens us to ask for the remedy of a grave injustice. It is an almost unbelievable fact that if a man home on leave marries his unmarried wife her allowance ceases, because he comes under the head of those who have married after enlisting. The only escape from this dilemma is to adduce proof that he intended marriage before enlisting. The arrangement is obviously a hardship, not only to the woman and the man, but also to their children, who may thus be debarred from legitimisation.

Women in the Fields.

A correspondent calls our attention to the expected shortage of fruit-pickers, and suggests that the N.U. should interest itself in this work. Already in some rural districts this question, and also that of the hay-harvest, is engaging the careful attention of Suffrage Societies. Meanwhile, the Board of Agriculture have issued a report showing that women have come to the rescue of farmers in Norfolk, Essex, and Lincolnshire in planting the potato crop. Mr. F. E. Green, in *The Daily Chronicle*, puts the question: "Unless it be the women, who will gather in our crops when harvest arrives? Is English agriculture to depend upon the labour of little boys of twelve years of age?" The Board anticipates a shortage of 80,000 permanent male labourers and 90,000 casuals in the month of June. What will be the shortage

in the succeeding busier months?" We must repeat, in this connection (as our correspondent also insists), that women have been registered and not yet called out, and in Lancaster the Board of Trade are continuing to register women for farm work. And yet the Board of Education have just issued a further return showing that 4,605 boys and 112 girls have been employed since September last in farm work. All these considerations point to the necessity for immediately organising the women's labour and turning it to the best possible account.

Children on the Land.

The White Paper of the Board of Education just issued shows that praiseworthy efforts have been made by such bodies as the National Education Committee, the Worker's National Committee, and the Agricultural Labourer's Unions to keep the employment of school children within certain bounds, and to insist that the reason of their employment shall be a genuine shortage of labour, not a desire on the farmer's part to exploit the child. A recent prosecution is reported from Norfolk of a farmer charged with employing two boys under age without a permit in April and May. The evidence showed that two offers of suitable adult labour had been deliberately refused while five boys were working on the farm. Certain counties, Cambridgeshire and Norfolk in particular, have drawn up regulations for the prevention of any such exploitation of the child, and the Cambridgeshire Education Authority even sets a shining example by pressing the claims of the Continuation School upon children who leave school with a gap in their education caused by their industrial employment.

Increase of Medical Women.

We are glad to hear of the "extraordinary number of women students" now presenting themselves for admission to the Royal Free Hospital School of Medicine for Women, which is appealing for funds for new buildings. Sixty new students will join in October, and we learn that the number of women on the British Medical Register has increased from two, forty years ago, to 1,000 at present. In regard to male students, Sir Donald MacAlister, addressing the General Medical Council last Tuesday, stated that "during the next few years they must expect a falling off of some 250 a year in the number of students who become qualified as medical practitioners."

Purdah, and its Gradual Abolition.

With regard to the position of Indian women in olden days, we have no connected historical record, but have to grope for enlightenment in various literary and philosophical works, in the hymns of the Vedic Ages and in the Epic poems of later time. In these we read of women enjoying equal privileges with the men, whose equals they were in knowledge and culture, taking equal shares in social and religious functions. We find hymns, composed by women, interspersed all through the "Rig Veda," like rich gems of rare beauty and finish. By the decree of the lawgivers the sons and daughters had equal opportunities of education, and women took part publicly in religious sacrifices with the men, for no religious rite was thought complete or effective unless shared by the wife, one of whose names was "Shahadharmini," or co-partner in religion. An idea can be formed of the honour paid to women in those days from an old Sanskrit "Sloka," which says that "the Gods are pleased to dwell only there where the women are held in reverence."

At the beginning, the form of Government was a commonwealth, in which men and women as members of the Republic had equal rights and status. Girls grew up to womanhood in freedom and culture, acquiring qualities that made them perfect mothers and wives, companions and friends of men at home and abroad. The system of the Purdah was quite unknown in the old Vedic days.

The Aryans, though a highly civilised race, did not at the beginning live in cities, but city life grew gradually with the accumulation of wealth and the organisation of caste. The fighters and the cultivators becoming rich by war and work, built cities surrounded by ramparts, and the free and easy village life of their early days became gradually restricted. Then slowly, with the advance of civilisation, the women of the King's household and of the rich citizens began living in the inner apartments separate from men. Yet, though the women of the rich lived a little more limited life in the towns, they still took part in religious sacrifices, joined in the great national festivals, and were free to go abroad without restriction; but it

began to be thought more respectable for them to be invisible to the public gaze except on rare and exceptional occasions. This did not, however, prevent them from being educated and accomplished. I can give a long list of names of ladies in the Vedic, and in the later Epic period in the reign of the Hindu kings as late as the sixth century A.D., even in the early Mohammedan times, who excelled in many branches of learning and whose names are household words with us even to this day. From the Vedic Ages through the Ages of the Ramayana, the Mahavarata, and the Puranas, down to the reign of Vikramaditya, and even later on, our women enjoyed privileges of freedom which they do not possess now.

As far back as 300 B.C., we find women in the battlefields cheering the men and nursing the wounded behind the fighting lines. In the Greek contemporary literature of that period mention is made of a Governor appointed by Alexander whose two Hindu wives accompanied him to the battle-field. In the Mahavarata there are a great many instances of women taking part in social life. The women of the Ramayana were not secluded, for we find Kausalya, the Queen of Dasaratha, taking part in the religious sacrifices in public. Aloofness began to be observed, but there was no Purdah in 150 B.C., for women even came to open court to give evidence. Even in the early Mohammedan times we read of Rani Durgavati and others taking prominent part in political life, and this proves conclusively that the Purdah had not largely come into vogue at that time.

The Purdah came into existence after the Mohammedan conquest, and the consolidation of the Moslem rule in India. The new conquerors had different and, in some instances, degraded ideas of women. Their conduct towards them led their subjects to immerse their women folk in the seclusion of the Zenana. The Purdah, then, came into existence as a means of protection, and later on, in places where this protective measure was not needed, people introduced it in imitation of their rulers and adopted many of their social customs. Also, as a protective measure, early marriages began to be the rule of the day. In

this way the margin of time for education and culture became narrower, and women's privileges dwindled and disappeared. If we are to abolish the Purdah we must first establish education on a surer and wider basis—knowledge must permeate through the whole range of Indian life, both of the rich and poor—men and women of all creeds and castes must receive the benefit of education before again we can hope to see the sons and daughters of the land sharing equal rights and privileges.

When, in the perfect security of a beneficent British rule, the protection of the Purdah becomes a superfluity, and when by knowledge and culture women again acquire the honoured position which they had in olden days, they will not have to fight for their privileges, but will find them yielded as a due. Till then they must abide in patience and silence in their dark chamber, awaiting development—and development we know is growth and gradual change, a slow process of many years. We cannot force childhood into youth, or a seedling into a full grown tree at once by any operation known either to nature or to science; nor can we perfect or complete education at once. Long years will have to be spent in the acquisition of knowledge and experience, in fitting women for the new order of things, bringing them out of the inner to the outer apartments of their homes, from the limited, intimate "home" circle into a wider society, until at last with widened sympathies, enlarged minds, strengthened hopes and growing aspirations they become again fitted to take part freely in the public and national life of their country.

New conditions are slowly arising under which the keeping of the Purdah will not only be injudicious, but injurious to the interest of the community and the country, and the necessity of the present day urges that we do away with many of the established customs, and that the women of the land again be granted their former privileges. How to meet the demand is the troubled question. Has the time really come for the absolute doing away of the Purdah—are the men really prepared for it as well as the women? For in the absolute doing away of the Purdah we must not only think of the advantages of freedom and of the widening of the field of our work and influence, but also of the disadvantages of coming in contact with men who are not yet ready to receive us.

That the Purdah will have to go, and is slowly going, is apparent from the fact that even the Mohammedans, who introduced it into India and have always secluded their women in the Zenana, are now advocating the cause of their emancipation,

many showing the courage of their convictions by doing away with it and educating their women. In Bombay the example of the Parsees has greatly helped this cause. Amongst the Marhattas, the only people who clung to the old Aryan ways in matters social, the women have always enjoyed independence. In Madras, women are much freer than in Bengal and in the N.-W. Provinces. But great changes have taken place in these Provinces too, a great number of schools have been opened for girls, and with the spread of education the position of women is getting better and better every day. The presence of ladies, young and old, in great numbers at the Town Hall, on the occasion when Bengal did honour to her poet, Rabindra Nath Tagore is a sure sign that men and women are recognising the fact that public duties such as these are incomplete unless shared by both sexes alike.

Purdah will go, women be emancipated, a new life begun again with a wider outlook, and society be reformed in accordance with the demand of the present; but let it be one also in the reverence to the past, in keeping with the best ideals of our race and our land, adapting ways and means to suit the need of our days and the urgency of our requirements, but not in imitation of the ways and manners of other lands and other nations—for what is good for one is not so for another. What suits one time does not serve another, and what is beneficial to one nation may prove disastrous to another. Our first attempt half a century back to model our life in entire and indiscriminate imitation of the West has not proved successful, and men who had in their youth advocated wholesale change have now paused to think, whether they had done right to rush on in advance of the times, and whether they had not done more mischief than good, and retarded progress more than they had accelerated it. We cannot stand aside when time has sounded his bugle-call, and we must march forward, for we all know well he does not brook delay. But though he deals death to the deserter, he also punishes those who rush forward, beating them back again into rank and order. So let us not break from the lines, let us not rush forward, as wild enthusiasts, but let us march onward in obedience to him as a regulated force, with measured tread, with the love of the old in our hearts and the light of the new in our eyes, to the harmonious music of our many aspirations, firm in our purpose, steadfast in our courage. Then shall we attain the object of our desire in the fulness of time.

[From a paper read before a Students' Union in Calcutta, kindly sent to us by Miss Bonnerjee.]

The Reading Women's Suffrage Society's Day Nursery.

Statistics are apt to leave us cold, and figures do not always convey much to the imagination. When we hear that several thousand soldiers have fallen on the battlefield, we do not grasp the magnitude of the calamity; it is only when we see those stricken by personal loss that we realise the full horror of casualty lists. So it is when we are told that thousands of infants die each year from preventable causes. We do not grasp the real significance of the statement; we do not realise the fact that a large proportion of those children, given a real chance, could be reared into healthy and valuable members of the community. If they are given a chance there is the problem. It is obvious that many and various causes go to the making of an appallingly high infant death-rate—that preventable, annual casualty list. Bad housing, poverty, ignorance, are all factors, and each of the factors is a problem in itself.

The Reading Women's Suffrage Society is trying to tackle (in however small and humble a way) two of these problems—the problem of the underfed mother and the working mother. It was primarily for the last of these that the Day Nursery was started. It was felt that it was extremely likely that during the war many women who had hitherto not done so would be obliged to go out of their homes to work, and that there should

be a place where they could safely leave their children. It soon became apparent that the institution was a boon, not only to the mother who was working, but also to those who were ill, and who could send their young children to the Nursery, knowing they would be really well cared for. That the children can be



Some of our Babies.



made strong if they have the chance is proved again and again. Children come to the Nursery ailing, fretful, and weak, with pallid little faces and languid limbs, and in an incredibly short time they improve almost beyond recognition. A worker who has been absent for a week or two sometimes finds it really difficult to believe that the chery individual who greets her with loud chuckles is the pining little creature she tried to amuse (quite in vain!) a few weeks since. Their very characters seem to change, under the influence of regular meals, sleep, and play; and learning to play with all kinds of delightful toys is not by any means to be despised as an educative influence. To the ignorant or careless mother, too, the place is an education; to the careful and devoted mother (and there are many such) it is a priceless boon. "I should not be happy if I could not leave her (or him) here, Matron," they say. And the children; well, the children have only to be seen rolling in the sand-heap in the

garden, or building towers of bricks on the floor; they have only to be heard chanting expectantly before dinner or greeting a favourite helper, to be recognised as uncommonly happy and uncommonly healthy little mortals.

Then there is the attempt to solve the problem of the underfed, nursing, or expectant mother, and a serious problem it is in these times of war-prices. The National Relief Fund came to the rescue with a promise of 3d. a head per meal, and the twelve mothers pay 1d. each for their dinners. But, as may easily be imagined, 4d. a head only just covers the cost of food, and the cooking, service, crockery, &c., has to be provided by the Suffrage Society. As in the case of the Day Nursery equipment, all the furniture, china, cooking utensils, &c., were generously given or lent by members and friends, and much of the extra work is done voluntarily; but even then the extra cost is necessarily no small item.

That it is well worth it no one can doubt; so many mothers, in their heroic struggle to make both ends meet, all unconsciously handicap the next generation; and the good done by really nourishing food, which they have not had to buy and prepare themselves, and all of which they eat themselves, is incalculable.

But *why*, says the doubting outsider, should a Suffrage Society do this work, and *what* has it all got to do with the war? Well, a Suffrage Society is largely composed of women, and the mothers and babies of the race are women's business. And its connection with the war—alas! who can look at the casualty lists and fail to acknowledge that the rearing of healthy children, always of paramount importance, is now indispensable to the well-being of the nation? The Board of Education has recently acknowledged the tremendous importance and value of Day Nurseries; but, even if this acknowledgment brings help in financial form, the bulk of the necessary funds will, for some time to come, doubtless have to be raised by voluntary effort.


The 12 to 18 babies are received daily at 7.30 a.m. and leave at 6.30 p.m.; they are bathed, clothed in Nursery clothes, fed, and cared for under the directions of a trained Matron for 2d. a day each. The whole establishment costs £4 8s. a week; this includes all salaries, food, heat, and light. Most fortunately, the house is lent rent-free, but rates have to be paid. The Reading Suffrage Society has raised £197, and all but about £20 is spent. It is a national work being done by a Suffrage Society as a Suffrage Society, as the board in the front garden announces. Will Suffragists make it possible for the Reading Society to carry on its Day Nursery? Cheques and postal orders should be crossed and sent to Miss Margaret Jones, The Day Nursery, 229, King's-road, Reading.

LONDON SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

Club for Soldiers' and Sailors' Wives.

A Garden Party is to be held at 13, Addison Road, West Kensington, on Saturday, June 19th, at 4 o'clock, by kind permission of Mrs. Levine (a member of the London Society) in aid of the funds of the above club. This club was opened at Kingsley Hall, Bow, on February 18th, 1915, by the Mayor of Bow, under the auspices of the L.S.W.S., for the benefit of the relatives of soldiers and sailors and other working women. There is a buffet where girls from the neighbouring factories can come and get a good two-course dinner for 4d. For the married women, there are infant health consultations, working parties for the Women's Hospitals in Serbia, &c., in the afternoons. Both girls and women thoroughly appreciate the comfortable atmosphere of the Club.

At the Garden Party some of the factory girls will dance the Scotch reel and sailors' hornpipe in costumes made by themselves, and other members of the club will sing and play. Light refreshments will be provided. Tickets of admission, costing 2s. 6d. each, can be obtained from Miss Muriel Lester, Kingsley Hall, Bow, and from the London Society's office, 58, Victoria Street, S.W. Funds are urgently needed, as there are a good many expenses, such as light, gas, and cleaning—though some of this latter is done voluntarily by members.



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A Girl Mayor.

La Française publishes an account, sent by special request, of the work of a girl of twenty-two, who has been acting as Mayor of a commune in the South of France. Before the war Mlle. — was working as a teacher, and also as secretary at the *Mairie*.

"How did I come to undertake the duties of Mayor? This is how it took place: I have a nursing certificate of the *Société de Secours aux Blessés Militaires*, awarded after a sort of examination passed in my last year at the Normal School. As soon as war broke out I went to headquarters to get myself enrolled at some hospital. I had the consent of the Inspector of the Academy, and I was only waiting for the arrival of the wounded to begin my work. I then learnt that in my commune the Mayor and *adjoint* had been mobilised, and that things were not going very well. I went to the *Préfecture*, and was told to go back to my post till the Red Cross summoned me, and . . . organise the administration of the commune.

"So I went back, and the very same day called together the municipal councillors to come to an understanding with them. I hoped that someone would take upon himself the duties of Mayor. But not at all. A stormy discussion took place among them, old quarrels were revived, and no one was willing to take the responsibility. 'You had better stay, Mademoiselle,' they said; 'not one of us is capable of carrying on this work; and, besides, we haven't the time.'

"All right, as long as the Red Cross doesn't call me,' said I, 'I don't mind. But after that, I refuse.'

"Very well, then, we shall get up a petition to stop your going."

"Very much annoyed (for I longed with all my heart to be looking after the wounded), I went to the *Sous-Préfect*, and explained the situation to him. 'Mademoiselle,' he said, 'there is no doubt you ought to stay. At the Red Cross you will be easily replaced, but in the commune you are indispensable. You can give as much proof of patriotism here as there. I will have you relieved of your obligations towards the society, and am confident that you will perform your task extremely well. Besides, they are doing you a great honour in entrusting you with this task.' Then, telling me not to hesitate to come to him if any difficulty arose, he sent me back, greatly to the joy of the councillors and the population, but to my own vexation!

"If I had not been a convinced feminist, I should have handed in my resignation; but I thought it was an opportunity to show that women are capable at least of taking part in the administration of a commune. I found that I had only myself to count upon; I could not rely on the councillors for the smallest thing; they put everything upon me—even certain duties which, all things considered, would have been more fitting to them than to me (such as giving orders to workmen, superintending their work, getting materials for repairs, &c., &c.).

"It was I who did the talking at council meetings and at the *Bureau de Bienfaisance*, and who introduced the subjects for discussion. In only two cases did the deputy-councillor fulfil his rôle; in the *conseils de revision* (in which it was impossible to replace him) and in requisitioning horses. . . . Apart from that, I looked after everything. I pass for 'Mayor' in the commune, and the people are now quite used to it.

"As to the observations which I have been able to make with regard to public hygiene, relief, &c., they have all confirmed the idea that women's help would be very useful in municipalities. Men very often do not realise the bearing of certain details. For instance, last year a family took advantage of the help allotted to many families. The councillors unanimously voted assistance; but they looked at me with astonishment when I asked them to make a condition that the money was only to be given to the wife. You can guess the reason. The husband was a drunkard, who did not leave his wife a single sou, &c. When I explained my reasons, they quite agreed, and did as I asked; but they themselves would never have thought of this detail, and, without meaning to do so, would have encouraged this man's passion for alcohol.

"The same sort of thing happened when it was a question of assistance to maternity cases. The law says that two women must be appointed to ensure that the mothers and babies have all the hygienic care that may be necessary. And they would not see the importance of this detail; it was only when I insisted, and to please me, that they agreed to appoint the two women I nominated.

"As to reforms which ought to be made, they are many; but I think that, first of all, women must be accustomed to the idea that they have a right to public life. . . . The school can do a very great deal to inculcate this idea in their minds."

NEWS FROM ABROAD.

ITALIAN WOMEN MOBILISING.

Italian women are already mobilised for war service. On the initiative of the National Council of Women, various women's societies have combined to form an "Alliance," to organise women in case of mobilisation, and every woman is being asked to choose her work, and state the number of hours she is prepared to give, and whether or not she can work in a voluntary capacity.

A correspondent of *Le Temps* at Rome says that over 11,000 women have been enrolled in the feminine police, which has been officially authorised by the Government. They will go through a special course of physical training, and wear a uniform.

FRENCHWOMEN'S WORK FOR TEMPERANCE.

From the beginning of the War, the chief feminist organisations of France, *Le Conseil National des Femmes* and *L'Union Française pour le Suffrage des Femmes*, have been taking a leading part in combating the evils of alcoholism. At Rouen, where conditions are very unsatisfactory, the local branch of the *Conseil National* has opened a *Foyer du Soldat* as a counter-attraction to the cafés, and this enterprise has received the warm approval of the military authorities. Unfortunately, however, the new *préfet* of the *Seine-Inférieure* has not seen fit to include any women in the *Commission Consultative* which he has just appointed to inquire into the causes of excessive drinking, and propose measures to reduce it.

WOMEN FOR WAR SERVICE.

La Française states that the mobilisation of women to replace men in the public services goes on very satisfactorily. Five women were appointed during April in the department of Bridges, Roads, and Mines, while "thanks to the wise and abundant provisions of the Minister of Agriculture, women have taken in their hands the plough and the seed-bag, and admirably performed their duty." In a district in the South a young girl of twenty-two is acting as Mayor of the Commune. From another place comes an account of a wife carrying on her husband's profession as veterinary surgeon—one example out of many of the way in which women are filling the men's places. Frenchwomen, says *L'Intransigeant*, just as much as the men, are throwing their whole heart into the national effort.

MATERIAL AND SPIRITUAL FORCE.

Miss A. Maude Royden delivered an address upon "Material and Spiritual Force" at Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, on May 28th, in connection with the constructive and educational peace meetings convened by the Society of Friends.

She had been overwhelmed, she said, by the magnificent heroism, the self-sacrifice, and single-hearted surrender of those who had used what seemed to her the weapons of Satan to cast out Satan, and in a certain respect she perceived in that spirit the spirit of Christ, at least, in so far as it meant an absolute self-sacrifice. They had got to show that methods of war were not only less effective than their own, but were absolutely futile. The means that they proposed were not those of acquiescing in evil, but of overcoming evil with good. Material force had again and again proved utterly futile, and it had proved so in proportion to the violence and cruelty with which it was used. Looking at the map of the world they would find that those were the places where trouble arose which had been ruled by the sword. The Balkan Peninsula, Poland, Alsace-Lorraine, had all been ruled by the sword, and the results had always been rebellion and revolt. Our British Empire sought to rule by the sword and lost the United States of America; it abandoned the ancient creed of coercion, and to-day the Empire stood like a rock in the face of its enemies. Could they not have the courage to apply to the whole world what they had learned throughout the Empire. It was nothing that our Empire covered a fifth of the surface of the globe, but it was everything that that Empire was based upon freedom and mutual self-respect. Material force and spiritual force were justified and permissible when they aimed in the transformation of the will of the sinner, and were justified in the exact proportion as they succeeded in doing that. Material force was almost always absolutely ineffective at changing the will of the sinner. War had not created peace, and experience should have led us to some better method of settling international disputes.

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All those who knew and loved Laurence Irving and admired the sincerity and originality of his art, will be grateful to Miss Edith Craig and the Pioneer Players for the triple bill presented, comprising two short plays by Laurence Irving, and a paper written by him shortly before his death entitled "The Drama as a Factor in Social Progress," embodying his ideals of the drama and his firm belief in its future. Perhaps to some this paper, beautifully read by Mr. H. B. Irving, and full of suggestion, insight, and inspiration, was the most interesting feature of the programme.

Two examples of his own dramatic work were performed, "The Terrorist," and "Godefroi and Yolande." The scene of "Godefroi and Yolande" is laid in France, at the close of the thirteenth century, and tells in vivid fashion the story of Yolande the beautiful courtesan, smitten by leprosy in the midst of high revels, held in honour of her guests, the King and the Archbishop. Excommunicated by the Archbishop, anathematised by the village priest, held in abhorrence, and deserted by all her guests and servants, save only her humble lover Godefroi, she dons the leper's cloak of grey and wanders forth with him into the stormy night, crying "Unclean, unclean!" in the find salvation through suffering. Miss Ruth Mackay, in the part of "Yolande," acted admirably throughout, and was especially effective in her silence and immobility. Mr. Campbell Gullan once again demonstrated his amazing versatility in the part of the Doctor, a sinister and malevolent presence, and Mr. Ben Webster played the devoted and saintly Godefroi with the right restraint and self-effacement.

THE WOMAN'S THEATRE.

The Woman's Theatre will give five war relief matinées at the Pavilion Theatre the week beginning June 21st, and it is proposed to apportion the dates as follows: Monday, June 21st, The Era War Distress Fund; Tuesday, June 22nd, Woman's Emergency Corps; Wednesday, June 23rd, The Patriotic Service League; Thursday June 24th, Serbian Relief Fund; Friday, June 25th, Disabled Soldiers' and Sailors' Fund (Lord Roberts's Fund).

The performances will take the form of variety entertainments on a large scale, numbering the leading members of the theatrical, musical, and music-hall professions. Promises of support have already been received from Miss Nina Boucicault, Miss Nancy Price, Miss Cicely Courtneidge, Mr. Ben Webster, Miss Eva Moore, Miss Lottie Venne, Miss Cecilia Loftus, Miss Edyth Olive, Miss Christine Silver, Madame Alice Esty, Miss Titheradge, Miss Margaret Cooper, Miss Marie Dainton, Miss Italia Conti's dancing children, Miss Marjorie Moore, Mr. Percy French, Miss Mary Moore, Miss Sadie Jerome, Miss Sara Allgood, Miss Phyllis Bedells.

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Some Magazines.

THE ENGLISHWOMAN (Evans Bros., Sardinia House, Kingsway, 15.)—Mrs. Fawcett gives her reasons for considering it undesirable for the N.U.W.S.S. to be represented at such conferences as that recently held at The Hague. The programme, she maintains, did not inspire confidence, and the organisers had entirely neglected to secure equal numerical representation to each of the auxiliary countries. "Any woman paying the Congress fee and expressing general sympathy with the resolutions, was free to become a member, with the right to speak and vote on equal terms with representatives of nationally organised societies." Other important societies had declined to send representatives. The German Society, affiliated to the I.W.S.A., and also the German National Council of Women, had opposed the Council, and went so far as to boycott and excommunicate the German women who attended it. The French Society, affiliated to the I.W.S.A., and the French National Council, also opposed it, and sent a strongly worded protest, which they demanded should be placed on the published "proceedings."

In "The Woman on the Wall" Miss Lowndes attacks the position of the pacifist group "who would appear to argue that people go to war from a sense of fear, injury, or humiliation (ruling out all remembrance of aggressive wars)," and that if England, France, and Russia should injure or humiliate Germany, she will be anxious to fight them again as soon as possible, so that in that case the peace which may be concluded in due course could not be lasting. "These people," she writes, "go about urging us to think kindly of the Germans; to find excuses for their most damnable actions . . . also to make peace at the earliest possible moment on terms acceptable to the enemy with whom we are at such deadly grips; and all this with the idea of assuring peace in the future." Miss Lowndes goes on to point out that "It is an axiom difficult to set aside that one who wills a certain result must also will that which would bring it about. Those who demand that in future all international disputes shall be referred to arbitration or conciliation, must also, one would suppose, be in favour of the condign punishment of the nation who breaks through the agreement come to. Either we must give up Hague Conventions, international tribunals, and the like, as a possible mode of settling disputes, or we must enforce the keeping of treaties by might, if need be."

Other features of the June number are articles on "The Infallibility of Minorities," "The Employment of Women in Agriculture," "Heures d'ambulance à la Riviera," and "Feminism in Greek Literature," "The Last Quality" by Hugh de Selincourt, and a letter on "Trade Unions and Women" by Miss S. F. Waring.

THE CAMBRIDGE MAGAZINE.—As a leader in progressive thought of the younger generation, the career of the *Cambridge Magazine* is perhaps unique. The issue of May 22nd is particularly interesting. It contains an article on "Feminism and Militarism in Japan," deploring the military development of Japan on Western lines; one on the Chinese, which puts forward the theory that they resemble Anglo-Saxons, and that while India is the land of eternity—spell-bound, dreamlike—China is the land of time, and thoroughly awake.

"Letters of a Hun" show the remarkable distaste for war of many German officers and soldiers, and their desire for a permanent peace hereafter. There is a beautiful poem called "The Stones of Belgium," and an article on Rupert Brooke by Harold Monro.

An obituary notice on A. W. St. C. Tisdall, whose brilliant career was cut short in the Dardanelles, contains these lines from his pen:—

Lady, your hands are white, so white and clean,
But I have looked and seen
The chapt and grimy hands that keep them so
You do not know.

Your hands are white like Pilate's, white and clean;
For others came in between,
To shed the innocent blood that gemmed them so.
What did you know?

With your white hand, my lady, stop your ear,
Lest you may chance to hear
Your reckless slaves that curse you in their woe.
Why should you know?

It is the position of the "sheltered" woman, so dear to Anti-suffragists, in a nutshell.

In Notes and Comments occur these pregnant words: "It is sometimes said that the war has destroyed all prospect of Women's Suffrage. But can any man take pride in what men have made of Europe? Into what greater disaster could women have plunged the civilisation of the world?"

EXHIBITION OF WATERPROOF MILITARY AND NURSING REQUISITES.

At 16, New Bond Street, Messrs. Cording Ltd. have an interesting exhibition of all kinds of waterproof articles necessary for campaigning and for hospital work. Readers who are anxious that their friends at the front should have everything possible for their comfort should go and see the many varieties of sleeping outfits, air cushions, gloves for grasping electrocuted wire entanglements, waterproofed canvas kit-bags, baths, and buckets, &c., which make such welcome presents for a young officer. For our nurses there are light oilskin coats and skirts, rubber gloves and aprons, and many other useful articles. In addition to military and nursing specialities, a great variety of excellent waterproof coats and cloaks for both ladies and gentlemen are shown, and also rubber boots of different types.

Correspondence.

[A great deal of correspondence is unavoidably held over. Correspondents are urged to write briefly.]

MADAM,—Adverting to the letter in your current issue signed by the three Officers of the National Union and the Chairman of the Executive Committee, the Newcastle Society desires me to point out that the motion standing in its name does not ask for the resignation and re-election of the Officers. Rule VI., 4 (b), which it is necessary to suspend before an election can be held, excepting at an annual meeting, provides, it is true, for the election of both Officers and Executive, but the motion standing in the name of the Newcastle Society expressly asks for the re-election of the Executive, and makes no mention of the re-election of the Officers.

May I take this opportunity of justifying the Newcastle Society in its apparently ungracious act in demanding a general election of the Executive? Their motive is not distrust or any feeling that the remaining members of the Executive are not absolutely certain to do their best to carry out what they believe to be the policy of the Union; it is merely arithmetic. In February the Council elected an Executive composed of two halves, each half holding a particular view of what the policy laid down by the Council was. Let us call these two halves X and Y. X and Y were, at the conclusion of the ballot, practically numerically equal. The whole of the Y party, with one exception, has resigned. The result of a ballot to fill these places only will result, it may be expected, in the election again of equal numbers of X and Y, as the electorate is the same as before, and the resulting Executive will consist numerically of X plus ½X on the one side and ½Y on the other. We do not base our objection to this on any feeling that it is not fair to the Ys in the Union, as it may be said it is the fortune of war that they will have lost half their representation, but that such an Executive will not represent the National Union and will, therefore, not have its confidence and respect. A careful study of the Minutes of the Executive since February lead us inevitably to the conclusion that individual members, however desirous of faithfully carrying out the policy laid down by the Council, are inevitably biased as to what that policy is by their individual views of what it should be. Nothing else will account for the fact that though there has, as always, been a certain amount of cross-voting, individual members have supported the interpretation which the party they represent would desire.

ETHEL M. N. WILLIAMS.

CONSTITUTION OF THE HAGUE CONGRESS.

MADAM,—I much regret that no résumé of Mrs. Fawcett's speech at the London Society meeting of May 17th has appeared in THE COMMON CAUSE. So much has been said and written about the Women's Congress at The Hague that, while considering these reports, it seems particularly desirable that we should know something about the constitution of the Congress to which the National Union Executive, by a majority of votes, declined to send two delegates to represent the Union.

The Hague Congress, Mrs. Fawcett explained, was not organised by any previously existing society, but by a group of individuals appointed, apparently by themselves. The people expected to attend the Congress were not duly accredited delegates representing each the Suffrage Societies of certain auxiliary countries, but any women who paid the Congress fee and expressed sympathetic interest and a desire to become members. Such members, representing only themselves, were to have the same right to speak and vote as the two members (only two were invited) who might attend the Congress representing the fifty-two thousand members of the National Union.

Under these circumstances very many of us feel most thankful that our Executive Committee refused to implicate the Union in proceedings that they could certainly not have controlled, and for which they might have much disliked to be in any way responsible.

Mrs. Fawcett informed us that she had learnt from Miss Jane Addams that the Congress consisted of 1,120 members, of whom 1,000 represented Holland and 120 were representatives of other countries. Under the circumstances, one is not surprised to learn that in common with the N.U.W.S.S., the National Union of Women Workers, the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association, the Women's Liberal Federation, the Forward Suffrage Union, and other large women's associations declined to send representatives to The Hague.

A MEMBER OF THE LONDON SOCIETY.

[The London Society did not ask us to report their meeting, only to insert their resolutions, which we were glad to do.]

THE PARADOX OF WAR.

MADAM,—In answer to Miss Brodie's letter of May 21st, may I say that I did not write "In Defence of War." My letter received that title in THE COMMON CAUSE office, and was, I think, an incorrect one. I said that war and peace were good or bad according to the motives which led to them. A nation fighting in a good cause gains in moral grandeur, while a nation which fights in a bad cause, or refrains from fighting in a good cause, loses; and this moral gain or loss matters a great deal more than physical peace and happiness. It is this paradox of war which pacifists seem to ignore. No greater disaster could happen to a nation than to win in an unrighteous war, and Germany's salvation lies in the defeat of her arms. The peace that Mrs. Swanwick proposes would not have the same effect at all. But, as I hope and pray for her defeat, I say continually to myself Elizabeth's words in *Tannhäuser*: "Think that for them, too, the Saviour died;" yet, as Tannhäuser had to suffer to gain his salvation, so I know must this great nation. And so I am able to do that which pacifists seem to find so difficult: fight a nation, yet love it and pray for it all the time. Miss Brodie is condemned by her own example for once. "He took a whip of cords and drove people from out of the Temple"—proving what I say, that physical force is right and necessary at times.

L. R. TAYLOR.

OBJECTS OF THE N.U.

MADAM,—The basis of the woman's movement is beginning to be discussed as if there were to be a test of orthodoxy in the matter. In the rules of the National Union I believe that object and methods are defined, but there are no regulations for arriving at an agreement as to the motives which inspire its members. Some years ago, when prominent Suffragists were more objects of curiosity than now, one frequently saw personal explanations of "Why I became a Suffragist" in Suffrage and other papers, and, as far as I can remember, the reasons given and the definitions of the fundamental principles of the Suffrage movement were infinitely varied. I have heard at a religious meeting a certain religious doctrine of a highly technical nature described by a Suffragist as "the basis of the Suffrage movement," and although one can easily imagine how deeply some people may feel the truth of this, its public discussion would be more likely to promote disunion than union.

Objection to physical force may be to many the basis of Women's Suffrage, but that this theory is capable of controversy is obvious when one remembers that men have the vote and yet they fight, that Australian and New Zealand women have achieved Women's Suffrage, and yet probably in a vast majority approve participation in this war; and lastly, that there is actually a school of Suffragists who believe in the emancipating virtues of violence when applied to a good end. In the National Union itself there are many who were very good Suffragists without having thought much about this basis; who had not even joined a peace society, though perhaps the ethics of peace and war seemed clearer then than now. In fact, many of the members who have recently resigned from the Executive were most prominently associated with the somewhat excessive attention given lately by the National Union to the material side of politics. One ought to be able to join a Union whose object is to obtain the Parliamentary franchise without subscribing to any particular religion. The vote of a Council can bind one to certain methods, but not to motives.

KATHERINE VULLIAMY.

The following is a summary of the chief points in a large amount of further correspondence:—

The Rev. HERBERT DRAKE expresses entire agreement with the resigning members in regard to The Hague Conference, and would wish to support them in their work; but he strongly objects to such work being done by the N.U. "I consider," he writes, "it would be a grave and deliberate breach of faith with the members, and, indeed, I should be prepared to support an appeal to the High Court for an injunction if they succeed in carrying their resolutions at the Council meeting. Could we not decide to let the matter drop, and ask those who have resigned to withdraw their resignations?"

Miss CONSTANCE ASTON finds the letter of the resigning members either "intentionally obscure or merely badly expressed." She strongly objects to The Hague Conference, and welcomes a special Council Meeting at which she hopes "the issues will be put fairly and squarely before the Societies undisguised by specious flummery," and feels confident that they will "reject with contempt proposals which can only discredit the N.U., and with it the whole Suffrage movement in the eyes of the nation."

Miss GERTRUDE M. WISE thinks it "deplorable that acknowledged leaders of the woman's movement should at this time be out of touch with the national feeling, and that time, effort, and talk should be directed to anything else but the furtherance of the national aim."

"ONCE A N.U. ORGANISER" writes to support Mrs. Hazell's opinion that members should be consulted as to how delegates are to vote at the next Council meeting. She points out that "many, if not all, Committees were elected before the question of The Hague Conference was mooted," and would like to see the consultation of members made obligatory on all Societies as a condition of their delegates being admitted to the Council.

Mrs. HAZELL writes again also pressing the same point.

Mrs. MARKS thinks "Germany will drop her prey when the Allies make her position untenable—either in Flanders or in East Prussia." She declares herself quite unable to understand the process of reasoning which makes Miss Brodie's pacifism stronger day by day, because she sees the incalculable harm Germany is doing to herself. "This may certainly be a reason for not imitating Germany's policy of aggression, but how can this be a reason for letting her continue in that policy? . . . Criminals very rarely repent of their crimes as long as those crimes are successful. But when those crimes obviously fail, the criminal is often able to see that they were blunders as well as crimes."

"THE SECRETARY OF A SMALL SOCIETY" has read the circular letters sent by Manchester with some surprise. She feels sure there are many who, like herself, will be obliged to retire from the Union if it becomes identified with any particular policy, whether militarism, pacifism, or democracy, "as interpreted by the fifteen nominees."

Mrs. WALLIS CHAPMAN asks for information on four points: (1) Did not the N.U. last August drop most of its Suffrage propaganda for relief work? (2) Does not relief work involve frequent decision of disputed questions? (3) If the N.U. is to confine itself to uncontroversial questions, why does it involve itself in such work? (4) If relief work is considered a means of achieving "for women the right to manifest their powers in equal freedom with men in the State," may not "the promotion of a stable international law, upheld by the common will of men and women," be a step towards the same end?

Miss ERIE EVANS, M.B., argues that "we can unite in demanding a responsible voice in the question of war and peace, but we cannot unite in the establishment of a stable system of international law." "When we have secured our citizenship we must decide what to do with it. Let us not forget we have not yet won it."

Miss WARING is of opinion that at the last Council meeting resolutions were passed without sufficient grasp of their practical drift, and that "the practical way of doing something for future peace is to demand that the war shall be prosecuted, in no spirit of revenge, and not to imply that Belgium, France, Germany, England, &c., are equally to blame, nor to treat as negligible quantities the wrongs that must be righted." She quotes words of M. Poincaré's in this sense: "No reprisals. . . . In your heart only the desire of victory; to sustain you only the love of your country; to inspire you only the conviction that you are fighting for humanity and civilisation."

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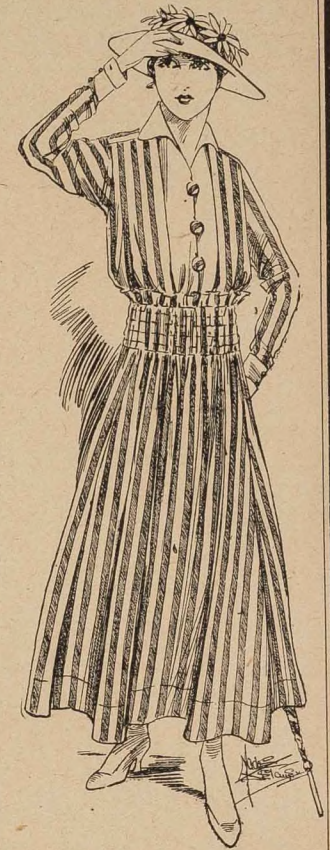
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At its General Council Meeting on February 9th last, the following Resolution was passed:

"That the Union of Democratic Control, convinced that Democracy must be based on the equal citizenship of Men and Women, invites the co-operation of Women."

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The N.U.W.S.S. is an association of over 52,000 men and women who have banded themselves together, under the leadership of Mrs. Henry Fawcett, for the purpose of obtaining the Parliamentary vote for women on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men. At this great national crisis, however, they have for the time suspended their ordinary political activities, in order to put themselves and their Union at the service of those who are organising the relief of distress caused by the war.

The Future Policy of the National Union.

I.—STATEMENT BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

A desire has been expressed that the members of the Executive Committee should state their attitude with regard to the Resolution appearing in THE COMMON CAUSE of May 21st, over the name of Miss Margaret Ashton and others, and also with regard to the future work of the Union.

We consider that it would be fatal both to the Union's independence of action and to its unity as an organisation to be pledged to co-operate officially with every other Society having Peace as well as Suffrage on its programme. The result of opening the doors to such co-operation would be that the different Societies in the Union, and even the Union as a whole, might thereby be working for many other objects than Peace and Suffrage (objects for which there is no agreement in the Union), and might even be working for these by numerous and mutually contradictory methods.

As for discussions with women of other nations, we are eager to resume them through our own International Women's Suffrage Alliance as soon as it is possible for a really representative Congress to be called. At its last meeting the Executive Committee agreed to support the proposal of Mrs. Chapman Catt, the President of the I.W.S.A., that a Congress representing other international women's organisations should be summoned to meet at the close of the war, at the same time and the same place at which the Congress of the Powers is assembled. If this proposal is agreed upon by the countries in the Alliance, women of different nations will be able to unite to demand their enfranchisement at a time when it ought to be possible to drive home the need for it as never before in the world's history.

But let no one imagine that there is nothing for the National Union to do in the meanwhile. Besides Relief, Infant Welfare and Hospital work, much remains to be done in connection with the Educational Courses. Continuous interest has been aroused at the Shop at 50, Parliament Street, where all kinds of books and pamphlets bearing on these Courses are on sale and on view. We feel this work is capable of great development throughout the country.

Questions affecting women are constantly arising in Parliament, and must be watched on their behalf. The Defence of the Realm Act, the proposed new voting qualification for soldiers, the announcement that the Overseas Dominions, in some of which women are enfranchised, will be consulted as to the settlement after the war, are all matters of supreme interest to women. Again, we must lose no opportunity of urging the proper representation of women on Committees dealing with various problems connected with the war—Invasion, Internment of Alien Women, Pensions to Soldiers' Widows, &c. The Government scheme for war service offers invaluable opportunities for urging the necessity of training for women and girl workers, for helping to organise training schemes, and for pressing the need of proper safeguards as to wages and conditions.

We hold that we are pledged to do all in our power to maintain and strengthen the vital forces of the nation in this grave crisis, and that this kind of work, together with any action that it is possible to take directly bearing on Women's Suffrage,

should be, for the present, the work of the National Union. We consider that the Resolution of the last Council urging Societies to promote goodwill among nations should be interpreted as inculcating the right attitude of mind for all members of the Union at this crisis, and the tone and spirit which should prevail at our meetings, in our speeches and in our work.

It is to this programme that we ask our members to rally, remembering always the perfect freedom which the Union gives to all its members to take, as individuals, whatever part they wish in any propaganda connected with peace or war.

No one can predict what will be the political situation after the war, but it is clear that in any event a vital need will be a strong and united Women's Suffrage Society, organised all over the country, ready to act, and to bring pressure upon Parliament by constitutional methods. It is the supreme duty of all members of the National Union, both in their Societies and at Headquarters, so to maintain and to fortify the Union that it may be fit to play that part when the time for it comes.

MILlicent GARRETT FAWCETT.	FRANCES BALFOUR.
EVELYN M. L. ATKINSON.	EDITH PALLISER.
HELENA AUERBACH.	OLIVER STRACHEY.
C. D. RACKHAM.	M. TUKE.
KATE VIRIAMRU JONES.	C. C. OSLER.
J. UNICKE.	

Owing to Miss Margery Fry's absence at Sermarze-sur-Marne, where she is engaged on the French scheme of reconstruction work, it has been impossible to communicate with her in time. She has, however, telegraphed her entire support of the Executive's position. Miss Macmillan is aboard, and we have not been able to communicate with her.

II. STATEMENT BY RETIRING MEMBERS AND OTHERS.

Several letters have appeared in THE COMMON CAUSE lately expressing some bewilderment on the part of the rank and file of the Union with regard to the present situation, and asking for enlightenment. This bewilderment is quite natural in view of the fact that ordinary members of the Union have probably not seen:—

1. The election addresses issued by candidates for election at the time of the last Council meeting.
2. The letters resigning their positions as officers of the Union sent out by Miss Courtney and Miss Marshall.
3. The letters of resignation from other members of the Executive Committee.
4. The Minutes of the Executive.

The first three are in the hands of all Secretaries of Societies, and should be read carefully by all delegates attending the Council meeting.

It may perhaps be of some use briefly to review the situation and to indicate what seem to be the possible courses for the Union now to adopt.

It will be remembered that at the Council meeting held early in February certain resolutions were passed on the attitude of the National Union to war. At the same time, the Council did not seem disposed to put these resolutions into practice, and the interpretations put upon the resolutions by the Executive Committee clearly showed that the Executive, at any rate, took the view that the resolutions were not to be acted upon. It was in consequence of this state of affairs that Miss Courtney and Miss Marshall decided to resign office in the Union. They had neither expected nor desired that the Union should undertake a stop-the-war agitation, but they did not feel able to remain officers of a Union which declined to take action on the lines of the resolutions it had passed after careful discussion, though they indicated they would be willing to remain members of the Executive Committee if invited to do so.

Later on the invitation to take part in The Hague Congress was received by the Executive Committee, and they resolved both to decline to send delegates themselves and to inform the Societies in the Union that they were not at liberty to do so. It was in consequence of this and other decisions showing that the resolutions of the Council were to be interpreted more and more stringently, in the sense that they were to have no operative intention, that ten members of the Executive Committee sent in their resignations. Like the officers, they did not suggest that the Union should engage in a stop-the-war agitation. They resigned because they believed that the attitude of the majority on the question of women's responsibility in national and international affairs was not in accordance either with the principles of the Women's Suffrage movement or with the will of the February Council meeting.

This is a brief outline of the proceedings leading up to the present situation which the Council has been summoned to con-

sider this month. The issue has become so confused that the principles at stake are in danger of being obscured, and it is important to remind members of the National Union of that which underlies the whole question. The real cleavage of opinion in the Union lies between those who consider it essential to work for the vote simply as a political tool, and those who believe that the demand for the vote should be linked with the advocacy of the deeper principles which underlie it.

This cleavage of opinion was clearly shown at the Council meeting, when a minority were consistent in opposing the expression by the Union of opinions on any subject other than Women's Suffrage. The majority, it appeared, did not take this view, and passed a number of resolutions founded upon the belief that "the Women's Suffrage movement is based on the principle that social relations should be governed not by physical force but by recognition of mutual rights." They were, however, not prepared to give effect to this decision, with the result that, while resolutions representing the opinion of one section in the Union have been passed, the opinion of the other section is allowed to prevail. The result has been the confusion which has led to the present situation.

If the Council is to arrive at any definite conclusions at this next meeting, it is necessary that it should courageously face the real situation, reckon up the gains and losses involved in taking one or other course, and then boldly follow the course which it thinks most desirable.

It is useless to ignore the war and to imagine that the Union can return to the state of affairs before the war broke out. The war is the great and tragic fact which dominates the existence of all of us, and all decisions made now have to be made in view of the changed conditions which now exist.

It was, indeed, recognised on the outbreak of war that it was no longer possible to confine the activity of the Union within its accustomed channels of political activity, and the policy of Suffrage and Suffrage only was at once abandoned, in favour of relief work and social service.

This departure from the original position of the N.U. has been enthusiastically approved by the very members who are now using the cry of Suffrage and Suffrage only in opposing any action being taken on the resolutions passed at the last Council meeting, while some are even unwilling to do any Suffrage propaganda. The question at issue, therefore, is not shall the N.U. undertake work outside Suffrage propaganda, but what sort of work shall it undertake?

In deciding this question, we have to go back to our principles, and this brings us to the heart of the present controversy.

Do we ask for the vote merely as a political tool, or do we wish the National Union to link it with the advocacy of the deeper principles, the consciousness of which has been the source of so much vigour and impassioned devotion to our workers?

Those who hold that the Union has existed in the past on the simple basis of the demand for the vote and nothing else believe that the Union can maintain its existence during the war by expending its surplus energies on relief work, this being work on which, they contend, we can all unite without controversy. But it should be remarked that there are, as a matter of fact, few subjects more controversial than relief work. The Executive has left Societies free to conduct their work on lines which seem good to themselves; and at the end of the war Societies in the Union who are working on different principles may find themselves as far apart as those who hold different views as to the duty of the National Union at this crisis.

The other section believe that the Union cannot survive as a living organisation with the driving power of ideals behind it unless, at this tremendous crisis, it recognises the great principles for which it stands, and continues to uphold the ideal of the supremacy of moral force in human affairs. To this belief the N.U. has indeed already testified in its declaration against militancy.

At the Council meeting to be held on June 17th the Union will be called upon to make its decision between these two points of view, or it may attempt a compromise. Upon the decision it then makes its whole future history will depend.

There appear to be four possible alternatives. The first is to confine the Union to Suffrage propaganda and to the organisation of relief work of a so-called non-controversial kind. If this were done, the only consistent course would be to rescind all the resolutions passed at the February Council which conflict with this view. At present those resolutions stand, and difficulties must inevitably arise unless the Union makes clear its position with regard to them. It should also be noted that if the Council adopts this course it will be unable to put forward any constructive scheme for supporting and sustaining the fabric of our social organisation, so seriously damaged by the war, because

on every point differences would arise, and it is such differences of opinion which this section of the Union feels should be kept in abeyance in the best interests of the Suffrage movement.

If this course were adopted, the present members of the Executive Committee would presumably remain, and the vacant places would have to be filled by those who share their point of view as to the activities of the National Union.

Whether at the end of the war, a Union which had adopted as its watchwords "Safety" and "No controversy" would be a body which could successfully secure the enfranchisement of women, amidst difficult political readjustments, is seriously doubted by those who support the second alternative.

This second course is the exact opposite of the first, viz., for the Council to decide to act vigorously upon the resolutions which it passed last February, and to declare its intention of doing so by passing the resolution which is to be submitted by the Manchester Society. This resolution does not involve, as some of the readers of THE COMMON CAUSE seem to suppose, the carrying on of a "stop-the-war" agitation on the part of the National Union. Nothing of the kind was suggested in the resolutions put forward last February, nor was it desired by those who supported them. What those resolutions advocated was support of the principle that "social relations should be governed not by physical force but by recognition of mutual rights," and support of certain principles which should govern the settlement after the war, which had been enunciated by the Prime Minister in his speech in Dublin on September 26th. The Council also called upon Societies and members of the Union to "take every means open to them for promoting mutual understanding and goodwill between nations, and for resisting any tendency towards a spirit of hatred and revenge." It has been asked how the resolutions would be carried out. We believe the Union could render the country an incalculable service, and would at the same time uphold its own principles in the best possible way, if it were to begin at once to build up a sound public opinion in regard to the settlement after the war, taking as a general foundation the principles laid down by Mr. Asquith in his speech in Dublin. As regards co-operation with other Societies, this would refer to sending representatives to conferences, &c., held by other organisations which have the same object, and support the enfranchisement of women.

Such work would, of course, be undertaken side by side with the other work of the National Union—Suffrage propaganda, social service, and the safeguarding of the interests of women. If this course were adopted, the majority of the retiring members of the Executive would be willing to stand for election, as well as a certain number of new candidates whose names are before the Societies.

The third alternative would represent a compromise, and is

expressed in the Newcastle resolution, which demands that the Societies shall be free to work towards the ends expressed in the resolutions of the February Council, just as they are free now to join in any kind of relief work and war service. Such an arrangement would obviously not be ideal, but it would probably meet many of the difficulties in the present position, and, had it been adopted in relation to The Hague Congress, it would have done much to ease the situation. In view of the very great differences which do exist in the Union, it is possible that this course is the only means of keeping the Union together; it ought, however, to be adopted for the war only, and obviously presents many practical difficulties. It might be worth while to face these in order to avoid driving out of the Union any of the energy and vitality which it now possesses, and in order to maintain the full strength of the Union for use after the war.

The fourth alternative is frankly to recognise the two sections of opinion in the Union, and allow each to work on its own lines, following the lines of cleavage which have revealed themselves.

It is worth considering whether some scheme might be devised whereby the National Union proper should confine itself to Suffrage propaganda and to the organisation of such relief work as commands general support, whilst a new body should be formed prepared to undertake work likely to lead into controversial regions, and to face criticism and hostility not necessarily incurred by the simple advocacy of the claim to enfranchisement.

This solution would allow those of us who wish to engage in the more controversial work to retain our membership of the National Union, and would put an end to controversies within it.

It will be for the Union to decide what it believes to be in the best interests of the Women's Suffrage movement, and how it can best serve the country at this crisis. The discussions of the Council will be greatly helped if the different sections realise that, however different their point of view, they are both actuated by the same desire. If irreconcilable differences exist, they must be frankly recognised, and the situation dealt with in the broadest possible spirit. If it is possible to arrive at a compromise, it is essential that the terms of the compromise should be definite, so that an Executive Committee is not again faced with a situation in which it cannot agree as to the actual decisions of the Council meeting.

MARGARET ASHTON.	GEO. G. ARMSTRONG.
ALICE CLARK.	E. BARTON.
K. D. COURTNEY.	MARGARET HILLS.
I. O. FORD.	C. C. LYON.
EMILY M. LEAF.	LUCY DEANE STREATFEILD.
CATHERINE E. MARSHALL.	ETHEL M. N. WILLIAMS.
S. J. TANNER.	

Unfortunately, there has not been time to communicate with Mrs. Harley, who is engaged in hospital work in France.

ELECTION ADDRESSES.

MISS LUCY ASHCROFT.—My views under the three main headings are as follows: C., 1, 2, 3, 4—In favour of; D., 2, 3—Against; 1, 4, 5—For; E., 1, 3—For; 2, 4—Against.

MRS. BETHUNE-BAKER.—(1) I entirely support the action of the Executive in its interpretation of the resolutions passed by the Council last February. (2) I shall vote for the Resolution D., 1, to be moved by the Executive at the coming Council Meeting in Birmingham, to the effect that as "there is no unanimity in the National Union as to the best means of promoting at this time the cause of international good-will and future peace, this Council agrees that the propaganda of the National Union should be directed to Women's Suffrage only"; and that there should be no political propaganda on questions on which the Union is divided. On such questions individual members can find full scope for their activities through special Societies. The National Union should be neither a Peace Society nor a Recruiting Committee. With the consent of all, we are doing "vital" work for wounded, for women, for children. The self-abnegation and efficiency of all this work are of more value at the present time even to our "Cause" than any political propaganda. (3) As regards the independent action of affiliated Societies, again I support the Executive in thinking it impracticable for Societies within the Union to take action on controversial questions at variance with each other, and with the views expressed by the Executive on behalf of the Union as a whole.

MISS B. A. CLOUGH.—My views on the questions to be discussed at the coming Council meeting are as follows: (1) I consider that the object for which the National Union exists is the advancement of the cause of Women's Suffrage, and that in order to fulfil this purpose it is essential that it should not be associated with other causes as to which there is no agreement among its members. (2) I consider that it is necessary at the present time that the propaganda of the National Union should be concerned with Women's Suffrage only. (3) I hold that, in the words of the resolution proposed by the Executive, it is impracticable for societies within the Union to take action on controversial questions at variance with each other, and with the views which have been expressed by the Executive.

MRS. COOMBE TENNANT.—My views are: (1) That the Executive has correctly carried out the Resolutions of the Annual Council Meeting. (2) That the propaganda of the N.U. should be directed to Woman's Suffrage only. (3) That Societies within the Union are bound to adhere as Societies to the letter and the spirit of any policy adopted by the Union, but that individual members in their private capacity are free to join other Societies of whose objects they approve. In regard to point 2, I would further state that I believe the welfare of humanity demands the establishment of a state of society in which war shall be impossible, and that I am convinced that the enfranchisement of women will bring into operation a force indispensable to the creation of such a state of society. I therefore hold that the N.U. will best serve the cause of Peace by concentrating on the issue for which it was called into being and for which it exists, and that any action calculated to injure it as an engine for obtaining the vote for women is a disservice to the cause of progress and peace.

MISS LUCY COX.—I object to the present Executive being asked to resign, and I think they are quite right to refuse to do so. I consider that, in declining to send delegates to represent the N.U.W.S.S. at The Hague Conference, and in forbidding their branches to do so, they rightly interpreted the policy laid down by the Council at the annual meeting in February. I think it would have been most disastrous to sanction representation at such a Conference, knowing also that the International W.S. Alliance had refused to call any meeting this year. I am strongly of opinion that the propaganda of the N.U. should be directed to Women's Suffrage only, and heartily support the resolution proposed by the Executive. I enthusiastically express my unabated confidence in our President, Mrs. Fawcett, and her leadership, and support the Executive with all my heart.

REV. A. H. C. CREED, M.A.—It would not, I think, have been advisable, considering the present tension of feeling in the Council, to have sanctioned the official representation of the N.U. at The Hague Conference, though one can appreciate the feelings of individual members on the subject. Under existing circumstances, I hold that the Union should

keep to its special object of gaining the Suffrage for women: other action might be misunderstood at this time. Independent Action.—If affiliated Societies are to be loyal, they must, in my opinion, submit to the ruling of the Council, whatever may be the opinion of individual members in those Societies.

MISS BERTHA DUNNELL.—(1) In my opinion, the Executive has correctly interpreted the resolutions passed at the Annual Council Meeting held last February. (2) I believe that in the interests of Women's Suffrage the National Union should confine its propaganda to questions on which its members are united. (3) I agree that it is impracticable for N.U. Societies to take action on controversial questions independently of the Union as a whole, and I strongly deprecate the passing of ambiguous resolutions by the Council. (4) I am a firm believer in democratic government and in the right of minorities to consideration.

MRS. RALPH DURAND.—I am in favour of the following resolutions: C., Interpretation of policy laid down by last Council (4); D., Future action of the N.U.W.S.S. (1) and (4); E., Independent action by Affiliated Societies (1); G., Alterations of Rules Amendment (1) to Rule IV.

MRS. H. A. L. FISHER.—My view of the present situation is: The N.U.W.S.S. exists for the purpose of obtaining the political emancipation of women. Its members are bound together by this tie, but probably hold opinions of infinite diversity on all other subjects. I therefore feel that while individual members of the N.U. are free to work for any object or policy that commends itself to them, the N.U. as a whole should confine its official work to the promotion of the enfranchisement of women. I should wish to support C4, D1 or 5, E1.

MISS HELEN FRASER.—In offering myself for election to the Executive Committee, I beg to state that my views are: (1) In reference to interpretation of policy.—That I approve the Executive Committee's action in declining to sanction official representation at The Hague Conference. (2) In reference to future action.—I am, and always have been, very strongly of opinion that the propaganda of the N.U. should always be for Women's Suffrage only, and in view of Mr. Asquith's recent statement that the question of franchise and registration was under consideration, feel it is essential that this weakening of our power by internal dissensions over questions that do not concern us as a Society should be put an end to as speedily as possible, and our own work done. (3) In reference to independent action by affiliated Societies, I consider it quite impracticable and impossible that societies should be free to take action on controversial questions, and approve Executive Resolution E1. To have one N.U. Society actively assisting in a recruiting campaign while its neighbour holds Peace meetings does not strike me as likely to be helpful to Women's Suffrage, and I should not envy the position of an Executive endeavouring to explain the unity in these actions. If the Societies do me the honour of electing me, I shall do my utmost to save the Union and to carry out to the best of my ability the policy and desires of the Council.

MISS MARGARET JONES.—In my opinion the majority of the Executive Committee were right in their interpretation of the wishes of the annual Council meeting. I think that, in the future, the N.U. should avoid any action which might cause controversy among members of the N.U. Under such a heading I should include any action which would tend to turn the N.U. into a Peace Society or a Recruiting Agency. I consider it particularly important that those who, like myself, are strong pacifists, but do not wish the N.U. to do peace propaganda, should be able to stay within the Union, and I think, for that reason alone, any labelling of the actions of individuals as individuals as "being akin to treachery" (or similar phrases) should be avoided. As to the question of affiliated societies having the right of independent action, I am in complete agreement with E1 on the preliminary Agenda. I am also in agreement with the last resolution on the preliminary Agenda, moved by Pangbourne, as I think the Union is, at present, not sufficiently aware of its responsibilities towards organisers.

MISS MARY LOWNES.—In standing as a candidate for the Executive Committee of the National Union, I beg to state that (a) I approve the action of the Executive Committee in declining to send delegates to The Hague Congress; (b) I believe that the propaganda work of the N.U. should be directed to Women's Suffrage only; (c) I believe our only possible course in controversial questions is to be guided by the interpretation put upon the decisions of the Council by the Executive Committee.

MISS F. DE C. MERRIFIELD.—(1) Interpretation of policy laid down at last Council.—I consider that, no authority having been given for any but a Suffrage Societies' International Congress, without such express authority the Executive would not have been justified in sending delegates to The Hague, especially in view of the marked divergence of opinion manifested even as to the possible I.W.S.A. meeting. Therefore, I hold that the decision not to be officially represented at The Hague Congress in April was a right interpretation of the policy sanctioned by Council. (2) Future action.—I think the Manchester resolution should be opposed. Firstly, it appears to demand the enfranchisement of women as a help to something else, instead of recognising it as the object of our existence. Secondly, it assigns to the N.U.W.S.S. a noble task, but one for which it was not constituted, and which—apart from the question of the season at which "the establishment of a stable system of international law and mutual understanding" may hopefully or properly be promoted—it is, in my belief, unsuited as a Union to undertake. (3) Independent action of affiliated Societies.—I hold that in controversial questions, and new questions arising, the Executive has the right and responsibility of interpreting Council's decisions for the Union, and of restricting or urging the action of the affiliated societies accordingly.

MISS O'MALLEY.—(1) I believe that in refusing to send delegates to The Hague Conference the National Union Executive Committee rightly interpreted the decisions of the last Council. (2) I do not think it would be for the good of our Cause, nor fair to our members, for the Union to take action in support of objects which, however closely connected with Suffrage, are not Suffrage itself, and about which Suffragists are disagreed. (3) I think that in matters of policy the Union must act as a whole, and that it is not possible for affiliated Societies to act inde-

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pently without committing the Union. I consider therefore that in such matters the Societies must abide by the interpretation of the Council's decisions made by the National Union Executive Committee.

MRS. OWEN POWELL.—I consider that the N.U.W.S.S. Executive Committee has in its action correctly carried out the Resolution of the Annual Council Meeting. I hold, in view of the fact that the N.U.W.S.S. is a body of women who are united in the demand for women's enfranchisement, but who otherwise differ politically, the Executive shall not further any propaganda outside Suffrage upon which members of the N.U.W.S.S. are not unanimous. I believe that in view of the grave risks to the cause of Women's Suffrage which attends the Association of the N.U.W.S.S. with the promotion of any other cause, Societies should not, without obtaining the sanction of the N.U. Executive Committee, co-operate with bodies of persons other than those with whom the Union is for the time being in alliance. I hold that the National Union's present policy should be the continuation of the work they have begun in sustaining the vital energies of the nation, guarding the interests of women in this time of social upheaval, and aiding the country in its hour of peril, and I believe in pursuing this path of duty they will break down the prejudices which alone stand between them and the franchise.

MISS L. PULLAR.—My views on the future work and policy of the Union are as follows:—I am of opinion that the Executive has interpreted the resolutions passed at the Annual Council in accordance with the wishes of the majority of the Council, and in the best interests of the Union. In view of the fact that the Union was divided as to the advisability of holding the Conference at The Hague at all, it was obviously impossible for the National Union to recognise it officially, and since the resolutions discussed were those on which members of the N.U. hold widely divergent views, it would obviously have been impossible to send delegates who in any sense represented the Union as a whole. I agree with the resolution proposed by Tonbridge, that "in view of the fact that the N.U.W.S.S. is a body of women who are united in the demand for women's enfranchisement, but who otherwise differ politically, the Executive shall not further any propaganda outside Suffrage upon which members of the N.U.W.S.S. are not unanimous." I am against resolution General 1, under head "Half-yearly Council Meeting," that "this Council of the N.U.W.S.S. considers that the establishment of co-operation instead of competition among nations is of the utmost importance to humanity and the woman's movement, and empowers its Executive to work towards that end." I think the Union must be kept together by undertaking work of a non-controversial character such as it has been doing since war broke out. With regard to independent action by affiliated societies, I am in agreement with Resolution 1 and Resolution 3.

MISS ELEANOR F. RATHBONE.—I offer myself for election as a supporter of the present Executive and of the policy laid down in Resolutions C3 (Glasgow), D1, and E1 (the Executive). Although in sympathy with the views on International relations expressed in Resolutions D2 (Manchester) and D3 (Newcastle-on-Tyne), I hold that the Council will make a grave mistake if it endorses these resolutions.

The National Union has been built up by the life-work of many women holding diverse views on religion, social and political subjects, upon the definite understanding that it exists for the one purpose of securing the Parliamentary vote for women. Until this purpose is accomplished, it would be, in my view, a breach of trust for the Union to adopt other objects, unless these are such as to command the assent of the overwhelming majority of the members. The experience of the last three months has shown beyond doubt that this is not the case with the propaganda proposed in Resolutions D2 and D3. I shall therefore withdraw my candidature if these resolutions are adopted.

MRS. ROBERTS.—I am in sympathy with Resolutions B1, D2, and D3 on the Preliminary Agenda. I have always supposed that the N.U. dissociated itself in the past from militancy, because support of militancy was incompatible with the principles upon which it believed the women's movement to be based. These principles appear to me to have an infinitely more vital application now than they have ever had in the past. I have always understood that the N.U. had for its sole object the enfranchisement of women because to work for that object appeared to be the best way of serving "the common cause of humanity." It appears to me that our cause can in the immediate future be best served by working, not exclusively for the vote and relief work, but also by active propaganda on the lines laid down in Resolution B3, Council meeting, February, 1915. I cannot feel that this resolution has been given by the Executive the attention which it warranted. I am therefore not in sympathy with Resolution C1 on the Preliminary Agenda.

MRS. ALYS RUSSELL.—I should like to state most emphatically that, while yielding to no one in my hatred of war, I very much object to our Suffrage Society being turned into a Peace Society. There are other agencies through which our members can work for peace, and I think it is more useful to work through such *ad hoc* agencies than through a Society organised solely to obtain the vote.

MISS ROSAMOND SMITH.—My best hope for the N.U.W.S.S. in the present crisis is that it should remain what it has always been: a body of people united in support of a great cause, but holding widely different views on other questions. If the Union fails to retain that comprehensive character which is its essence, it may become more uniform and homogeneous, but it can never be the great force working through many and various channels for one purpose, which it has been in the past. Dealing in detail with the questions to be raised at the Council:—(1) I consider that the Executive Committee correctly interpreted the wishes of the Council in declining to take part in the Hague Congress. (2) I believe that the Union cannot undertake propaganda for controversial subjects other than Women's Suffrage without suffering a change of character which would be disastrous. (3) In the interests of unity and order, I consider that it is desirable that on important and controversial points on which the Council has given no guidance the decisions of the Executive Committee, elected by the Societies, should be accepted as binding on the whole Union.

MISS FRANCES M. STIRLING.—The Resolutions passed at the annual meeting of Council appear to me so vague as to be hard of interpretation. Resolution B3 raises the whole difficulty. I approve the interpretation put upon it by the Executive and their refusal to permit N.U. delegates to attend The Hague Congress. I do not regard such a step as a "means open to them." (See Resolution B3.) With regard to the future, I am

strongly opposed to any resolutions being passed at any time which would enjoin or permit action being taken by the Union on any controversial matter other than Women's Suffrage. Where controversy has never existed, or no longer exists, such resolutions may at times be harmless, or even desirable, but I believe that the use, indeed the very life of the Union, depends on its avoidance of bias on outside questions, where members and possible members of the Union are not in practical agreement. It is clear from recent events that every variety of view exists as to what, if any, action on the part of women would hasten a lasting peace. This variety should be welcomed as showing the Union to be truly representative of all sections of women, and not only of any one small group; yet if these opinions were all to come into conflict within the Union, disruption must inevitably follow. I consider that any assertion as to what is fundamental to Women's Suffrage is dangerous, and should only be allowed where, again, there is practical unanimity of opinion. Our Council can have no power to impose upon members what it decides to be a logical sequence of argument, and we must recognise that the meeting-point is an achieved conviction in favour of Women's Suffrage, and not the differing steps by which that conviction is approached. I hold this avoidance of controversy to be the mainspring of the organisation, and that, therefore, branches should be bound by it as well as the Council and the National Executive.

MRS. STOCKS.—As regards the action of the present Executive in refusing to give official co-operation to the recent Hague Conference, I consider that the intentions of the last Council meeting were faithfully carried out; such intentions being expressed by the Council's action in rejecting the last paragraph of the "Asquith resolution." As regards the future action of the National Union, I consider that its activities should be confined to dealing with questions bearing upon the political and economic position of women as such, and that it should refrain from taking up any official attitude concerning the wider questions of war, peace, or international relations. The end of this war must find the National Union single-minded, unbroken, and ready to take up the fight for Women's Suffrage at what may be one of the most critical phases of the women's movement. As regards the vote of confidence in Mrs. Fawcett's leadership, proposed by the Exeter Society, I regard such a vote at the present juncture as implying a repudiation of any action which might render that leadership more difficult or arduous, through internal contentions; and accepting it in that sense, if elected to the Executive, I should do my best to abide by it in the letter and spirit.

MRS. OLIVER STRACHEY.—(1) The N.U.W.S.S. is a society whose sole object is Women's Suffrage, and therefore I hold that it should not embark upon any political controversies concerning war, or peace, or arbitration, or diplomacy, or the International settlement after the war. (2) I hold that the Union should not join with other societies to promote anything but Women's Suffrage, and that combining with women of other nations is for the time being impracticable. (3) I hold that the societies within the Union should not take public action in opposition to each other. If the National Union at this Council decides to adopt the views of the resigning members of the Executive Committee on these points, I shall not proceed with my candidature.

MRS. STRICKLAND.—Should I be elected to the Executive, I should wholeheartedly support the policy laid down in the Manchester resolution which appears on page 4 of the preliminary printed Agenda for the forthcoming special Council meetings of the N.U.W.S.S.

LADY LAWSON TANGRED.—Among the resolutions on the Preliminary Agenda that I am in favour of are C2 and 4, D1 and E4. With reference to The Hague Congress question, I hold the opinion that as no Congress except an I.W.S.A. Congress was discussed or supported at the last Council, it was not the duty of the Executive to send delegates to an independently organised Congress in Holland, however beneficial to the cause of peace. The Council knew that very probably an I.W.S.A. Congress would not be called this year, yet nobody suggested an alternative one. I feel very strongly that, although most Suffragists, including myself, wish to work for future peace, we cannot, in a large society like the N.U., all agree as to how and when this should be done. Owing to this wide difference of opinion, so obvious at the last Council, I think that the N.U. should not embark upon any definite peace propaganda at the present time, although I think it should encourage the idea of the fact that international peace is one of the aims of the Woman's Movement. With regard to E4, I think that Societies, being smaller, are more likely to be unanimous, and that they should be left as much liberty of thought and action as is possible "within the scope of the policy laid down by the Council meetings." We should be more likely to have "peace" within the Union itself, and could work together for our common cause.

MISS E. VERRALL.—I am glad to have the opportunity of stating quite shortly my views on C, D, and E of the Special Council Agenda. C—I consider the N.U.W.S.S. Executive Committee quite rightly interpreted the spirit of the annual Council meeting in February, when they declined to send official representatives to The Hague Conference. D—I thoroughly endorse the view taken by Miss Rathbone in her letter to THE COMMON CAUSE, May 28th, being convinced that the N.U.W.S.S. should not officially concern itself with any object, however desirable, other than that for which it was created and has hitherto existed, and that support of any other movement should be undertaken only in cases where the Council is unanimous—e.g., the White Slave traffic, and is of opinion that such action will strengthen the hands of the Union in their demand for enfranchisement. E.—I support Resolution 1 proposed by the Executive.

MISS HELEN WARD.—My views are: (a) That the Executive's ruling not to send delegates to The Hague was correct; (b) But that the Annual Council quite deliberately affirmed an interdependence between its own ideals and those inspiring the movement towards a wider adoption after this war of methods of conciliation and arbitration in international affairs, with a fuller recognition of women's responsibilities therein. It would be harmful for this affirmation now to be stultified. Mistakes must not too greatly be feared. The difficulties, confronted with calm courage, will be found similar to those the Union has often surmounted, and which she must inevitably face if she is to keep a grip upon reality. I think the statesmanlike thing for the Union to do is, while departing in no wise from her singleness of purpose, to accord a like discreet co-operation with, and sympathetic recognition of, these movements towards international public right based on the enlightened will of men and women,

as she has profitably accorded in the past to other movements, some highly controversial, tending to establish moral law and the freedom of women. On some such basis, with mutual confidence and concession, rather than by too much straining after safety and uniformity, the Union may preserve proportion in truth, and keep for her use most of those forces which have built up her present strength.

MISS M. M. WILLIAMS.—I am of the opinion that the line of action taken by the Executive in sending no official delegate to the Women's Conference at The Hague, was a mistaken interpretation of the will of the Council as expressed at the meeting of that body on February 4th, 5th, and 6th. Believing that the Women's Suffrage movement is based on the principle that social relations should be governed, not by physical force, but by recognition of mutual rights, I am of the opinion that the National Union cannot remain neutral on the great questions of War and Peace, but must support and carry out this fundamental principle by: (a) Propaganda demanding the enfranchisement of women, as essential to the constitution of a democratic state. (b) Co-operation with other organisations working for these objects, and in discussion with women of other nations to promote the establishment of a stable system of international law, and mutual understanding, upheld by the common will of men and women. (c) Doing all in its power to educate public opinions on these lines. I am of the opinion that all Societies within the Union must loyally stand by the expressed will of the Union, and that independent action of individual societies on controversial questions is absolutely impracticable, and would lead to grave misconception of the policy of the Union in the eyes of the general public.

At time of going to press we had not heard from the following candidates:—Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Miss C. M. Campbell, Miss Foxley, Miss Crosbie Hill, and Dr. Florence Willey.

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

TROYES.

Mrs. Harley writes that Dr. Hroy and Dr. Sandeman have arrived at Troyes, together with some of the nurses and orderlies of the Unit. The equipment has been safely received, and it is hoped to open the hospital very shortly.

ABBAYE DE ROYAUMONT.

From Royaumont we hear that Count Navarro, the husband of Mary Anderson, visited the hospital lately, and was delighted with all he saw. He stated that he intended on his return to America to write about the hospitals to the American papers, and get in as many subscriptions as possible.

The cooks now have the welcome assistance of a first-class chef, a Spaniard, who before the war was in the employment of Gould, the millionaire, in Paris. He is now convalescent, and is helping in the kitchen in the most good-natured way, even preparing the vegetables—a thing which most chefs would not condescend to do.

FIRST SERBIAN UNIT.

Dr. Inglis has arrived at Kraguievatz. All the patients are reported to be doing well.

SECOND SERBIAN UNIT.

At time of going to press no further news has been received from Dr. Hutchinson, who when last heard of was about to leave Malta for Salonika.

The National Union is at the present time supporting 800 beds in France and Serbia, but further help is urgently required to carry on the work of our Units. Subscriptions very gratefully received either by Miss S. E. S. Mair, 2, St. Andrew's Square, Edinburgh, or the Hon. Treasurer, Mrs. Laurie, Red House, Greenock. Cheques to be crossed "Royal Bank of Scotland."

Contributions for the London Units should be sent to Lady Cowdray, 58, Victoria Street; or to the Treasurer, 14, Great Smith Street, Westminster.

Gifts in kind, as follows, will be gratefully received by Dr. Elsie Inglis, at 2, St. Andrew's Square, Edinburgh, and by Miss Hunter, equipment secretary, London Society, 58, Victoria Street, S.W. They should be accompanied by the names and addresses of the donors:—

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.

FURTHER LIST OF BEDS NAMED.

Name of Bed.	Donor.
"Lynedoch"	Per Mrs. Baldwin Brown, Edinburgh.
"Kelvinside"	Glasgow W.S.S. and Friends, per Miss Morrison.
"Lady Artists' Club" (TroYES)	Members of Club.
"Arpin" (Serbia)	Mr. and Mrs. John Mann.
"Hillhead" (Serbia)	Miss R. Julia Brown and Mrs. Coats.
"Dumfries and Maxwelltown" No 2	Women's War Relief Executive, per Miss Young.
"Women's Freedom League, Glasgow"	W. S. A. Corps, per Miss Steven.
"Roxburgh Hotel & Charlotte Square"	Per Miss Macdonald, Edinburgh.
"Grylle"	Bridge-of-Weir W.S.S.
"Innerleithen & Walkerburn"	Innerleithen W.S.S.
"Wivenhoe" No. 2 (Serbia)	

Erratum.—In our last list of Beds named "Sherborne" was wrongly given instead of "Sherborne." The Sherborne Bed was subscribed for by members of the Sherborne Society and Friends.

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FURTHER LIST OF DONATIONS.

Table listing various donors and their contributions to the Common Cause, including individuals, societies, and institutions.

Notes from Headquarters.

The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. President: MRS. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D. Hon. Secretaries: MISS EVELYN ATKINSON, MISS EDITH PALLISER (Literature).

Press Report. Good reports of Weekly Notes have been inserted in several provincial papers, mostly old friends. The Leicester Pioneer quoted from them at length.

The Matron has an appreciative article on Mrs. Fawcett, with a very good reproduction of a recent photograph. Blackwood's Magazine gives the diary of a dresser in the Serbian Unit of the Scottish Women's Hospital.

The Daily Mail of May 21st has an excellent article on "Women in our New World." Her arraignment of man's monopoly of politics and diplomacy are the figures 1914, the cemetery he has made of Europe, the darkness with which he has stunted civilisation.

The Daily Chronicle of June 1st devotes half a column to the Women's Suffrage Hospitals. The article bears the title, "Women Heroes of War Hospitals."

There is a good article in The Lady's Pictorial on "Votes for Danish Women." It ends up with the words: "Women will have fully earned the right to have a say in the conduct of the country by the time the war is over."

Active Service Fund.

Table showing Active Service Fund contributions, including already acknowledged amounts and subscriptions for various units.

Contributions to the General Fund.

Table showing contributions to the General Fund, categorized by subscriptions and affiliation fees from various W.S.S. branches.

LOST LETTERS.

In view of the fact that several letters containing Cheques and Postal Orders have lately failed to reach us, we shall be glad if any contributors who have not received an acknowledgment will communicate at once with the Hon. Treasurer, at 14, Great Smith Street, S.W.

LONDON SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

Several letters containing Cheques and Postal Orders posted to the London Society's office during the months of January and February have failed to reach us, we shall be glad if any contributors who have not received an acknowledgment will communicate with the Hon. Treasurer, London Society for Women's Suffrage, 58, Victoria-street, S.W.

WOMEN PATROLS.

The paragraph dealing with the work of Women Patrols in our last issue was taken from a report by Miss Helen Wright on patrol work in Birmingham.

What Some of Our Societies are Doing.

London Units for N.U.W.S.S. Hospitals. The St. George's, Hanover-square, Committee is actively at work in support of the N.U.W.S.S. Scottish Women's Hospitals. Two sums of £25 for the maintenance of beds have been subscribed by Mrs. Kinnell and the Misses Trollope.

The Walthamstow Clothing Depot. After eight months of very useful work, the Walthamstow Clothing Depot has closed down for the summer. The Depot was given free accommodation, through the kindness of the Trinity Congregational Church authorities.

Work in Bristol. The Bristol Society has begun a Study Circle, to which an introductory lecture on International Law was given by Professor G. H. Leonard, of Bristol University. He gave some account of the history of International Law from its beginning in the seventeenth century, and considered the causes of its present breakdown.

The International Suffrage Shop. Miss Muriel Matters will lecture on Walt Whitman in aid of the International Suffrage Shop on Tuesday, June 8th, at 8 p.m., at the Suffrage Club, 3, York-street, St. James'. The subject must be thrashed out. We must be humble-minded and open-minded, and then let the clash of opinions come.

Women's Freedom League Employment Bureau. The above Bureau is being inaugurated at 32a, The Arcade, High-street, Croydon, by a member of the W.F.L., in the hope of benefiting gentlemen by bringing employer and suitable employees into direct communication under methods differing from those used in ordinary registry offices.

GIVING IT AWAY. LADY TO GARDENER: Mrs. A's gardener has gone to the war, so now she has a lady gardener. GARDENER: There's hundreds of things wanted to be done in a garden, and ladies may do some as well as men, but there's lots they can't do; look at those great pots, how could they lift them? LADY: Oh, no; they certainly could not do that; but I wonder how you can. GARDENER: I can't without another man to help me.

Items of Interest.

Lady Butler's Pictures.

On Saturday last an exhibition of Lady Butler's military pictures was opened at the Leicester Galleries in aid of the Officers' Families Fund. In addition to old favourites—"The Roll Call" and "Scotland for Ever"—the exhibition contains "The Cuirassiers' Last Reveillé," which shows four mounted trumpeters against a sunrise background.

A Nun Under Fire.

The following episode is related in the Gazette de Tiflis:—"During the victorious operations of the Russian troops in the Valley of Ichorok the word came to advance. Sister—incensed on accompanying us. She followed the army and cared for the wounded with the utmost devotion, amid all sorts of hardship, working for ten days and nights with scarcely any sleep. One morning a lull came in the fighting, and the troops were able to take a little rest, but no one dared to show himself lest he should be shot down. To the general surprise, however, someone was seen moving about between the two fronts. We recognised a white cap and a cross; it was Sister—looking after the wounded and consoling the dying. Her movements interested the enemy. Soon faces, full of curiosity, showed themselves in the opposite trenches, and when the Turks understood what was happening they began to clap their hands and shout "Bravo, Khanoum; bravo, sister."

Village Saved by a Teacher.

The Inspectors of the Academy of Arrennes, states La Française, has brought the following incident to the notice of the Minister of Public Instruction:—"The village of Lalobbe has been completely spared. Mlle. Miget, a teacher, in charge of a hospital, went before the German general as soon as he arrived at Signy-l'Abbaye, and asked him to protect the village and the wounded under her charge. The general had her taken back in a motor-car to Labobbe, and had two bills put up at each end of the village forbidding the troops to do any damage. These orders were so well carried out that there was not even any pillage and little requisitioning."

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Women and Church Councils.

The London Diocesan Conference has adopted the rules for the representation of the Laity which was recommended by the representative Church Council last July. These rules, it will be remembered, recognise that women should be eligible to sit on parochial Church Councils, where these exist, and to vote at the election of Ruri-Decanal and Diocesan conferences to which men only are privileged to belong. The question as to whether or not it is right women should have an equal privilege is one which will be considered by all thoughtful churchpeople. A meeting to consider the subject has been arranged in the Church House on June 10th, at 8.15 p.m., when the Bishop of Lincoln will preside. The speakers will be the Rev. T. A. Lacey, Mrs. Knight Bruce, and Mrs. Henderson.

Catholic Women's Suffrage Society.

The Rev. T. J. Walshe will give a lantern lecture on "St. Catherine of Siena" at the Kensington Town Hall, High Street, Kensington, on Wednesday, June 9th, at 8 p.m. Miss Abadam will take the chair.

Forthcoming Meetings.

Table listing various meetings and events, including Birmingham, Bristol, London, and other locations, with dates and times.

Advertisement for gifts: You cannot give a more ACCEPTABLE GIFT than a "COMMON CAUSE" FOUNTAIN PEN. Non-leakable, can be carried in any position. Solid 14-carat gold nib. Packed in N.U. colors. Apply, sending P.O. for 3/8 (2d. being for postage), to the Manager, "Common Cause," 14, Great Smith Street, S.W. (State whether fine, medium, or broad nib required)

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PREPAID ADVERTISEMENTS.

Ten words, 9d per insertion; every additional ten words, 6d. per insertion. Four insertions for the price of three. All advertisements should be addressed to The Manager, The Common Cause Publishing Co., Ltd., 14, Great Smith-st., Westminster, and must be received not later than first post Wednesday.

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

AT THE SUFFRAGE CLUB, 3, York-street, St. James's. Three meetings of U.S. on Friday, June 4th, and following two Fridays at 3.30 p.m. Speaker, Mr. John Scurr, on "The Theory and Practice of Politics."

MISS MURIEL MATTERS will lecture on "Walt Whitman" at the Suffrage Club, 3, York Street, St. James's, Tuesday, June 8th, 8 p.m. Tickets, 2s. 6d., 1s., and 6d., from International Suffrage Shop, 5, Duke-st., Adelphi.

POSITIONS VACANT.

LADY REPRESENTATIVES for London and Suburbs, required immediately to introduce the latest and most up-to-date insurance feature, urgently needed, owing to the War; whole or part time.—Write for appointment to the London Manager, General Accident, Fire & Life Assurance Corp., Ltd., General-bldgs., Aldwych, W.C.

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All Cakes and Pastries of finest ingredients by own Baker.

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ARTIFICIAL TEETH (old) bought; we pay absolutely highest genuine prices—up to 6s. 6d. per tooth plated on vulcanite; 10s. on silver; 12s. 6d. on gold; 35s. on platinum. Immediate cash. If offer not accepted, we return parcel post free. Satisfaction guaranteed.—S. Cann & Co., 69a, Market-st., Manchester. Bankers, Parrs. Mention "C.C."

A THEENIC UNDERWEAR is made from the best materials, guaranteed unshrinkable, and gives lasting wear. Write for Free Book, and buy direct at first cost.—Dept. 8, Atheenic Mills, Hawick, Scotland.

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SECOND-HAND CLOTHING wanted to buy for cash costumes, skirts, boots, underclothes, curtains lounge suits, trousers, and children's clothing of every description; parcels sent will be valued, and cash sent by return.—Mrs. Russell, 100, Raby-street Newcastle-on-Tyne.

BUSINESS.

LADY, 31, small income, capital £20, seeks partner for domestic and poultry farm; autumn; neighbourhood, Bournemouth.—C., West Lodge, Sidcup.

TO LADY Florist, or Photographer.—Suitable premises offered, including part of large window for display (Lady's business). Good opening. Moderate rent. Lovely North London Suburb.—Box 5,093, COMMON CAUSE Office.

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