

The Common Cause

OF HUMANITY.

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

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Notes and News.

The Cost of the War.

How to meet the cost of the war will be a momentous question for future discussion, and meanwhile Mr. Lloyd George has set us all wondering by suggesting that it may be met out of increased national savings. It is greatly to be hoped that such will be the case, but *The Nation* formulates the difficulty as follows: "Even if the money income of the nation has not shrunk, as is conceivable, the distribution of that income, favourable on the whole to wages, has shifted so as to be unfavourable to saving." The point is important. If you add a thousand pounds to the income of a millionaire he may easily save it all; if you distribute your thousand pounds among a great body of needy wage-earners, they will want to use it, and little saving will be effected. No doubt, however, the capitalist as well as the worker is to some extent richer through the war, and from that quarter increased savings may be expected. A correspondent reminds us that the whole question of thrift at the present moment is receiving less attention than it deserves, and it is one which all classes of the community, according to their ability, might take into account, with great benefit to the nation and its future problems. As regards the working-classes, however, the question of high prices is a serious factor in the situation.

Dearer Bread.

For prices continue to rise. In Guernsey tenpence is charged for a four-pound loaf, which cost 7d. before the war, and even in London, ninepence is charged this week, as compared with 8½d. last week. In the Isle of Wight, wheat has reached the highest price for nearly fifty years, and the price of flour is rapidly rising in various localities. We should like to point out—what, indeed, is sufficiently obvious—that this rise in prices cannot possibly be regarded as equally affecting all classes, as Mr. Hobhouse has seemed to suggest. A recent inquiry into social conditions in Northampton, Warrington, Stanley, and Reading, on the lines adopted by Mr. Charles Booth, shows that 16 per cent. of the working classes in these districts (and presumably in other places where conditions are similar) are living in a state of permanent poverty, due to insufficient earnings, and are unable to obtain the necessities of physical efficiency. It is perfectly clear that to such households, a rise in prices is a completely different problem from the same rise in the case of more prosperous families. Below a certain level of poverty, high prices mean not inconvenience, but acute want; and therefore the question of prices becomes, for numbers of men and

women, and especially their children, almost literally a question of life and death.

Miners' War Bonus Decided.

The Prime Minister has given his decision in favour of a special advance upon the present rate of wages; but the advance is to be determined by the various existing conciliation boards, and the miners accordingly passed a resolution recommending that each district shall at once put forward the claim determined by conference, viz., 20 per cent. increase on current earnings. Newcastle, at a meeting of miners and coal owners called to consider this resolution, agreed to an advance of 15 per cent. on the standard wage. Durham made the same decision on Tuesday, and Glasgow agreed to an advance of 18½ per cent. Although the demands of the miners are only partially granted, hundreds of thousands of miners will benefit by these important decisions.

Reserved for Men.

"It is feared that little space can be found for ladies in the gallery. If possible, part of the Guildhall may be open for the public, the entire floor space being reserved for men." So runs the advertisement of the Guildhall meeting, arranged by the Central Committee for National Patriotic Organisations, at which the following resolution, of profound interest to women, as to men, is to be moved by Mr. Asquith, and seconded by Mr. Bonar Law: "That this meeting of the Citizens of London records on behalf of the British people, its abiding gratitude for the unparalleled services rendered by the self-governing Dominions, the Colonies, the Protectorates, and the Indian Empire, in the struggle to maintain the ideal of liberty and justice which is the common and sacred cause of the Allies."

Force or Freedom?

It would appear then, that imperial relations are not regarded as the concern of women. And yet it is plain that our Overseas Dominions consist not merely of territories, but of men and women who, by virtue of the bond of Empire, stand in a definite relation to the people of Great Britain—also men and women. To exclude women from their share in this "imperial idea" is surely to lose sight to a great extent of the democratic basis on which that idea is built up. It is to suggest that the physically stronger sex is, after all, the sole guardian of an imperialism based on the appeal to force rather than to freedom. We would remind these patriotic organisers that numbers of women in the British Empire are already enfranchised, and a sound imperialism—even a sane patriotism—can no longer afford to regard the entire sex as wholly unconcerned in the interests of empire.

"The Whole Question."

"I can only repeat," said Mr. Asquith on Tuesday, in reply to a question in Parliament, "that the whole question of franchise and registration is receiving careful and detailed consideration." The whole question of franchise! It is a very large question and cannot be limited surely much longer to men "who recognised their duty to their country," while women who recognise the same duty are excluded. There are signs that the country will not much longer desire to consider the question of franchise apart from its women, and a leader writer in last Wednesday's *Times*, on feminine wisdom, suggests that women's contribution to human affairs is indispensable. We congratulate him. It is a great discovery.

In Parliament.

Wednesday, May 5th.

WOMEN IN AGRICULTURE.

THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE (Sir Harry Verney) made a statement with regard to the work of the Board since the outbreak of war, and the position of agriculture generally. Discussing the different kinds of labour that were available, he stated that the Board still held the employment of women in agriculture to be preferable to the employment of schoolboys. While, however, women's labour was employed in the North almost universally, there was a tremendous prejudice against it in the South. He considered that the ideal would be for all cows to be milked by women, and that it was a great waste of time, at this national crisis, for men to be employed in work that was better and probably more quickly done by women.

In order to combat prejudice and demonstrate what could be done by women milkers, the Board had undertaken to train a few women here and there in their agricultural colleges, so as to show the farmers that after quite a short and cheap training women could be of real use. An immense number of women had applied for this training, but only a few had been selected, the scheme being intended simply as a demonstration to encourage farmers to train suitable women themselves. As far as it had gone the scheme had proved a success. At the present moment twenty-two women trained at the colleges were actually at work on farms, engaged in milking. A farmer in Berkshire with some 300 or 400 cows had taken five women milkers, and was finding them so satisfactory that he had asked for two more as soon as they were trained. He was paying them 14s. and giving them a house to live in. In Cheshire, women milkers were being paid 15s. to £1 a week, without lodging, and in Dorset the Farmers' Union had suggested 15s. a week for a day from six or seven in the morning until five in the evening. In Gloucestershire the wage suggested was 2s. 6d. a day, or, if the woman was living in, 8s. or 9s. a week.

MR. WHITEHOUSE (Mid Lanark, L.) protested against the Government continuing to allow the employment of school children in agriculture, so long as any other labour was available, and urged the Board of Agriculture to combine with the Board of Education to put a stop to what he believed to be "a very grave social scandal."

MR. CHAPLIN (Surrey, Wimbledon, U.) considered that boy labour from the schools had been of the greatest service at a very critical period for the production of food. He had no doubt that women could give much good and useful assistance in certain branches of agriculture, and had himself been instrumental in forming a strong agricultural committee on this question. It had already commenced operations in Gloucestershire, applications for women's labour were coming in, and he believed women would be forthcoming in sufficient numbers.

MR. GEORGE ROBERTS (Norwich, Lab.) said that there was considerable fear among farm labourers that female labour would be used to lower the male standard. He had had a case brought to his notice of a woman driving a pair of horses and being paid only 1s. a day.

MR. BATHURST (Wilton, U.) commended the work of Miss Dean and other ladies connected with the Labour Exchanges, who had been impressing upon the farmers not only the uses to which they could put women's labour, but the necessity of paying them adequately.

TREATMENT OF BRITISH PRISONERS.

LORD ROBERT CECIL (Hitchin, U.) expressed a hope that the Government would make it clear that, as far as possible, those responsible for the maltreatment of British prisoners in Germany would be punished after the war, however high their station might be. There was a strong feeling in the country on this subject, which was not confined to men; it affected women just as much. He pressed this matter on the Government for this reason:—

UTILITY OF CONVENTIONS JEOPARDISED.

"Before the war we entered into a number of undertakings through the Hague Convention and the Geneva Convention for the conduct of war. We see those undertakings absolutely disregarded by our enemies, and the most recent instance and the most terrible is the barbarous use of poisonous gases. What is to be our attitude on these questions? Are we to stand calmly by and say, 'We spent years in trying to mitigate the horrors of war by conventions, and they have been torn up by our adversaries, and at the end of the war we shall have nothing to say.' It may be said that it is the duty of neutrals to enforce these conventions. I do not know whether it is or not. What I do know is that neutrals have not taken that view of their duty, and they have not attempted to enforce these conventions."

"Unless we can devise some punishment which shall have effect against those who have broken these conventions, the House, and the

humanitarian part of the House, must recognise that there is not the slightest use in ever making another convention with reference to the conduct of war, and nobody will ever be found ready to go to the Hague or Geneva Conference again."

THE PRIME MINISTER replied that the Government was at least as anxious as anyone else that when the proper time came, due reparation should be exacted from all persons, whatever their position or antecedents, who could be shown to have been responsible for the maltreatment of prisoners. The most careful record was kept, and would continue to be kept, and all evidence would be preserved.

Thursday, May 6th.

RESTRICTIONS ON SALE OF LIQUOR.

The House of Commons declined to proceed with the Bill embodying Mr. Lloyd George's plan for the State control of the liquor trade in the munitions, transport, and camp areas until the Government had definitely decided with regard to their liquor taxation proposals.

THE PRIME MINISTER was loth to postpone a Bill of such urgency, as upon its speedy passage depended the making of adequate provision of decent conditions with regard to the supply both of food and drink for the men concerned in the industries on which the safety of the country depended. He regarded anything that delayed its passage as very serious indeed in the interests of the country and the Empire, and held that the modified taxation proposals shortly to be submitted afforded no ground for delaying the Bill. The Nationalist members demanded the total abandonment, not the modification, of the tax proposals.

Monday, May 10th.

The Defence of the Realm (Amendment—No. 3) Bill (embodying Mr. Lloyd George's proposals for controlling the sale of intoxicants) was read a second time, and committed to a Committee of the whole House. In the course of the discussion, MR. DUNCAN maintained that housing conditions explained some of the difficulties with which we were faced:—

"Let me take my own constituency. . . . The housing problem has been bad for years in Barrow-in-Furness. How much worse must it be now that thousands and thousands more men have been dumped down into that town? . . . The men have to travel miles and miles away to small places outside; they have got to rise very much earlier in the morning to travel to their work. The same statement applies not only to Barrow-in-Furness but to Woolwich, Enfield Lock, and all the Government Dockyard towns. . . . All the beds are on double shift. The people with whom the men lodge can give them no convenience at all, because as soon as they rise from their beds, instead of staying in the house, they have to get away."

MR. COWAN (E. Aberdeenshire, L.) maintained that munition workers should be subject to military law. In this way, slackers could be dealt with without unjust interference with the good workers. Several speakers pointed out that a great deal of the alleged "slacking" was due to fatigue.

Tuesday, May 11th

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL (Sir J. Simon) introduced a Bill to restrict the supply and sale of raw new spirits, to the consumption of which a large amount of drunkenness is due. He stated that it was not proposed to persist in the additional taxes brought forward by the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The House went into Committee on Mr. Lloyd George's proposal that, where it appears expedient for the successful prosecution of the war the sale and supply of intoxicating liquor should be controlled by the State in any munitions, transport, or camp area, regulations for that purpose being made by Order in Council, and such regulations remaining in force until twelve months after the termination of the war. The Bill was passed through Committee.

FRANCHISE REFORM.

In reply to questions with regard to special franchise rights for soldiers, MR. ASQUITH stated that the whole question of franchise and registration was receiving careful and detailed consideration. He hoped shortly to make a statement with regard to it.

WOMEN AND INVASION.

A deputation arranged by the Eastern Counties Federation waited upon the Lord Lieutenant of Cambridgeshire, Viscount Clifden, in Cambridge, last Friday. The deputation consisted of the Hon. Mrs. E. O. Fordham, Miss Sargant, Mrs. Rackham, and Mrs. Rootham. They urged the necessity of women being appointed on to the Local Emergency Committees which were making arrangements for the safety of the civil population in case of invasion. Lord Clifden made a very sympathetic reply: he said that the inclusion of women had already been suggested to the Lords-Lieutenant, and that he would make the wishes of the deputation known in the right quarters.

The Reformed Public-House.

In the course of discussions in the House of Commons on excessive drinking in war time, several speakers advocated canteens in factories and workshops where Government work is being carried on, so that tea, coffee, beer, and refreshments other than spirits, might be available for the workers at any time. Sir R. Cooper also put in a plea for the reform of public-houses, with a view to minimising the temptations to strong drink. "I want," he said, "public-houses made places where drink is no more offered for sale than anything else that a man requires." Public-houses, he maintained, should be places "where food and refreshments can be obtained not only by the working man, but also by his wife and the work girls."

This idea was put forward in my article on the Reform of Public-houses in THE COMMON CAUSE of December 18th, in which I pointed out the evils of the "tied house" system; but at a time when the question of the sale of intoxicants is being so widely discussed, an account of experiments which have been made already may be of interest.

One of the most notable of these is that of the Home Counties Trust Public House Co., started by Earl Grey. The "Trust" licensed houses are organised with a view to encouraging the sale of food and non-intoxicants rather than of alcoholic drinks, the managers receiving a commission on the former, but none on the intoxicants. So great has been the success of this system that in the twelve years since the company was founded, not a single conviction has been registered against any one of its employees, of whom there are over a thousand, while each year has shown an improvement in the financial position of the company, which is now reported very sound.

As showing the working at the same time of a "Trust" public-house and a workmen's canteen, the Light Ship Inn, at Beckton, is of special interest. It is situated just inside the Gas Light and Coke Company's depôt, where 6,000 men are employed, and a marked improvement in the habits of the employees is reported by the directors since the house was taken over by the "Trust," and meals served as well as drink. Four years ago the Light Ship was an ordinary licensed house, belonging to a brewery company, where little but alcoholic liquor was sold. Now some five or six hundred mid-day dinners are served daily, and most of the liquor served is taken with meals. In addition to the dining-room—where a good "cut from the joint" and two vegetables can be obtained for 6d., and a variety of puddings for 1d. a helping—there is a canteen where sausage rolls, meat pies, cheese, cakes, &c., are provided, and the usual drink taken with meals is a glass or two of ale. Not a single case of drunkenness has been reported, and there is very little drinking for the sake of drinking.

There can be little doubt that if refreshment houses and canteens on these lines were widely established, excessive drinking would be greatly reduced. The confirmed alcoholic would contrive to get drunk somehow or another, even if the sale of alcohol were forbidden by law. But few people go out of their way to get drunk. Most of those who take too much do so because temptation meets them at every turn, and, in many cases, because they cannot get good non-alcoholic refreshments in bright and sociable surroundings. An excellent work has been done by the "Home Counties Trust Co.," and other companies on similar lines, such as the "Surrey Trust Co." and the "People's Refreshment House Association," and it is to be hoped that the Government will make wide use of the powers to take over licensed premises and "establish and maintain refreshment rooms" for which Mr. Lloyd George has asked.

In considering the immediate needs of the war, women cannot afford to lose sight of the wider question of the normal needs of the people for rest and refreshment in decent surroundings, and the devastating effect on the race and on family life of excessive drinking in ordinary times. The Government proposals are concerned merely with increasing the efficiency of men employed in connection with war material—a problem, the urgency of which comes, of course, before all others—but the present is a splendid opportunity for building up public opinion with regard to the temperance question in general, and for establishing on a firm basis certain experiments in catering started since the war. Women have been foremost in supplying good refreshments for our troops, canteens and refreshment rooms having been started in many parts of the country by the British Women's Temperance Association and by private groups of ladies; and a committee has now been formed for supplying canteens for munition workers. After the war there may still be room for enterprises on similar lines, as rivals to the ordinary public-house.

There will still continue a need, too, for places where young men and women of a rough class can meet and enjoy themselves together under proper supervision, instead of in picture palaces or in the streets. The success of the "Patriotic Hall," or "sort of temperance public house," described in THE COMMON CAUSE of April 23rd, shows how greatly such a place is appreciated if run on the right lines, but its organiser lays stress on the need for very careful supervision. This can only be supplied if women with time to spare are willing to continue after the war the devoted public service they are giving now, or if public opinion has been so stirred that funds will be forthcoming to pay efficient supervisors, similar to the women officials appointed in many American towns, to guard girls and boys in picture palaces and dancing halls.

M. MEREDITH.

BRITISH WOMEN'S TEMPERANCE ASSOCIATION.

The work of the National British Women's Temperance Association since the outbreak of the war has proved, and continues to prove, of the greatest value to thousands of soldiers. A large number of tents, rooms, and canteens have been opened all over the country, where good refreshments can be obtained, and where there is also accommodation for writing and recreation. The report presented at the Annual Council Meeting on April 29th, states that Cambridge was the first branch to take up the work, two of their members being informed one afternoon in August that "thousands of troops were arriving." By 10 p.m. that night the Branch had a fully-equipped refreshment and recreation room up. It was opened at 8 a.m. on Saturday, and at once the place was filled with soldiers writing home. By 2 p.m. 2,000 letters and post-cards had been written there, and a second tent had been put up. At 4.30 p.m. arrangements for tea, food, and cool temperance drinks were in full working order, and a concert arranged.

The work of the Association is greatly appreciated by the men, who are extremely grateful for the efforts made to make the canteens and rooms as "homelike" as possible. The N.B.T.A. has also opened a considerable number of "tea and news" rooms for women, and it is hoped that these rooms will become "public houses" in the real sense of the word, where women can meet together in comfort and convenience.

CANTEENS FOR MUNITION WORKERS.

A Committee has been formed, on the initiative of Lady Lawrence, to establish canteens in the great yards and works where munitions of war are being manufactured, with a view to supplying nourishing food and non-alcoholic drinks for the workers during both day and night. Branch committees are being appointed in connection with various factories, which will have charge of local arrangements for establishing the canteens. Voluntary helpers are wanted. The offices of the Central Committee are at 58, Victoria Street.

SWEATED WORKERS ON KHAKI CLOTHING.

At the Women's Exhibition at Caxton Hall, on May 10th, 11th, and 12th, organised by the East London Federation of Suffragists, women were seen at work on garments and other articles for soldiers for which a sweated wage is being paid, at any rate in some districts. Large placards behind the workers stated that in West Ham 2s. 8d. a dozen was being paid for Khaki shirts, and in another district 3s. a dozen, less 6½d. for cotton, which works out at 2½d. an hour.

For finishing soldiers' trousers outworkers are being paid 2½d. a pair, each pair taking an hour to sew. This does not include cotton, and the worker has to take the garments to and from the warehouse, thus wasting a certain amount of time. According to figures given by the Home Workers' League, makers of army toothbrushes are paid at a rate which works out at about 2½d. an hour. A well-known War Office contractor is stated to be paying his women workers 7s. and 8s. a week.

POSITION OF SEPARATED WIVES.

We learn from Mr. Aneurin Williams that he has had the following communication from the Financial Secretary to the War Office:—

"A soldier's wife who has a maintenance order against her husband does now in fact receive the full amount stated on the maintenance order, provided, of course, that it does not exceed the usual amount of separation allowance for soldiers' families, and provided that the soldier has complied with the order. Compulsory stoppage from the soldier's pay of 6d. a day is made under the provisions of the Army Act, and the balance is paid as dependant's separation allowance."

War Books and Pamphlets.

ORIGINS AND DESTINY OF IMPERIAL BRITAIN. (Murray. 5s.)
 AFTER THE WAR. (Fifield. 6d.)
 THE MENACE OF GERMAN CULTURE. (Rider & Son. 1s.)
 THE IMMORALITY OF NON-RESISTANCE. (Cornish Bros., Birmingham University. 1s.)
 CHRIST AND PEACE. (Headley Bros., Bishopsgate. 1s.)
 INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM AND THE WAR. (King & Son. 3s. 6d.)
 PERSIA, FINLAND, AND OUR RUSSIAN ALLIANCE. (I.L.P. 1d.)
 CAN TRADE BE CAPTURED? (War & Peace, Ltd., Whitehall House, Charing Cross. 1d.)
 WHAT ABOUT NORMAN ANGELL NOW? (War & Peace, Ltd. 1d.)
 ORIGIN, CAUSES, AND OBJECT OF THE WAR. (Simpkin. 2s. 6d.)
 HOW FRANCE IS GOVERNED. (Fisher Unwin. 3s. 6d.)
 IDEALS OF FRANCE: A LETTER ON THE GREAT WAR. (Fisher Unwin. 1d.)
 THE NEW ARMY IN TRAINING. (Macmillan. 6d.)
 THE OFFICIAL BOOK OF GERMAN ATROCITIES. (Pearson. 1s.)

"War is the life-effort of the State towards a higher realisation. . . . Empire is the highest expression of the life of the State. . . . The ideal of Liberty and all its hopes have turned to ashes; but out of the ruins Europe, tireless in the pursuit of the Ideal, ponders even now some profounder mystery, some mightier destiny." With a wealth of such flourishing verbiage did Professor J. A. Cramb, in the "Origins and Destiny of Imperial Britain," celebrate the growth of the Empire and especially the war in South Africa; and probably no English scholar ever approximated so nearly as he did to the German type of patriotic-historical professor which is now so deservedly unpopular in England. His reading was immense; he could ransack all history for proofs and parallels of Britain's Imperial mission; it was to him a natural assumption—a truism not to be questioned—that spiritual greatness in a nation is commensurate with its military conquests, with its "genius for Empire." Professor Cramb is widely read just now: is considered to have been something of a prophet; but that consideration will not gain by the present reprinting of these fifteen-year-old lectures, with their repeated assurances that nationality is "a dying principle," has "no particular sanctity," and must make way for Imperialism, the principle of the future. And yet one suspects that, if the rhetorical Professor had lived to see Germany and Austria acting so vigorously on his principles he would have found some philosophic ground on which to justify Belgium and Serbia. For Cramb did conceive of the British Empire as the guardian of freedom, and thought that countries were not so much conquered by Britain as redeemed for humanity; but, unfortunately, he regarded Freedom as some Germans regard Culture—as a monopoly of his nation, which it was his nation's destiny to impress upon the world—by force.

A very different sort of University Professor is Mr. Lowes Dickinson, as a few words from his new pamphlet, "After the War," will show. "Nationality is only respectable when it is on its defence. When it is waging wars of liberation it is sacred. When it is waging wars of domination it is accursed. . . . The nobility of a people lies in its capacity for peace. . . . Peace is not merely a negative ideal, it is the condition of all positive ones." In Professors Cramb and Dickinson we have the learned advocates of the two antithetical conceptions of patriotism. The former would spend all his rhetorical power to glorify the State as an abstraction, a thing with a "Destiny" above morality and a supreme claim upon us for the increase of its power; he would have us offer up ourselves, our sons and daughters to the Idol of Empire, to the Moloch of territorial conquest. The latter, with an eloquence less flamboyant but much more impassioned, urges us to be righteous as a people, to act justly as a nation; to seek, not greatness, but truth; for in truth, and not in expansion, is the secret of greatness.

Mr. J. C. Powys, the well-known University lecturer, in his "Menace of German Culture," inclines more, on the whole, to Mr. Dickinson's view, and his book is much better than its dreadful cover leads one to expect. That military conquest cannot promote or spread true culture, but may very possibly destroy it, is the salient idea of this very readable little book, which is not intensely written, but reflects a wide culture and a very tolerant spirit.

Further discussion of the relation of Christianity to War is furnished by "The Immorality of Non-Resistance," a book of sermons by the Rev. Lloyd Thomas, of Birmingham. The purely negative non-resistance which is so soundly flogged through these six sermons has nothing much to commend it. It is a travesty which Tolstoy and Dostoevsky would have despised no less than Mr. Thomas. But the present evils of the world are certainly not due to it, and why should popular preaching—for these sermons are good popular preaching—be concerned with such unreality? There is a very positive ideal of non-resistance, and some idea of its content may be gathered from the book entitled "Christ and Peace"—the series of addresses delivered at a religious conference in Cambridge last December. Non-resistance as it appears here is certainly not "unconditional."

Mr. Humphrey's "International Socialism and the War," is a timely and valuable report of the activities of representative Socialism in all the countries concerned during the war crisis. Those who have spoken rashly of the "Collapse of Socialism" and the futility of Internationalism, might find food for thought in this book. What strikes one most in reading it is that all the Socialist organisations in Europe were agreed from the first as to the causes of the war and innocent of any part in those causes; indeed, they had all opposed in their own countries the Imperial ideals, the over-heated nationalism, the financial ambitions, and the feverish armament which ended as they foresaw. They strove for peace till the last, and then fought

with their Governments by a necessity they had never denied. The menaces of Russian absolutism on the one hand, of Prussian militarism on the other, divided them inexorably. They know they are fighting against each other for an identical ideal, and there is no hatred between them; what growing bitterness they nurse against their Governments will appear in the fulness of time. Something of it may be indicated by a pamphlet just issued by the Independent Labour Party, entitled "Persia, Finland, and the Russian Alliance." The facts recorded in this pamphlet are such as should bite into the conscience of a nation; and though their present republication is not without partisan bitterness, they may well be laid to heart by all whose patriotism is no mere complacency.

The War & Peace Publishing Co. have issued two more excellent pamphlets—"Can Trade be Captured?" by Norman Angell, and "What About Norman Angell Now?" by Gerald Roberts. Both are powerful pamphlets, sane, patriotic, and lucid. "The Origin, Causes, and Object of the War" is the title of a little work by Sir Percy Fitzpatrick. It is of interest mainly because it lets us know how the circumstances of the war, which affected them so tragically and originated so remotely, were presented to South Africans; for this book is compiled from lectures delivered by the author in South Africa with an educational object. Germany's African ambitions were naturally emphasised in these lectures, which should have been a useful stimulant to their audience.

M. Poincaré's "How France is Governed," is a welcome reprint just now. It is so simple that it might almost have been written for children; but the field of inquiry is adequately covered, and it is, of course, a work of authority. One sees less reason for republishing M. Paul Sabatier's letter to the Society for Franciscan studies at Assisi. M. Sabatier wrote a life of St. Francis at one time; but enthusiasm for the war, however creditable to his patriotism, makes this letter almost incoherent.

Mr. Rudyard Kipling's little book on "The New Army in Training," is a most vivid glimpse of a mighty work, which will be widely appreciated. As for the "Official Book of German Atrocities," it is a terrible production, with a special and awful interest for women; for it shows the work of war in the home life of humanity.

P. A. M.

May Reviews.

THE ENGLISHWOMAN (Evans Bros., 1s.). In "War, Women, and the Hague," Mr. P. W. Wilson maintains that the ruling against the discussion at the Women's Conference of the questions of responsibility for the war, and the manner of conducting it, was a ruling most favourable to Germany, the aggressor, "whose hideous treatment of unarmed civilians is to pass without censure." The delegates, he says, demand that the belligerents should state their terms. So far as the Western frontier is concerned, the Anglo-French terms have been stated already. "Germany must restore Alsace-Lorraine; she must evacuate Belgium, and make restitution for damage done." To these "simple and specific terms," Germany has made no answer; no one believes that she will give up Alsace-Lorraine unless she is compelled to do so, "her administration of Belgium amounts to annexation," while "so far from offering an indemnity, her financiers found their loans on the prospect of receiving indemnities from others."

Turning to the resolution dealing with democratic control, Mr. Wilson confesses that he has little faith in German democracy, since the German people have proved utterly unable to provide an antidote against the poison of the Pan-German propaganda, which was at the bottom of the war. He points out that though British Imperialist literature has been at times anti-German, the propaganda in this country has differed fundamentally from anti-British and anti-French writings of the Pan-Germans, inasmuch as "our prophets foretold aggression by Germany and urged the need of defence," while "the Germans preached aggression and advocated attack." "Problems of the Days" urges the necessity for precautions against the epidemics that are likely to break out in Europe as a result of the war. "Our medical men, who help to stimulate public opinion on sanitary matters, have been largely withdrawn from their ordinary work, and those who are left are unusually busy. . . . The ordinary citizen and ratepayer must therefore redouble his efforts to keep the local authorities up to the mark in this matter. Women ratepayers should make this their special business."

Other articles are "Domestic Legislation of 1914"—a very useful summary; "From the Diary of a Russian Red Cross Orderly"; "Magna Carta and Women"; "Feminism in Greek Literature"; and a biographical study of Margaret Lindsay Huggins. Mrs. Swanwick contributes a letter replying to Mr. Oliver Strachey's article in the April number on "The Implications of the Women's Suffrage Movement," in which she maintains that the war-time work most closely associated with the demand for enfranchisement is that of "making such public opinion as may lead to the devising of a lasting peace settlement, when the time comes for a settlement"; Mrs. Heitland writes on "Which Way to Women's Suffrage: The National or the International Road?"

JUS SUFFRAGII. Ezaline Boheman (of Sweden) contributes an article entitled "The Holy Rebellion," which should be read by all who are interested in the question of women's part in combating militarism. Other articles are "What American Women do for Peace," by Florence Holbrook; "Children and the War," by A. C. Metcalfe; "The Women's Vote in New Zealand," by Mrs. Philip Snowden; and "Some Lights on the Lessons of the Universal War," by Augustine Haman.

Correspondence.

THE COUNCIL AND THE CONGRESS.

MADAM,—I am unable to imagine how Mrs. Fawcett and others so completely misunderstand a contention which I had hoped was set forth with reasonable clearness.

I pointed out in my letter that Mrs. Fawcett's arguments against the Hague Congress in her article of April 23rd were the same arguments as those she put forward against an I.W.S.A. congress at the N.U. Council meeting in February, and I suggested that as the Council by its vote rejected those arguments, to act upon them now was to reverse its express decision.

I did not suggest, as Miss Lowndes and Mrs. Hazell imply, that the two Congresses were the same: I expressly pointed out that they were different and how they differed, and I said that arguments based on these differences would be to the point. Against Executive members who based their decision on such differences I have no grievance, though I disagree with them. In the same way I pointed out that arguments equally applicable to "any international conference of women at this time to consider the foundations on which a lasting peace can be built up" were ruled out by the Council's decision in favour of just such a conference, and should not have been acted upon. Though this is a point which Mrs. Fawcett ignores I still think it is worthy of her attention.

Mrs. Fawcett does now give us some arguments based on the difference between the two congresses. Some of the differences could have been modified by N.U. action—have been modified by the action of the two British delegates at the Hague under instructions from the British Committee. Others are inherent. The whole question is whether the points of difference or the points of similarity are the more important. Mrs. Fawcett, by addressing herself on April 23rd almost wholly to the general question of conference or no conference, implied that the points of similarity were the important ones—and I think she was right.

I cannot see any escape—I wish I could—from the conclusion that Mrs. Fawcett, on her own showing, continued to conduct the affairs of the N.U. in accordance with a specific point of view as to its needs after the Council had rejected that point of view, and in spite of such rejection.

Mrs. Fawcett rebukes my reference to "loyalty and devotion." I hope she will at least believe that it is deeply distressing when a higher loyalty leads to the "eclipse," however brief, of a lifelong discipleship. But a loyalty which kept silence when a teacher appeared to belie his teaching would be no loyalty at all.

Of my other critics of last week, Mrs. Hazell, I gather, prefers the referendum to representative government. If the members of my Society think my colleagues and I are misrepresenting them they will presumably either turn us out at the annual meeting or ask for a special meeting to consider the points at issue, which would assuredly promptly be granted.

GEO. G. ARMSTRONG.

A DEFENCE OF WAR.

MADAM,—It is quite true, as Mrs. Osler says so admirably in her letter, that we have such different opinions apart from the Suffrage, that it is impossible to allow one set of people with certain opinions to dictate the policy of the Union in any controversial matter; the only safe policy is to keep strictly to work for the Suffrage. I agree entirely with this, but at the same time when Mrs. Swanwick and Mrs. Rackham both make that curious statement, that future peace is the basis of the demand for Women's Suffrage, I feel it is very necessary that we who do not feel this should say quite clearly what we do think. I have been a Suffragist all my life, but I do not agree with the pacifists, and I am not a pacifist—and I fail to see the connection between the two things. I am not a pacifist for the following reasons, which I have tried to put in as shortened a form as possible—

1. Because militancy in some form or another is absolutely necessary, in order to combat the manifold expressions of evil that we have all round us. We all fight. We must fight if we are going to be any use at all in this world. This being so, it stands to reason that militancy in itself is not bad. It is only bad when it is employed in a bad case, and with personal bitterness and hatred.

2. The only peace worth having for a nation or an individual is the peace of a good conscience. This is an impossible thing to have if one stands by and sees evil and wrong being done without making an effort to stop it. The peace of non-interference is the peace of the coward. This being so, it stands to reason that peace is not good in itself.

3. The kind of militancy which pacifists most abhor is that which is done with physical weapons, and employs physical force. But why? I cannot understand this. If the cause is good, and one is free from personal bitterness, it is not one whit worse to fight with physical weapons than with any other kind of weapon.

If the cause is bad, and the feelings bitter, it is not one whit better to fight with the weapons of brain, tongue, and pen, than with the more brutal weapons of rifle and sword. One can do quite as grievous harm with one as with the other, and quite as many evil passions can be spent in one way as the other. It is true that the physical way involves physical suffering, but physical suffering is not the worst thing in the world by any means.

4. To fight with physical force is the natural way for the male to fight, and as we women look on at it, we can see that it is by no means altogether bad, and that some things about it are wholly and entirely admirable. Men seem to be able to fight without personal bitterness, in a way that is quite extraordinary—the fallen enemy becomes at once the friend. We have all seen lately how fighting brings out the best in a man—the marvellous courage, self-sacrifice and heroism which we have been proud to see in our men. Women do not know anything about this physical fighting, and I do not think that they have really any right to judge it or condemn it. I am not at all sure that if women could persuade men to give up fighting physically altogether, that they would have done them or themselves a good turn. And if women should prevent their men from fighting in a good cause, simply because of the physical suffering it entails on them and the children, then, I think, women would have done a really wicked thing, and I for one should feel ashamed to call myself a woman. I do not

approve of women fighting with physical weapons, because it is neither expedient or useful. It is, in fact, quite futile. Nor does it appeal to us as a method of settling differences; but it does so appeal to men, and I think they are different in this, and we must reckon with it.

5. Physical force is absolutely necessary at times, at any rate for the moment. When a man runs amok down the street with a loaded revolver it is only physical force that can save him from himself, and others from him. It will not convert him, but it will save him from worse crime, and others from him. So it is with a nation that appeals to physical force, and uses it itself. For the moment it must be met with physical force—there is nothing else to be done.

We need not feel personal bitterness to the man with the revolver, or the nation who insists on fighting. We say he must be stopped, that is all, and in both cases the person who stops them risks his life in doing it, to save others, and is therefore worthy of all honour.

Where, then, do the ethics of pacifism come in? and why should women be pacifist? I do not know. I do not want the vote in order to say to men: "You shall not fight, because I shall suffer if you do." I want to have the vote, because I want to help to decide that the nation should always fight in a good cause. I believe that women will help to do this, but having decided to fight, I think the women will quite deliberately accept their suffering as their part in the fighting all the more willingly if they have had a voice in the decision to fight.

These are my reasons for not being a pacifist, and I cannot help thinking that the majority of women feel as I do.

L. R. TAYLOR.

POSITION OF RESIGNING MEMBERS.

MADAM,—The members who have resigned from the National Union Executive Committee have received requests from many Societies asking them to be nominated again for election. We have considered the matter and are prepared to stand, and have adopted the following declaration as the basis of our candidature—

"We being convinced that it is essential in this crisis for the N.U. to give effect to its belief, as expressed at the Annual Council, February, 1915, that all human relations should be governed, not by physical force but by the recognition of mutual rights, consider it essential that the N.U. should work for the realisation of the idea of public right as the governing factor in the relation of States, and to build up goodwill and mutual trust between nations."

We are asking that the election may be of the whole Executive. It will take place at the end of the Council meeting, and as far as we ourselves are concerned, we shall not persevere in our candidature unless the following resolution be carried—

"The declaration 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 having been affirmed by the N.U. at the Council meeting, February, 1915 (see resolution B. 1), this special Council meeting, having for its object the interpretation of the aims and policy of the N.U., decides to take united action in support of its fundamental principles:—

"I. By propaganda demanding the enfranchisement of women as essential to the constitution of a democratic State.

"II. By co-operation with other organisations working for these objects, and in discussing 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."

MARGARET ASHTON.	CATHERINE MARSHALL.
ALICE CLARKE.	M. P. STANBURY.
I. O. FORD.	S. J. TANNER.
EMILY LEAF.	

"A TRUE CONCERN."

MADAM,—Mrs. Swanwick says, in THE COMMON CAUSE of April 30th, "Some of us think that a true concern for Belgium first might make us willing to consider whether there is no way by which we might cease to fight out our quarrels on her innocent soil."

Yes, there is a way. It is to drive out the invader. If we retired from Belgium leaving the invader there, all we should do would be to abandon Belgium to her German conqueror. He means to keep Belgium for ever—it is "necessary" for him, and German necessity knows no law. He set up his own administration at the earliest possible moment, because administration gives a sort of legality to occupation, and when the terms of peace come to be discussed, if he and his administration are still there, it will be far more difficult to dislodge him; he will have a kind of claim, and will certainly demand to be bought off by an enormous ransom. The Belgians are the best judges, of the way we show our concern, and they know that if we cease to fight out "their"—not "our"—quarrels on her soil, it will be because all hope for her is over. Mrs. Swanwick forgets the French—we have fought on their soil too. We are deeply concerned for them. Should we show our concern for them best by leaving them to fight out their "quarrels" alone? And why "quarrels"? Why a belittling word, as though this were a trivial cause? It appears that those Belgian women who have attended the Congress, went there expressly to protest against any peace which shall not restore Belgium as a nation. It is to be hoped they will never know that an Englishwoman has proposed to show her concern for them by leaving them naked to their adversary.

MARY A. M. MARKS.

ARMY CLOTHING CONTRACTS.

Mr. James Haslam, who is busy getting out an account of a discussion by experts on the subject of work under army clothing contracts, writes that he will send a full reply to the attack upon his article which appeared in our correspondence columns last week, and which is continued this week in a special article.

WOMEN AND PEACE.

We regret that the meeting in the Caxton Hall on April 22nd, reported under the above heading in our issue of April 30th, was described as having been held by the Church League for Women's Suffrage. It was arranged by the Free Church League for Women's Suffrage.

SCOTTISH WOMEN'S HOSPITALS for FOREIGN SERVICE.

A COURSE OF FOUR LECTURES, in aid of the above, has been arranged by the SOUTH KENSINGTON BRANCH of the LONDON SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE, at the KENSINGTON TOWN HALL, on WEDNESDAYS, at 3.30 p.m.

MAY 19th. **Mr. ARTHUR GREENWOOD**, on THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF WAR.
Chairman: Mr. G. R. S. MEAD, B.A.

JUNE 2nd. **Monsieur BASIL TIMOTHEIEFF, B.D., M.I.A.I.**, on SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN RUSSIA.
Chairman: Sir EDWARD BASK.

JUNE 16th. **Monsieur EMILE CAMMAERTS**, on THE FUTURE OF BELGIUM.
Chairman: Mrs. SCHARLIEB, M.D., M.S.

JUNE 30th. **Mr. C. RODEN BUXTON**, on THE BALKANS AND THE FUTURE OF EUROPE.
Chairman: Lady PROCTER.

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For further particulars apply to the Hon. Secretary, Mrs. FYFFE, 79, Victoria Road, Kensington.

LONDON SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE (N.U.W.S.S.)

A Members' Meeting to consider the action of the London Society at the forthcoming Special Council Meeting of the N.U.W.S.S. will be held at

CAXTON HALL, WESTMINSTER, on Monday, May 17th, at 8 p.m. ADMISSION BY TICKET ONLY.

Any member of the London Society who has not received a ticket should at once make application to:—MISS P. STRACHEY, 58, Victoria Street, S.W.

URGENT.

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Monday, May 17th, 3.30 p.m. Mrs. KINETON PARKES (W.E.C.).
Wednesday, May 19th, 3.30 p.m. Mr. GEORGE LANSBURY (W.F.L.).
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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.

Women and Church Councils.

"Patience," said a man in our hearing the other day, "is a woman's virtue: it is not a man's business to be patient." A correspondent in last week's *Challenge*, writing on women and Church Councils, takes the opposite view: "The qualities in which women excel seem to me admirably suited for the quick expression and rapid exchange of views and experiences in an executive committee, but not so well suited for the long patient work of bodies that have finally to decide and to govern." We note in passing that either way women come off badly. If patience is a virtue, it is the characteristic of men; if it is a weakness it is the monopoly of women! Of course, it may be true that to sit on a Church Council requires patience of an exceptional order, but we contend that this requisite is the mark of a special type of mind, not of a particular sex, and the rarer the quality, the more necessary the contribution of women to the common stock. Last July the Representative Church Council gave its sanction to women voting on the same terms as men in elections to Church Councils, and also granted them eligibility to sit upon Parochial Councils. This was described in the course of discussion as "the greatest revolution ever known," an estimate with which the progressing woman will hardly concur! Nevertheless, it was a step forward, and when last week the London Diocesan Conference decided to adopt these same rules, the Bishop of Kensington fitly described the concession as "a tardy act of justice." It was opposed on the ground that "it introduced the whole question of the position of women in the councils which governed the Church, and that was a controversial subject which it was not right or fair should be discussed during the war." Nevertheless, the resolution was carried by 196 votes to 84.

The opposition to granting full Church status to women appears to be based on precisely the same sort of doubts and fears as opposition to the political vote. There is (1) the fear that women will swamp the men; (2) the fear, even more paralysing, that they will proceed to claim further privileges; (3) the doubt whether women have a "vocation" to take part in the Councils of the Church—whether such work is "woman's sphere." To Suffragists such terrors are almost incomprehensible, based as they are on a conception of the relations between the sexes which is at variance with the whole of the woman's movement; yet doubtless they are a real and perhaps increasing source of perplexity to many among the clergy, and also among that body of people who have quite as much right to exist as the rest of us, but are usually referred to rather slightly as "ecclesiastical laymen." Do all such consider that their attitude towards women's aspirations is based simply upon fear, a false and ignoble basis surely for any relationship, above all, the relationship of men to women? We are not ungrateful for the concession granted last week; but until women are trusted yet more generously, it is certain that this "controversial subject, which it was not right or fair should be discussed during the war," will continue unsettled, a source of perpetual weakness and growing irritation in the affairs of the Church.

Army Clothing Contracts.**SUB-CONTRACTING AND PROFITS.**

[It is necessary to remind our readers that there is no editorial responsibility for opinions expressed in signed articles.]

Since the Sweated Industries Exhibition of 1906 and the agitation which preceded the passing of the Trade Boards Act of 1909 a popular impression has gained credence that sweating in the tailoring trade is the result of the greed and unscrupulousness of small employers in the East End of London known as sub-contractors, or more popularly as middlemen, generally of foreign or Jewish extraction, who exploit women's labour "because it is cheap," thereby making large profits at little exertion, save of bullying, to themselves. That picture, though simple in its explanation and helpful in propaganda among people who are without knowledge or are apathetic, is nevertheless an illusion. Whilst it persists there is little hope of anything being suggested which will be helpful in solving a problem which is still, in spite of the Trade Boards Act, untouched by legislation or public opinion.

First of all, I wish emphatically to say that, save in very exceptional cases, there has been no "sweating" as technically defined under the Trade Boards Act (*i.e.*, the payment to adult workers of piece rates which yield less than a minimum time rate of 3½d. per hour to women and 6d. per hour to men), on military khaki clothing in East London. When the writer of an article in THE COMMON CAUSE of April 23rd says that "the labour of unorganised females has been reduced to the lowest subsistence level in connection with the making of clothing for the soldiers now fighting the battles of the nation," he makes a statement for which I think he will find no support if he examines the facts. Far from being reduced, wages in the lower grades of the tailoring trade have rather increased, owing to the pressure of Government orders for khaki clothing and the scarcity of labour. Wages of 5s. for a week's work (quoted by your contributor) are not paid in East London to home-workers or any other class of workers on khaki clothing. It is necessary, of course, in this connection to distinguish "learners" from ordinary workers. If investigators hear of ordinary women workers receiving less than 13s. 6½d., free of all deductions for sewings, &c., for a fifty hours' week on such work, it is their duty to report the cases at once to the Office of Trade Boards, and, if they are substantiated, prosecution of the employer will speedily follow. We now have a weapon to combat sweating in the tailoring trade. We must learn to use that weapon.

The London tailoring trade is very varied and complicated, ranging as it does from the making of expensive West End bespoke work to cheap slop clothing for export to the South African Kaffir market, and from the factory system mainly employing woman labour to the highly organised sub-divisional system of the Jewish master tailor employing chiefly men, which successfully competes with it. Comparisons of rates of wages and methods of work are impossible within the limits of a short article, but it is safe to say that the rates of wages paid on Government khaki clothing are on the whole higher than those normally paid for more or less similar work in the ready-made and the wholesale bespoke trade. The words put into the mouth of the woman worker by your contributor, "But, thank God, mister, I ain't on khaki," misrepresent the facts. The letter from the Honorary Secretary of the Homeworkers' League, which appeared in THE COMMON CAUSE of last week, states very emphatically the point of view on this matter of one whose chief interest lies in bettering the wages and conditions of women homeworkers.

Considerable profits have, of course, been made by manufacturers and persons who in some cases have acted as little more than middlemen. These persons have not been sub-contractors, nor sub-sub-sub-contractors, but in the majority of cases contractors. For this state of affairs the War Office Clothing Contract Department in the first months of the war was directly to blame. It displayed at a very critical period an extraordinary incompetence and lack of foresight, though it is only fair to add that it has since been re-organised. It is true that of the margin left after deducting the cost of material from the price paid for clothing by the War Office, a comparatively small proportion has gone in wages and a relatively large proportion in profits. If we compare the wages bill of the small employer or sub-contractor with that of the factory occupier or contractor, we find that the comparison is by no means to the disadvantage of the former. The Jewish master tailor, having his small workshop in East London, employs mainly male workers. He knows that

women's labour is not necessarily "cheap" labour. Although he probably knows nothing of economics, his practical experience warns him against what was once a popular theory of wages—that of the Wages Fund. He knows that wages do not come out of a fixed fund or "pool," but from a "stream," the volume of which depends directly upon the efficiency of the instruments of production, of which labour is one. His practice, indeed, supports the view held by modern economists and stated by Adam Smith, that "the produce of labour constitutes the natural recompense or wages of labour."

If we compare the relative profits of the contractor and the sub-contractor, it is obvious that the contractor, because of his strategic position in the industry, easily takes the lion's share in the profit on each garment, not because of what he contributes to its making, but in his capacity of middleman. In the first of a series of "Studies in the Minimum Wage,"* published by the Ratan Tata Foundation, Mr. R. H. Tawney discusses at some length the alleged exactions of the sub-contractor, or middleman as he is popularly called. The following quotation from that book applies with as much force to tailoring in London as to chain-making in Cradley Heath, to which it specifically refers:—

"The exactions of the middlemen are not the cause, but a symptom, of the general disorganisation of the industry, and we must hasten to point out that what is said does not imply that he has any special responsibility for the bad condition of this or any other trade. In the denunciations sometimes launched against the sub-contractor, there is a good deal of ignorance and a certain amount of hypocrisy. The desire of society to find a scapegoat for industrial brutality without impeaching wealth, position, and respectability, has in the past led the more romantic of the writers who have described 'sweating' to personify it as a sinister figure, swollen with profits made by taking out work at a high price from the employer, and getting it done at a low price by the worker. That such monsters exist is probably true, though they are not numerous at Cradley Heath. That sweating is a 'system' which depends on the malpractices of 'sub-contractors' is wholly untrue—most unfortunately untrue, for, if it were, it would be comparatively easy to abolish it."

With a repetition of the warning that the sub-division of work and other complications of the tailoring trade make the quoting of figures in this trade extremely difficult, let us consider concretely some of the points indicated above. At the beginning of the war, the War Office and the Wholesale Clothiers' Federation fixed the following flat rates for military clothing:—

Great-coats (drab mixture, dismounted) ...	28s.	each.
Jackets (Service dress) ...	12s. 6d.	" (later 12s. 8d.)
Trousers (Service dress) ...	8s. 9d.	pair (later 8s. 11d.)

The materials (including all fittings and trimmings) were supplied to the contractors at certain fixed rates by the War Office. The sewings, *i.e.*, silk and thread, have never been supplied by the Government (your contributor has been misinformed on this point), and it is a normal practice of the trade for these to be supplied by the sub-contractor, who fixes his workers' piece rates inclusive of these sewings, or else expects the worker to find her own, for which, of course, an allowance is made in the piece rates paid.

Of the contract undertaken by the contractor, part is done in his own factory, but a considerable proportion is given out to smaller employers (sub-contractors) after the cloth has been "cut" to pattern by hand-knife machines. The sub-contractors are generally without the up-to-date machinery found in the larger factories, and few of them use power in their workshops. Owing to their lack of organisation, they must generally take work at the price fixed by the contractor, and they have little opportunity of bargaining. They work hard themselves, and have in most cases a considerable knowledge of the trade. Like the factories, they employ both "indoor" and "outdoor" workers, though the proportion of women employed in the factories is generally considerably greater than in the smaller workshops. The method of work adopted and developed by the small master Jew is known as the sub-divisional system, and this system has been brought to such perfection by him that he is still able successfully to compete with the factory in most grades of work. His expenses of production—maintenance charges, supervision, &c.—are probably lower than those of the factory, and his personal supervision prevents "leakages," such as take place in most large factories. As a general rule, of course, unless the sub-divisional method of work is very scientifically developed (and it is capable of much development), the smaller the employer below a certain scale, the greater is his cost of production, until one comes to a point where hand and individual workers are unable to compete with machine and sub-divisional work (*e.g.*, to make the buttonholes in a military great-coat by machine costs 2½d.; by hand it would cost 1s. 6d.)

* Minimum Rates in the Chain-Making Industry. G. Bell & Sons.

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But to return to our concrete example. Below is an example showing how the money paid by the War Office on military garments is distributed in the case of orders which are sub-contracted.

	Great-coats.	Tunics.	Trousers.
Cost to contractor of	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Materials	17 0	6 8	5 11
Cutting	0 4	0 3	0 1 1/2
	17 4	6 11	6 0 1/2
Paid to sub-contractor for making up	3 6	3 0	1 0
	20 10	9 11	7 0 1/2
Paid by War Office for made up garment	28 0	12 8	8 11
Gross profit per garment to sub-contractor	7 2	2 9	1 10 1/2
Cost to sub-contractor of			
Wages	2 5 1/2	2 2 1/2	0 8 1/2
Received from contractor	3 6	3 0	1 0
Gross profit per garment to sub-contractor	1 0 1/2	0 9 1/2	0 3 1/2

Higher prices than those quoted above have of course, been paid by some contractors (especially when the delivery of contracts was overdue), but even lower prices have also been paid. In these cases the sub-contractor has most of the responsibility of turning out the work, but his net profit, owing to his establishment expenses, are proportionally lower than is represented by the comparative gross profits shown above. Wages in the wages bills quoted above, which are higher than in pre-war times, would vary from 16s., for women finishers, to £3 to £3 10s., for men fitters and machiners for a 54-hours' week. In cases of sub-contracting, the middleman is not the sub-contractor, but the contractor whose profits are out of all proportion to the services which he renders. The wages paid on military clothing, though small, are not "sweating" wages, though they form but a small proportion to the profits made by the contractor. On the basis of the above figures, the profit made by the contractor who obtained an order for 3,000,000 garments must have approached a quarter of a million pounds. The total wages bill was probably not half of that sum. On army clothing the proportion between profit and wages has been absurd, but the proportion is almost as absurd in peace times on civilian work. The underpayment of the sub-contractor by the contractor is a normal practice in the tailoring trade. The sub-contractor bears the responsibility; the contractor takes the bulk of the profits. The problem of how this can be readjusted cannot be dealt with here. It is sufficient if I have been able to indicate that the solution of the problem of underpayment in the tailoring trade requires more consideration and knowledge than the public has yet given to it. There are many forms of sub-contracting which should be abolished, and the conditions under which sub-contractors sometimes work are objectionable; but let us first consider the facts of the case before we criticise. The solution of the problem is certainly not assisted by sensational exhibitions and articles.

ELDRED F. HITCHCOCK (Secretary of Toynbee Hall).

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

SERBIA.

The Serbian Legation in London has received a telegram from Nisch to say that the new Scottish Women's Hospital Unit will work at Pozarevay. For the present, however, as we reported last week, this Unit, under Dr. Alice Hutchison, is to help nurse our own men wounded in the severe fighting in the Dardanelles, having been detained at Malta for this purpose.

FRANCE.

The work at Royaumont goes steadily on. A special request has been sent from the Military authorities that the Unit should take the most serious cases, and discharge them immediately they are convalescent.

LIST OF DONATIONS.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Forward, as per list of April 30th, 1915	25,572 9 7 1/2	
Miss A. M. Houston	5 0 0	
A. W. Ralston, Esq. (Serbia)	2 2 0	
D. C. Davidson, Esq., Supt., City of Glasgow Police, Marine Division (Serbia)	1 0 0	
Village Choir Fund of Wanlockhead, per J. Edmond, Esq., Hon. Sec. & Treas., War Relief Comm., Wanlockhead (Serbia)	2 0 0	
"A Red Cross Member" (Serbia)	6 0	
Per Mrs. Soddy (further contribution)—£75 from Committee of the Patriotic Sale at Ellon for three "Ellon" Beds, £125 for "Aberdeen" Beds	200 0 0	
A.S.W.C. (Serbia)	1 0	
Miss Findlater (Serbia)	6 0 0	
Jas. Brown Esq. (£10 for France; £10 for Serbia)	20 0 0	
Proceeds of Miss Train's Private Class Demonstration, per Miss E. D. MacGillivray (Serbia)	3 10 0	

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Proceeds of Cafe Chantant, Perth, per J. Moncrief, Esq. (Serbia)	100 0 0	
Miss Weddell (France & Serbia)	2 2 0	
W. G. Lay, Esq., per Rev. A. M. Craig (France & Serbia)	1 1 0	
Miss A. Mitchell (further contribution) (Serbia)	1 0 0	
Mrs. Pringle	7 7 0	
Mrs. Cousin (France & Serbia)	2 2 0	
Miss Dickson (Serbia)	5 0 0	
Miss A. M. Watson (Serbia)	1 0 0	
Miss Pringle (France & Serbia)	1 0 0	
Mrs. Masson (Serbia)	1 0 0	
Pupils of Public School, Dunbeath, Cathness, per Isaac Cowie, Esq., City of Edinburgh C.O.S. (Serbia)	4 13 4	
Girls' Cricket Club, Saltburn-by-the-Sea, per Miss Leask, Headmistress, The High School (Serbia)	1 17 9	
East Grinstead W.S.S., per Mrs. Reid, Hon. Treas., for "East Grinstead Women's Suffrage" Bed (Serbia) (see list)	25 0 0	
Miss B. D. Macdonald	1 0 0	
Mrs. Wallace	1 0 0	
Proceeds of a dance given by Mrs. L. W. Gillespy (Serbia)	15 8	
Miss E. Smellie (Serbia)	0 5 0	
Mrs. M. S. Gibb (France & Serbia)	1 0 0	
Miss Paske	15 0	
"Anonymous"	1 0 0	
C. J. L.	10 0	
Proceeds of a Concert given by the Junior Choir of South Leith U.F. Church, per W. H. Loudon, Esq. (Serbia)	4 0 0	
Contribution from Trossachs Parish, per Rev. Wm. Wilson (Serbia)	3 1 9	
Employees of Wm. Morton & Sons, per Miss Forrest	1 0 0	
From a Nephew, U.S.A., per Miss M. Durham	2 0 0	
Per Miss S. Matheson—£25 for "Matheson" Bed in France, £10 2s. 6d. towards "Matheson" Bed in Serbia (see list)	35 2 6	
The Royal Burgh of Banff, per J. R. Rankine, Esq., Hon. Treas., Banff Serbian Relief Fund, to name three "Banff" Beds (Serbia)	82 2 6	
King's Sutton W.S.S., per Miss Browne, Hon. Sec. (Serbia)	2 6 4	
Per Mrs. F. Salvesen, collected by Mrs. Cheales, towards "Merchiston" Bed (see list)	2 3 6	
Miss Lindsay (Serbia)	10 0 0	
J. M. (Serbia)	0 5 0	
Miss Stark	10 0	
Collected by Miss Beveridge—Mr. and Mrs. R. R. Prentice (£10) (France), A Friend (£5), The Rev. John Campbell (£2 2s.), Ladies of the Congregational Church (£2), Mrs. Aitken (£2), Industrial Class, Parish Church (£1 10s.), Mrs. Stark (£1), Girls' Supplementary Class, North School (£1), Mrs. Blair (£1), Mrs. Beveridge (10s.), Misses Livingstone (10s.), Miss Jamieson (10s.), Mrs. More (7s. 6d.), Miss Mackay (2s. 6d.) (Serbia)	27 12 0	
Deal, Walmer, Kingstown & Sandwich W.S.S. (2nd donation), per Mrs. Mark, Hon. Treas., Mrs. Kinnaird Watson (Serbia) (further contribution)	10 0	
Miss H. Howat	10 0	
Miss L. Gardner	1 0 0	
Miss Fraser (Troyes)	2 2 0	
Miss Young	5 0	
T. Wallace, Esq. (Serbia)	1 0 0	
Per Mrs. Baldwin Brown—Collected in Glencairn Cres.—J. G. C. Cheyne, Esq. (£1 is.), Mrs. Hope Finlay (£1), Mr. and Mrs. Bertram (£1), W. G. Kirkwood, Esq. (£1), W. Porteous, Esq. (£1), Mrs. Stewart (£1), W. J. Johnstone, Esq. (£1), The Misses Buntine (10s.), Miss J. Watson (10s.), J. Cormach, Esq. (£5) (Serbia)	13 1 0	
Mrs. Reid (further contribution)	5 0 0	
Staff of Greenock Higher Grade School, per Jas. Beattie, Esq., M.A.F.E.I.S. (ninth monthly contribution War Funds) (Serbia) (see list)	5 0 0	
Harold Skelton, Esq. (Serbia & France)	1 0 0	
The Misses Robertson (Serbia)	1 5 0	
Miss Smith (Serbia)	2 0 0	
Mrs. Montgomery (France)	4 0 0	
Mrs. M. E. Warmington (Serbia)	5 0	
Mrs. Cuthbert (Serbia)	1 0 0	
The Misses Conacher (Serbia)	2 0 0	
Dr. Marian Erskine (Serbia)	1 0 0	
Miss M. Brown (Serbia)	10 0 0	
Miss C. Ramsay, of Banff, (Serbia)	5 0 0	
Dr. Lander (Serbia)	1 1 0	
Miss Gourlay (Serbia)	5 0 0	
Mrs. Campbell	10 6	
Miss M. G. Cowan	1 14 0	
Miss E. A. Dow (Serbia)	5 6	
Mrs. Menzies	5 6	
Mrs. Armstrong (Serbia)	1 0 0	
Proceeds of Whist Drive and Concert, per John A. Forsyth, Esq., Sec. to Committee, towards "Orcaid" Bed	11 5 8	
Further contribution from Staff of Drumlanrig Public School, per R. Stirling, Esq., Headmaster (Serbia)	1 8 0	
East Grinstead W.S.S. (further towards the "East Grinstead Women's Suffrage" Bed, per Mrs. Reid, Hon. Treas.)—Miss M. Mackenzie (2s.), Mrs. Puddephatt (3d.) (Serbia)	2 3	
J. P. T. (Serbia)	1 0 0	
Employees of George Burns & Sons, Burside Iron Works (Serbia)	2 10 0	
Proceeds of Cake and Candy Sale by the Women of Knockbain Parish and Muilochey V.A.D. per Mrs. Fraser Mackenzie (Serbia)	30 0 0	
"Smiths," per Miss F. M. Smith	7 5 0	
April subscription from Teachers of Rathven and Portessie Schools, per J. Taylor, Esq.	1 16 0	
Teachers of Hill of Beath School, per R. Hunter, Esq., Headmaster (France & Serbia)	0 8 0	
Pupils of Kelso High School, per A. B. Fisher, Esq., M.A., Headmaster, Public School (Serbia)	5 0 0	
Proceeds of School and Scout Concert, per A. Struthers, Esq. (Serbia)	2 10 0	
J. Cathcart White, Esq. (Serbia)	10 0 0	
Miss M. R. Fairbairn (France & Serbia) (further donation)	1 0 0	
Miss J. E. Stowell (Serbia)	5 0	
Miss Lindsay (France & Serbia)	2 0 0	
Miss Somerville (France & Serbia)	2 0 0	
Miss C. Woodhead	1 1 0	
B. C. and B. C. M.	7 6	
Miss J. Scott (France & Serbia)	3 0	
Miss K. M. Jackson (France & Serbia)	2 2 0	
Miss A. M. Raeburn (France & Serbia)	1 0 0	
Mrs. C. Mann	1 0 0	
Church Work Party, per Mrs. Angus (£1 for Serbia, £2 for France)	3 0 0	
M. E. (Serbia & France)	10 0	
M. P. (Serbia)	1 0 0	
Mrs. Thoms	2 2 0	
Dundee W.S.S., per Miss MacIntyre, Hon. Treas.—Further contributions—Collected by Mrs. Alister Macgregor—To name 7 "Dundee" beds (Serbia) (£176 3s.), to name 2 "Dundee" beds (France) (see list) (£50 10s. 6d.)	226 13 6	

[We regret that we are obliged to hold over the remainder of this week's list.]
The Hon. Treasurer begs once more to thank all friends who have helped and are helping, and will gratefully receive further contributions to carry on the work. Cheques should be sent to Dr. Elsie Inglis, 2, St. Andrew Square, Edinburgh, or to Mrs. Laurie, Hon. Treas., Red House, Greenock, and crossed "Royal Bank of Scotland."

The Hague Congress.

We hope to report next week the meeting arranged by the British Committee held at the Kingsway Hall on Thursday, at which Miss Jane Addams was the chief speaker.

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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), MISS MRS. ACEBBACH, MISS CROOKENDEN.

A special council, combined with the half-yearly council, will be held at Birmingham on Thursday, June 17th, Friday, June 18th, and, if necessary, Saturday, June 19th, at 10.30 a.m. each day.

The Shop.

In connection with the Professional Women's Patriotic Service Fund, Miss Griesbach will be very glad of shoes or boots, sizes 4 and 5, or summer hats, also light underclothing of any description.

Press Report.

The Times (in a leader of May 12th) sums up sentiments that are bolder than many feminists dare utter, with the words:—"If only he (man) would look at her (woman) more constantly, and listen to what she has to tell him, he would be a better philosopher, a better artist, and a better statesman."

The Huddersfield Examiner and Weekly Chronicle have given excellent reports of a meeting at which Mrs. Rackham spoke, and The Clifton Chronicle has given prominence to Suffrage notes.

Alpha and Omega, by J. E. Harrison, has been well, not to say enthusiastically, reviewed in many papers, including The Times, The Daily News and Leader, and The New Statesman.

Contributions to the General Fund.

Table with columns for £ s. d. and names of societies and individuals. Includes entries like Castle Douglas W.S.S., Aldershot W.S.S., Dorchester W.S.S., etc.

Active Service Fund.

Table with columns for £ s. d. and names of individuals and organizations. Includes entries like Professional Women's Patriotic Service Fund, Miss L. Lowell, etc.

N.U. WOMEN ORDERLIES.

A number of well-known women have signed the following letter, which appeared in The Times of May 7th:

"We cannot help feeling that there is a great inconsistency between the appeals that the Government is constantly making for recruits and its action in employing trained soldiers in work which is totally un-military in character. An immense number of military clerks are employed, not only in Flanders, but over here in England, doing work which women could do equally well."

What Some of Our Societies are Doing.

West of England Federation.

The General Committee held its quarterly meeting on Friday, May 7th, at Yeovil. The attendance was not large, partly owing to the very large area covered by the Federation...

Since the last Committee meeting a circular had been sent out offering the services of the organiser for meetings and a very satisfactory response had been received. This was in marked contrast to the results obtained from a similar circular sent out in October.

A Men's Discussion Society in Wootton Bassett had asked for a speaker to open a debate on Women's Suffrage and Miss Baretti had kindly undertaken it.

Miss Tanner said that the Societies were being urged to form Study Circles, and some had already started. The syllabus issued from headquarters being found to elaborate a simpler one was being prepared for use in the Bristol Society...

Mrs. Baker, from the chair, moved a vote of thanks which was cordially received to Miss Tanner for her services to the Federation as Hon. Sec. and as member of the N.U. Executive Committee.

This Committee feeling the importance of an undivided front in the Suffrage Movement expresses its hope that resolutions may be brought forward and carried at the Special Council which will enable the whole Executive Committee, as elected in February, to resume their work."

Surrey, Sussex, and Hants Federation.

ALDERSHOT.—Mrs. Robie Uniacke presided at the annual meeting in the Institute on April 17th. Dr. Elizabeth Sloan Chesser lectured on "Women's Hospitals in the Invaded Countries."

GODALMING.—The Government laundry scheme was organised last month by the Board of Trade in Godalming and Farncombe, an adjoining suburb. The Suffrage Society co-operated in starting the scheme, and is helping to work it.

very difficult to find markers, though there are numerous menders, but never a quarter as many as are needed.

REDHILL AND REIGATE.—On April 14th the annual meeting was held at the Small Market Hall, Redhill, the President, Mrs. Auerbach, in the chair. A public meeting followed. The report expressed a hope that women's enfranchisement would be the result of the great opportunities opened to Englishwomen by the war.

WINCHESTER.—Winchester has collected over £25, and named a bed in the Serbian Hospital, and has sent thither two cases of clothing and hospital requisites. Miss Kathleen Burke addressed a meeting on April 21st at the Guildhall, in place of Dr. Inglis, who had to hurry out to Serbia.

Campden.

A meeting was held at the Town Hall, Chipping Campden, on April 20th, at which Miss Harwood presided and introduced the speaker, Miss Geraldine Cooke, who gave a most interesting and instructive address on the subject of "Women's National Responsibility," touching upon the work carried on by the N.U.W.S.S. in relieving distress caused by the war, patrol work in connection with the various camps, social work such as girls' clubs, and Red Cross work both amongst our own soldiers and those of our Allies.

Central Counties Federation.

SUTTON COLDFIELD.—A very successful and well-attended meeting of the above Society was held at Homewood, Sutton Coldfield, on Monday, May 3rd, by kind invitation of Mrs. R. Fowler. In the absence of the President, Miss Pattison, through illness, Mrs. Fowler took the chair.

Swansea.

On April 20th a successful concert was held at St. Gabriel's Hall, in order to assist the N.U. to carry on the relief work to which it has devoted its organisation. Local artistes very kindly gave their services, and a most enjoyable programme was greatly appreciated by the audience.

St. Ives.

Some members of our little Society here met one afternoon and decided to try how much they could collect in money and goods for the N.U.W.S.S. Scottish Hospital in Serbia, during the ensuing fortnight. At the end of that time we met again, and despatched two bales of goods containing the following articles:— Pillows, 8; day shirts, 9; night shirts, 3; old shirts, 10; pyjamas, 6; bed jackets, 11; pillow slips, 16; sheets, 12; nightgales, 6; bedroom slippers, 15; socks, 22; body belts, 3; hot bottle covers, 14; bandages, air cushion, hospital dressings, old linen. Also £17 10s. in cash.

Lectures in Kensington.

The Kensington Branch of the London Society have arranged an interesting series of lectures

with the double aim of aiding the funds of the Scottish Women's Hospitals, and pursuing the educational paths indicated at the last Council Meeting. The first lecture will be held on Wednesday, May 10th, at 3.30 at the Kensington Town Hall, when Mr. Arthur Greenwood, one of the authors of "War and Democracy" will speak on "The Social and Economic Aspects of War."

Forthcoming Meetings.

Table listing various meetings across different locations like Bradford, Edinburgh, South Kensington, Manchester, Wakefield, Croydon, Wallasey and Wirral, etc., with dates and speakers.

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(Continued on page 80.)

(Continued from page 79.)

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Memorial Hall, Manchester, Monday, May 17th, at 7.30 p.m.
RECITAL OF PIANOFORTE DUETS AND SOLOS
 By HOPE SQUIRE and FRANK MERRICK.
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WANTED, for the North-Eastern Federation, an Organiser, experienced in Suffrage work; inclusive salary £130.—Apply, stating age and qualifications to the Hon. Secretary, 3, Osborne Terrace, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

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TAILOR-MADE COSTUMES.—Latest West-End and Paris styles, from 5/ guineas. Patterns sent on application.—H. NELLSSEN, Ladies' Tailor, 14, Great Titchfield-st., Oxford-st., W. (near Waring's).

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