

# The Common Cause

## OF HUMANITY.

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

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

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### Notes and News.

#### The Government's Appeal and the Women's Response.

Both the patriotism and the need of the women of this country are being shown in their instant response to the appeal made to them for help, last week. Every kind of work is offered and asked for. It will be an anxious business organising and training the workers, but we hope it will be thoroughly done. Above all, we trust that all men's unions will act in line with (*e.g.*) the National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants, Warehousemen, and Clerks, whose General Secretary explains in *The Daily Telegraph* of March 23rd, that "it is their duty, as trade unionists, to protect the conditions of employment, but, so long as that is done, it does not matter whether men or women are employed." It is of the first importance that the women should receive equal pay with the men for equal work; and all who have studied this particular economic problem know how easy it is to juggle with the question of "equal work." It is constantly interpreted to mean "the same work," and with the least possible ingenuity the work can be arranged so that it is not exactly "the same." Then the excuse for lowering the rate is at once seized and acted upon.

#### The Consequence of Under-Payment.

If women are persistently paid less than the standard rate for men, they damage themselves, the men, and the whole standard of public efficiency. For the worker tends to be worth what she is paid; if it is little, she loses in status, she decreases in vitality and energy, she becomes less and less efficient. Her employer, disgusted with the result of his own injustice, loudly proclaims it, and proves to his own satisfaction that if he pays women very little, it is because they are worth very little. The rate for men, on the other hand, can always be kept down by the fear that if they ask for more, they will be displaced by women. So the vicious circle is complete. It can only be broken when men realise that, whatever complications are put in the way by slight differences of work, the principle of equal pay for equal work must be maintained.

#### Women and the Munitions of War.

There is something rather touching in the special response made by women to the demand for labour in the making of war munitions. "My husband is fighting at the front, and I should like to make cartridges for him" writes a soldier's wife (*The Daily Telegraph*, March 23rd). "Making cartridges" no doubt presents itself to many women as the nearest equivalent to "going to the front." It is sufficiently gruesome to reflect on what "making cartridges for my husband" means to some other woman's husband. But no doubt "these things must not be thought on after this manner—so it will make us mad."

#### Training for Belgian Nurses.

In contrast to this desire to assist in the destructiveness of war comes a fresh proposal for the training of nurses. It is thought that Belgian women would prove infinitely useful in helping to care for their own soldiers, and so meet a pressing need. Accordingly, a home for the training of Belgian women as nurses is to be opened near Hyde Park, under the supervision of Professor Jacobs, Médecin en Chef of the King Albert Hospital, No. 1, Store Street, W.C. Professor Jacobs stated to a representative of *The Daily Telegraph* that they hoped to provide for the training of at least fifty nurses, who would be able to undergo a short course in hygiene, anatomy, cookery, and other subjects, under the direction of competent doctors, professors, and a matron. After some experience at home, these nurses would be sent to one of the base hospitals at the front.

#### New and Lucrative Posts for Women.

A truly admirable suggestion comes from "a woman correspondent" in *The Times* of March 10th. Commenting on the appeal of the Government to women to come forward and take up the work of men who have gone to the front, she suggests that they might fill the places of Members of Parliament (at £400 a year, we assume: equal pay for equal work). This is a suggestion which opens a wide field for conjecture. Lady Frances Balfour, perhaps, to replace the hon. member for Walton, and Miss Catherine Marshall to replace General Seeley?

#### Government and Temperance Reform.

At the close of last week's conference between the Government and Labour representatives, Mr. Lloyd George made the suggestion that steps might be taken to restrict still further the hours of public houses in certain areas, in which excessive drinking has hindered the output of munitions of war. He announced that the Government was considering the advisability of allowing the public houses in these areas to open only between 12 noon and 2 p.m. and 7 to 9 o'clock in the evening. Many men, and probably most women, would, however, be glad to see more drastic proposals. There seems no reason why the suggested restrictions should be confined to areas where drinking is hindering the manufacture of army supplies, while, in other districts, the treating of soldiers is allowed to impair the efficiency of our troops. Why does the Government not take courage, and prohibit the sale of alcohol—or, at any rate, of spirits—during the war?

### Waste of Grain in Distilling.

Such a reform would both benefit the health of the nation, and divert to use as food large quantities of grain, at present used in distilling. According to a pamphlet issued by the United Kingdom Alliance, some 73,000,000 lb. of grain and 9,500,000 lb. of sugar are used every week by brewers and distillers. Surely, with food prices steadily rising, this waste of the necessities of life should be checked?

### Stimulating Production.

The question of stimulating production, which at this moment is so closely occupying the attention of the Government, is bound to affect women in a variety of ways. Last week Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Runciman conferred at the Treasury with the representatives of nearly thirty Trade Unions, and in outlining the problems to be faced, Mr. Lloyd George mentioned the relaxation of Trade Union rules respecting overtime and the employment of semi-skilled labour. "The employment of women's labour," he said, "might be of great help in some cases." That the conditions under which such labour is employed will need the closest vigilance is emphasised by the statement made by Mr. Anderson in regard to sweated labour in army contracts, in the House of Commons, on March 15th.

### Sweating in Army Contracts.

The girls employed at Messrs. Armstrong & Whitworth's, at Elswick, stated Mr. Anderson, "work twelve hours per day, with one and a-half hours' break for meals, Sundays as well. They are working two shifts at present, and girls are working all night. They have been working three shifts, but the girls were half dead, and they found they had to stop it. Girls of 17 get 8s. a week; girls of 18, 9s. a week; and girls of 20, 11s. a week; and in addition to this there is a bonus, which seems largely to be used for speeding up the girls. . . . Some of the girls say they have worked twenty hours at a stretch since the war broke out. Many times they have worked ninety-five hours a week since the war broke out. If the girls take a Sunday rest, there is deducted all the bonus which the girls earn during the week."

### The Insurance Commission and Pensions.

We are glad to see that the Workers' War Emergency Committee are urging the advantages of the Insurance Commission as the central body for administering military pensions and allowances. Their reasons are very largely those already put forward in THE COMMON CAUSE. The Emergency Committee, however, proposes that the Old Age Pensions Committees should be responsible for the local work. If this were so, the Local Government Board would have to be the central body, and to it the insuperable objection exists that it has no women at headquarters.

### Women and Church Councils.

The Church League for Women's Suffrage is organising a petition for the admission of women to Church Councils (Ruridecanal, Diocesan, and Representative) on the same terms as men. We commend this petition to all Anglican Churchwomen, Suffragist or non-Suffragist. The stock objections to the political enfranchisement of women are irrelevant here, for the Church, at least, is not governed by physical force, and Church politics should surely not be regarded as an internecine strife! We are confident, too, that the bishops and clergy will be ready to receive and consider this petition, for their recent vote in the Representative Church Council proves them ready for advance. It is the "ecclesiastically minded layman"—and laywoman—whom the members of the Church League have to convert.

### German Help for Foreigners.

Another report has just been issued by the Society for the Relief of Distressed Foreigners in Germany, in which the following words occur: "It is not merely the recollection that fellow-citizens of ours are detained in enemy lands that prompts us to do this work; it is a real desire to render the service of friends to those who, without any fault of theirs, suffer from the effects of the war. Even in war time, love for the enemy is the connecting link between those who believe in Christ. . . . We have, in fact, rendered neighbourly services to innocent enemies, in whom we only see brothers and sisters." We learn that the German religious press endorses this attitude, and expresses pleasure on hearing that the similar organisation in England has spent £20,000 on its work.

## NATIONAL UNION AND ORGANISATION OF WOMEN WORKERS.

The National Union having been approached by the Home Office with regard to the Government scheme as to the employment of women in the place of men, expressed its willingness to co-operate on the following terms:—

The N.U.W.S.S. welcomes a Government scheme for the organisation of women who are willing to take paid employment for war services, provided that the necessary safeguards are secured.

The points which the N.U.W.S.S. particularly wishes to emphasise are:—

(1) The necessity of equal pay for equal work, thus avoiding the undercutting of men.

(2) The great importance of training.

(3) The securing of good conditions as to housing, &c., especially in agriculture.

The Committee further decided to distribute the registration forms among the Societies, and to urge those which have offices to undertake the registration of women, and give help and advice to those who wish to offer their services. Many of the Societies, including the London Society, have already begun to do this, and the shop at 50, Parliament Street, is crowded all day with women who come to register. The experience already gained in this kind of work since the beginning of the war is proving of great value.

## WOMEN'S WORK IN WAR TIME.

### SOLDIERS' CANTEEN AT THE FRONT.

A crowded and enthusiastic meeting was held by the Women's Emergency Corps at His Majesty's Theatre on March 23rd, its main purpose being to obtain support for the Soldiers' Canteens organised by the Corps.

HER GRACE THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH, from the chair, spoke of the many-sided work of the Corps, some of whose activities, she hoped, would not cease with the emergency which had called them into being, but would become a permanent institution. She hoped particularly that the toy-making industry, so peculiarly suited to women's deft and clever touch, would be secured to English workers, and appealed for support for the toy-making department of the Corps.

LORD CHARLES BERESFORD paid generous tribute to the work of women during the war. Never in the history of our Empire had the great characteristics of women come so much to the front, and their energy, sympathy, and grit would be remembered for all time. They all wanted to help, and if they were not given a chance they made it for themselves, without any encouragement. He had been amazed at the power of organisation which they had shown. The canteens organised by the Emergency Corps were under the auspices of the French military and medical authorities, who were so pleased with them that they had asked for more. It was brilliant work, and most beneficial in keeping up the health and spirits of the troops, to whom it meant a great deal to be served with hot coffee or chocolate, food, and other comforts, as they come to and from the trenches.

MR. PERCY ALDEN, M.P., dealt with the Government's scheme for the employment of women. A joint committee of the Home Office and the Board of Trade had made inquiries into the possibilities of using women's work in place of men's in certain trades. The Government had come to the conclusion that if the full work before the nation is to be met, women must be used to a far greater extent to replace men who ought to go to the front.

Some of the conditions which he would like to see laid down with regard to the replacing of men by women were:—

(1) Unemployed women should be given the first chance, and if it is necessary to train them it should be done.

(2) Where a woman replaces a man, in order that he may fight, the place of that man must be kept open.

(3) Where women had not displaced men every effort should be made to give women such training as would enable them to do permanent work.

(4) Women should be well paid. The better they are paid, the better work they will do. There should be equal pay for equal value.

On this matter of wages the whole question would turn. The Trade Unions and women's organisations would not allow women to work for a low wage. The thing to do first was to set up a Voluntary Trade Board, to fix wages and conditions at once. There should be a Board for each trade, and a Central Board.

## THE WOMAN'S MOVEMENT AND WAR.

The three meetings organised on March 22nd at the Central Hall, Westminster, were attended by many thousands of men and women, and at each session during the day the numbers increased. The speeches dealt with the Woman's Movement under its religious aspect, and were as much concerned with Christianity as feminism.

MR. TEMPLE, in his opening speech from the chair, emphasised the fact that the Woman's Movement stands—or should stand—for the belief that hope and love are the right expressions of the relations between human beings. If this is not so, if force rather than love is the ultimate relation between us, then there is no meaning in the Woman's Movement at all. At the present moment, it is as though Christ once more stood at the Judgment Seat of Pilate, Church and State both united to reject Him—on the same grounds—of treason against them. But we know that now, as then, it is not Christ who is judged, but Pilate.

MR. NEVINSON spoke from personal knowledge of the realities of war. Making all allowance for the self-sacrifice, devotion, courage, and, above all, the loyal comradeship shown in war, the fact remains that war is murder, sanctioned by the State. No one who knows it at first-hand glorifies it, and there is more glorification of war and hatred of enemies in any London music hall than in the whole of the British Army. Of this war, Mr. Nevinson continued, correspondents are not allowed now to speak the truth, and he was himself obliged, even on that platform, only to speak of what was comparatively remote. But we might rest assured that war was horrible, not only, as some of us used to think, between comparatively uncivilised countries, but perhaps even more horrible, both in quantity and quality, between countries calling themselves civilised. Mr. Nevinson described what he had seen at Dixmude in October, and at Ypres, where the soldiers, marching out to face horrors of which it was almost impossible to speak, went on their way singing "Tipperary." The life in the trenches was a strain on the nerves which it was impossible to describe. But the fate of women in war was immeasurably more horrible even than that of the men, and this was the case not in this war only, but in every war that he had ever known.

MISS JEBB discussed the responsibility for war. It was due, she said, to the spirit of pride which made patriotism consist in vaunting one country and despising all the rest; and of terror which put everyone in a state of nerves. But it was not only militarists who were responsible for wars. On the contrary, those who have had a revelation of omnipotent love, and who might have saved the world from war if they had shown it the way, had the supreme responsibility. Pride and terror were not found only among militarists, journalists, scare-mongers, politicians, and armament makers; they were found among pacifists, who thought themselves better than other people, and despised their opponents; among women who, being the guardians of the young and of the old, had the power to form the social code; among all uncharitable people, who loaded the rifle which killed another man. "It is not the militarists who make wars, but we ourselves."

MISS ROYDEN was called upon at the last moment to take the place of Miss Catherine Marshall, who was prevented from attending by illness. Miss Royden expressed her regret at the loss sustained by the Conference in the absence of Miss Marshall, who, though her name had not been so prominently before the public as that of some other leaders of the Woman's Movement, had always seemed to her to be the statesman of the movement, and a statesman who was also something of a prophet.

She did not know what Miss Marshall had intended to say to them, and she herself had only time to emphasise the profound enmity between militarism and feminism. War meant something worse to women than it could ever mean to men. In spite of the hideous sufferings of the soldiers, it remained a fact that when Mr. Nevinson had described them and turned to the sufferings of the women, he could only be silent. One could say the worst that could happen to a man was a glorious death, or "honourable scars"; the worst that could happen to a woman was what the world calls, unthinkingly, "dishonour."

War meant, moreover, the destruction of homes, and lives, and civilisation—all that women gave their lives to build up. It meant that physical force was exalted above spiritual force, and the Woman's Movement stood or fell with the principle that spiritual force is greater than physical. Wherever militarism rules, women become merely breeders of soldiers. In Germany women were in a much worse position than in Russia, which we have regarded as a less civilised country; and Russia (its people,

not its Government) is a profoundly pacifist race. In France, the legal position of women was abominable; their position in fact and practice was good. The code of law was given to them by Napoleon, and reflected the militarist spirit in all its brutality. But since then, France had become a pacifist country, and with the growth of pacifism, the position of women had improved, and was now far better than the law suggested.

The sufferings of women in the past would not be in vain if they turned them now to account, and because they had suffered so much, determined to inflict suffering on no one.

DR. ORCHARD spoke of the danger of boasting of a righteous cause; nothing was more likely to lead to Pharisaism. Moreover, if we boasted of our righteousness, we were apt to feel that if we were defeated righteousness would disappear. If we believed in God and His righteousness, we need not fear this. There was no profanity like that of believing that God could not do without us, and to justify war on these grounds was worse than to justify it as Bernhardt did on biological grounds.

MR. GRAY dealt with the problem of war in our own lives. Peace, he said, was a by-product of right thought, and the wrong thought that made war possible was the thought that one man's good could be gained apart from the good of others, or even against the good of others. We had so organised our industrial life that this delusion looked like truth, and, in a material sense actually was truth—one man's gain is another man's loss. Any man who knew this, and consented to it, and lived by it, was a man to whom war between nations was natural, and seemed in the nature of things. Well-being is a social thing, and until we realised this, we should always have wars. "He who would be no slave must consent to have no slaves." Economists had preached this truth now for some time, and we must make it our own in the moral sphere as they in the economic sphere. The Woman's Movement ought to help to cast out the illusion that one man's good was another man's loss; but too often women rather urged men on than held them back from fighting. Christianity was the only solution.

MRS. MCKENZIE said that the Woman's Movement had already done much to make women realise their social responsibilities. It was they, rather than the Churches, who were sensitive to great social wrongs and social suffering. Mr. Asquith spoke of those who talked of peace now as "the twittering of sparrows." The twittering of sparrows was a very lovely sound when it came with the awakening dawn after a long night of darkness. Mrs. McKenzie went on to give instances of women working ninety-five hours a week many times since the war broke out. The nation rested on the toils of such women. What were we going to do about it? How were we to come nearer to God if we could not come nearer to our fellow men? The Woman's Movement was helping to bring us all together.

THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN interpreted Christ's saying that He came "not to bring peace, but a sword." Every Christian must be in a condition of perpetual warfare against wrong, and if peace were to mean rest, it was a worse danger than war. The age of Constantine was far more dangerous to the Church of Christ than the age of Marcus Aurelius. And the truce proclaimed in England to-day merely meant that reform at home was annulled by war abroad. Might the war abroad soon end, and give way to the real war against wrong at home! Peace, the Bishop believed, in the military sense, could only be brought about by the formation of a United States of Europe, in which every nationality should be free to develop on its own lines.

The idea of the Christian warfare in peace was developed by Mr. Woods, who appealed for some understanding of the romance of real peace, and the horror of the state of "non-war" which was all that "peace" had hitherto been taken to mean. The atrocities of war were not worse than the horrors of "non-war," and the retreat from Moscow had caused fewer deaths than the cornering for one winter of the coal supply in America.

MISS ROYDEN argued that the two conflicting principles on which the world tried to govern itself were those of love and selfishness. Love came into the world first through the relation of motherhood; but something more was needed if love were not to be compatible with an enlarged kind of selfishness. The Woman's Movement should be Christianised, and the principle of selfishness boldly abandoned for the principles of love. Selfishness created the problem of war; love dispelled it.

The closing address was given by MR. TEMPLE, who reminded his audience that the appeal to hardness and self-sacrifice was always the one to which the world responded, from Garibaldi's appeal to the defenders of Rome, to Christ's demand on His disciples that they should "take up the cross and follow Him."

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LETTER TO AN EX-PACIFIST. THE FORCE OF PACIFISM. THE TYRANNY OF THE SUPER-STATE. (Garden City Press, Letchworth. 1d.)  
CHRIST AND WAR. (James Clarke & Co. 1s.)  
CHRISTIANITY AND FORCE. GERMANY AND GERMANS. Humphrey Milford. (Oxford University Press. 2d.)  
WAR AND THE WORKERS. THE INTERNATIONAL INDUSTRY OF WAR. (The Union of Democratic Control. 1d.)  
IS BRITAIN BLAMELESS? BELGIUM AND THE SCRAP OF PAPER. HOW THE WAR CAME. (The National Labour Press. 1d.)  
AN APPEAL TO SUFFRAGISTS. (Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation.)  
THE WORLD IN ALLIANCE. (W. Southwood & Co. 1s.)  
THE RUSSIAN PROBLEM. (Constable. 1s.)  
POLAND, RUSSIA AND THE WAR. (St. Catherine Press, 34, Norfolk Street. 3d.)  
PASTORAL LETTER OF CARDINAL MERCIER. (Burns & Oates. 2d.)  
THE IDOLS, AND THE RIGHTS OF SMALL NATIONALITIES. (Bowes & Bowes. 6d.)

The great majority of war pamphlets is the production of pacifists. Of all the pamphlets and booklets we have to review this month there is not even one written by an author who regards war as the normal state of human society, none who assumes that the effective striking force of a nation is the measure of its greatness. On the contrary, the half-mystical, half-materialistic theories of Bernhardt are again resolved into their component fallacies by the powerful solvent of unimpassioned reason: sincere spirits are wrestling with the question whether a Christian may consistently fight even in a just cause: and more constructive minds are occupied in planning the peace of Europe and the world.

First among the reasoning pacifists comes Mr. Norman Angell, with his "Prussianism and its Destruction," not entirely a new work, for it includes the second part of "The Great Illusion," which dealt with "the human nature and morals" of war. Surely Norman Angell is the prince of pamphleteers! The most constant and unscrupulous misrepresentation is powerless against him. He simply re-states his case more clearly, and develops it further, without a touch of asperity or impatience, and with more care than ever not to misrepresent his opponents. Have we any other writer whose manner in controversy is so admirable? Reason is his only weapon; he will stoop to no tricks, to no sticks and stones, while mud simply does not exist for him. Militarism has no fairer hearing than in the writings of Norman Angell. Its advocates' books and speeches are quoted at most generous length, heard to the end without interruption, and answered with a sober courtesy that will not condescend to ridicule even an absurdity. He merely explains, and explains more carefully, and then, if he is answered with foolishness or abuse—explains again.

Much less to be admired, though they are cleverly written, are three pamphlets by Mr. Edward G. Smith, who claims for Pacifism the true application of the Nietzschean ideal. There are suggestions of depth and sincerity in these pamphlets, but a touch of half-Shavian cleverness in their manner. It is natural, and probably right, to feel that a true pacifist ought to be suffering more intensely than anyone during war: so that, at such a time, the slightest resort to conscious cleverness endangers his message. "The Force of Pacifism" and the "Letter to an Ex-Pacifist" are the best of these three papers.

The relation of Christianity to Pacifism is discussed at length in "Christ and War," by William E. Wilson, B.D., a little book in which Christian precept is reconciled with true political practice, while Mr. Hogg's pamphlet, "Christianity and Force" is one of the best that has yet appeared on this subject. Mr. Hogg's argument is that the old law, "An eye for an eye," was a law of retributive justice. Christ came, not to destroy the law, but to give a new law—the law of non-resistance to the evil-doer. If we cannot live up to the new law, we must uphold the old one, which Christ did not condemn. This argument, of course, justifies no Christian, as a Christian, in bearing arms; but it claims for all men, who resort to force in a just cause, the sanction of a law which Christ recognised. But Mr. Hogg is discouraging when he suggests that there is no moral value in attempts to follow the law of Christ unless they spring from a love as pure and great as His, and that it is better to fall back on the old law than to obey the new imperfectly. This reasoning tends to relegate the law of Christ to the realm of abstractions or to the practice of a few saints. It leads to acceptance of the "double standard" which has always enfeebled Christianity, and every other religion also. Except for this, Mr. Hogg's pamphlet seems to be a very valuable one. It is one of the "Papers for War-Time," of which series also is "Germany and Germans," by Miss McDougall, a study of those elements in German patriotism with which we can, and ought, to sympathise.

There is a good bunch of pamphlets representative of labour and democratic opinion, of which the ablest and most significant are Mr. Brailsford's "Belgium and the Scrap of Paper," and the "International Industry of War"—the latter a formidable indictment of the corrupt trade in armament. In this country, as in Russia, France, and Germany, organised labour is the most determined enemy of the diplomacy which preceded the war, as all these pamphlets bear witness. Most of their criticism is just and reasonable, and few could seriously defend a diplomatic system which led to such appalling disaster. But it is strange that the Independent Labour Party should have issued as their statement of "How the War Came" a pamphlet which sets out to prove that Russia was far more responsible for the war than Germany, and that its

author should have materially assisted the "proof" by omitting such an important fact as that most of the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia was accepted, and the rest submitted to arbitration! If the intention is to "restore the balance of popular criticism" by exaggeration on the opposite side, it is not quite worthy of the I.L.P.

The "Appeal to Suffragists" issued by the Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation is a finely-worded claim for a world-policy for women, and it is good to see that Irish Suffragists are beginning an educational campaign in "world-politic." Mrs. Fawcett's noble message, "Believe and hope," is printed at the head of the appeal. This, we may hope, is one of the many beginnings of the great work of establishing public rights, which we dare not delay. It is not for nothing that so many minds are now planning how to give effect to that sense of international justice, of which the very existence is denied by militarists, who nevertheless rely upon it to enlist the enthusiasm of the masses in war. "The World in Alliance," by Mr. Frank N. Keen, LL.B., is a consideration, by one learned in law, of the possibility of a permanent international congress. The case is well put, modestly and tentatively, but with knowledge and force.

Professor Vinogradoff's excellent little book on "The Russian Problem" gives one some idea of its vastness, and also of the terrible strength of the Government of so huge a country. There is no European problem so portentous as the future of Russia. Even Professor Vinogradoff's liberal hopes are tinged with despair at its immensity. Far more sanguine is the message of Mr. Laurence Alma Tadema's pamphlet on "Poland, Russia and the War." This is written to assure us that Russia means to keep her word, and that Poland believes it. Some interesting official documents are reproduced in demonstration of these facts. But there is still room for the enthusiasm of France and England to help, and to make assurance more certain still.

Cardinal Mercier's pastoral letter is a profoundly moving document, but it is indeed no wonder that the Germans suppressed it, for your militarist can do nothing else but suppress; and so this eloquent letter is now being read all over the world, and will surely have a place in history!

As for M. Romain Rolland's pamphlet "The Idols," it has suffered something in translation, no doubt; but this author's writings have a special fragrance in these days, and a peculiar power, for, almost alone among the famous writers of Europe, he still stands confident in the strength of—

"Love, that what time his own hands guard his head,  
The whole world's wrath and strength shall not strike dead."  
P. A. M.

## Correspondence.

### COMPASSION.

MADAM,—With reference to your note last week under the heading "Compassion" in the "Notes and News" column, I should like to bring to your notice the following facts:—

(1) A war correspondent of the New York *Outlook* (a paper entirely on the side of the Allies), writing of his experiences with the German armies during their advance from Belgium to the Marne, says that he only came across one authenticated case of violation during the whole of that march. He heard many rumours, but that was the only one that, as far as he could trace, rested on fact. This, of course, is the observation of one man, and necessarily a limited observation, but the article seemed honest and impartial.

(2) According to the *British Weekly* of January 21st, 1915, the Rev. Thos. Phillips, B.A., of the Central Baptist Church, Bloomsbury, in a sermon on the previous Sunday, said that he knew of one house not a mile away which contained fifty young girls who had been outraged in the last four or five months.

(3) In a report of the National Free Church Council meetings, in the *British Weekly* of last Thursday, the writer, the Rev. Geo. Eayrs, speaking of Mrs. Geo. Morgan's plea for "the sad, sinning, and sinned against host of unmarried mothers which we have in our midst," says that he was told of one centre where the Poor Law authorities are making provision for four hundred such sad cases. If these things are true, our talk of German outrage is sheer hypocrisy. A. G. WATSON.

### THE WORST SUFFERERS IN WAR TIME.

MADAM,—In commenting on the announcement by Mr. Asquith of the Government's fresh policy towards Germany, I do not wish to express disapproval or approval. War is out of the region of ordinary ethics, and it is no longer a question between right and wrong, but between two wrongs. But I do wish most emphatically to say this: men have denied to women the right to self-government because they have said that though women cannot fight. This is one more colossal example of the fact that though women do not fight, they are fought.

It is well known that in dear and scarce food time, the first and chief victims—because of the necessity of keeping fit the bread-winner, or in war time the fighter—are the women and children.

GERTRUDE A. COMBES.

### TYRANNY OF FASHION.

MADAM,—The letter from "Early Victorian" is very interesting in last week's COMMON CAUSE. I am sure I am only one of thousands of women who long to be free from the tyranny of fashion. It consumes so much time and also causes so much worry. But unless women of high position take the matter up, and large societies of women agree to fall in, it seems almost hopeless to expect any change than before the war, and I am hoping our Society can do something to help free us from the tyranny of changing fashions. A MOTHER.

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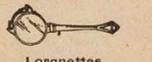
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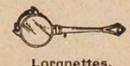
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The N.U.W.S.S. is an association of over 52,000 men and women who have banded themselves together, under the leadership of Mrs. Henry Fawcett, for the purpose of obtaining the Parliamentary vote for women on the same terms as it is or may be granted 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 War Service.

We are on the eve of an important experiment—important even at this time of crisis and almost daily experiment. The need for men at the front has created the inevitable need for workers at home, and the Government has turned to women to meet the national crisis. We regret that the warning uttered by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies months ago, at the beginning of the war, was not acted upon, and their offer of help in organising and training women accepted. It is true that war on the present scale is an experience so new and so overwhelming that much dislocation and unpreparedness must be looked for and forgiven; but this was a need for which the example of France should surely have prepared us, even in a country where all the men are not taken. And now that the pinch has come, it will be a gigantic task to organise and supply the labour required. It is certain that the various women's societies, all of them willing and anxious to help, could by this time have done half this work, had they been allowed. Even without Governmental encouragement, much has been done, and well done. But the sudden demand for women's labour on an enormous scale and at the shortest possible notice, means that the supply must necessarily be less efficiently trained and organised than it might have been, had we been set to work on it eight months ago.

The problem of training and organisation must be taken in hand without any further delay. Women are being urged to train as physicians and surgeons, in view of the threatened shortage of doctors, but the expense of such training must deter many who are admirably fitted for such work, and it would be worth while to give help out of public funds to enable suitable women to qualify. Help is also needed to ensure an adequate supply of nurses. Probationers are wanted; but the number of women who can afford to train is limited, and a maintenance grant might well be offered to those who have no private means, as it has been provided out of the Queen's Work for Women Fund to girls training for clerical work and various branches of manual labour. So far women of good education have been unfairly neglected by the different Relief Committees, and it will be a shameful waste of good material if their services are lost to the State through want of the means to train for a profession.

Again, in the Civil Service, there must be many positions in which men could be replaced by women. The Report of the Royal Commission on the Civil Service recommended that greater use should be made of women's work, but since its publication, very few fresh posts have been thrown open to them. As was pointed out in *The Times* of March 10th, a number of posts in Government Departments are given to young men from Oxford and Cambridge, who have no special experience or qualifications beyond a good general education, and their work could be done quite as well by college women. There is, indeed, an increasing need for women in all Government offices, above all, at the Local Government Board and the Board of Education. When it is remembered that the former largely controls the housing question, and the latter is concerned with the training and education of children, it seems sufficiently grotesque that we should still be pleading for the co-operation of women in such matters. What we are concerned here to urge is that now is the

## Women in Agriculture.

There has been much discussion of late as to the employment of women in agriculture, and strong emotions have, in consequence, been stirred. In the main, the deliberators seem to group themselves into three distinct schools of thought:—

(1) The sincere believers in the national benefits resulting from the employment of women on the land.  
(2) The upholders of "the protection of Woman" theory, who deny women's physical capacity for work in the fields. These solemnly warn the public of the physical injury to women themselves, and therefore to the nation at large, should women be allowed to undertake men's rural tasks.  
(3) The advocates of "cheap labour" on the land during the present crisis (and at all times). Mainly on that count, this group favours the "back to the land" propaganda as applied to women.

It may, therefore, be useful to recall some historic evidence as to this matter.

It is, of course, undeniable that, from the dawn of the world's history, women have laboured on the land. And, with all due sympathy for the "protectors of woman" group, there appears to be no record of women's incapacity for such work. Indeed, quite a number of students of "Primitive Women," such as Mr. O. T. Mason, assume that women were not only the originators of agriculture and horticulture, but the sole executants of these arts.

Be that as it may, the earliest agricultural records of this country (for, after all, it is the British fields which are now concerning us) show that a large proportion of women worked on the land. There is even an ordinance extant of 1394, enforcing that "every man or woman, free or bond," who was not otherwise employed, and had no income from the land, must serve as a labourer on it when required.

About two centuries later, a glimpse is afforded in Fitzherbert's "Book on Husbandrie," of the usual avocations of a farmer's wife. She had to "wynowe all manner of cornes, to make malte, to shere corne, and in time of nede, to help her husband fylle the mucke wayne and dounge cart, dryve the plough, lode heye, corne, and such other." Added to which services, she undertook to "sel butter, cheese, milke, eggs, chekyns, hennes, and geese," and in odd intervals she, of course, performed the unmentioned tasks of rearing a family, and caring for the needs of husband, servants, and labourers on the farm.

Clearly, no inherent incapacity of women for physical labour was recognised in mediæval England. Later, when the small family holdings passed into the large farm system, the women took their share in agricultural work as day labourers, as well as in the old-time residential farm-work. And by the end of the eighteenth century the exploitation of women's and children's labour in the fields had set in. Then arose the iniquitous "gang-system" (i.e., the itinerant employment on the land of groups of women and children and young persons, each band being under the supervision of a gang-master). Women were by this means increasingly employed in agriculture until public opinion became agitated on the matter, and Government inquiries were instituted. Thus, the official Reports on the Employment of Women and Children in Agriculture were published in 1843 and 1867.

From the evidence there collected, it may be adduced that women were employed in hay-making and harvest-work, weeding (spoken of variously as couching, twitching, &c.), clearing the soil of stones, turnip-hoeing, singling and storing, potato-digging and storing, dairying, leading horses and bullocks to plough, manuring land, sowing and planting, fruit-picking, &c.—in short, in all the tasks of the present masculine "farm-hand." There is abundant evidence in these publications of the prevailing opinion as to the effects of such work on women and on family life. A few extracts, taken at random, may serve in illustration:—

(1) Evidence of Mary Hunt (wife of a Wiltshire agricultural labourer).

"I am in my fiftieth year. I have had twelve children, and, if it please God, I shall very soon have my thirteenth. . . . I was always better when out at work in the fields, and as for hard work I was never hurt by it."

(2) Evidence of Mary Haynes (widow, Wiltshire).

"I have been accustomed to work in the fields for the last sixteen years all the year through, except just the winter months. . . . I am a good reaper, as good as many men. . . . I have not a change of clothes, but I have never had my health affected by the hardness of the work or damp things."

(3) Evidence of Mary Puddicombe (wife of an Exeter agricultural labourer).

" . . . I worked in the fields many years after I married; lately I have done washing. I think washing is harder than working in the fields."

time to put women not only in executive posts, but at the heads of departments, on equal terms with men, to frame and administer policy as well as carry out work. The admirable work done by Miss Mona Wilson as an Insurance Commissioner should embolden a timid male Government to fresh advance; and it is clear that only when women are among those at headquarters will other women work their best and under the best conditions. Constant reports of sweating, overtime, and under-pay remind us that there are still (after twenty years!) only twenty women factory-inspectors. They also are being "sweated." Why not double, treble, or quadruple their numbers? The demand for women in the factories increases, and with it the work of the factory-inspector. Already large numbers of women are being employed in ammunition factories, where they have proved particularly expert in making shrapnel shells, and there is room for many more. In making uniforms, women are also doing excellent service—though it is to be feared that they are in many cases being paid a very inadequate wage—and they are now beginning to enter branches of the boot trade hitherto closed to them, in which their work is urgently needed. In agriculture, as motor drivers, omnibus conductors (of whom a shortage is now reported), lift attendants, and in hundreds of other capacities, women can quite well set men free, though in some a period of training will first be needed.

It is necessary, therefore, for women to take the matter up. The need of their country is paramount, and women themselves have much to gain, even if patriotism did not demand—as it does—the best response that they can make. There is little that men can do that women cannot, if they have equal training, wage, and opportunity. That little merely demands a certain amount of reorganization of the work, in order that work for which the muscular strength of men is necessary may be reserved for them, and the other parts of the industry in question given to the women. Here, however, a warning should be entered. There is a danger in all such reorganization, that the "plums" of the work may be taken out, given to the women, and paid at a lower rate. We are told that exactly this danger exists already in the shortage of agricultural labour. Dairy work is among the best-paid of such work, and already it is suggested that this should be done by women, not at the rate for dairy work, but at the rate for women—a very different matter!

If women allow themselves to be used as a means of lowering the rate of pay against men, their coming into the industries now clamouring for them will be worse than useless. It will be disastrous. Nor can we think that either the Government or other employers of labour seriously contemplate using the patriotic impulse which has taken men to the front to serve their country, as a means to lower their rates of pay when the war is over, and they return to enter the labour market again. Yet, unless it is absolutely insisted on that women must receive the same rates, this is what will inevitably happen. We cannot too strongly urge upon all concerned the principle that equal pay for equal work must be demanded and enforced.

If, however, women are to receive proper pay, they ought to be trained and efficient workers. The training which Suffragists have been demanding for women for years has too often and too generally been denied to them. Now we must all throw ourselves into the organization of such training as quickly as possible. It cannot be what it might have been; but what is possible must be done at once.

The women should also, as far as possible, be organized. We trust that, in view of the fact that their labour is being demanded, and will certainly be used, the men's unions will, in every case in which they are at present closed to women, at once make women eligible for membership. It will not otherwise be possible to prevent the lowering of rates by women, who are unorganized, unfranchised, and therefore unable to protect themselves. The example of the weavers in Lancashire should be followed, and equal pay for equal work may be secured.

Finally, we press upon the Government the duty of enfranchising the women, whose ability and whose duty to serve their country no less than men, is now being so publicly recognised. If it is a fact that the Government intends to take over workshops in which the production of war-munitions can, if necessary, be carried on, it becomes grotesque to deny any longer the need of women for political protection. And that they have a right to it, based upon service, can no longer be denied by the most obstinate of Anti-suffragists. We commend this cause to the consideration of the Government, and we expect that, as a result of this great demand for the labour and services of women, a resolution urging their political enfranchisement will be laid before the Congress meeting to decide the settlement after the war.



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

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

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

What Some of Our Societies are Doing.

BELGIAN REPATRIATION.

Annual Meeting of Oxford Women Students W.S.S. The annual meeting of the Oxford Women Student's W.S.S. was held on Saturday, March 20th, at Westfield College...

- List of names and amounts for the Belgian Repatriation fund, including 'The Everman' Belgian Relief Fund and 'The Friends' Fund.'

M. Cammaerts laid renewed stress on the necessarily temporary character of the whole work, and on the knowledge both of nursing and of Flemish which would be required. He answered also one or two points generally raised.

The third was the one with which M. Cammaerts was chiefly concerned, he was on the Committee, it had been started by his friend Mme. Vandervelde, and it was the only one whose funds were to be devoted entirely to repatriation and relief...

CARDIFF AND DISTRICT.

The latest venture of the Society is a "Club for Girls and their Soldier Friends." Rooms have been taken in the Welsh Industries (1st Floor). The Club is open every evening.

Barry Branch.

On account of the distance from Cardiff the members of the Barry Branch have found it better to work in their area rather than in Cardiff, and are taking active part in the work of war relief in most of its forms.

Penarth Branch.

SOLDIERS' AND SAILORS' FAMILIES' ASSOCIATION.—Two of the three women on the local Committee of five persons are Suffragists, while another is the organiser of the Women's War Club.

Queen's Work for Women Fund Committee.

Mrs. Iles is President, and several of our members are on the Committee, which has sent £18 to the Central Fund. All the women who need work in Penarth are employed in making shirts, &c., for soldiers.

Maternity and Child Welfare.

Two members are President and Secretary respectively of the "Penarth Baby Club." This was started in the autumn, and is doing excellent work with the hearty co-operation of the District Council, district nurses, and Medical Officer of Health.

the near future, which will enable the Committee to extend their work considerably.

RELIEF COMMITTEE.—Penarth residents decided to look after its own poor. Therefore a local fund was collected—over £400 up to date. The relief is administered on C.O.S. lines by a Committee, with local Sub-committees for different districts.

BELGIAN REFUGEES.—One of our members has charge of one of the "Belgian" houses; other members have organised French classes, by means of which the Refugees can earn some money.

SOLDIERS' COMFORTS.—A working party was started by two of our members to make shirts for soldiers and to undertake their mending. Another member is in charge of the Sunday teas at St. Paul's Institute.

Items of Interest.

Women Patrols for Brighton.

It has been stated in the press that Brighton has appointed a force of women police. This, however, is a mistake. The services of a number of women patrols, organised by the local branch of the National Union of Women Workers, have been accepted, but these are voluntary workers, not paid officers.

A Woman Medical Inspector.

Essex Education Committee has decided to release Dr. F. S. Hawks, a school medical officer, who wishes to take a commission in the Medical Corps, and to appoint in his place, during the war, Mrs. Leitch, a married woman doctor, whose husband is serving at the front.

Help for French Wounded.

A French Wounded Emergency Fund, approved by the Anglo-French Hospitals Committee, has been formed with the object of providing help of every kind, including nurses, drugs, surgical instruments, clothing, blankets, &c., for military hospitals in France. In the first place, the fund is intended to help hospitals in small towns in Normandy and Brittany, whose inhabitants can give very little; but should there be a generous response to the appeal, the work will be extended.

A Musical Lecture.

A grand musical lecture will be given on Tuesday, April 13th, at 8.30, at the Large Co-operative Hall, Brownhill Road, Catford, under the auspices of the Lewisham Branch of the I.L.P.

Forthcoming Meetings.

Table listing upcoming meetings for various societies, including dates, times, and locations.

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