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NOTICE.

In the present critical position of affairs, when any reference to political conditions may hurt national susceptibilities, it must be clearly stated that the International Woman Suffrage Alliance maintains a strictly neutral attitude, and is only responsible for its official announcements. Reports from affiliated societies are inserted on the responsibility of the society contributing them. Other articles are published as being of general interest to our readers, and responsibility for them rests solely with their signatories.

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF WOMEN,

THE HAGUE, HOLLAND, APRIL, 1915.

CALL TO THE WOMEN OF ALL NATIONS.

From many countries appeals have come asking us to call together an International Women's Congress to discuss what the women of the world can do and ought to do in the dreadful times in which we are now living.

We women of the Netherlands, living in a neutral country, accessible to the women of all other nations, therefore take upon ourselves the responsibility of calling together such an International Congress of Women. We feel strongly that at a time when there is so much hatred among nations, we women must show that we can retain our solidarity and that we are able to maintain a mutual friendship.

Women are waiting to be called together. The world is looking to them for their contribution towards the solution of the great problems of to-day.

Women, whatever your nationality, whatever your party, your presence will be of great importance.

The greater the number of those who take part in the Congress, the stronger will be the impression its proceedings will make.

Your presence will testify that you, too, wish to record your protest against this horrible war, and that you desire to assist in preventing a recurrence of it in the future.

Let our call to you not be in vain!

The Executive Committee:

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Headquarters of the International Congress of Women:
Damrak 28-30, Amsterdam, Holland.

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S CONGRESS, HOLLAND, APRIL, 1915.

Secretary, Miss Rosa Manus, Damrak 28-30, Amsterdam, Holland.

The following is the preliminary programme of the International Women's Congress which the Dutch women are summoning in April. The Executive Committee of the Congress includes: Dr. Aletta Jacobs, President; Dr. Boissevain, Vice-President; Miss Rosa Manus, Secretary; and Mrs. Vattier Kraane-Daendels, Treasurer.

On February 12th and 13th in Amsterdam women from Belgium, Germany, and Great Britain met the Dutchwomen interested in this proposal, and drafted the following resolutions.

It should be made clear that the Congress is organised by individual women. The Congress is not arranged by any previously existing women's organisation. A new organisation has been formed for the purpose.

PRELIMINARY PROGRAMME.

FIRST DAY, 9—1, BUSINESS SESSION.

- I. Roll Call.
- II. Welcome by Women of the Netherlands.
- III. Report of Dutch Committee of Management.
- IV. Appointment of Interpreters and Secretaries.
- V. Report of Resolutions Committee.
- VI. Some Principles of a Peace Settlement.

1. Plea for Definition of Terms of Peace.

Considering that the people in each of the countries now at war believe themselves to be fighting not as aggressors, but in self-defence and for their national existence, this International Congress of Women urges the Governments of the belligerent countries publicly to define the terms on which they are willing to make peace, and for this purpose immediately to call a truce.

2. Arbitration and Conciliation.

This International Congress of Women, believing that war is the negation of all progress and civilisation, declares its conviction that future international disputes should be referred to arbitration or conciliation, and demands that in future these methods shall be adopted by the Governments of all nations.

3. International Pressure.

This International Congress of Women urges the Powers to come to an agreement to unite in bringing pressure to bear upon any country which resorts to

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arms without having referred its case to arbitration or conciliation.

FIRST DAY, EVENING, PUBLIC MEETING.

SECOND DAY, 9.30—1, BUSINESS SESSION.

Minutes of previous day.

VI. Some Principles of a Peace Settlement, Continued.

4. Democratic Control of Foreign Policy.

War is brought about not by the peoples of the world, who do not desire it, but by groups of individuals representing particular interests.

This International Congress of Women demands, therefore, that foreign politics shall be subject to democratic control, and at the same time declares that it can only recognise as democratic a system which includes the equal representation of men and women.

5. Transference of Territory.

That there should be no transference of territory without the consent of the men and women in it.

VII. War in its Relation to Women.

6. Protest.

War, the *ultima ratio* of the statesmanship of men, we women declare to be a madness, possible only to a people intoxicated with a false idea; for it destroys everything the constructive powers of humanity have taken centuries to build up.

7. Women's Responsibility.

This International Congress of Women is convinced that one of the strongest forces for the prevention of war will be the combined influence of the women of all countries, and that therefore upon women as well as men rests the responsibility for the outbreak of future wars. But as women can only make their influence effective if they have equal political rights with men, this Congress declares that it is the duty of the women of all countries to work with all their force for their political enfranchisement.

8. Women's Sufferings in War.

This International Congress of Women protests against the assertion that war means the protection of women. Not forgetting their sufferings as wives, mothers, and sisters, it emphasises the fact that the moral and physical sufferings of many women are beyond description, and are often of such a nature that by the tacit consent of men the least possible is reported. Women raise their voices in commiseration with those women wounded in their deepest sense of womanhood and powerless to defend themselves.

9. Women Delegates to Conference of Powers.

Believing that it is essential for the future peace of the world that representatives of the people should take part in the conference of the Powers after the war, this International Women's Congress urges that among the representatives women delegates should be included.

10. Woman Suffrage Resolution.

This International Women's Congress urges that, in the interests of civilisation, the conference of the Powers after the war should pass a resolution affirm-

ing the need in all countries of extending the Parliamentary franchise to women.

SECOND DAY, EVENING, PUBLIC MEETING.

THIRD DAY, 9.30—1, BUSINESS SESSION.

Minutes of previous day.

VIII. General.

11. Promotion of International Good Feeling.

This International Women's Congress, which is in itself an evidence of the serious desire of women to bring together mankind in the work of building up our common civilisation, considers that every means should be used for promoting mutual understanding and goodwill between the nations, and for resisting any tendency towards a spirit of hatred and revenge.

12. Education of Children.

Realising that for the prevention of the possibility of a future war every individual should be convinced of the inadmissibility of deciding disputes by force of arms, this International Congress of Women urges the necessity of so directing the education of children as to turn their thoughts and desires towards the maintenance of peace, and to give them a moral education so as to enable them to act on this conviction whatever may happen.

IX. Discussions.

1. Action to be taken on Resolutions.
2. Methods of influencing the Press.
3. International Federation.

X. Any Other Business.

THIRD DAY, EVENING, PUBLIC MEETING.

Women in general sympathy with the resolutions on the programme may become members, with the right to speak and vote, on payment of the Congress fee of 10s. Women's Societies or mixed societies in general sympathy with the resolutions may send two women delegates, with the right to speak and vote, on payment of the Congress fee. Men and women may attend as visitors on payment of the fee of 5s.

Discussions on the relative national responsibility for or conduct of the present war shall be outside the scope of the Congress.

At the business discussions in the mornings the languages shall be French, German, and English. At the evening public meetings the languages shall be French, German, English, and Dutch.

British Preliminary Meeting.

A large and enthusiastic public meeting of women was held in London on February 26th, with Miss Chrystal Macmillan in the chair. Resolutions were passed in favour of supporting the International Congress. The following Executive was appointed:—Miss C. Macmillan, Miss K. D. Courtney, Miss C. E. Marshall, Miss I. O. Ford, Miss S. Sanger, Mrs. Alfred Salter, Miss L. Harris, Miss T. W. Wilson, Miss E. M. Leaf, and Miss Sheepshanks. The sum of £270 was promised before the end of the meeting.

THE BASIS OF PERMANENT PEACE.—III.

In these days, when the entire civilised world is shaken by events so terrible that human understanding is incapable of comprehending them, the following question demands an answer: Are human will and reason completely impotent in face of the brutal instincts and the primitive desire of taking the law into one's own hands?

It is quite incomprehensible that mankind has reached no higher standard of culture and altruism in the twentieth century than that a comparatively unimportant quarrel between a small State and one of the Great Powers is sufficient to set the world afire. Involuntarily one asks: Where was common sense in July, 1914? Where were the peace societies and the Socialists? And last, Where were the women? And the reply will be that common sense, peace societies, Socialists, and women were never asked. The majority did not have the least suspicion of what was going on until Europe was one burning flame, too vigorous to be extinguished. A world-fire like this cannot be extinguished until all inflammable material in the

warring lands has been destroyed; not until the Castle of Civilisation is ruined, and only the soiled and naked walls left.

During the first days of the war an old man said to me, sad and indignant: "To me it is quite unintelligible that citizens of the twentieth century willingly consent to be driven like sheep to the shambles." And, as a matter of fact, only a fraction of those now involved in the campaign did intend the war. To them, as to us—the spectators,—it was a surprise which will repeat itself in the history of the world as long as war is declared without the consent of the people; as long as a declaration of war depends on secret notes and treaties.

But just because the whole war seems so utterly absurd and the future of the peace endeavours looks so hopelessly dark to us, this question involuntarily arises: Where can mankind find a better means of preventing a recurrence of these terrors? And in connection with this, many people find some hope in the growing influence of women in social life.

Do women have better chances for succeeding where men have recently failed so miserably? Do women possess better faculties than men in that line?

Before the war broke out in the summer of 1914, Sir Edward Grey, the English Foreign Minister, in a speech, pointed out the difficulties involved in diminishing, or, in a still higher degree, in the entire abolition of, armaments in an independent State. His speech partly ended in the conclusion that any hope in that direction depended on the common sense of public opinion. And here it is that women will find their great future work and still greater responsibilities. They have better opportunities than anybody else of creating public opinion—not the opinion of the hour, but that public opinion which grows stronger with the coming race. Women give the next generation its first impressions through their own thoughts and words.

The mother must try to give her children another ideal than the armed warrior. Let her show them how unworthy it is of the citizen of the twentieth century to be used—body and blood, without will or resistance—as food for cannon. Let her teach them—boys and girls—to demand influence on future declarations of war in the name of their right as citizens.

Is it not possible that this would give the best guarantee for peace in the future?

JOHANNE RAMBUSCH,

President of Landsforbundet for Kvinders Valgret.
Aalborg, Denmark, January, 1915.

"WOMEN OF EUROPE, WHEN WILL YOUR CALL RING OUT?"

The appeal to the women of Europe from Lida Gustava Heymann, of Munich, published in the February issue of *Jus Suffragii*, must have stirred many women to serious thought on the great problem now before them as regards their duty in this war. All these past months the women of Europe have devoted themselves with splendid patience and enthusiasm to the remedial work that has fallen to their lot. The mother heart of woman has agonised in silence. But more and more the doubt presses in upon us—Are we right to tolerate in silence this modern warfare, with all its cruelty and waste? And more and more the conviction grows that it is full time that women rose up and demanded with no uncertain voice a truce for reflection, for debate upon the questions: What are we fighting for that slaughter can win for us? Can any gain for the victors compensate for the losses—human, moral, social, spiritual, and material?

If we could secure a truce for such reflection, it is very doubtful if the peoples themselves would consent to return to the "insensate devilry" of this war, whatever the wish of their Government might be. For were the nations of Europe to learn in any fulness the details of the happenings on the European battlefields, then surely a great cry of shame and horror would rise from every country, and men and women would join in calling upon their Governments to find other means of guarding national rights.

And if we women, to whom even a partial knowledge of these happenings has come, remain silent now and fail to unite in an effort to arrest them, then we are blood-guilty; we are more than blood-guilty, for we must be numbered with those who "will even dare the murder of a soul."

For let us not blind ourselves with talk of the glories and heroisms of war. We thank God for the many deeds of

heroism which keep alive our faith in Him at this hour. But we dare not ignore the moral and spiritual wreckage that remain unchronicled. We have to think of men brutalised and driven to hideous deeds by their experiences; of men with reason destroyed and nerves shattered; of men disgraced for lack of the cold courage that can face the horrors; of men with faith in good slain, their outlook on life eternally embittered.

Nor do such losses fall upon men only. What of the women for whom the French Government has to devise legislation to deter them from infanticide? What of the children begotten under such conditions?

Thoughts of these things are too hard for many of us. Yet we must be honest and face fact if we would learn what is our special message to the world in this crisis.

"Women of Europe, where is your voice, that should be sowing seeds of peace?"

There are many women in Europe, many women throughout the world, who are longing for a grand heroic opportunity to bring peace to the world; many women are ready to make any sacrifice for such an end. That desired opportunity may come. Yet it may be that the work of women at this moment is patiently and quietly to create the will for peace. No heroic sacrifice can make peace in the world until the Will for it has been created. Within woman that Will is fed by an intensity of feeling only those can know who suffer with tied hands. Therefore upon woman especially falls the duty of disseminating the will for peace. Each woman in her own place can begin that work now. She can dedicate herself to the cause of peace, pray for it, think for it, influence others to join with her in a league whose motive force shall be the will for peace. A nucleus of women here, there, everywhere, thinking and working thus, will eventually permeate the public mind with their desire.

And since it is essential that there should be in this work co-operation amongst the women of all nations, belligerent and neutral, can we not arrange for means of communication with one another, and finally meet, as Lida Gustava Heymann suggests, in the North or South of Europe, "protest with all our might against this war which is murdering the nations," agree on some common plan for arresting it, and return to our countries prepared to inspire our own people with the burning will to end this war and all wars.

LOUIE BENNETT, Dublin.

BELGIUM.

BELGIAN WOMEN'S PATRIOTIC UNION.

War in Belgium has once more proved woman's inherent capacity for constructive work. The Belgian Women's Patriotic Union, the aim of which is to find (and often create) work for the unemployed, has spread like a vast network over the country, organising centres of activity. The problem of unemployment is perhaps the most difficult to face under present conditions. We can be justly proud that the initiative to cope with this evil was taken by the Suffragists. The idea of creating a bureau for the "centralisation of feminine energy" was originated on August 3rd, the day after Germany's ultimatum to Belgium, by Madame Jane Brigode, the eminent Suffrage leader, Secretary of the "Belgian League for Women's Rights," at a meeting of the "Belgian Federation for Women's Suffrage," at which she was presiding. Eight days after the declaration of war the Patriotic Union was founded—the first and by far the most important of similar organisations. At the head is Madame Brigode, ably assisted in the direction of this daily growing enterprise by Mademoiselle Louise Van den Plas, Secretary of the "Christian Feminism of Belgium."

At that moment Belgian wounded from the front were being brought in hourly to Brussels. Enthusiasm for the army knew no bounds. Women by hundreds flocked to the ambulances. Everyone wanted to work for the soldiers, but many did not know how to best employ their activities. The Patriotic Union proposed to serve as intermediate between those who wanted to be useful and the organisations that could best employ them. Little by little, side by side with the voluntary workers, came those unfortunates to whom remunerative employment meant bread and life. Little by little the industries were coming to a stop. The factories were closing; the shops were shutting. At first the Union distributed work on a small scale, giving out wool to knit socks for the wounded. Then came the German occupation. The ambulances were closed. People came less and less for mere counsels, but the procession of unemployed

grew apace till it became a continual stream of harassed, anguished faces, all telling the same tale: no work, and misery at home. Soon private means became insufficient to defray the expenses of these growing demands.

Through Madame Brigode's eloquent pleading, the National Relief Committee was brought to understand the importance of the Union's work, and generously afforded it a regular subsidy. Since then it has been able to provide for unemployment on a very large scale.

At its present stage of development the Patriotic Union can be divided into two departments—first, the bureau, where offers and demands are made, and employers and employees put in communication with each other; second, the distributions of needlework given out for a fixed salary per week.

To the bureau come men and women of all classes and conditions, from the woman of the people, overburdened with household cares and capable only of the most menial work, to the trained work-girl or employee, who before the war earned a high wage for some specialised form of labour. Now she is reduced to accepting the humblest post, telling you with trembling lips she will "do anything" to earn a little money. Innumerable servants are out of a place, their masters having left the country or having been obliged through losses sustained to reduce their household expenses. Pathetically helpless women of the "genteel" class, whom the war has deprived of their sources of revenue, come to the bureau in tears, utterly at a loss how to face this new and unexpected situation. These are the saddest and the most difficult cases to deal with. Nor is it easy to find work for the unemployed men. Odd jobs have to be found for them; indeed, work for all classes of individuals has sometimes to be positively invented. For instance, to employ the artificial-flower makers, silk flowers composed of the national colours are made by the Union and sold as decorations. A demand for the lace known as "flet" having been made, a little school for net workers has been opened.

The sewing and knitting distributions take place five or six days a week. The National Relief Committee and a few other social organisations buy all the clothes made by the Union. These clothes are afterwards distributed to the poor. Thanks to this outlet, the Union is able to employ over 2,000 women, who receive a salary of 3 frs. 50 paid every eight days for work which can be done in two or three days. The amount of this salary has been fixed by the National Relief Committee, which considers it an item of relief to be added to the free distributions of soup, potatoes, and coal. One day a week the sewing distribution is made under the auspices of the National Relief Committee, but for the other days the whole burden and expense of choosing, buying, and cutting out the stuffs rest on the Patriotic Union's private enterprise. It is a heavy burden, and an earnest appeal for funds is made to all those who can in any measure contribute to this work. It is interesting to note that the Union is not a charitable institution, but a labour-producing one. In this way does it save many women not only from the degradation of begging, but from worse evils yet. Only those who owing to the Union's financial limitations have daily to refuse work to newcomers can realise the utter blank despair of the unfortunates who see their last hope of an honest livelihood taken from them.

The Patriotic Union has been charged with the organisation of a special fund for the relief of officers' wives in distress. Here there is much to be done, for those at the front are necessarily cut off from communication with their families, and dire need is often the result.

"Woman is life's worker," wrote 30 years ago Isabelle Gatti de Gammond, the great Belgian feminist. Those words have never seemed so true as to-day, when from the midst of ruins a woman-made association is patiently picking up the loosened threads of social activity ready to knit them together again when the right moment has arrived.

HELENE GOBLET D'ALVIELLA.

CANADA.

The Toronto Suffragists are specialising on needy expectant and nursing mothers, and it has taken every minute of my time to organise the work and keep it going. We do it differently here from most of the maternity work which Suffragists seem to be doing in England. We send the food weekly to the homes. It consists of orders for milk for 1 quart a day, 6 eggs, ½ lb. butter, ½ lb. cocoa, ½ lb. sugar. This "ration" was decided on with the advice of the City Health Department, and dovetails in with the "man-planned" ration of the city relief, which consists of rice, beans, rolled oats, sago,

and a few other similar foodstuffs without an ounce of fat or milk to render them cookable! After a great deal of persuasion we have induced them to add milk to this ration where there are very young children, other than nursing babies, in the house. We are feeling triumphant over this, but it is still very uncertain as to when the milk will start being delivered.

We manage to get in Suffrage propaganda work by speaking at drawing-room meetings to get funds for the mothers, and rubbing it in hotly when we get the chance!

EDITH LANG.

National Union of Woman Suffrage Societies of Canada.

DENMARK.

The following petition was recently presented to the Judicial Department by a deputation from Dansk Kvindesamfund, consisting of Astrid Stampe Feddersen, Helene Berg, Anna Johansen og J. Jensen-Souderup.

D.K. sent on June 25th, 1908, an outline for a new Married People's Property Act and also a Married People's Parental Right Act, in which, among other things, the desirability was pointed out of both parents having equal rights, and that in case of disagreement between parents on questions concerning children when the parents are living together, one or the other should ask for intervention (by a lawyer and a friend of each parent); and, if the parents are separated, the dispute should be submitted to a court of law. D.K. takes for granted that, because the Commission of the three Scandinavian countries at present engaged in preparatory work for very far-reaching reforms in Scandinavian law will also deal with women's parental rights, the Judicial Department has not thought it worth while to lay the above-mentioned matters before the Riksdag; but complaints constantly come before D.K. from women suffering under the present law, especially in the case of parents not living together, though not legally separated or divorced, in which cases the father generally has complete control of the children, even when it is detrimental to the children's welfare, and when the mother, according to the opinion of impartial witnesses, is able to give the children better moral and material care. And on this ground D.K. urges the Government to lay before the Riksdag the urgent necessity of alteration in the present law, so as to give the mother equal right over the children, and that in cases where separation or divorce has not taken place a legal decision may be obtained as to how and by whom the children shall be brought up; and while again referring to the outline suggested on June 25th, 1908, especially section 10, we beg to add: D.K., after its special commission has further discussed these matters with experts, still maintains the pressing desirability that while the new law on this point may give facilities for intervention when circumstances so demand, the general rule must be that while parents live together they shall exercise equal parental rights over the children, and should dissension occur concerning the children, these matters should be settled by intervention, and not be brought into the law courts; but in case of parents not living together, the matter to be settled in the law courts.

KVINDEN OG SAMFUNDET.

FRANCE.

Our friends abroad complain at times of our silence, and certain feminists in neutral countries ask what Frenchwomen are doing. They think, perhaps, we are doing nothing because we say nothing. We have only one word of reply: "Frenchwomen are working and have no time to write." Their work takes various forms, but always has the same object, month after month: the care of the wounded and convalescents; the providing for all sorts of refugees—their moral and physical relief; workwomen's unemployment; looking after widows and orphans. Time goes by, but the work to be done continues and takes all our time. However, Mme. Pichon-Landry, secretary of the French National Council, offers to the readers of *Jus Suffragii* a short account of a branch of work of the National Council, and I give up my pen to her with pleasure, convinced that the success of the work will interest everyone.

DE WITT SCHLUMBERGER,

President of the Union Française pour le Suffrage des Femmes.

WORK OF THE FRENCH NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN.

The National Council of Frenchwomen has had only one object since the outbreak of hostilities: to relieve the immediate suffering caused by this unprecedented war. It

had no need to appeal to its members, all gather round it to help our heroic defenders by sparing our country the distress and unemployment, the usual consequences of war. More than others, the women members of the National Council, used to systematic work, were trained for this task; everywhere they have organised workrooms for women, and thanks to the generous gifts received the National Council has been able to make a grant in aid to the workrooms and give them important orders either for the soldiers or for Belgian or French families who have had to flee before the invader.

Amongst the good works organised by the National Council there is one in particular which may interest the readers of *Jus Suffragii*: that is the information bureau for lost families. Its headquarters are in a fine office kindly granted by Prof. Berlitz, 27 Avenue de l'Opéra; its object is to help the families of refugees to find those of their members of whom they have lost trace. In the disorder of flight mothers have lost their children, others had their children at nurse or boarded out in the regions now invaded, and write to us mad with anxiety.

The mental agony of these people, and of soldiers whose homes are in the invaded districts and who have no news of their families, can be imagined.

With Mme. Jules Siegfried as President, the bureau has about 200 voluntary workers divided into sections for secretarial work, indexing, classification, and inquiry. It forms the central office for the addresses of all refugees, and publishes its notices everywhere. In every department of France a correspondent gives out the notices to military hospitals and relief committees and publishes them in the local papers, and sends to the central bureau the names and addresses of all the refugees in the department.

In this way the bureau has now index cards of 400,000 refugees, and when the Minister of the Interior, who is confiding the whole work to us, has sent us those he receives from the Prefects, we shall have the addresses of nearly all these unhappy families.

The percentage of successful inquiries is increasing steadily, and now surpasses all our hopes. We have received nearly 8,000 inquiries, and every day we get 150 to 200 letters, each more heartbreaking than the last. Every day we reunite 50 to 60 families, and yesterday, February 17th, 128!

These good results are partly due to the cordial co-operation of the Swiss, Dutch, and English offices with ours. All these Associations show the greatest eagerness to help our Belgian and French refugees, which greatly touches us.

On February 13th Mrs. Despard, sister of Marshal Sir John French, did us the honour of visiting our bureau. She arrived just when a soldier was asking for news of his wife who had fled from Maubeuge, and of whom he had heard nothing since August 2! Luckily we had the address of the young wife, and our soldier was moved to tears. Mrs. Despard was able to take away with her the picture of restored happiness due to the work and organisation of French feminists.

M. PICHON-LANDRY,

Secretary of the National Council of Frenchwomen.

GERMANY.

OPEN LETTER IN REPLY TO THE OPEN CHRISTMAS LETTER FROM ENGLISHWOMEN TO GERMAN AND AUSTRIAN WOMEN.

To our English sisters, sisters of the same race, we express in the name of many German women our warm and heartfelt thanks for their Christmas greetings, which we only heard of lately.

This message was a confirmation of what we foresaw—namely, that women of the belligerent countries, with all faithfulness, devotion, and love to their country, can go beyond it and maintain true solidarity with the women of other belligerent nations, and that really civilised women never lose their humanity.

If English women alleviated misery and distress at this time, relieved anxiety, and gave help irrespective of nationality, let them accept the warmest thanks of German women and the true assurance that they are and were prepared to do likewise. In war time we are united by the same unspeakable suffering of all nations taking part in the war. Women of all nations have the same love of justice, civilisation, and beauty, which are all destroyed by war. Women of all nations have the same hatred for barbarity, cruelty, and destruction, which accompany every war.

Women, creators and guardians of life, must loathe war, which destroys life. Through the smoke of battle and thunder

of cannon of hostile peoples, through death, terror, destruction, and unending pain and anxiety, there glows like the dawn of a coming better day the deep community of feeling of many women of all nations.

May this feeling lay the immovable foundation for the building up of German, English, and international relations, which must finally lead to a strong international law of the peoples, so that the peoples of Europe may never again be visited with such wars as these.

Warm sisterly greetings to Englishwomen who share these feelings!

Lida Gustava Heymann, Anita Augspurg, Margarete Freifrau von Egloffstein, Kathinka Verstl, Stora Max, Wally Metz, Konstanze Hallgarten, R. O. Labermeier, Marie Lange, Laura Keller, E. Wackerbauer, Therese Gschwendt, Luise Hoffmann, Hildegard Heinzel, Else Knipping, Emilie Kitzing, Hörhammer, G. Normann, I. Oppermann, A. Feuerherd, Maria Rabel, Alice Schmidt, Anna Friess, Karola von Leveling-Reitzenstein, Fanny Weiss, Anna Reber, Helene Deye, Klara Deye, Josefine Bauer, Chr. Hofmüller, C. Krieg, Betty Asch, Lore Marie Arnold, Emma Brie, Minna Cauer, Alma Dzialoszynski, Dr. Adolfine Dincklaken-Petersen, Emma Finck, Rosa Feist, Käthe Francke, Thea Graziella, Elisabet Graul, Esther Goldschmidt, Henriette Hollander, Anna Hauptmann, Ottilie Hofmann, Ida Jens, Frances Kramer, Hanna Liebenow, Helene Lewison, Anna Meyer-Liepmann, Charlotte Neubauer, Selma Reichenbach, Maria Rubner, Margarete Lenore Selenka, Emilie Steiner, Henny Schlichthaar, Erna Schmitt, Elisabet Schulze, Adele Schmitz, Karin Schumilow-Knutson, Hedwig Stein, Dr. phil. Helene Stöcker, Helene Schiess, Maria Schiess, Christine Thiess.

AUSTRIA.

Eugenie Bayer-Deixler, Elsa Beer-Angerer, Ilse Bernheimer, Hermine Bernheimer, Margarete Braunn, Anna Czemy, Rosa Dietrichstein, Marie Dominkus, Elvira Dolinar-Sittig (Lai-bach), Margarete Eckardt, Ernestine Ernst, Berta Egré, Hermine Fabri, Else Federn (Verein Settlement), Ernestine Federn, Marianne E. Fickert, Josefine Ernst-Friedlaender, Anna Friedrich, Ernestine v. Fürth (Vorsitzende d. Oesterreich. Stimmrechtskomitees), Alice Fuchs-Rolziegel, Adele Gerber (Vizepräs. d. Allgem. österreich. Frauenvereins), Hermine Gerber (Pras. d. Kaiser-Franz-Josef-Jubiläums-Frauenvereins), Elisabeth v. Goldberg-Buder, Berta Graf, Helene Gross, Anna Grossfeld, Marie Habel, Regine Hahn, Viktorine Hand, Mathilde Hanzel, Yella Hertcka, Henriette Herzfelder, Anna Hirsch, Emma Hängsberg, Eugenie Hoffmann, Irene Hueber, Frein Kreibner v. Thatenburg, Marie Janda, Hertha Jäger, Ella Kraan, Regine Kantor Alice Kanitz, Maria L. Klausberger, Emilie Kassowitz, Dr. Julie Kassowitz-Gschall, Hermine Kraus, Leopoldine Kulka, Gisela Löffler, Jenny Löwy, Elizabeth Luzzatto, Regine Maler, Rosa Mayreder, Elsa Migerka, Helene Migerka, Daisy Minor, Olga Misar, Annette Müller, Hermine Nagler, Caroline Nahowska, Marie Nauheimer, Marie Poschacher, Aurora Pollak, Mathilde Prager-Holm, Olga Prager, Marya Pycha, Henriette Rabel, Hilda Reach, Sofie Regen, Marie Rosental, Alice Schalek, Leonora Sinaiberger, Olly Schwarz, Rudolfine Sperber, Adele Strach, Helene Scheur-Riesz, Gertrud Schiff, Ada Thomas, Dr. Christine Foucillon, Aurelie Tritter v. Kittfeld, Wilhelmine v. Troll, Marie Turnheim, Gisela Urban, Dora Urban, Julie Urbauer, Albine Weber, Bertha Weisz, Mela Weltch, Marie Wessely, Dr. phil. Marianne Zycha.

GERMAN SOCIALIST WOMEN.

Peace demonstrations continue to be made by Socialist women in all countries. Women of the class-conscious proletariat will not let the peace solution drop for an instant. That is their first and most important

claim to a historic rôle in these fearful times. Women of the proletariat of all countries are the first to join hands across the battlefields to work in common for the return of peace and civilisation. This sign of a reawakening of Socialism as an historical factor is also a sign that in the new Socialist International which must arise from the ruins a much more active part and a higher mission will fall to women than before. The "wish for peace" alone is of little value. The way to hell is paved with good intentions, and the hell of this war has had the way to it paved with pious peace resolutions of Socialist congresses. All parties are unanimous in declaring that they wished for peace. The German Chancellor and Comrade Scheidemann agree in proclaiming their pacifism, but also agree in condemning the workers' desire for peace as premature and unsuitable. The time for peace has not yet come; the word of command is "endurance"—i.e., go on fighting. The workers must not talk of peace until the Government is ready for it.

Frau Balabanoff, of Milan, has been addressing large women's meetings in Switzerland, in which she emphasised the opposition between the Socialist ideal and the capitalistic world-war. Religion and poetry have held up mother-love as the most sacred thing in the world. Yet they glorify war which martyrs this mother-love in millions. She appealed to the Swiss to demand peace with all their force.

The editor of *Gleichheit* endorses this appeal, and says that all Swiss women should sign a demand for peace, and this demand should be forwarded to belligerent Governments, and would also rouse the women of belligerent countries to work for peace.—From *Gleichheit*, February 19th.

GREAT BRITAIN.

NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.

The annual meeting took place at the Kingsway Hall on February 4th, 5th, and 6th. The 600 societies in the Union had the right to send over 1,000 delegates, and, in spite of many difficulties, a large proportion attended. It is impossible in a moderate space to give any account of the long report of twelve months' work and progress, but it may be taken as significant of the strength of the movement and the self-sacrifice of Suffragists that, although three months of the year's work were lived under war conditions, the Treasurer was able to report that £45,000 had been raised by the National Union during the past year.

A large number of resolutions were passed. Those of general interest include the following:—

ARBITRATION.

Since the Woman's Suffrage Movement is based on the principle that social relations should be governed not by physical force but by recognition of mutual rights, this Council of the N.U.W.S.S. declares its belief in arbitration as opposed to war, and urges the Government to do its utmost to ensure that in the future International disputes shall be submitted to arbitration or conciliation before recourse is had to military force, and that the nations shall bind themselves to unite against any country which breaks the peace without observing these conditions.

Further, this Council calls upon the organised women of the world to press the same policy on their respective Governments, and to combine in working for enfranchisement in order that their demand may be supported by political power.

GOODWILL BETWEEN NATIONS.

This Council of the N.U.W.S.S., believing that no changes in political machinery can by themselves secure a lasting peace, calls upon the societies and members of the Union to take every means open to them for promoting mutual understanding and goodwill between nations, and for resisting any tendency towards a spirit of hatred and revenge.

Further, this Council sends friendly greetings to the women of all nations who are striving for the uplifting of their sex, assuring them of its profound sympathy in present suffering and anxiety, and its ardent hope that when peace is attained renewed efforts for the enfranchisement and progress of the whole sex, irrespective of race and nationality, may be unitedly undertaken.

PUBLIC RIGHT.

This Council of the N.U.W.S.S. accepts as a fundamental consideration which should govern the settlement after the war, the principle laid down by the Prime Minister in his speech in Dublin on September 26th, 1914—viz.:

The idea of public right as the governing idea in International politics, meaning by public right first and foremost the clearing of the ground by the definite repudiation of militarism as the governing factor in the relation of States and of the future moulding of the world; next, that room must be found and kept for the independent existence and free development of smaller nationalities, each with a corporate consciousness of its own; and finally, perhaps by a slow and gradual process, the substitution for force, for the clash of competing ambitions, for groupings and alliances and a precarious equipoise, of a real International partnership, based on the recognition of equal right and established and enforced by a common will.

DEFENCE OF THE EMPIRE.

This Council of the N.U.W.S.S. expresses its undying admiration for the heroism of those who are now serving this country in the defence of the Empire.

EDUCATION.

This Council of the N.U.W.S.S. recommends the organisation of educational courses for the purpose of encouraging the study of the causes which lead to war, the consequences of war on the economic, intellectual, and moral aspects of life, and the consideration of what means can be taken to prevent war in the future.

Such courses to be conducted on similar lines to the educational campaigns undertaken by the Union.

PERSONAL FREEDOM OF WOMEN.

This Council of the N.U.W.S.S. holds that the terrible consequences of war to men, women, and children show how vital it is that the will of women as well as that of men should be consulted on the question of war and peace; and that the unstable position of the personal freedom of women, demonstrated by the evidence which has accumulated since the outbreak of war, constitutes a serious danger, and tends to lower national efficiency.

The Council therefore calls upon the Societies in the Union to emphasise by all lawful means in their power the national necessity for the enfranchisement of women.

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS.

This Council of the N.U.W.S.S. endorses the action of the Executive Committee in approaching the President of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance to request her to convene a Congress this year (1915) in a neutral country, and expresses the hope that, should this prove impossible, such a Congress may be called at the earliest possible opportunity.

WOMEN AND THE CONGRESS OF POWERS.

This Council of the N.U.W.S.S., recalling the precedent of the Congress of Vienna in 1814-15 in unanimously condemning the Slave Trade and thereby greatly hastening the final destruction of one of the greatest of human wrongs, pledges itself to use every exertion, as the time approaches for the gathering together of a Congress of the Powers after the war, to obtain from that Congress a resolution affirming the need in all nations of the recognition of the citizenship of women by the extension to them of political freedom.

WOMEN'S DUTIES IN INVASION.

This Council of the N.U.W.S.S. claims that women should be consulted as to the part to be played by them in the event of invasion, and that representative women should be included on the Emergency Committee responsible for issuing instructions.

Further, it recommends the Executive Committee and Societies of the Union to promote such organisation among women as may secure the most effective carrying out of instructions issued.

TREATMENT OF WOMEN IN INVADDED COUNTRIES.

In view of the terrible suffering caused in the present war to the civil population in invaded districts, this Council of the N.U.W.S.S. appeals to the Government to take steps to ensure that in the treatment of women and non-combatants the military authorities shall uphold the highest standards possible in war.

The Council further directs that copies of this resolution shall be forwarded to the Suffrage Associations in the belligerent countries which are affiliated to the International Woman's Suffrage Alliance, with the suggestion that each of these Associations should make a corresponding appeal to the authorities in its own country.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Mrs. Fawcett was re-elected President; Mrs. Auerbach, Hon. Treasurer; Miss Courtney and Miss Marshall, Hon. Secretaries.

The following were elected to the Executive Committee: Mrs. Rackham, Miss I. O. Ford, Councillor Margaret Ashton, M.A., Miss Royden, Miss C. Macmillan, Lady Frances Balfour, Mrs. Swanwick, M.A., Miss S. Margery Fry, Miss Palliser, Mrs. Harley, Miss Evelyn Atkinson, Miss Emily Leaf, Mrs. Stanbury, Miss Alice Clark, Miss Tanner, Mrs. Viriamu Jones, Mrs. Osler, Mrs. Arthur Schuster, Mr. Oliver Strachey, Miss Tuke, M.A., and Mrs. Robie Uniacke.

PUBLIC MEETING.

On the evening of February 5th a crowded public meeting was held in the Kingsway Hall, when Madame Vérone, who had come over specially from Paris, made an eloquent speech.

H. M. SWANWICK.

HUNGARY.

DEATH AND BIRTH.

At the same time as manslaughter was declared to be the highest service to the State and one's country, the protection of germinating life, as well as of mothers and children, was undertaken on a much broader ground and accomplished to a greater extent than before. Marriages before, even in urgent cases, were made impossible when a mere sheet of paper, the certificate of birth, was lacking and could not possibly be acquired; consequently, children born out of wedlock or even future mothers could not be rehabilitated. Whereas, nowadays, not merely the time of the publication of the bans can be disregarded, even without dispensation, but the parents' consent or an incomplete divorce case can be done without. Even a letter written in the trenches and expressing the wish and the intention of marriage makes it possible, when a representative of the bridegroom can be found. Let us hope that, having so many precedent liberal cases, old prejudices and bureaucratic meanness cannot reign any more in these regions in future.

The law concerning the State maintenance of soldiers' families does not make any difference between the child born in or out of wedlock, provided the father supported the child by allowance or otherwise. It is sufficient if the father merely acknowledged the child—born or unborn—shortly before he started for the battlefield. The municipality of the capital, Budapest, intends to petition the Government to extend on the same principles the State contribution to educational expenses for orphans whose fathers fell on the battlefield or died in consequence of illness or exhaustion by service in the war. At the discussion of the bill for our Code Civil last winter we tried in vain to have these principles accepted.

The work of our Society's Committee for Mothers and Children's Protection has become now a more personal aid, helping mothers before their confinement, caring for their food and their surrounding, providing them with nurses and medical help, as well as some light work for the time after their recovery.

MEETINGS AND LECTURES.

Our programme for February contains a lecture, "Children and the War," by our president, advising how to save the child from the ruinous influence of the war, preventing him from becoming belligerent and wild, or from being exploited, or even becoming vain.

A very worthy worker for Woman Suffrage and Feminism, Mrs. Adèle Schreiber-Krieger, accepted our and the National Women Clerks' Association's invitation. She disregarded the fatigue of the journey and her great anxiety for her husband in the battlefield, and came from Berlin to give two lectures on "Mothers and the War" and on "The Great Problems of the Woman's Question in Connection with the War."

A statistic of the women's work during war time, with special regard to the new occupations which they have taken over from men, is being prepared by our Association.

THE WAR AND MORALS.

We have also resolved to answer the inquiries of the Federation Abolitioniste Internationale considering the changes of elementary measures taken by civil and military authorities, and the state of morals and health in the Army before and during the war, as well as the instruction to be derived from these facts.

THE ROLL OF HONOUR.

Two women, members of the volunteer troop from Ukraine, have been decorated by the staff in command of our Army with silver medals for their bravery in face of the enemy. Sad glory, poor reward for the grief of innumerable mothers, sisters, wives, and daughters!

CHILDREN'S WAR PICTURES.

The teachers of the town have been asked by the social-political section to collect the instinctive drawings of their pupils in order to furnish material for pedagogical and psychological studies. As far as the collections have come in till now, the boys are drawing belligerent actions, while the girls draw pictures of the charitable work in connection with the war. The drawings will be shown at an exhibition and the most characteristic ones kept in the Pedagogic Museum.

EUGENIE MISKOLCZY MELLER.

Budapest, January, 1915.

THE NETHERLANDS.

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN AND ITS TASK DURING THE EUROPEAN WAR.

It is characteristic of the last six months, since in the end of July, 1914, the possibility of war suddenly became a dreadful reality, that not only our outward way of living and working underwent a change, but that our inward vision of life was greatly altered.

The outward changes were caused by necessity. There was work for our hands to do, work that must be done, in order to neutralise some of the immediate effects of the mobilisation of the Army. Our women organisations were set to the task of making women share in the social and economic relief work. There was no time left for speculative thought; only time for action, and action was the one thing we all were longing for.

Already in the first days of August local relief committees began to constitute themselves in our great centres, and the National Society for Woman Suffrage (Nationale Vereeniging voor Vrouwenkiesrecht) issued an appeal to its local branches throughout the country to organise women relief committees everywhere. A great many were founded, and since then have been doing good and useful work, either in co-operation with the general committees or independently.

The National Council of Women, unable as an organisation to take quick decision, could not have taken the lead even if it had been otherwise willing to try it, owing to the extreme difficulty, not to say the impossibility, of consulting its members in those days, when traffic was greatly reduced, and its total lack of local branches would have made any attempt a fruitless one. The N.C.W. of the Netherlands is by its constitution and by the tendency of the majority of its affiliated societies rather a body for promoting the development of ideas than one that could on emergency be stirred to intense activity. Consequently, the officers of the N.C.W. did not make an effort to stir the organisation as a whole, trying, however, here and there to realise the Council idea and make the women enter the general relief committees, to work there side by side with the men.

Matters would have most probably gone on in this way till the moment would have come for the Council to propagate new ideals of peace and happiness and to devise the means to attain them, but for the national organisation of the relief work planned by Her Majesty our Queen.

On August 10th Her Majesty, judging that the work would be more efficaciously done if it were uniformly organised all over the country, convoked the representatives of local committees already existing and the Boards of Officers of the National Commissions for trade, industry, agriculture, and horticulture, of some organisations for social work, and of the National Council of Women, to a great meeting at the Hague. By this meeting, which was attended by Her Majesty, and where the Minister of Agriculture, Trade, and Industry took the chair, a national relief committee was constituted, which, after Her Majesty's gracious acceptance of her nomination as Honorary President, was named the Royal National Relief Committee. Since the day of its constitution Her Majesty has never ceased to take a great interest in its work, and has even to a certain extent directed it.

The new organisation set to work that same night. An executive committee was nominated, each of the constituting organisations choosing one of its members as a delegate to it. The N.C.W. delegated its President. So by the will of our Queen the N.C.W. was called to represent the Netherlands' organised women and, if possible, to direct their efforts so as to make them act not separately but collectively, each and all, in this grand scheme of social and economic relief work.

Has the Council so far succeeded? Has it really been the connecting link between all the women's organisations existing in the Netherlands? These are not easy questions to answer.

As was said before, the Council hitherto had been an organisation the members of which had federated rather with the

desire to propagate sound ideas for the well-being of mankind than actually to work together in order to procure labour, food, and clothes for those who were in need of them.

But, fortunately, a great many of the affiliated societies themselves are organised for doing that kind of work, and to them we could turn for information as to the need for help existing in different parts of the country.

After the foundation of the Royal National Relief Committee a circular-letter was issued by the officers of the N.C.W. asking the members to put the following questions to their local branches:—(1) Whether in the place of their residence the relief work was already taken in hand? (2) If so, whether men and women formed together one committee, or whether the latter had constituted a committee of their own in connection with the principal one? (3) What kind of people were in need of help? (4) What women were doing in order to give the help that was needed?

The answers received (there were about 350) proved that a great activity had been developed by women; that in most cases they had formed separate organisations for helping women and children, but that there almost always existed a friendly understanding between the official committees and theirs. This was a serious question, because one of the first resolutions taken by the R.N.R.C. had been that it would enter into negotiations with no one but the official local committees. But just there it has proved of great use that the N.C.W. has a delegate on the leading body, one who can give information to both sides, and by doing so will be able to solve any questions that may occur, the more so as she is personally concerned in the commissions for the supply of food and of clothes. The procuring of material for clothes enables the women's committees to let women who need it earn some money, and to provide them with warm things besides. The preserving of vegetables and fruit has set them at work during the summer months, and has been a means of selling those victuals at reasonable prices this winter. The R.N.R.C. has taken the lead in this, too, and is still procuring cheap vegetables for the local committees applying for them.

So one may say that by the fact of its being part of the R.N.R.C., the National Council of Women has grown into the connecting link between the organised women who do the relief work; the more so as the groups of women who are not as yet affiliated have consented to work together with it during the time of the mobilisation.

A better understanding, a deeper sympathy, are growing out of the misery we all try to relieve, out of the great problems we all feel unable to solve.

We feel that this work in which we all join is strengthening the Council more than anything could have strengthened it in ordinary times, and we hope and believe that in better days to come by this greater strength it may become the means to break the spell of a tradition that has brought endless sorrow to mankind, and make the world accept the modern woman's ideals of peace and happiness.

H. VAN BIEMA-HYMANS,

President of the N.C.W. of the Netherlands.

The Hague, January, 1915.

NORWAY.

Norske Kvinders Forening's Year-book for 1913-14 gives an account of the Society's activities during the year. In answer to a request to give a silk flag for the May festivities at the Eidsvolds Buildings, subscriptions were collected, the flag provided, and presented by a deputation led by Fru Blehr—who were received by the King and Queen with the wish that the flag, presented by Norwegian women, would always wave over a free and happy Norway.

Many meetings were held by the Society; one on the prohibition of night work for women (this legislation has always been opposed by Norwegian feminists); another on the proposed law for illegitimate children. A formal protest was sent against the appointment of a male doctor for the Women's Hospital.

On June 28th the Society celebrated its thirtieth anniversary, and wreaths were placed on the tombs of Ibsen, Björnson, Camilla Collet, Aasta Hansteen, and Hildur Schirmers.

THE ELECTION YEAR.

CHANGES IN THE NORWEGIAN LAW.

The Government Bill proposes to change paragraph 12 so that women may be admitted to the King's Counsel.

Messrs. Sigurdson, Tveiten, Skilbred, Holmesland, and Foshaug propose that paragraph 92 shall read: Women

belonging to the Church of Norway can, as members of the King's Counsel, be at the head of the Ecclesiastical and the Educational Departments. Respecting other official offices the law will decide respectively. *Landskvindestemmerets Foreningen* and *Nylands* have repeatedly pointed out the necessity of a change in the present electioneering system.—*Nylands*, January, 1915.

SWEDEN.

SELMA LAGERLÖF ENTERS THE SWEDISH ROYAL ACADEMY.

It was a great day for Swedish women when Selma Lagerlöf, the most prominent of our women writers, was chosen a member of the Swedish Academy, an institution where of old the most illustrious of our poets and distinguished writers have represented poetry and science. But until this day no woman has been regarded worthy of the honour to take a place amongst the men in this assembly, and because of that, Selma Lagerlöf's appointment is not only a reward of genius, but as well a sign of the new dawn that has broken for women. At the great yearly festival of the Academy that takes place in the Exchange Hall, a hall which is surrounded by some of the ancient glory from the days of Gustaf III., Selma Lagerlöf for the first time made her appearance amongst the illustrious members. It was a moment of the greatest solemnity when she entered, conducted by the permanent secretary, Erik Axel Karlfeldt, one of our greatest poets. The hall was crowded with a representative assembly, and the King, as well as several members of the Royal Family, was present. In the middle of the hall an oblong table covered with a silk cloth was placed, and around it eighteen arm-chairs. Eighteen candles burnt in candlesticks of silver, and according to an old custom a glass filled with sugar water was placed before each person. It was the task of Selma Lagerlöf to deliver a speech on her predecessor in the Academy, Albert Feodor Gellerstedt, a poet whose life and work were filled with the utmost love of nature. Everyone knew that this was in harmony with Selma Lagerlöf's disposition, and she not only gave us a true picture of the poet born of her comprehension and poetical insight, but she penetrated into the very nerve of his personality, and her speech was one more of the many glorious tales she has given her people, throwing light on the many undercurrents in human nature. And when the festival was over and the lights were extinguished, it was entering reality after a dream, full of beauty, so great is the spell with which Selma Lagerlöf keeps her audience. Worldly honour has in many ways been heaped upon her, but through all the outer signs her own personality and genius throw their rays, and some of their reflections fall upon woman, for whose way to freedom and justice Selma Lagerlöf always has been the pleader.

GURLI HERTZMAN-ERICSON.

GLIMPSES FROM OUTSIDE.

We can confess it now: In August we were trembling with fear and anxiety for the I.W.S.A.'s young life. When so many old tried internationalisms kept falling on "honour's battlefield," would it be possible for this ten-years-old youngster to keep his balance? He has succeeded! He stood the hardest test. Now it is proved that the Alliance does not merely represent pious wishes and illusory rhetoric, but a powerful spiritual reality. Evidences of surprise and deeply felt gratitude for this victory come in forms of writing from all quarters—from England and France in letters we have already read in *Jus Suffragii*, and from Germany we read in *Zeitschrift für Frauenstimmrecht* Minna Cauer's opinion under the heading "Treue." The I.W.S.A. has ever since the beginning of the war clearly shown that it fully realises its precarious position, but, unwaveringly working for its aim, stands true to the idea of all and true in keeping the women together in a world Alliance; and has indeed proved itself such a strong adhesive tissue that women of different nationalities, however devoted to their countries—and great devotion they have all given example of,—however much they feel at one with their respective countries, all the same hold on to the great idea that theirs is also the duty to serve the great humanity.

It is indeed a great achievement which *Jus Suffragii* is doing. The Alliance's copious monthly paper is full of the war from the first page to the last. Contributors from all the belligerent countries send in reports, complain, give their opinions, hopes, and doubts. The Editor is English, and no doubt as patriotic as anyone, and out of all this inflammable material a thing is created which receives the applause of enthusiastic patriots in Berlin. We have indeed at last found

something new under the sun. Reality begins to take the shape and form of Frederika Bremer's dreams.

The Alliance's headquarters in London also deserve the German special thanks for their tender care of masses of women belonging to the enemy's country, who were plunged into want or difficulties by the outbreak of war. They have with tactful consideration found these strangers work or hospitality, or an escort to the German border. The Alliance's English staff do not seem to attach any meaning to the official term "Alien enemies," which include the above-mentioned unhappy victims of war.

The International Suffrage Congress was to have been held in Berlin this year. It has, of course, been cancelled, and the funds have been devoted to the provision of clothes for soldiers. But capable little Holland invites a business congress, with no social meetings, to meet there. If this can be arranged and the "enemies" well represented meet as composedly as in *Jus Suffragii's* pages, then we can indeed say that for God and the Alliance nothing is impossible. HERTHA.

SWEDISH SOCIALIST WOMEN.

The Swedish Social Democratic Women's third Congress took place November 29 to 30, 1914, arranged to coincide with the Party Congress. Twenty delegates were present. Amongst vital questions treated were the need of (1) the protective law for children engaged in industrial work to be extended also to agricultural work, as so many children are engaged in such work, and at present work the same hours as grown-up workers; (2) a new protective law for deserted and divorced wives and unmarried women's children, and granting support for widows' children, and instituting motherhood insurance; (3) a law protecting especially children from sexomaniacs. It was also proposed that the public schools should be separated from the Church, and by a thorough reform in the present way of teaching religion and history and by laying greater stress on the teaching of hygiene and sociology, and raising the school age, to transform them into more satisfactory citizen schools.

SOLIDARITY AND WOMEN.

As never before do we now witness daily what great things solidarity amongst people can do. The fearful crisis we are living in has opened the eyes of people in all classes, with the result that those who always before lived up to the principle, "Each one to take care of number one," now sacrifice both time and money for the common weal. And why? Because the sense of responsibility has awakened in them. For the first time the full responsibility for somebody or something outside their own selves is being felt, brought on no doubt by the common fear of a common evil threatening our life in common and our land. One understands that before that common danger the individual's interests must pale. It is the common strength that matters. But will this feeling continue to live when the crisis is over, or will it vanish? Will the working-men and women have to work again alone within their own trenches? Solidarity and responsibility on the part of the stronger towards the weaker was the dominating thought all through the Social Democratic Women's Congress. The women nowadays look beyond their houses' narrow walls and into their children's future, and demand protection for their little ones, who have to enter the labour market at such an early age. They demand better education for the children, and they demand the right to have a word to say in the new laws for women that are in preparation. They also demand a better education for the thousands of female wage-earners, so that these may be brought to join the labour organisations. Their work in the franchise question rouses all the political parties to do all they can to gather their own women round their respective programmes.—From *Morgenbris*, Jan., 1915.

RUSSIA.

THE RESULTS OF PROHIBITION.

One of the foremost Russian temperance workers had an interview with the Minister of Justice, in the course of which the latter said: "Reports which have reached me from various law courts show without exception that their work has diminished by more than half. The number of serious crimes has decreased to such an unprecedented extent that I have issued orders to stop all work in connection with the building and equipment of prisons and of houses of detention."

In many districts it has been decided by the local authorities to cut down their local police force to half the usual number, and, as it is stated in one of the reports, "even the remaining half has nothing to do and our local prison is empty."

In Ufa, where the average number of crimes amounted to 878, in the month following the order which introduced com-

plete prohibition, this number decreased by 64 per cent., and the decrease continues. The foreman of the jury at the Pscow Courts of Law presented to the judge a statement signed by all the jurymen, in which is urged the importance of a continuance of the present state of prohibition, as in the jury's opinion 90 per cent. of the cases which they are called upon to try are in one way or another connected with the influence of drink.

Reports from Nijni Novgorod, Saratov, Samara, Harkov, Tula, Kursk, and Odessa all show a remarkable decrease in crime and in hooliganism.

A petition sent by a number of medical men attached to the large machine and armament works at Kolomna, near Moscow, runs as follows: "We live and work in the centre of the large territory occupied by the machine works of Kolomna and of the five large villages which form the houses of the workers, and we are intimately acquainted with their lives. More than 140,000 cases pass annually through our hospital and out-patients' department, of which 70 per cent. consists of the workers themselves. It is impossible for outsiders to realise the marvellous change produced in the population through the prohibition of alcoholic drinks. There used to be, on days following a holiday, an influx of cases of various forms of dis-ablement caused by drunken orgies. These have now disappeared. There is a remarkable diminution of various forms of intestinal complaints. No crying wives apply to us for protection from violent husbands. Peace and order reign everywhere, and this new prosperity caused by the absence of expenditure on drink has contributed to the unanimous decision on the part of the workers to assign 1 per cent. of their earnings for the benefit of the wives and children of soldiers."

Another correspondent, a clergyman of a country parish, writes: "It seems as if the whole population had become wiser and as if everyone had suddenly received a superior degree of constitution. Everyone walks about decently clothed and shod. One hears no rough voices or quarrels, no objectionable songs. Peace and quiet reign everywhere."

An intelligent peasant writes: "Our village is saving thousands of roubles, and our peasants spend large sums in local improvements and aid to agriculture."

One peasant woman writes: "We live so happily now that our only fear is that this war may end too soon."

There is a considerable decrease in the number of fires in the country districts, where houses are built entirely of wood. In the province of Kazan the number of fires is calculated as having decreased 44 per cent. In the province of Samara the decrease amounts to 41.5 per cent.

The provinces of Ufa and Viatka have sent unanimous petitions to continue the prohibition of the sale of alcoholic drinks for ever.

WOMEN AND THE WAR.

A sister of mercy, Kostizina, dragged a wounded colonel from the firing line and, with the help of a soldier, carried him to the ambulance. On the next day she was herself mortally wounded by a bomb thrown from a German aeroplane.

Among the wounded transported to Moscow from the battle at S. was found a girl of 16, Alexandra Shirohova, who had fought in the ranks during three months without betraying her sex. She was universally taken for a boy, and was very popular on account of her enterprise and intrepidity. Before the war she was an employee at a tailor's shop. As soon as the war broke out she left her employment, sold her belongings, cut off her hair, bought men's clothes, and enlisted as a volunteer.

Another young intelligent girl was brought to the hospital at Kiev, having been wounded in both legs during an engagement. She also had served in the ranks as a volunteer.

Among the wounded German prisoners at the base hospital at Warsaw were discovered seven women soldiers. Their wounds showed that they had taken part not only in the ordinary fight, but also in bayonet action. They served in the cavalry. In hospital they were found to be silent and reserved, and hardly spoke to anyone. Four of them succumbed to their wounds.

A peasant woman called Jalina made it a practice to supply the fighting troops, both Russians and Austrians, with drinking water. At 12 o'clock each day there appeared between the firing lines her old and decrepit horse dragging a water cart with a red cross flag fastened to it. On its appearance, both sides ceased firing. Jalina mounted her cart and waved to both Russians and Austrians, who then sent one soldier each at a time to fetch a bucket of water. This was repeated until the water barrel was empty, when Jalina bowed to both sides and drove away. January *Women's Messenger*.

UNITED STATES.

The American Woman's Peace Party.

My Dear Friends,—Certainly the most important action of women ever registered is the formation of the Woman's Peace Party, which was organised on January 10th in Washington, D.C. The women of the United States, represented through national organisations at this convention, adopted the subjoined platform. The president and leader of the Party is Miss Jane Addams, Hull House, Chicago. Its honorary chairman is Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, New York. The Executive Committee of the Woman's Peace Party met in New York on January 24th and appointed me international secretary of the Party.

It is my greatest pleasure to inform you of the organisation of this Party, which certainly will fulfil an historic mission. The purpose of this letter is not only to inform you of the organisation of the Woman's Peace Party of the United States and to assure you of its warmest sympathy towards all sufferers of this terrible disaster, but also to request your co-operation so as to make this body an international one as soon as conditions will again permit regular international work of women.

Will you kindly inform us whether the formation of a Peace Party in your country, along the lines of the subjoined platform, would be possible at this moment? If impossible, do you think that you might start a similar organisation there at a later date?

Beginning you also to send me all the information you have regarding similar efforts in your country, so that we may be able to crystallise this movement and make it a real force by complete co-operation.—I am, cordially yours,

ROSIKA SCHWIMMER,

International Secretary, Woman's Peace Party,
Hotel McAlpin, New York.

Woman's Peace Party.

WE, WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES, assembled in behalf of World Peace, grateful for the security of our own country, but sorrowing for the misery of all involved in the present struggle among warring nations, do hereby band ourselves together to demand that war should be abolished.

Equally with men pacifists, we understand that planned-for, legalised, wholesale human slaughter is to-day the sum of all villainies. As women, we feel a peculiar moral passion of revolt against both the cruelty and the waste of war.

As women, we are especially the custodians of the life of the ages. We will not longer consent to its reckless destruction. As women, we are particularly charged with the future of childhood and with the care of the helpless and the unfortunate. We will not longer accept without protest that added burden of maimed and invalid men and poverty-stricken widows and orphans which war places upon us.

As women, we have builded by the patient drudgery of the past the basic foundation of the home and of peaceful industry. We will not longer endure without a protest which must be heard and heeded by men that hoary evil which in an hour destroys the social structure that centuries of toil have reared.

As women, we are called upon to start each generation onward toward a better humanity. We will not longer tolerate without determined opposition that denial of the sovereignty of reason and justice by which war and all that makes for war to-day render impotent the idealism of the race.

Therefore, as human beings and the mother half of humanity, we demand that our right to be considered in the settlement of questions concerning not alone the life of individuals but of nations be recognised and respected.

We demand that women be given a share in deciding between war and peace in all the courts of high debate; within the home, the school, the church, the industrial order, and the State.

So protesting, and so demanding, we hereby form ourselves into a national organisation to be called the

WOMAN'S PEACE PARTY.

We hereby adopt the following as our platform of principles, some of the items of which have been accepted by a majority vote, and more of which have been the unanimous choice of those attending the conference which initiated the formation of this organisation. We have sunk all differences of opinion on minor matters and given freedom of expression to a wide divergence of opinion in the details of our platform and in our

statement of explanation and information in a common desire to make our woman's protest against war and all that makes for war vocal, commanding, and effective. We welcome to our membership all who are in substantial sympathy with that fundamental purpose of our organisation, whether or not they can accept in full our detailed statement of principles.

PLATFORM.

THE PURPOSE of this organisation is to enlist all American women in arousing the nations to respect the sacredness of human life and to abolish war. The following is adopted as our platform:

1. The immediate calling of a convention of neutral nations in the interests of early peace.
2. Limitation of armaments and the nationalisation of their manufacture.
3. Organised opposition to militarism in our own country.
4. Education of youth in the ideals of peace.
5. Democratic control of foreign policies.
6. The further humanising of governments by the extension of the franchise to women.
7. "Concert of Nations" to supersede "Balance of Power."
8. Action towards the gradual organisation of the world to submit law for war.
9. The substitution of an international police for rival armies and navies.
10. Removal of the economic causes of war.
11. The appointment by our Government of a commission of men and women, with an adequate appropriation, to promote international peace.

The Conference further adopted the following resolution:
Resolved: That we denounce with all the earnestness of which we are capable the concerted attempt now being made to force this country into still further preparedness for war. We desire to make a solemn appeal to the higher attributes of our common humanity to help us unmask this menace to our civilisation.

OFFICERS.

Chairman: Jane Addams, Hull House, Chicago.
Honorary Chairman: Carrie Chapman Catt.
Vice-Chairmen: Anna Garlin Spencer, Meadville, Pa.; Mrs. Henry D. Villard, New York City; Mrs. Louis F. Post, Washington, D.C.; Mrs. John Jay White, Washington, D.C.
International Secretary: Rosika Schwimmer, Hotel McAlpin, New York.

RULES GOVERNING THE ORGANISATION.

The name shall be Woman's Peace Party.
The officers shall be a chairman, secretary, treasurer, and four vice-chairmen, who together shall form an Executive Council.

A Co-operating Council shall be appointed by the Executive Council.

Chairmen of States shall be appointed by the Executive Council, and these in turn shall appoint chairmen of their respective Congressional Districts.

The members shall be:

1. Local groups wherever they can be organised, each to pay \$5 annually into the National Treasury.
2. Sustaining members, who shall individually pay \$1 annually into the National Treasury.

AMERICAN NOTES.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE TO BE SENT TO REFERENDUM IN EIGHT STATES.

On January 26th the Senate of West Virginia voted to submit a Suffrage amendment by a vote of 29 to 1. A few minutes later the House followed suit; it gave final ratification on January 20th by a vote of 56 to 8.

On January 27th the Committee on Constitutional Amendments of the House of Representatives of the Texas Legislature reported favourably a Suffrage amendment by a vote of 16 to 2.

On January 28th the Tennessee Senate voted to submit a Suffrage amendment to the electors, 26 to 3. The next day the House passed the amendment 74 to 14.

On February 1st the Arkansas Senate voted to submit a Suffrage amendment. The House has passed the proposition.

On February 1st the New Jersey House of Representatives passed the Suffrage amendment unanimously—58 voting in favour and none against. This is the third time that the amendment has been passed upon in the New Jersey Legislature—each time favourably. The first time the measure was vitiated by a technical irregularity.

On February 3rd the New York Assembly passed the resolution for submitting the Suffrage amendment to the voters next November. Two days later the resolution was adopted by the Senate, and the New York Suffragists have already opened an active campaign.

On February 9th the Pennsylvania House of Representatives voted to submit a Suffrage amendment to the electors, 130 to 71. The Senate has not yet voted on the measure.

The Committee on Constitutional Amendments of the Massachusetts Legislature has reported favourably the amendment submitting Equal Suffrage to the voters. The amendment has passed both houses.

DO WOMEN USE THE VOTE?

At the presidential election in Arizona in November, 1912, when women could not vote, the vote was 23,722. At the gubernatorial election in November, 1914, when women did vote, the vote was 51,007. In like manner, in Kansas in 1912 the presidential vote was 365,444. In 1914 the gubernatorial vote was 530,206. Oregon in 1912 cast 137,040 votes. In 1914 it cast 210,566 votes. At the gubernatorial election of 1910 in California, the last election at which men alone voted, the vote was 385,713. In 1914, in the gubernatorial election, with women voting, it was 926,689. In Washington at the 1910 election the vote for Governor was 176,141. Women were enfranchised in 1911, and the vote in November was 345,279.

These are the latest five States in which women have had an opportunity to vote at a general election. The difference between the vote before and after Equal Suffrage should settle the question of whether women use the vote. They do.

SUFFRAGE TRIUMPHS IN JERSEY.

By a unanimous vote the New Jersey Assembly passed the Peacock resolution for the submission to the people of the proposed amendment to the constitution providing for Equal Suffrage. This practically assures that the proposition, whether women should vote in New Jersey, will be submitted to the voters next September, as there is no doubt that the Senate will pass the resolution.

Woman's Sphere in 1915.

MISSOURI IS SHOWN. GOVERNOR APPOINTS WOMAN.

Miss Frances Hopkins has been appointed Probate Judge by Governor Elliott W. Major—an act without precedent in the memory of the State officials. Miss Hopkins succeeded her father, Judge Lewis G. Hopkins, and will hold office until a special election is called. The list of women judges in the United States grows steadily.

MEN VOTE \$20,000.

The Men's Equal Suffrage Campaign Committee for the State of New York has decided that it must get as busy as the women. They have elected to get out into the field to "active, rough-and-ready political work." At a recent meeting in the Hotel Manhattan the committee voted to raise \$20,000 and to establish permanent headquarters.

PRESIDENTIAL SUFFRAGE.

Minnesota is the latest State which has decided to introduce a presidential Suffrage Bill on the Illinois model. A Bill is being drafted to provide as wide an extension of Suffrage to women as is possible without amending the constitution. Such a Bill can be passed by a majority of the Legislature. An exact copy of the Illinois Bill has been introduced in the Michigan Legislature. Vermont and New Hampshire have introduced presidential Bills within the last month, and the Wisconsin Suffragists are preparing one for introduction during the present session of the Legislature. Similar Bills for Maine and Indiana are also to be drafted.

HALLELUJAH DAY.

February 10th was "Hallelujah Day" among Suffragists all over New York State. In the name of the Empire State Campaign Committee, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Chairman, issued the call to Suffrage organisations to commemorate the passing of the Woman Suffrage resolution by the House on

February 3rd and by the Senate on February 4th. In the larger cities women on horseback or in automobiles, decorated in yellow, rode through the streets with pennants reading "Hallelujah Day," and trumpets sounding "Hallelujah," announcing on street corners that the Suffrage resolution had passed both House and Senate and would come to popular vote in November, 1915. In some places public mass meetings were held. There were receptions and teas at Suffrage headquarters, and the chorus of Suffrage rejoicing reached from end to end of the Empire State.

ANTIS VOTE IN MONTANA.

First among women to appear to register their votes since the granting of full Suffrage to women in Montana were two prominent Anti-suffragists. These ladies made an active fight against Suffrage. "That is entirely the right idea," says the *Butte Miner* editorially. "Their action shows their willingness to abide by the decision of the majority, and that is a splendid qualification for a voter to have."

EARNING HER WAY.

Necessity is forcing women into all the so-called "gainful occupations." There is hardly an occupation listed in the 1910 census for the United States in which woman is not represented. According to a review made by the Empire State Campaign Committee, there were no women steam-boiler makers, no women veterinary surgeons, and no women soldiers, sailors, and mariners; but there are women in all other occupations.

Woman's presence in some comes with the effect of shock to those who fondly dream that every woman has a home and her place is in it. There are, for instance, 77 women lumbermen (raftsmen and wood-choppers) in the United States. There are 2,550 women stock herders and raisers, 45 quarry operators, 31 blacksmiths, 15 brick and stone masons, and 44 longshoremen. Many women have travelled far up the road to success in their work. Ten women head iron foundries. There are 325 women bankers and 1,347 bank cashiers. Nearly a thousand women are wholesale dealers. One woman is listed as a railroad official. Three are proprietors of grain elevators.

JUST BECAUSE.

The only licensed woman fireman in the country has been discovered in New York City. With the discovery has come another, to the effect that the city may shortly be forced to revoke her licence because she is a woman.

A WOMAN INVENTOR.

Many labour-saving devices which are in use to-day in the cotton and woollen mills are the inventions of a woman. Miss Margaret Knight, of South Framingham, Mass., who died recently, was the first woman to take out a patent in America. Miss Knight numbered among her inventions a new shuttle, an automobile motor, and several types of gasoline, kerosene, acetylene, and hot-air engines. Her first invention was a paper bag for the grocerman. At one time she ran a machine shop herself and shod all the horses on her farm. Many of her inventions have been in use for a generation.

THE INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S RELIEF COMMITTEE.

I.

The International Women's Relief Committee is still continuing to send parties of German girls—wishing to return to their own country—as far as the Dutch-German frontier. The last party numbered forty, and was much delayed in the searching rooms, owing to a woman having been discovered the evening before with £58 in gold concealed in the padding of her hair. These parties consist of all kinds and conditions of young girls and helpless women—from a lady belonging to one of the oldest and best families in Germany, to young and ignorant servant-girls; from a woman travelling with twins of eight months, to two helpless old ladies quite incapable of travelling alone. We have several times taken young children travelling alone—in one case two little girls of 13 and 11, whose father was emigrating to America, and who wished to send them to live with his mother in Germany till he was able to have them out to join him. As they had always lived in England and knew no German, he was delighted at being able to send them with our party.

One girl who went back with us had been studying medicine in England. She had passed her final examinations, but was refused a degree on account of her nationality. She therefore

decided to go to Switzerland to obtain a Swiss degree. As she thought she would not be allowed to take money out of the country with her, she invested it in medical books, which were allowed to pass. One lady had a beautiful collection of sea-weed pictures, which she was very anxious should not be spoilt in the examination. She therefore, on our advice, took them to the Home Office, where the officials, after admiring and examining them, sealed them up, and she took them through quite safely. A last case is that of a young servant-girl who, owing to excitement at the beginning of the war, had to be put under restraint. We were asked to trace her, and send her back if possible. She was traced to an asylum, where they seem to have been very kind to her; and as she was then much better, with the help of her former employers, who were most generous, we returned her to her parents, where she has arrived quite safely.

The I.W.R.C. has also, with the splendid help of some American ladies, been instrumental in bringing individual English girls and children out of Germany and Belgium. They had so many inquiries as to the possibilities of bringing women and children out of the latter country that they were intending organising it on a larger scale; but this may now be unnecessary, as they hear that the Government is intending to help English women and children out of Belgium in conjunction with the American Legation in Brussels, and with the sanction of the German officials. The I.W.R.C. still hopes to be able to bring out the many Belgian children who were left over there in convents and schools when their parents came over to this country.

II.

During the last two months the Committee has continued its work of dealing with the inquiries of those who have lost touch with relatives and friends because of the war.

All sorts of inquiries have been dealt with for civilians in Germany and in the United Kingdom and its Dominions who are interned in concentration camps, or who have not known how to inform their relatives of their movements; for sailors on the high seas in ships of all nations; for Belgian and French refugees; for allied and enemy combatants reported "missing."

In so far as the persons inquired for are traceable in this country, the Committee has itself undertaken the work, and through the admirable organisation of the Prisoners of War Information Bureau and the obliging help of the police authorities has been almost invariably able to find missing German civilians. The problem of dealing with the refugees and missing combatants is, of course, much more difficult, but the few cases which have been successful show that the work is not lost, and that there is always some hope of tracing the missing.

A widow, a refugee from Brussels, applied for help to find her daughter, a girl of 16, who before the war had gone to Cairo with a troupe of music-hall artistes under the management of a German woman, and had not been heard of since. As no address could be given, and the daughter was quite ignorant of her mother's whereabouts, it seemed hopeless to bring the two together again; but the Cairo Branch of the National Vigilance Association found the girl, who is now on her way back to England.

The wife of an English non-commissioned officer reported "missing" since November 2nd, has been informed that he is lying wounded in a hospital in the interior of Germany. A voluntary committee in Germany in touch with this Committee has undertaken to find out the nature of the wounds, and to report on his progress.

Much of the work takes the form of referring the inquiries to the particular bureau in which the lost person may be registered. Appended are some of the more important inquiry bureaux, which may be useful to those who wish to make inquiries direct:—

FRANCE.

Bureau de Renseignements pour les Prisonniers de Guerre au Ministère de la Guerre à Paris.—Gives information concerning German prisoners interned in France and the French colonies.

Conseil National des Femmes, office de renseignements pour les Familles Dispersées, 110, Rue Richelieu, Paris.—Inquiries about French refugees should be addressed here. Comité Officiel Belge de Secours au Réfugiés, 4, Place Frederic-Sauvage, Ste. Adresse (Le Havre).—Inquiries about Belgian refugees in France.

Bureau des Correspondances Militaires, 36, Bd. de Strasbourg, Havre.—Address for letters to Belgian soldiers.

Le Signal, Hotel d'Jena, Paris.—Guides to the special offices which trace prisoners, missing, and refugees of all nationalities.

GERMANY.

Central Komitee der deutschen Vereine vom Roten Kreuz, Abtheilung Gefangenenfuersorge, Berlin, S.W., XI.—Abgeordneten Haus.—Gives information about prisoners of war.

The American Embassy in Berlin passes on inquiries concerning German civilians to the American Embassy in London. There they are traced by the police, and news of them reported to Germany.

Auskunft und Hilfestelle fuer Deutsche in Ausland und Auslaender in Deutschland, Berlin, Friedenstrasse 60, N.O. XVIII.—Is a German Committee for assisting British and other foreigners in Germany.

The following Women's Suffrage Societies in Germany are also forwarding inquiries and giving information concerning civilians in their respective districts:—

Bayrischer Verein fuer Frauenstimmrecht, Munich, Kaulbachstr. 12. Hamburg-Altonaer Verein fuer Frauenstimmrecht, Hamburg, Paulstr. 9. Deutsche Frauenstimmrechtsbund, Ortsgruppe, Bremen, Union, Wachtstrasse. Badischer Verein fuer Frauenstimmrecht Ortsgruppe, Konstanz.

AUSTRIA AND HUNGARY.

Kriegsgefangenen Bureau vom Roten Kreuz, Wien I., Jasomirgott Strasse 6.—Gives information about prisoners of war interned in Austria and Hungary.

Auskunftsbureau des Roten Kreuzes in Wien VI., Dreihufeisengasse 4.—Gives information about Austrian prisoners of war in other countries.

Auskunftsbureau des Roten Kreuzes in Budapest IV., Váci utca. 38.—Gives information about Hungarian prisoners of war in other countries.

UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

The Registrar General, Somerset House, London, W.C.—All Belgians in the United Kingdom are compulsorily registered here.

Prisoners of War Information Bureaux, 49, Wellington Street, Strand, London.—All prisoners of war, civil or military, interned in the United Kingdom, the British Dominions, India, and the British Colonies, are registered here. Information also given as to progress of those prisoners who are wounded or in hospital.

Wounded Allies' Relief Committee, Grand Hotel, Trafalgar Square, London.—All wounded Belgians in the United Kingdom are registered here.

The War Office, London.—Information about British soldiers.

The Admiralty, London.—Information about British sailors.

The International Women's Relief Committee.—Gives information about bureaux, registering prisoners and missing, and makes inquiries regarding prisoners and missing in all countries.

SWITZERLAND.

Comité International de la Croix Rouge, 3, Rue de l'Athénée, Geneva.—A central bureau for inquiries regarding military prisoners of war in all countries.

Bureau International Féministe de Renseignements, Place St. Francois 6, Lausanne.—Central bureau for inquiries regarding civilians of all nationalities.

DENMARK.

Croix Rouge danoise, Copenhagen.—Inquiries about prisoners of war in Russia.

Bureau International Féministe de Renseignements, 34, Bredgade, Copenhagen.—Inquiries concerning refugees and victims of the war.

HOLLAND.

Centrale Commission Vluchtelingen, Lange Voorhout 45, The Hague.—Register of Belgian refugees in Holland under committee nominated by Dutch Government.

For Messages and Communications of all kinds between the different countries:—

(a) Great Britain.—National Peace Council, 167, St. Stephen's House, Cannon Row, Westminster, London, S.W.

(b) Neutral Countries.—(1) Holland: Jhr. de Jong van Beek en Donk, Dutch Peace Society, Theresiastraat 51, The Hague, Holland. (2) Switzerland: M. Henri Golay,

International Peace Bureau, Kanonenweg 12, Berne, Switzerland.

(c) Germany.—(1) Herr Dr. Fritz Röttcher, Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft (Central Office), Werfmershalde 14, Stuttgart, Germany. (2) Fräulein Dr. Elisabeth Rotten, Committee for Helping Foreigners in Germany, etc., Friedenstr. 60, Berlin No. 18, Germany.

Messages and letters are sent to and from Germany by the National Peace Council, through the post; the Dutch Peace Society, and at times the International Peace Bureau at Berne, acting as the medium for forwarding to or from Germany. Letters and messages in Germany should be sent to the German organisations as above.

All letters must be sent open for the censors to inspect, and must contain, clearly written, the names and addresses of sender and receiver.

An International Postal Coupon, price 3d., obtainable at any post office in the Postal Union, should be enclosed to pay for re-posting of letters by the Dutch or Swiss organisation. These coupons must be stamped at the issuing post office.

Letters for Austria-Hungary will be sent to Holland, and posted direct to the address given.

INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE.

TREASURER'S NOTES.

As the present European conditions have made it impossible for our planned International Women's Suffrage Congress to be held at its appointed time and place, and as it seems unlikely that such a Congress can be held in the near future, I wish to submit the financial position of the Alliance to the readers of *Jus Suffragii*. It has been our custom to present the financial statement at the bi-annual Congresses, when a vote for the adoption of the treasurer's report is taken. These financial statements are then included in the Congress reports, but as no such report can be published this year, I take pleasure in availing myself of the space the editor has placed at my disposal for the publication of my accounts.

It must be stated that some of the pledges promised to the Special Headquarters Fund at Budapest have not been redeemed this year owing to the difficulties in transmitting money by post. We confidently trust that later on we shall receive these outstanding debts, and I wish to thank all the subscribers and donors for their continued generous support.

Cash Account from 1st June, 1913, to 31st December, 1914.

INCOME		EXPENDITURE	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Subscriptions	314 6 5	Furniture	89 0 6½
Special Fund	1,483 3 1	Office (rent, light, and heating)	199 12 2½
Office (rent for back-room)	3 0 0	Salaries	495 2 5
<i>Jus Suffragii</i> (subscriptions)	158 0 11½	Petty Cash	11 17 1
Literature A/c (sales of reports, pamphlets, etc.)	149 13 6	<i>Jus Suffragii</i> (printing)	232 12 4
Postage & Telephone (refund)	1 8 4	Literature A/c (printing of reports, pamphlets, etc.)	269 15 9
Library (refund)	0 13 7	Stationery	32 11 0½
Poster Account (donations)*	205 7 0	Postage and Telephone	95 11 2
Exhibition A/c (Women's Kingdom at Olympia) (donation)	1 0 0	Congress Account	72 0 2
Press Work	8 8 7	Bank Charges and Legal Expenses	2 13 3
Badges Account (sales)	6 18 1	French <i>Jus Suffragii</i> (grant)	71 4 1
Advertising and Press Cuttings	4 7 8	Library (books of reference)	11 7 1½
Interest on Deposit Account	25 9 0	Poster Account (sketch, printing, & billposting)*	141 11 6
		Exhibition Account (Women's Kingdom at Olympia)	15 11 1
		Press Work	114 0 9
		Badges	0 11 3
		Advertising and Press Cuttings Account	4 1 0
Total Income	£2,361 16 2½	Total expenses	£1,859 2 9
Cash balance per 1st June, 1913	463 16 8	Cash balance per 31st Dec., 1914	966 10 1½
	£2,825 12 10½		£2,825 12 10½

* See *Jus Suffragii* of June and August, 1914.

I further wish to submit the financial statement of the relief work carried on at headquarters, and in doing so want to emphasise the fact that all this work has been entirely carried on out of specially collected funds. The only contribution the Alliance has made towards the relief work was the lending of its offices and part of the time of its staff.

GENERAL FUND.

Cash Account from 14th August, 1914, to 31st December, 1914.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
To Subscriptions from August 14th, including grant from Central Aliens' Committee (£100)	525 15 0½	
By Repatriation Account		147 12 11½
„ Maintenance and Temporary Relief		158 18 1
„ Maternity Cases		21 5 6
„ Nurses' Red Cross Outfits		8 0 6
„ General Expenses:—		
Salaries	£35 19 8	
Petty Cash Sundries	10 19 0	
Stationery	11 11 3½	
Postage & Wires	42 6 4½	
		100 16 4
		436 13 4½
„ Balance, Cash in hand		89 1 8
	£525 15 0½	£525 15 0½

FLUSHING RELIEF FUND.

Cash Account from 14th October, 1914, to 31st December, 1914.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
To Subscriptions from October 14th, including £500 from the Belgian Minister	4,279 16 9	
By Despatch Account:—		
Bread	£1,420 17 8	
Milk	250 0 0	
Chocolate	86 4 3	
Blankets	137 16 6	
Garments	10 0 0	
Money	2,080 0 0	
		3,934 18 5
„ General Expenses:—		
Carriage and Packing	£125 6 8½	
Postage and Wires	7 11 5	
Petty Cash Sundries	7 15 10	
		140 13 11½
„ By Travelling Expenses, Investigating Party		12 12 2
„ Press Reporters' Account		20 0 0
„ Rent for Packing Room		2 16 0
		168 16 2½
Total Expenses		£4,111 0 6½
„ Balance, Cash in hand		168 16 2½
	£4,279 16 9	£4,279 16 9

ADELA COIT, Hon. Treasurer.

Correspondence.

WOMEN AND PEACE.

To *Jus Suffragii*.

Madam,—Those women, and there are many, who ever since war was declared have been steadily trying to consolidate among women an organised opinion for peace, are at last beginning to see a break in the clouds.

To Miss Hollins and the Woman's International Peace Crusade will always belong the honour of the pioneers. The W.I.P.C. bases its propaganda upon the Christian standpoint. As a member of that organisation I have found that there are many earnest, high-minded men and women who are as much opposed to war as it seems to me every Christian who accepts the Christian teaching should be, but this to them somewhat narrow basis has proved a stumbling-block, and it was felt there was room for another organisation.

The Women's Peace Union invites all irrespective of sex, class, creed, or race to join its ranks. It only asks its members to declare that they are opposed to all war, that they are prepared to do active work for peace, or desire that active work should be done.

It held its first meeting in London on February 4th, and was addressed by Mons. Henri La Fontaine, Belgium, Professor of International Law and Nobel Prize Laureate, who spoke strongly in support of a woman's peace effort. Mrs. A. Cunningham, 114, Holmleigh Road, Stamford Hill, N.E., is

Hon. Secretary, and Miss Newton Harris, 45, Mayfield Road, Gravesend, is Organising Secretary.

Experience has taught many of us during the last six months that while women generally look upon war with horror, at the same time they regard it as inevitable. We of the Women's Peace Union are definitely setting out to organise women for peace from two points of view.

(1.) We deny the idea that war is inevitable, and we assert that the only security for life is a civilisation founded on right, not might.

(2.) We declare that the noblest conception of women is that of the mother of humanity, and as such her highest mission is to protect life.

The war has taught us that in rebuilding civilisation women can no longer refuse to play a positive part, or be content to give a merely academic and intellectual assent to the principles upon which we base our work.

She has been selected to bear the race; she gives life, therefore it is her duty to see that the life for which she is responsible has at least some security for its well-being. She stands at the gateway of life, and will betray her trust if she shirks her responsibility.

Humanity is the common heritage of all life. It belongs to all alike, knows no nationality. Thus the women of all nations as the mothers of humanity must break the bonds of nationality, and recognising within themselves their common heritage, must organise and combine to save it from its own self-destruction.

Not recognising this great ideal, most women remain negatively silent, content, nay, even thankful, if only their little bit of humanity called national can be spared some suffering, never realising that this can only be by the infliction of suffering upon some other bit of the same humanity. If we can only get them to grasp the truth that to protect their own is to protect the whole, then we may hope they will rally to the call of Miss Hobhouse, Clara Zetkin, and Lida Gustava Haymann, but they cannot answer a call they do not recognise.

I would appeal to all who are in sympathy with the effort to rally to our help. We need the help and co-operation of all, in time, work, and money. Women combined for temperance and changed the social outlook. If temperance, why not peace?—Yours faithfully,
NORAH O'SHEA.

The Cottage, Cosham, Hants.

ARMENIAN WOMEN.

It is very difficult to give a true idea of Armenian women. A Christian people crushed during five hundred years under the heel of Mohammedanism have undergone sufferings and persecutions which have necessarily left their mark on the customs of that people; and, on the other hand, the Armenians have emigrated so much that they have conformed to a certain extent to the customs of their adopted countries; so that the Armenian woman that one meets abroad is not a type of the Armenian woman as she is at home, in her natural surroundings. There is, however, one point that is always noticeable—she is the companion and help-mate of man, not an inferior being.

In Armenia, women already have votes in all that concerns ecclesiastical matters; and as Armenia is a country which has no political government of its own, it is the head of the Church, the Catholicos, who directs all national affairs even outside the church, so that the ecclesiastical vote is equivalent to the political vote. This right was granted to women by the Catholicos Muggerditch Khrimian about ten years ago.

Although the commencement of Armenian history is legendary, there is an idealism in these legends which the contemporary ones of other nations do not possess. The legend of Ara, King of Armenia—which is also recorded by Plato,—possesses a moral beauty which is all the more striking for the dark background which surrounds it. Semiramis, Queen of Assyria, had fallen passionately in love with Ara, even before she had seen him, from the mere description of his wonderful personal beauty; and when her husband, Ninus, fell a prisoner in the hands of his enemies, Semiramis sent ambassadors to Ara, begging him to come and marry her and share her kingdom with her; at any rate to come and fulfil her desires, and return to Armenia laden with gifts and honours. But Ara had an Armenian wife, Nevart, whom he loved, and neither the beauty of the Assyrian Queen nor her glittering promises had any attractions for him. He sent a refusal, and Semiramis declared war against Armenia to impose her will on the King by force of arms. But in spite

of her orders that he was to be brought to her alive, Ara was killed in the battle, and all that she obtained was the beautiful dead body of the King of Armenia.

This story, which dates from one or two centuries after the flood, not only proves that love and family life were sacred things for the Armenians, but also that the same morals existed for men as for women. The contemporary stories told in the Bible are for the most part revolting. The Greek legends perhaps give us a Penelope who is chaste and faithful to her husband, but where do we find an Ulysses who would love her well enough to return her faithfulness? Armenian morals had a higher ideal—the man belonged to the woman as much as the woman to the man.

This ideal persists in Armenia up to the present time. It is true that when young Armenians emigrate and see the customs of "civilised" countries, some of them allow themselves to be led away; but in Armenia itself, wherever Western civilisation has not yet tainted the towns and villages, a man must keep himself as straight as a woman if he wishes to marry a pure and innocent girl.

And, nevertheless, the Armenian woman is not emancipated; on the contrary, she is very submissive. She is veiled for going out—a habit that she has borrowed from her Mohammedan surroundings,—and even in the house a young married woman must not show her face during the first years of her marriage, excepting when she is alone with her husband. And she must never speak except when she is alone with him. These are very old and curious customs, which are happily beginning to disappear.

An Armenian country house is a little patriarchal world in itself. The sons do not leave their father's house when they marry, and even the third generation continues to live under the same roof. If the house is too small for all these people, new rooms are built; but the sons do not separate if possible—at least not during the lifetime of their parents. It is considered bad form, and is looked upon as a sign that there has been quarrelling in the family.

In this community the grandmother reigns over all that concerns the household, and the older she gets the more she is respected and honoured. She is no longer obliged to veil herself so closely before men, and she may speak with anyone she wants to, even if they are strangers. It is she who superintends the cooking, done by her daughters-in-law; while her granddaughters-in-law, who are almost children themselves, fit in and out like so many butterflies, attending to the smaller household duties and serving their apprenticeship in the work.

And there is indeed work to be done in these country houses. The women look after the cattle; make bread, cheese, curds, and butter; and prepare vegetables and all sorts of provisions for the winter—for in Armenia you cannot buy provisions in the market; nearly everything has to be prepared at home. The women also weave linen and cotton cloth, and make all the garments necessary for the members of the household, besides helping in the fields during the harvest and vintage.

With all these duties to attend to, it would be difficult for a woman to be very learned, and I cannot say that Armenian peasant women are very highly educated. There is, however, a school in each village, and although most of the girls leave it when they are twelve or thirteen years old, to get married, they have plenty of wit as well as common sense, and are generally gay and bright in their own surroundings—unless the sufferings and dangers to which they are exposed kill the natural joy of living which is in them.

Most Armenian girls marry. Some of them, however, have a wish to study, and these are sent to the excellent colleges founded by the American missionaries, which they generally leave as teachers. These colleges have played a great part in forming the minds and opinions of young Armenians in Turkey.

In the towns, space does not permit this communal life to continue so long, except in rich and well-to-do families. As amongst the peasants, so in the towns also marriages are always arranged by the parents, for girls and young men mix together very little. Sometimes they see each other at a window, at the houses of friends or relatives, or at a wedding—youth always has a way of communicating its thoughts, even through windows and veils! In a country where very little intercourse is allowed, such a small thing is sufficient to awaken love—a look or a smile will do it,—and if the parents consent, the marriage is arranged. And yet this love, pure and simple as it is, often lasts longer than the loves that are so much described, analysed, and spoken of in civilised countries. All the happiness of life is concentrated in the home. A man

becomes attached to his wife and respects her so much that he consults her and often takes her advice, even in his business matters.

In all the great universities of Europe there are Armenian girls who are studying medicine, music, civil engineering, and all branches of science. Most of these girls are from Russian Armenia, which proves once more the difference between the Russian and Turkish Governments. For the Armenian race is the same everywhere—it has the same aspirations; but under Turkish rule progress is impeded at every step. How can women advance and develop themselves under a Mohammedan Government? The Mussulman considers woman as his property. According to his religion, she has not even got a soul, and she is not granted a place in Paradise, where she is to be replaced by the houris for the pleasure of man. Christian women especially are the legitimate prey of Mussulmans—the harems are full of them; Georgians, Greeks, Armenians—they take whoever pleases them. Under these conditions, how can Christian women lay aside their veils and show their beauty to the world? During the massacres of 1895-96 many of my young friends were dragged into Turkish harems; they are still there, if they are not dead yet. At the same time a Turk had ordered his servants to bring me to his house. I was saved by an American missionary, who reminded the Government that I was under British protection, and the Turk was warned not to touch me on pain of death. During those massacres many Armenian girls and women dashed themselves down the precipices of the mountains to avoid falling into the hands of the Turks. Others were killed by their nearest relations—their brothers, their husbands, their betrothed—so as to avoid this horrible fate.

And we know that the same things are happening in Armenia now, during this war. As soon as news comes of a Russian victory the Christian population is massacred, and the desecration of women is a part of these massacres. Armenian women are brave. Before throwing themselves over the precipices they fought with their tormentors. I saw a woman from Zetoun myself who had killed ten Kurdish assailants by throwing stones on their heads out of a window; and in the present war several Russian-Armenian girls have gone as volunteers to fight against the Turks, dressed in uniform like men; but, brave as they are, what can they do? In war, as in everything else, it is always women who suffer most. After having lost all that were dearest to them, they have nothing left but their honour, and that, too, is taken from them. How long are they to endure all these sufferings and injustices?

ZABELLE C. BOYAJIAN.

AN APPEAL.

Do you wish to see the only Feminist Bookshop in London close down?

The International Suffrage Shop is in urgent need of £150 if it is to continue the work it has been doing for the past four years.

Owing to the depression in the book trade since the outbreak of the war, its income has been greatly reduced; and in order to make up this deficit an appeal is made to all Suffragists to help at this critical moment by contributing towards a 1s. fund which has been opened, as it is felt that many who are unable to give large sums would be glad of an opportunity of helping in this way.

JUS SUFFRAGII

The Monthly Organ
of the
International Woman Suffrage Alliance.

President - - Mrs. CHAPMAN CATT.

It is issued in London, under the direction of Miss Mary Sheepshanks. The Alliance has auxiliary societies in twenty-six countries, and correspondents all over the world. It possesses exceptional opportunities for collecting the world's news on the woman question. Do you want to be informed?

One of the main objects of the Alliance is to help the women's movement in countries where it is backward; where there is little suffrage literature and no suffrage papers. A good international paper circulating in such countries could do much to spread information and stimulate activity. "Jus Suffragii" can only be enlarged and improved if an increased circulation is guaranteed. The French edition goes to the Latin countries, and does excellent propaganda.

Donations should be sent to the International Suffrage Shop at the new address—No. 5, Duke Street, Villiers Street, Strand, London.

"Social Hygiene."

The American Social Hygiene Association published the first number of its quarterly in December. *Social Hygiene* contains a number of articles of great importance for all interested in the social evil.

Charles Eliot gives an account of the work of the Association. Franklin Hichborn describes the Californian campaign (in which women voters were active) for a Red Light Abatement Law. In 1911 the Legislature introduced a Bill, which was supported by an energetic campaign of publicity and education. The Bill aimed at breaking up the segregated district and punishing the landlord owners of disorderly houses. The Bill passed, and in spite of adverse pressure was signed by the Governor. A referendum was then demanded by the opposition and enforced by forged petitions. Supporters of the Bill canvassed every community of the State, and gained enough support to ratify the Act.

Dr. E. L. Keyes, of Cornell University, contributes an article on protection of matrimony from disease, and shows how fallacious the protection is, supposed to be guaranteed by medical certificates at marriage. Uncertainties in diagnosis seem to be an absolute bar to a guarantee for matrimony. "Laws requiring such examinations may be good in so far as they express the public horror of marital contamination, stimulate parents to insist upon absence of venereal disease as a condition to matrimony, and protect the community against the more flagrant cases. But a little wit and medical knowledge readily deceive the law."

Abraham Flexner, whose book on the subject is well known, writes on the "Regulation of Prostitution in Europe," and shows the failure of all forms of regulation. He concludes that: "Prostitution is a modifiable phenomenon; according as society prefers there may be more or less of it. It is readily susceptible of artificial stimulation; e.g., men can be led to believe immorality necessary and wholesome. When medical men favoured this view, practice conformed to the demoralising theory. Now for the most part they take the opposite view; sexual irregularity is in consequence less generally condoned, and is probably beginning to diminish."

Through the liquor traffic and in other ways, demand and supply reacting on each other can both be whipped up. Every community can do something to check exploitation and artificial stimulation. Given a public sentiment that is determined to check the artificial manipulation of prostitution for the profit of third parties, so determined that good laws are passed and able administrators and judges put in office, and there is no question that the amount of prostitution can be perceptibly reduced, and the amount of damage perceptibly curtailed.

Dr. Stanley Hall, as President of Clark University, has an article on "Education and Social Hygiene," showing the need for inspiration and incentive to varied mental activity to absorb and transmute sex effervescence in youth.

There are other articles on education, one on "Race Modification by Military Selection," Law Notes, Book Reviews, and other matters. The review can be obtained at \$2 a year from the American Social Hygiene Association, 105, West 40th Street, New York City.

To the International Woman Suffrage Alliance,
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NOTES.

German Gift to the International Women's Relief Committee.

Some German women have generously subscribed 300 marks to the I.W.R.C., and have transmitted the money through Miss L. G. Heymann. The work done by the committee in helping women of all nationalities is well known to readers of *Jus Suffragii*. The committee gratefully records its thanks for this welcome and generous support.

Exchange of French and English Visits.

Maitre Maria Verone, the well-known French barrister and feminist, has recently visited London, and made an eloquent speech to a large Suffrage meeting on Frenchwomen's work in war-time. At the same time Mrs. Despard, the President of the Women's Freedom League, and sister of Sir John French, visited Paris, and addressed French Suffragists.

Suffragettes at the Front.

Dr. Louisa Garrett Anderson, whose hospital in France has won universal approval, has now been asked by the British War Office to take charge of a hospital of 500 or 1,000 beds.

Women's War Casualties.

It is officially announced that the number of women killed at Scarborough was 39, and children 39. The wounded women and children numbered several hundred.

A Scotch woman doctor, Dr. Ross, in the Serbian sanitary service, is reported dead of typhus.

Logic on the Floor of the House.

A glowing illustration of logical argument was afforded on the floor of the House at the national capital on January 12th, during the debate on the Mondell resolution to bestow the Suffrage on women through amendment to the federal constitution.

"Gentlemen," said the impassioned speaker, a representative from the South, "it is said that women would purify politics in this country. For 125 years this same country has been wholly man-governed, and I submit that nowhere in the world, at no time in history, has any country had the clean government enjoyed by these United States of America. Gentlemen, never will I vote to permit our women to trail their skirts in the muck and mire of our politics."

"And there was not," said Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, in recalling the speech, "so much as a dash between the last sentence and those that preceded."

To Keep Her at Home.

Woman's place is in the home, and it takes a vote to keep her there, according to an argument projected by Kansas women. The Club women of that State have decided to bring their direct influence—the vote—to bear to secure the enactment of a widowed mothers' pension Bill. Such a measure, it is maintained, will go far toward enabling the widowed woman with little children to stay at home and care for them.

To Discuss THE RELIGIOUS ASPECT OF THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN ITS RELATION TO WAR & PEACE.

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Miss CATHERINE E. OF LINCOLN.
The Rev. E. S. WOODS.
The Rev. Dr. ORCHARD. Miss MAUDE ROYDEN.
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Programmes and tickets may be had from Miss Lucy Gardner, The Collegium, 92, St. George's Square, London, S.W. Stamped addressed envelopes should be sent when applying for tickets.

N.B.—Please send for programmes for distribution, and speak of this Conference to your friends.

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MILITARISM VERSUS FEMINISM.

This supplement is the joint production of several collaborators, under the general direction of Mrs. Sargent Florence and Mr. C. K. Ogden, M.A., of Magdalene College, Cambridge. It naturally deals with the problem from an English point of view; but it is hoped that it may serve to introduce a series of contributions on the same subject from writers in many countries, and with many different experiences and points of view. The problem of the effects of war on the women's movement is one of the most important by which suffragists are now faced all the world over. For many years it has been clear that Militarism constituted a formidable barrier to the removal of social abuses, and the perpetual menace of war has constantly held back reforms, and particularly the enfranchisement of women in every land. But the terrible upheaval of 1914, in focussing attention on the horrors and sufferings which war entails (and particularly for women), suggests the need for some more thorough treatment of the issues involved. At present the future is uncertain, nor is there any unanimity amongst women as to the policy they may have to adopt. Moreover, in every land to-day women are doing their share in the pressing duties which war imposes on all whom it affects. Sooner or later, however, some degree of co-operation will once more be possible: and even now, as readers of "*Jus Suffragii*" will be aware, it is not only neutrals who are endeavouring to make the voice of women heard above the strife. But whatever may be decided, it is essential to realise the relations of Militarism to our own ideals, both in the past and in the present. Only so shall we steer a right course in the future.—E.D.

"We have abolished duelling between individuals, and War, which is but a duel between nations, must go. What have we to substitute for Competition? Only Co-operation."—

MISS JANE HARRISON.

"War is an indispensable necessity of human progress."—

COLONEL F. N. MAUDE, C.B.

"War is a manifestation of the world-spirit in the most sublime form."—

PROFESSOR J. A. CRAMB.

"On this one point, and on this point almost alone, the knowledge of woman, simply as woman, is superior to that of man; she knows the history of human flesh; she knows its cost; she does not."—

OLIVE SCHREINER.

In some respects it must be regarded as an unfortunate feature of the modern Women's Movement that its origins date from a period when, almost more than at any time either before or since, the true significance of militarism was obscured by economic and scientific developments and by the insular character of the land where it first gained a propagandist force.

MILL'S IMPORTANT OMISSION.

Since the publication of Mill's *Subjection of Women* the whole course of female emancipation may be traced in an unbroken line down to the present day. Mill summed up the opinions of feminists in the middle of the nineteenth century in language so clear that even to-day, to the latest historian of the movement, "its popularity is likely to increase rather than to diminish."* Hence it is of considerable importance to appreciate the atmosphere in which it was written in order that we may not be led into a position of false security by the important omission which can be detected at certain points in Mill's analysis. Nowhere is this omission more clearly seen than in his statement that "the social subordination of women stands out an isolated fact in modern social institutions; a single relic of an old world of thought and practice, as if a vast temple of Jupiter Olympius occupied the site of St. Paul's and received daily worship."

*Blease, *The Emancipation of Englishwomen*, p. 138.

Had Mill written to-day he would certainly have revised this judgment, just as the woman's movement will be forced to revise its official statements of the conditions of progress in the future, by the recognition of that other legacy from ages when the fittest found it so difficult to survive—militarism and international pugnacity. The connection between warfare and male domination in the past would be granted by many who imagine that this connection nevertheless ceased at some moment when modern history is supposed to begin. But unfortunately their nebulosity cannot be justified. Militarism and an androcentric culture go hand in hand; and together they oppose that ideal of social co-operation on which the women's movement must ever base itself. And that this is so is not only the lesson of history, but is clear from general considerations.

THE BRUTALISING EFFECTS OF WAR.

Our standard authorities whose works still mould the thought of the rising generation have been far too ready to use phrases implying that war and its accompaniments were a thing of the past. But none of those few who have troubled to study the social effect of warlike habits is more instructive than Bagehot, who goes so far as to ask tentatively whether "the spirit of war does not still colour our morality far too much." But so intent is he on the softer growths that "have now half-hidden the old and harsh civilisation which war made" that he allows himself to imply, as these last words do imply, that war no longer determines the essentials of social structure. Events are proving him wrong; but just because war is now revealed as a more fundamental factor in modern life than Bagehot supposed, his estimate of the effects of militarist organisation is all the more valuable as an impartial analysis.

All that may be called "grace" as well as virtue, he tells us,* is not nourished by war and preparations for war; humanity, charity, a nice sense of the rights of others, it certainly does not foster; insensibility to human suffering is an essential part of the legacy of war to the world. The trained warrior does not readily revolt from the things of war, and one of the principal of these is human pain. Men have become more tender to one another not because they have improved but because there are fewer soldiers: for soldiers as such, soldiers educated simply by their trade, such thoughts and feelings are too hard to understand. But the essential point is reached when we are told of the "contempt for physical weakness and for women which marks early society. The non-combatant population is sure to fare ill during the ages of combat." Belgium, Poland, Galicia, Scarborough, to say nothing of Cardiff—it is a pity that Bagehot is not alive to bring his analysis up to date!

ITS CREATION OF MASCULINE INSTITUTIONS.

But it is not only by its insensibility to that human suffering and cruelty against which women for ever revolt, and by its contempt for physical weakness, that war stands in the way. Such an atmosphere is fatal to the reform of social abuses. But militarism goes further and creates the institutions whereby such an evil is crystallised. It creates by its own natural requirements that nucleus of exclusively male professions and of exclusively male direction which is the most formidable barrier opposed to women to-day. It is formidable because of its long tradition, for it is rooted in the necessities which primitive warfare created. The characteristic institution whereby the primitive warrior secured control of affairs and set the tone of society was the Man's House.

**Physics and Politics*, p. 78. It is significant that Dr. McDougall, one of the few modern psychologists who has written on the social psychology of war, refers to Bagehot's "brilliant essay" (McDougall, *Social Psychology*, p. 283, on the Instinct of Pugnacity); while Professor J. Shield Nicholson writing during the war (*Economic Journal*, Dec. 1914, p. 548) refers in unqualified terms to Bagehot's "perennial freshness." Bagehot, like Mill, is of importance as having influenced two generations of University thought. *Physics and Politics* is still a *sine qua non* for any youth who aspires to an Oxford scholarship!

"Over the greater part of the world," we have been told by an anthropologist,* "from the South Pacific Islands, through Australia, Melanesia, Polynesia, Africa and America, an institution has been observed common to nearly all savage tribes called the 'Man's House.' The savage, instead of living a simple domestic life with wife and child, lives a double life. He has a domestic home and a social home. In the domestic home are his wife and family; in the Man's House is passed all his social civilised life.

"To the Man's House he goes when he attains maturity.

"It is his public school, his university, his club, his public-house. Even after marriage, it is in the Man's House he mainly lives. For a woman to enter the Man's House is usually tabu; the penalty is often death.

"But what is most significant from our point of view is its military aspect: 'The entertainment of strangers, all contact with news from the outside world, is reserved for the Man's House. There he discusses the affairs of the tribe, there holds his parliament; in a word, a Man's House is 'the House' and has all its 'inviolable sanctity.'"

The Man's House still exists, but it has added new buildings to its once simple structure. In it a nation's affairs are still discussed, and it also succeeds in finding room for Law, Medicine, Education, Church. And why this persistence and this extension? Because that body which had supreme control of the affairs of war in the tribe, and whose business it was to provide money for war in the nation which succeeded to the tribe, has slowly and consistently extended its sphere of influence to all departments of human life. The state is still constituted primarily as if for war. When the noise of battles cannot for the moment be heard, this military foundation is obscured by a myriad mushroom social growths, and even women dare to raise their heads and demand that voice in affairs which taxation or oppression seems to necessitate. But at the sound of the martial trumpet the graves are once more opened, and the reforms and aspirations of peace laid peaceably to rest.

The androcentric bias which military organisation creates is seen in the development of those exclusively male professions into which women are still trying to force an entry. The direction or control of all these by men alone has gained and still gains colour and sanction from the exclusively male control, which, in its own sphere, war demands. And not war alone, but that fear of war which directs much of our social life in times of peace. But the Man's House has not only multiplied its functions; it has extended its activities in a new and unexpected direction. Though still dominated by considerations of military expediency—army and navy estimates, foreign policy, and the flag which trade shall follow—it is forced more and more to interfere with the affairs of the family and in particular with the life and work of woman. To the authority of man inside the home is added the external authority of the Man's House as such—that house which women may not enter, since war and preparation for war which still determine its action in so many ways are the concern of man alone.

HOW MILITARISM PERVERTS—(i.) INDUSTRY.

From these direct and inevitable characteristics of a state organised for war, let us turn to the perversion by militarism of the forces which might be expected to work for peace. In modern times the hope of women has lain in the industrial developments of the past two centuries. Industrial development which like the movement for emancipation not only demands peace in its own interests but is itself directly conducive to a pacific mode of life. Industry has been woman's special sphere whether in its origins† or in the later ages when she made in the house itself‡ the soap, candles, beer, bread, sheets, blankets, boots, clothes, with which she has since migrated to the factory. The independent wage which she there earned encouraged her to think of an independent life; the discarding of weapons of aggression and defence in civil life and the victory of internal order over personal violence enables her to live alone. Industrialism flourishes on peace—and industrialism it was which gave birth to the idea of emancipation. Industrialism

of itself encourages the forces which make for peace—the smooth working of the industrial machine abhors the inroads of violence; the exchange of goods implies a mutual understanding, production and salesmanship, an appreciation of the interest and desires of others which work directly against the military conceptions of forcible appropriation and the hostility of groups; in a word those patient and peaceful habits of industrious construction give a value to the work of man's hands which is entirely alien to the habits of the warriors who ply their trade of destruction as we know it in history. It has been well said that in marketing* woman is in her element, but the "marketing" of war is to requisition, to commandeer, to billet.

Industry and commerce thus taken in and for themselves tend in the direction of peace, but this peaceful tendency is only too often overshadowed so long as the traditions of militarism prevail. "England indeed grew ever more warlike as she grew more commercial," says Sir John Seeley. "Commerce in itself may favour peace, but when commerce is artificially shut out by a decree of government from some promising territory, then commerce just as naturally favours war."† Thus we cannot look for any permanent improvement from the operation of economic forces alone. As long as public opinion is not convinced on other grounds of the sacrilegious folly of war, so long will the opportunity of war engender war itself: for men trained in the ethics of imperialism will apply that ethic to the advancement of their individual interests in the business world. We do not need to attribute the whole of the spirit of capitalistic competition to the influence of military ideals in order to acknowledge the great part which the latter have played in directing the industrial development in the past two centuries. Is not Admiral Mahan the evangelist of all Sea Powers of both the New World and the Old? Are his works not held up to the admiration of every Public School boy in England to-day—and have they not profoundly influenced the military preparation not only of England and America but in an even more striking manner of Germany and Japan? And what is his gospel? "Governments," he emphatically declares "are corporations, and corporations have no souls... they must put first the rival interests of their own people. Predominance forces a nation to seek markets, and where possible to control them to its own advantage by preponderating force, the ultimate expression of which is possession... an inevitable link in a chain of logical sequences: industry, markets, control, navy bases." Precisely, and already in his teens the business man unconsciously applies the lesson. Business firms are corporations... no souls... ultimate expression... inevitable link... logical sequences: and we wonder why the harsh ideals of barbarism survive in the modern world where national militarism has been reinforced by that industrial militarism which deserves no better name. Is it not here significant that the only point at which women have hitherto seriously impinged on the scene of strife is in the "Women's Co-operative Guild"? Perhaps Miss Llewellyn Davies will one day be known as the Florence Nightingale of Industrial Warfare.

(ii.) RELIGION.

But marked as is the domination of the industrial world by military ideals, industry is not more unfortunate than other tendencies which make for peace and favour emancipation. In spite of all that Christianity has done to soften the heart of the world it is doubtful whether any body of ethical teaching has so often been adapted to meet the requirements of militarists as that contained in the Gospels. "The Lord Jesus Christ is not only the Prince of Peace, He is the Prince of War too," wrote Charles Kingsley in order to justify the Crimean War; "He is the Lord of Hosts, the God of armies, and whoever fights in a just war has Christ for his Captain and his Leader." And since no people as a whole ever yet fought in a war which they did not conceive to be just, the Sermon on the Mount does not in itself allow us to hope that official Christianity will refrain from subjecting its behests to modern interpretation. And apart from this general disadvantage we must remember that militarism is quite capable of using the purest religious motives

*Und ueberhaupt das Parlamentieren, worin the Frau Meisterin ist (Mueller-Lyer, *Phasen der Liebe*, p. 190).

†The *Expansion of England*, p. 128. The same thing has been pointed out by Dean Inge recently with even more force

*Miss Jane Harrison in *Homo Sum*.

†Sir L. Gomme, *Folklore as an Historical Science*, p. 257.

‡Ethel Snowden, *Feminism*, p. 38.

deliberately for its own purposes. "The soldier knows no law but force," said Napoleon, "sees nothing but force and measures everything by force. The civilian only looks to the general welfare. The characteristic of the soldier is to wish to do everything despotically." What was Napoleon's religion? A Christian may well hesitate to answer this question, but there is no doubt as to the way in which the Patron Saint of all who "do everything despotically" conceived of religion in the interests of the military ideal. In 1807 Napoleon thus formulated his ideals on a sound useful education for girls. "We must begin with religion in all its severity. Do not admit any modification of this. We must train up believers, not reasoners. The weakness of women's brains, the unsteadiness of their ideas, their function in the social order... all can only be attained by religion." They were to learn a little geography and history but no foreign language; above all to do plenty of needlework.* From the Code Napoleon we know what Bonaparte meant by "their function in the social order." But it is only from his biographers that we can learn the part which religion may be made to play in a militarist world; and the actual effect of Napoleon's ideas on the movement for the emancipation of women will be clear to anyone who remembers the prominent share taken by women during the revolution, and compares it with the scanty activities of women in the social life of France during the century which followed.

Similar instances could be given from every country, and one of the most instructive is to be found in the writings of Colonel F. N. Maude, C.B., England's leading military writer, whose standpoint is well indicated by the quotation which appears beneath our title. In his *War and the World's Life* he frankly faces the problem how to win the Churches to his point of view. He remarks (p. x.) "It is not easy to suggest how the clergy are to be approached in such a matter—it is too largely a question of the individual employed" on such propaganda! He adds "But much has been done in the past few years."

(iii.) EDUCATION.

The instance of Napoleon has already introduced us to the perversions which education may similarly suffer; and here the effect of militarism is even more marked.

From earliest childhood the modern infant is nurtured in an atmosphere of war. Its very cradle is loaded with popguns, leaden soldiers, drums, and trumpets, the forerunners of the forts which it storms when it can scarcely walk, and of the rifle and sword bigger than itself which glorify the nursery on the first available Christmas Day. As soon as it can be trusted to appreciate differences of clothing, the uniform of Dragoon and Hussar make their appearance, or a cocked hat, which does duty as a symbol of Nelson or Napoleon. Then come the histories where the military exploits of an Alexander, a Caesar, a Turanne, or a Marlborough gradually dwarf in the infant mind even the ever-present warriors of the Old Testament—the heroes for whom the God of Battles made the sun stand still, while, like others in later times, the edge of their sword imposed a higher civilisation on the hapless tribes of Canaan! History proper begins when lists of warriors and dates of battles can first conveniently be memorised. About 90 per cent. of the population escape with a few such lists, and leave school at thirteen or fourteen with a vague memory of a few outstanding national warriors and of martial exploits chronologically arranged. A few go further and perfect this knowledge, and of these again a small proportion pass on to those abodes of learning—the Universities. What knowledge is assumed in the average student of history when he enters the University? Let the late Regius Professor of History at Cambridge reply. For years his duty was to inspire the best of them, and there is little evidence that matters have improved since his day. This is how he used to open his lectures to these youths already entered on manhood:—

*J. Holland Rose. *Life of Napoleon*, I., p. 291. Five pages earlier Dr. Rose informs the youth of England that Napoleon "united in his own person (p. 286) the ablest qualities of the statesmen and the warrior!" De Tocqueville puts it more clearly—"He was as great as a man could be without virtue."

"Hitherto perhaps you have learned names and dates, lists of kings, lists of battles and wars! The time now comes when you are to ask yourselves, to what end? For what practical purpose are these facts collected and committed to memory?" (Seeley, *op. cit.*, p. 3).

At the age of nineteen then it is at length permissible to ask, Why have I learnt this list of battles? But when we remember how infinitesimal a proportion of the community are privileged to continue their studies to this advanced age, it is clear that in the country as a whole the story of national wars and their makers forms practically the whole historical equipment of the voter. The slight improvement which was at length becoming discernible had, however, made but little headway. The average voter, the average municipal councillor, even—we may surely add—the average member of parliament, still thinks of the past in terms of warriors and battles; and since it is largely from his ideas of the past that he judges the present, it is small wonder that the male ideal prevails. And as in Parliament, so in the School. The men who write the histories are obsessed with this point of view, and so long as national rivalries loom so large there is little hope of change. All reformers, men and women alike, will have constantly to struggle with the traditions imposed on them in early years: and for women the case is aggravated by the fact that men for the most part still monopolise the writing of history which women must read, and men still direct the examinations by which the course of reading is so largely determined. It is small wonder therefore to find Mrs. Charlotte Wilson complaining of the utter inadequacy of existing histories as far as an understanding of the position of women is concerned. She explains, though without any reference to the influence of war, that as the individual man gradually emerged as a responsible, economically-independent citizen from tribal and mediaeval corporate life, with its concomitants of slavery and of serfdom, the woman remained the adjunct of the man, "She was his belonging; a creature attached civically and economically to him and under his control, and industrial history does not deal with her except incidentally. Her work, and its relation to her means of subsistence, are taken for granted and practically ignored by our historians. Consequently at every stage in our national economic development research into original contemporary sources must be made to discover facts about women as workers and consumers. With all deference to Rogers, Ashley, Toynbee, Hasbach and Cunningham, the economic history of this country from the point of view of the workers, to say nothing of the women workers, has yet to be written."

The italics are ours, and they reveal what one might have expected from the foregoing discussion. The influence of militarism on education is a grievous legacy, with far-reaching consequences. And its workings are all the more insidious because when all have been impregnated alike it is particularly hard to inaugurate a change.

The whole organisation of our educational system is influenced by the obsessions of military administration. Children in the elementary school are for the most part still literally drilled in the various subjects scheduled by the Educational Headquarters Staff. "Blind, passive, unintelligent obedience is the basis on which the whole system of Western education has been reared," says Mr. Edmond Holmes.* Why? Not entirely owing to the Doctrine of Original Sin, as Mr. Holmes would have us believe. There have been other reasons. Take the case of that glorious warrior, Frederick the Great—to come no nearer to modern times! He was under no illusions as to Original Sin. But he knew the value of obedient soldiers: as a great educationalist has pointed out, "He used the elementary school to make the masses stupid and to drill obedient subjects." Almost all that was taught in the schools was the repetition of tags from the Bible, of Hymns and of the Catechism, though Frederick himself declared that "religion was made to deceive men."† Such instances can be multiplied all over the world.

And in the Higher schools the cloven hoof is seen even more clearly. The Battle of Waterloo may or may not have been won on the Playing Fields of Eton, but if not, it was hardly

*What Is and What Might Be, p. 50.

†Robert Seidel in *The Cambridge Magazine*, Nov. 15, 1913.

the fault of Etonian organisation. Society itself begins by breaking children in to a game of killing before their minds act independently. It smears the blood of the dead fox or mutilated otter on the cheek of the little boy or girl who is in at the death for the first time. It goes on at Eton, half-a-century after Arnold abolished it at Rugby, to accustom him to the callous fun of the hare-hunt. He maims more than he kills, and the creatures which give him the best sport are precisely those that die hardest, after the longest struggle with terror and exhaustion. The English Public Schools are designed to turn out an Imperial race, a race of warriors, and it is not without significance that they are constructed on the Barracks system, and that their sport is all mimic warfare. Organised games, of which for many reasons England is justly proud, were the product of the fifties, and this is how those who supported their introduction defended them—"In these hard contested matches will be found by no means the worst competitive examinations for those of our gallant youth who, from a more favoured development of body than of brain, will and must take to the profession of arms. Many a fine fellow who would fail lamentably in extracting a cube-root will, in after life, face an enemy's square, and break it effectually."† We may compare with this a passage in one of the latest and most popular Public School novels‡ which by the best authorities is acknowledged to give a true picture of the atmosphere of such schools to-day, where the hero's bosom friend remarks: "The Head says a fellow who plays the brute at school, often turns out a ripping good chap afterwards. If he gets into the Army I daresay he'd make a first-rate officer." We are left in doubt as to whether this is intended as a compliment to the Army or is merely an attempt to justify bullying. That there may however be some connection between the two is seen in the observation of a writer in the *Daily News* during the correspondence which followed the publication of the book, that "bullying in my opinion forms an essential and valuable feature of the public school system."

In any case the success of sport has also been its Nemesis, and shortly before the war broke out the Headmaster of Dulwich was actually urging that "the best thing is to find some substitute for an overpowering desire to excel in games, and some rival for them in a young man's esteem"—and his remedy is compulsory military service in schools and colleges! A similar demand has been made by the late Lecturer in Military History at Manchester, that soldiers should be appointed elementary schoolmasters in order that "from the very first the children may be taught to look up to and respect the wearers of the King's uniform" and that in the schools "the youth of both sexes should learn what the Empire really means and is." The learned writer is appalled by the problem of "how to bring home to the millions of the working classes, from whom ultimately our fighting men are derived, the idea that their country, as they see it, is a conception worth dying for." To be willing to die in this manner they need to be fairly sensible, "sensible enough to answer to the verbal appeal of some straightforward soldierly chaplain"—therefore in addition to a sound religion a sound education is of course essential. We may well look forward with anxiety to the spirit which is to dominate the schools of the future. For there are two spirits abroad. One we have allowed to speak for itself: the other may be compressed into a few words and they are the words of a woman—the greatest of modern teachers—"How many times social problems centre about the necessity of rousing man from a state of 'obedience' which has led him to be exploited and brutalised."*

WHERE AND WHY PROGRESS WAS MADE.

Such then are the characteristics of militarism in all ages, and such the false standards it has set up and is still preserving. In every country in the world it still proves itself, whether it threatens within or without, the greatest foe of progress.

In England, as we have seen, the reality of its power has been obscured, but it is impossible to lay too much emphasis on the influences which have enabled the British Isles to enjoy a century of peace at home and yet to retain the warrior spirit untarnished. For as a nation Britain has been perpetually at war. We have the surprising fact that though during the Chartist riots "it became absolutely unsafe for an officer in

uniform to be seen alone in the streets," so that uniform was even discarded for a time for safety's sake, the nation has never for a moment entirely lost that underlying militarism which ever and anon has demonstrated its potent effect on social organisation. The reason is to be found in the picturesque phrase of the military historian who so often throws light on dark places. "India and the colonies still kept alive the sacred flame. India particularly proved our true salvation."* India in fact could always be relied upon to provide first-rate fighting practice! To India has gone the flower of the nation's manhood and of its administrative ability: and trained in the same school were the men who have in reality controlled the social destinies of the nation. Apart from such distant warfare we must also remember that the warrior spirit of England has been able to spend itself fruitfully and unobtrusively on the high seas, and to defend the island nucleus from war's alarms. So at home there was peace in actuality; and, as we have seen, Mill himself wrote in the midst of peace. But, contemporaneous with the rise of the woman's movement, there rose the new Imperialism. The Crimea and the Mutiny had aroused the public mind: there followed the Volunteer movement, Sir John Seeley, Admiral Mahan, the Navy League, National expansion and an International jealousy in which all countries emulously participated until the great Day of Reckoning arrived—1914, and the women of England still without even their votes.

But England was able to make a start, in virtue of comparative peace at home: for certainly the spirit of continental Europe late into the 19th century was not such as to encourage women to take an active part in national life. Colonel Maude preserves for us a military chorus which he says is characteristic of the spirit of pre-seventy times. It runs:—

So leben wir, so leben wir, so leben wir alle da;
Des Morgens bei dem Brantwein, des Mittags bei dem Bier,
Des Abends bei der Maedle in die Nacht Quartier.

His comment is instructive: "It may be imagined what a cheery time the smart, well set-up soldier was able to provide for himself, at the expense of anxious matrons, and particularly of housekeepers." In fact the cheeriness of it was all-pervasive, and we can even detect a touch of pride in the Colonel's further testimony that "the civilian had no chance in the competition for women compared with the soldier, nor could he always keep one even after he had married her."

And as in England so in other countries where martial needs have been less pressing and martial ideals less potent. The status of women is highest in those European countries which by position or circumstance have been free from the desire or necessity of straining every nerve for imperialist or defensive ends. And, other things being equal, the converse also holds. Take the case of Finland, "one of the happiest, most enlightened, and prosperous countries in Northern Europe," as Mr. Dover Wilson described her at the end of 1914. In Finland men and women have equal rights, and on the page opposite to that on which her virtues are recorded the same author remarks quite casually: "Without army, court, or aristocracy, and consequently without the traditions which these institutions carry with them, she presents the greatest imaginable contrast to the Empire with which she is irrevocably linked." Here in a word we have the main cause of Finland's progress. Is it true that her fate is irrevocably sealed?

The same facts may be observed elsewhere, and already the women of the United States and of New Zealand are beginning to realise what they owe to the peace their countries have enjoyed and to the absence of those Armies and Navies which so many would like to see them possess. Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun tells us, in her vigorous attack on feminism, *The Vocation of Woman*, that she has "heard an eminent Colonial ex-statesman, who is a prominent supporter of votes for women, base his argument on the hypothesis that we have as an Imperial race passed through the stage of acquisition, in which man must play a predominant part, and are now in the stage of organisation where the sexes are equal." If this were indeed assured the future of women would be bright indeed, but there are other voices. Listen to that of Mr. Sinclair Kennedy in his recent book advocating the federation of the English-speaking peoples as a world power, *The Pan-Angles*. It is thus that he

*Colonel Maude, *op. cit.* The italics are ours.

†*Quarterly Review*, October, 1857.

‡*Hugh Rendal*, by Lionel Portman.

*Montessori, *The Montessori Method*, p. 363.

speaks of America whose women owe so much to the peace their country has enjoyed: "We think we are a peaceful people, and deprecate as bad form the huge expenditures made by European nations for military and naval preparations. Some Americans contemplate their small army as though their nation were by that proved virtuous, much as though the learned Babu, contemplating the fur-clad Eskimo should pride himself on his own tropical attire. Like the sons of wealthy shopkeepers who disdain to demean themselves by trading, we Pan-Angles forget sometimes on what harsh foundations was laid our present exemption from harshness."

And for the future, he declares, the harshness is again inevitable: though the writer admits that social progress (including of course female suffrage, which he does not mention) is largely due to peace. "Since the throes of the eighteenth century, North America has been developed, and Australia and New Zealand have prepared themselves for large populations—all undisturbed by fear of invasions. In these newer countries have been nurtured many of the ideals of the race. There have been tested not only the federal idea, but also many political and social reforms. And it is well for us that this reign of peace has continued so long, not merely because peace is to be desired, but because of the strength it allows to accumulate for struggles to come. That this long peace is unusual, that struggles will come, history teaches." The italics, as above, are ours and they serve to make clear the fate which awaits these ideals that peace has nurtured—a fate towards which in our blindness we may easily allow them to drift.

The lesson is clear enough: for everywhere people are being forced to realise the influence which militarism exerts on moral standards and in every case in a direction unfavourable to women. But hitherto feminist writers have been content to refer casually to this fundamental obstacle to the progress of their ideals. "The service of mother," wrote Ellen Key in *The Woman Movement*, "must receive the honour and oblation that the state now gives to military service"; but no particular emphasis is laid on the false standards which militarism creates, no mention made of the interest which women, simply as women, ought to take in the furtherance of peace ideals. Yet when the war broke out Ellen Key was amongst the first to voice the horror and distress with which feminists all over the world greeted its denial of their aspirations.

THE NEED FOR ORGANISED ACTION.

It has not been that the leaders of the movement decided to concentrate first of all on political enfranchisement in order thus to exert a peaceful influence from within their nations. They have repeatedly thrown themselves into many schemes which bore only indirectly on the political ends they had in view. They have constantly written and agitated for other ideals of womanhood than those which they have kept immediately before their supporters. They neglected the danger of militarism which threatened even their own immediate ends. Olive Schreiner, for instance, in that fine passage in *Woman and Labour*, where she contrasts the ideals of man and woman in relation to war and the destruction of life, deals with one side of the question only. "The relations of the female," she says, "towards the production of human life influence undoubtedly even her relation towards animal and all life. It is a fine day, let us go out and kill something! cries the typical male of certain races, instinctively. There is a living thing, it will die if it is not cared for, says the average woman, almost equally instinctively." And she goes on to remark that "War will pass when intellectual culture and activity have made possible to the female an equal share in the control and governance of modern national life; it will probably not pass away much sooner; its extinction will not be delayed much longer, . . . it is we especially, who in the domain of war, have our word to say, a word no man can say for us. It is our intention to enter into the domain of war and to labour there till in the course of generations we have extinguished it."

And in the meantime—what?

"For the vast bulk of humanity, probably for generations to come, the instinctive antagonism of the human childbearer to reckless destruction of that which she has at so much cost

**Woman and Labour*, p. 176.

produced, will be necessary to educate the race to any clear conception of the bestiality and insanity of war."

Herein lies the error. Instinctive antagonism is not enough: for war itself constitutes the main obstacle to that equal share in the control and governance of national life which is to inaugurate the era of peace and reasonableness. If women were to apply the same argument to political enfranchisement and to rely on their instinctive antagonism to tyranny and oppression as a method of securing the vote what would be their position to-day? Unfortunately we must realise the value of organisation and propaganda as the necessity of modern times. We must keep a definite end in view: and side by side with the abolition of Sex-inequality in the exercise of the political rights, the feminist movement must declare its active opposition to Militarism as the menace of all women in all nations. Side by side with the forces that are working actively against the perpetuation of warfare in the future women, as women, must take their part, in their own interests primarily but also for the benefit of humanity. The task may be tremendous, but success cannot be doubtful, for where the interest and the instinct of half the human race are united in a determined effort it is hard to believe that mere tradition, however bestial, will find it possible to survive. Such an effort, and not the wars against which it is directed, is the real "indispensable necessity of human progress."

THE CASE OF HAWAII.



THE WAR GOD OF HAWAII.

(From the British Museum.)

HAWAII IN WAR AND PEACE.

"In times of peace the people were subjected to frequent drills. When hostilities were determined upon, recruiting officers were sent out to summon as many warriors as might be needed. If any did not come, after due summons, a second officer was sent, who cut or slit one of their eyes, tied a rope around their body, and in this manner led them to the camp."

THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN HAWAII.

"As a wife she was subject to her husband's will, and was cast off when no longer pleasing at his option."

(Blackman. *The Making of Hawaii*)

THE CASE OF BURMA.

Those who heard, or have read, Mrs. Chapman Catt's report, as President of the International Suffrage Alliance in 1913, on her visit to women in the East, will remember her terrible picture of depression and degradation. In the East militarism and military institutions still reign supreme; and everywhere women are in a desperate position—with one single exception. "The freest women in Asia are the Burmese," said Mrs. Catt. "In that land rights for men and women are practically equal." Why this exception? The question has recently been asked in the *Cambridge Magazine*, whence what follows is taken; and to understand the answer we must go back to the days when Gautama the Buddha dwelt in a little kingdom in the north-east of India.

No Buddha was he in those days: only a Prince, the Sakya Prince, Siddhartha Gautama. He was strong, we are told, he was handsome and a famous athlete. A wife had he still and fair women to dance before him, and a joyful son withal. His future was full of all power, might, majesty, and dominion; and his father looked forward to the time when he should become a leader of armies, should lead his subjects against the neighbouring kings, and in time create for himself a world-wide Empire.

Then it came to pass that on a day the Prince saw a Dead Man, that he learnt of death and suffering, that he saw the mystery of life, and saw too the vanity of Empire for which men murder one another. Straightway he sought for the laws that should lead mankind to the Great Peace.

Straightway the Prince Gautama forsook his dancing women, forsook his three palaces, the palace for the time of rains, the palace for the flower time and the palace for the fruit time. He forsook his wife and his son—that the wives and the sons of other men might have Peace. He the supreme Pessimist! He whose Optimism saw that the world might be ruled by righteousness, that the world might cease from strife and from the sin of battles, and might be at Peace with itself.

And the world—did it learn his wisdom? Once. Nearly.

**

A few years ago an Englishman who knew the East, as few Europeans have known it, gave to the Western world an interpretation of the life and thought of an Eastern country which made Europe feel that here was something new and strange. "I wanted," he said, "to write only what the Burmese themselves thought"; and the result was that for a moment the barrier which separates East and West seemed to be broken down.

The veil was lifted, and we saw the happiest people in the world; without nobles, without landowners, without bankers, without merchants. A people enamoured of freedom, a people amongst whom all is open, a people where all men are brothers. The Burman does not care to be rich; he has learnt to despise wealth. He is overflowing with charity. He wants and he has love and companionship, fresh air and sunshine, and the great thoughts that come to you in the forest. He wants friends, he wants sympathy, he wants the joy of children. He believes that happiness is the best of all things. As we read of him we can breathe quietly in sheer delight; for here is he who toils hard and who is poor, but to whom life is one great festival, longer and larger than those wherein his joy is publicly celebrated.

"When you see the Burmese at their festivals, speeding the hours with song and dance and merriment, when you see the pleasure they take in bright clothes, in gaiety of demeanour, in the pleasanter things of life, you will laugh too."

And what of the women?

In Burma women have equal rights with men. They are free, they have the same rights to property, they have equal opportunities for work. They have succeeded in imposing on the people generally many ideas which elsewhere are confined to the women alone.

What ideas are these? They are those for which the Prince Gautama forsook his wife and his son that the world might learn the law of peace.

That the command of the Buddhist faith over the Burmese people is due to the ascendancy of the women and women's ideas is very clear.

Again we ask. How was this possible? And a third time the answer comes without qualification. It is due to peace, to freedom from war.

The ascendancy of women was due to the secluded life the nation lived.

We have put three questions, and all of them we have been able to answer in the very words of the author of those two great interpretations of Eastern life *The Soul of a People* and *A People at School*. Let us learn from Mr. Fielding Hall yet a little more of this strange people, and let us also learn how they are to be purged of their misguided follies.

A FREEDOM UNKNOWN ELSEWHERE.

First of all as to the ultimate cause of Burmese happiness. There can be no doubt about it. We are told so again in other words, "In Burma here, living their sheltered lives, never forced back by the rude blasts of an invading world, women gained a great ascendancy. They assumed a freedom unknown elsewhere." This freedom and this ascendancy, possible only in the absence of war, the women turned to good account. The Buddha had taught the law of Happiness, had shown the way to the Great Peace—the Peace of the Soul; and his religion told that the Peace of the Soul was not possible if man should murder man in war. "Its tenets and beliefs are women's tenets; they come easily to women's hearts, who believe by nature in the milder virtues; religion such as Buddhism is to them an evident truth."

And the evident truth is this, "Thou shalt take no life." There is no exception to that at all, not even to a patriot fighting for his country. "Thou shalt not take the life of even him who is the enemy of the king and nation." If a man goes to the monks they can but say, "See the law, there is no good thing but peace; no sin but the strife of war." Buddhism, we learn, never bent to popular opinion, never made itself a tool in the hands of worldly fashion.

No soldier could be a true Buddhist; no nation of Buddhists could be good soldiers. No ravished country has ever borne witness to the prowess of the followers of the Buddha; no murdered men have poured out their blood on their hearthstones killed in his name; no ruined women have cursed his name to high Heaven. No Psalm has been sung in his temples to honour the warrior that taketh the foeman's children and dasheth them against the stones. Never has the Sun stood still that his people might not cease from the slaughtering of their enemies. He was the preacher of the Great Peace, of love, of charity, of compassion; and so clear is his teaching that it can never be misunderstood.

Yet the Burmese are like other men. They are but men, and men will fight. They have been surrounded by warlike tribes: they have been led astray by ambitious kings; and in their wars they have even been cruel—like other nations. They have fought in Siam, in Assam, and in Pegu; and above all they have fought against the English. But they have never fought in the name of their faith. The Burman can be very brave. When he is wantonly attacked, sometimes the animal within him leaps out and he cannot suppress his human bravery. But he sins with his eyes open; he makes no excuses; he looks for no reward. The foeman's sword is no key to open to him the gates of Paradise; his monks do not come near to close his dying eyes with murmurs of the justice of his cause. Yes, he can be very brave. In Buddhism there is no fear of death.

THE MIRACLE OF MIRACLES.

But the instinct of pugnacity has been tamed; the miracle has been performed. Let us once more quote verbally that there may be no mistake:—

His instincts make him like hunting, lead him to kill noxious beasts and reptiles. But in every home the mother and wife enforce the prohibition against taking life.

This influence of women is surely the most precious and wonderful thing in history, and the picture of Burmese women, of women in the only country which has ever known the meaning of peace, is indeed one at which we may pause. Peace has meant

everything to them. They knew no limits but their own disinclination, and their weaknesses were little handicap to them. They came and went as freely as the men did, seeking for escort only where there were dangers to be feared, wild beasts or floods; of men they had little fear. The dangers that await women elsewhere when alone in fields or forests were small in Burma. The men respected the women, and the latter could defend themselves. The result is that she has been bound by no ties, and had no frozen ideals of a long dead past, no hoary patriarchal traditions, held up to her as eternal copies. She has looked after herself, and the marks of this freedom and of this development are seen everywhere. Thus the administration of the law in all that concerns sex is the same for man and woman; marriage, inheritance, divorce, criminal law—all alike show no partiality. Nor is it surprising to learn how strange it is, talking to Burmese girls, to see how much they know and understand of the world about them. It is to them no great mystery, full of unimaginable good and evil, but "a world that they are learning to understand, and where good and evil are never unmixed." They have no "accomplishments," for very few Burmese girls are left with superfluous time on their hands. And of the children we are told "they grow up little merry naked things, sprawling in the dust of the gardens, sleeping in the sun with their arms round the village dogs, very sedate, very humorous, very rarely crying."

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If this were all we might merely close with the remark, "Very imaginative, very pretty," and forget about it as soon as possible in order to be free to subscribe to some Burmese Mission. But that is not quite all; for there is the future to consider.

We have quoted Mr. Fielding Hall. We are aware that some writers disagree with him—but whether or no his picture be accurate, it is important to discover the steps which so enlightened and sympathetic a writer advocates in order to preserve for the world this wonderful social heritage—this model for the advocates of women's rights in all lands. It may be that he has idealised the Burmese. That is no concern of ours. He has at least given us an ideal which they may strive to attain if they have in fact failed to reach it. What are the author's own views for the future? They are all the more significant because Mr. Hall was recently a government official, and went through the Burmese war, obtaining as Political Officer, 1887-91, a medal and two clasps. His opinion must carry considerable weight, and to judge from his writings will be decidedly more liberal than that of most administrators and officials in the East. Indeed, we may gather this from a discussion of the doctrine of Peace set forth above with a soldier friend. "What is the use," asks the friend, "of this religion that we see so many signs of? What do these monks do? I never see them in a fight, never hear that they are doing anything to organise the people. What is the use of Buddhism?" He was a brilliant soldier, comments Mr. Hall, and a religion was to him a sword, a thing to fight with. That was one of the first uses of a religion. He knew nothing of Buddhism; he cared to know nothing but whether it would fight. If so it was a good religion in its way. If not, then not.

WHAT'S WRONG WITH THE BURMESE?

So much for the opinion of the soldier. Now for the administrator. He has described the country. He has described its ideal—the Great Peace. Into this country, as he tells us, has come the British Government with sword and rifle preaching another faith. How it came does not concern us directly. It is a terrible tale. Let us remain silent. The religion of Burma delivers the country bound to its enemies. The conquest was not difficult. The Burmese were goaded to sin against their faith and offered some small resistance. "But to-day," says Mr. Hall, "the laws are ours, the power, the authority. We govern for our own objects, and we govern in our own way. Our whole presence here is against their desires."

Great Britain has power to do what she will. She can encourage or destroy the faith that has made for peace. She can allow the capitalist system to undermine the position of women, or she can prevent it from doing so. What is being done? What ought to be done? The question is of interest to women as well as to men. *She that hath an ear to hear let her hear.*

There are two things, we are told, wrong with the Burmese:—

1. They have not learnt the art of fighting.
2. They have not learnt that the world is a man's world.

Therefore—

1. The men must be taught to fight.
"I can imagine nothing that could do the Burmese so much good as to have a regiment of their own to distinguish itself in our wars. It would open their eyes to new views of life." *A People at School* p. 264.
2. The women must surrender their liberty in the interests of man.
"It has never been good for women to be too independent."
"It improves a man to have to work for his wife; it makes a man of him." *A People at School* p. 266.

We may open our eyes in amazement and horror: but there it is. All that is good and beautiful comes from its religion of peace and from the equality of man and woman. But they must be taught that "the world is a man's world." They have not realised the great truth. Why?

"Their Faith stands in the way, and their Women."

Such are Mr. Hall's words: and the arguments by which he establishes his conclusions are most instructive.

A THOUSAND YEARS BEHIND US!

First of all as to the Faith which stands in the way. That is to be cured not by another Faith but by War. When the missionaries from Europe tell the Burmese Buddhist that our success is due to our Faith, the Burmese Buddhist laughs. He reads the Sermon on the Mount and reflects. He turns upon the missionary and says, "Your faith denounces war, but you attack and subject us; your faith denounces riches but you pursue them all day long; your faith preaches humility, but there are none so proud as you. You succeed because you do not believe, not because you do."

But what the Burman wants is, Mr. Hall thinks, not Christianity or any other Faith. He already has too much faith. He has been nursed and cosseted and thrived at too much. He must get up and fight. "He must throw off his swaddling bands of faith and find the natural fighter underneath. He must learn to be savage if necessary, to destroy, to hurt and push aside without scruple. He must learn to be a man."

No wonder Mr. Hall could write that amazing sentence—"It must never be forgotten that their civilisation is relatively a thousand years behind ours." Perhaps it will be some consolation to them to observe how much the present War will throw us back. For hitherto they had failed to realise the futility of peace. The eternal verity that the world belongs to the strongest, the Burmese had forgotten. "In their great valley between the mountain ranges and the sea, free from all invaders, with a kindly earth yielding food in ample quantities, it had fallen into the second place. The manly nature had sunk into disrepute, rusted by disuse, unsharpened by the clash with the weapons of others." Poor misguided creatures, they valued their ideal of Peace too high. They had made a Religion thereof to establish it the more securely; "Religion," says Mr. Hall, "which is true only when second to the truths of life, was exalted into the first place. The greater truth may be when rightly understood, the more false its falsehood when it is misplaced. And in Burma Buddhism had risen to that place."

But foul as are the horrors of peace, the high position of women has had even more disastrous results. We have seen how the women repressed the natural fighting propensities of the males. So sheepish did men become under this regime that their instincts no longer served them in the choice of good and evil. "That hunting was a grand and brave sport, that war was a pleasure and a glory never occurred to them."

Yet strange to tell "the men are not effeminate." Rather, they are naturally courageous; and when roused by the British invasion they fought long and bravely. No, it is on other grounds that they must be taught to fight and introduced to the glories of war. It is on other grounds that women must surrender their liberty. Hear, O ye nations:—

MEN ARE MEN AND WOMEN ARE WOMEN!

This great truth and its inevitable consequences are set forth as follows. "What man can do best it is best he should do. If it brings him great power, greater authority, it also gives him greater responsibility. Such is best for both." It

may, we are told, be pleasant for a girl to be the equal heiress of her brother. But it is not the way to make the best either of law or money. Nor does it make the best men or women. It is not good for a man to be feminised. It is not good for him to feel that he has no greater right than a woman, for he immediately and rightly infers that he has no greater responsibilities. It is not good for him to have woman's ideals. A woman may say 'I am afraid.' It is her right. Courage is not a virtue that the world wants from woman. But for a man to be a coward and to openly confess and without shame that he is so is a sad thing. Now the Burmese generally are no cowards. They are naturally courageous. Yes, here we have it. It is the business of a man to fight, "and an army keeps alive the cult of bravery and discipline, of self-denial, of cohesion." To-day, alas "there is no army at all Even if a man be brave now and energetic, he has no scope for showing his qualities. To see a brave soldier rise to honour, to hear and see brave deeds done by one's own people is more ennobling to a nation than any wealth of any learning. The Burmese in their sheltered valleys learnt this virtue very little; they have now none of it. It is a loss. I do not see how a people worth anything can be made without it." The miserable Burmese think only of peace, of friendship, of joy, of sunshine and of happiness; they refuse to fight properly: "The regiments we have tried to raise have not succeeded. It is a pity. They may, however, succeed later. I can imagine nothing that could do the Burmese so much good as to have a regiment of their men distinguish itself in our wars. It would open their eyes to new views of life. But their faith stands in their way, and their women."

It was worth repeating this considered recommendation in order to be quite sure of the real meaning of Mr. Hall's proposals. Militarism in the East is a terrible thing. Think of the circular memorandum (quoted on pp. 17-19 of *The Queen's Daughters in India*) sent to all the cantonments of India by Quartermaster-General Chapman in the name of the then Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army (Lord Roberts), and beginning "In the regimental bazaars (*i.e.* in the chalka or brothel) it is necessary to have a sufficient number of women, to take care that they are sufficiently attractive, etc." Think of the hideous record of militarism revealed in the article "Militarism, Prostitution and Disease," in *The Shield* for January 1915. To all this Burma is to be exposed for the good of its soul!

We have, however, thus reached the conclusion we desired: and, in conformity with the new ideal, the Burmese are already being taught to kill animals. War itself will soon cure them of their peaceful habits. "What the surgeon's knife is to the diseased body that is the soldier's sword to the diseased nations."

BY SPEAR AND SWORD.

Again we must remember "the world is not a hospital but a battlefield. The gospel of progress, of knowledge, of happiness is taught not by book and sermon but by spear and sword." "Buddhism with its feminine ideals and its cult of peace, was never fitted to be leader of a race." We have seen the utter inadequacy of a religion that makes light of war. "To declare, as Buddhism does, that bravery is of no account; to say to them, as the women did, you are no better and no more than we are, and should have the same code of life; could anything be worse?" It is terrible: but ethnology here comes to our aid. "Men and women are not sufficiently differentiated yet in Burma. It is the mark of a young race. Ethnologists tell us that. In the earliest people the difference was very slight. As a race grows older the difference increases." So no doubt they will grow out of their absurd habits. In time they may even take to war, and learn their deficiencies from the glorious history of Europe.

DOWN, DOWN, DOWN—HURRAH!

In the meantime there is every hope that women will rapidly be reduced to the condition of their sisters elsewhere in the East. An alien domination and its influences are already threatening their position in many ways. Their means of livelihood is being taken from them. Hitherto they have been independent and powerful because they could live by their own efforts. To-day home industries are being killed as they have already been killed in Europe, and European institutions and methods are taking their place. "In Rangoon the large English stores are undermining the Bazaars where the women used to earn an independent livelihood." Everywhere trade

"is falling into stronger hands, as elsewhere in the world." Nothing is being done to counteract these tendencies. Nor should anything be done. Indeed we are told it is absolutely essential "that the laws of marriage and inheritance must be modified. All the changes are to the detriment of the position of the woman as it now stands."

Down, down, she goes: and Mr. Hall faces her degradation with complete equanimity.

"With her power of independence will disappear her freedom and her influence. When she is dependent on her husband she can no longer dictate to him. When he feeds her, she is no longer able to make her voice as loud as his is. It is inevitable that she should retire The nations who succeed are not the feminine nations, but the masculine. Women's influence is good provided it does not go too far. Yet it has done so here. It has been bad for the man, bad too for the woman. It has never been good for women to be too independent, it has robbed them of many of their virtues. It has never been good for men to feel that their women-folk were independent of their help. It improves a man to have to work for his wife and family, it makes a man of him. It is demoralising for both if the woman can keep herself and if necessary her husband too."

Why is it demoralising? Because the world is a man's world, and for no other reason! Burmese women must understand the new conditions. They must surrender their liberty in the interests of men. In return, however, they will receive safety, and the blessing of dependence. They will be able to rely upon their fathers, their husbands, their sons, more than they do now, and if the men are to have more power they must be ready to accept more responsibility. Women rule us in our youth, and in our age. But in the prime of life, it is the men who lead. The Burmese, as we have seen, have the characteristics which (as ethnologists tell us) belong to a young nation. And happily for them they are also a rising nation. "It is the mark of rising nations that men control and women are not seen."

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There have been many causes which have contributed to the degradation or subjection of woman in the past, but the most fundamental and universal of all are war and martial ideals. Some proof of this we have offered above, and the statement holds of Europe at the present time no less than of earlier centuries. The connection has sometimes been obscured but it is always there; in Burma its reality is revealed in the clearest form. To-day a great Empire is fighting for its existence; fighting, it claims, for liberty. For fifty years the women within that Empire have struggled for their liberty—and but few have yet attained it. The future of their cause is bound up with the future of militarism which has dominated the world in the past. Soon peace will come again, and with peace a parting of the ways: on the one side those who would perpetuate the old militarism and international pugnacity: on the other side the advocates of co-operation, with whom will be found the true followers of Christ not less than the disciples of Gautama. On which side will the women be found who now gaze helplessly at the slaughter, and whose own ideals, though they may not realise it, hang in the balance? The example and possible fate of Burma may not be without value to those whose minds are not yet made up; for apart from the lesson of that example it is on the decision and future of the women's movement in Europe and America that the future of women, not only in Burma but in the East generally, now largely depends.

When the Western world has settled its present differences, there is yet one more danger to face. East is East and West is West; but how many are striving to bring them together? Alliances and Governments alone can do but little here: often they may work directly, if unwittingly, towards further disunion. Knowledge, understanding and sympathy are necessary, and above all public opinion. Our story has shewn that even with the best of intentions men are not likely of their own accord to realise in which direction progress lies! At the moment perhaps little can be done. But sooner or later an attempt will have to be made to form this public opinion. Women have done much in the past to modify the ideals of men. It is perhaps not unreasonable to hope that in this matter, where their interests are so clearly identical all the world over and so clearly harmonise with those of civilisation as a whole, their united and conscious efforts might succeed where all else would fail!