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## BY-LAW.

"The I.W.S.A., by mutual consent of its auxiliaries, stands pledged to preserve absolute neutrality on all questions that are strictly national."

## NOTES.

### Victory in Denmark.

The autumn of 1914 brought a very severe disappointment to the Danish women. Just as we were on the point of getting our Suffrage, the war broke out, and all discussions about a new Constitution were stopped. Now, the spring of 1915 has brought our success! All the different political parties of the Parliament have agreed on the Bill that was presented to Parliament by the Government last year, after some changes had been made. The Bill has now passed through both Houses; a new election is going to take place, and the new Parliament has to pass the Bill once more in the same wording before it becomes a law. Most likely this will take place so early that the new Constitution can be signed by the King on the 5th of June—that is, our Constitution Day. The new Constitution gives the political Suffrage to women on exactly the same terms as to men.

ELNA MUNCH.

Copenhagen.

### War and the Moral Problem.

In every country war tends to increase the social evil; even in neutral countries mobilisation brings dangers in its train. In Holland conditions are better than might have been expected. Pains are taken to provide interests for the soldiers who have been drawn away from their homes. Indolence is the parent of vice. Lectures are organised, all kinds of literature distributed, and meetings held. In some parts of the country an increase in illegitimate births is expected; much depends on the character of the regiments, and that of the local population. The Society for the Abatement of Venereal Disease, founded last year by the Dutch Medical Association, presents each man in the army with a little pamphlet on this subject by Dr. Snoock Henkemans.

### Women's War Service.

The progressive extermination of the manhood of Europe is laying on women the burden of doing men's share of produc-

tive work, as well as their own. What will be the results to the young womanhood of Europe? What chance have the rising and future generations of healthy birth and upbringing in view of the overwork that will, unless checked, ruin the health of the mothers? One of the tasks of women's organisations during the war should be to safeguard the standard of life so slowly and painfully improved, and still very much too low.

The conference of British women's organisations with the Board of Trade brought out the bad conditions under which women are doing war work. In a great armament factory women are working 84 hours a week, while large numbers of unemployed women wait outside. Women are now being appealed to in every belligerent country to carry on the nation's work and help to win the nation's victory. In responding to the patriotic appeal, women should remember their imperative duty to safeguard industrial conditions. No greater disservice could be done to any country than for its women to lower the vitality of the race by submitting to conditions of overwork and underpay. Let them stipulate for decent conditions and a living wage before they add to their present work; otherwise Europe will have to mourn not only its men slain, but its children stunted and crippled.

An important conference was held in London on April 15th of representatives of trade unions, and Labour, Co-operative, and Suffrage organisations, at which the problems arising out of women's admission to trades hitherto closed to them were considered. A number of important resolutions were passed, urging that:—(1) All women employed on war service should be members of the trade union, and that men's trade unions should admit women as members; (2) that a woman should receive the same rate of pay as a man for the same work; (3) that every woman on war work should be guaranteed a living wage; (4) that women should receive maintenance during training at not less than £1 a week. Other resolutions urged the inclusion of women on the Advisory Committee of Workers appointed by the Government, and on Courts of Arbitration; and, finally, the granting of full rights of citizenship to women, on whom such heavy duties and responsibilities are now imposed.

### Chivalry and the Weaker Sex.

An infamous law has passed the New York Legislature increasing the working hours for women and children in canneries from 60 hours a week to 72. These workers are the poorest and most helpless in the community; they have no vote to protect them, so the "chivalry" of New York men hands them over to brutal and murderous overwork to fill the pockets of the cannery capitalists. This is the treatment of unfranchised womanhood in the New World! May the November election put a stop for ever to this infamy by giving votes to women.

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## Children and War.

One of the practical problems and duties facing women is the education of the growing generation in principles that will make war impossible. Militarism is nowhere more insidious than in its corrupting effect on the young. All the glamour thrown by historians on martial heroism, all the suppression of mention of the horrors and brutalisation and unspeakable suffering caused by war, tend to encourage martial ardour in the young. Mothers and teachers can do much to show the beauty and glory of a fruitful peace, and the blessings of civilisation, which can only develop in peace time; to show the true heroism and glory of lives devoted to the welfare of the country in peace, the concrete acts of bravery shown by miners, sailors, firemen, nurses, and doctors.

In Hungary the feminists are doing their utmost to protect the minds of children from some of the worst influences of war. In America an active peace propaganda is carried on among children, and everything is done to glorify peace, and to associate it in their minds with the picturesqueness and glamour reserved in militarist countries for martial spectacles. Much more may be done on these and similar lines, and the greatest responsibility will rest on mothers and teachers to impress on children from their earliest years the duty of every citizen to preserve and develop peace, and to avoid the horror and wickedness of war.

## British Women's Conference on a Permanent Peace Settlement.

A well-attended conference of representative women was held in London on April 14th, at which the following resolutions were carried:—

- I. (a) That in the opinion of this Conference, British women should, without waiting for the moment when peace becomes possible, discuss now and help to form public opinion upon the principles of national policy by which the peace may be a permanent one.
- (b) That this Conference urges the Government to declare without delay the terms upon which the Allies would be willing to make peace.
- II. (a) That in the opinion of this Conference of Women, the foreign policy of Great Britain should be subject to democratic control, and that to such end a thorough reform of the Foreign Office and Diplomatic Service and the abolition of secret diplomacy are essential.
- (b) That this Conference can only regard as democratic a system which provides for the equal representation of men and women.
- III. (a) That the claims of small nations shall be respected, and territorial rearrangements shall be in accordance with the wishes of the inhabitants of the territories affected.
- (b) That Belgium shall be restored to a place amongst European nations, with its territory unimpaired.
- IV. That the foreign policy of Great Britain shall not be aimed at creating alliances for the purpose of maintaining a balance of power, but shall be directed to concerted action between the Powers and the setting up of an International Council.
- V. That, pending the possibility of disarmament, Great Britain shall propose as part of the peace settlement

an international reduction of armaments, and that the manufacture of armaments should be nationalised as a means of preventing future wars.

VI. Additional resolution moved by a member of the Women's Co-operative Guild: This Conference of Women hopes that women who approve the objects of the Union of Democratic Control will accept its invitation to co-operate in working for those objects within the Union, thus helping to liberate the vital forces of the people and to direct them towards a constructive end.

## The Women's Movement in Argentine.

South America still remains unrepresented in the international Suffrage movement, but here and there women's aspirations begin to take shape. A Feminist Library has been started at Buenos Aires, with Mrs. Kay Robertson as president, Miss Banbury Perkins as secretary, Miss Mackinnon as treasurer, and Mrs. Urquhart as librarian. Gifts of good books and pamphlets on Suffrage and other questions affecting women would help a young and promising venture.

A correspondent in Argentine writes that there is as yet little or no interest in Suffrage among Argentine women, who marry very young, have large families, and are under clerical influence. Argentine girls and women cannot go out unchaperoned, and those outside the towns are separated by great distances. The laws, however, are more just to women than in some European countries, notably better than in England, where in matters of inheritance women are still treated in a medieval spirit. In Argentine a man cannot disinherit his wife and children. Moreover, children born out of wedlock inherit on the same terms as "legitimate" children. Being a Catholic country, there is, however, no divorce law, though one is under consideration.

The white slave traffic is very active and deadly, girls being imported from Europe. Efforts are being made to protect the girls by meeting the boats, etc., but though society tolerates the traffic it thinks any mention of it indecent! An influential Englishman has built a hostel where women artists can lodge, as they are exposed to great difficulties and dangers, being charged exorbitant prices in hotels. Although it has so far been considered very derogatory for a woman to work, a beginning has now been made by women as teachers and in the post office. The terrific heat during the three summer months, December, January, and February, does not conduce to activity.

## "Alma Dolens" and Italian Relief.

Signora Teresita Pasini, President of the Lombardy Committee for Woman Suffrage, well known as "Alma Dolens," has been actively engaged since the war in caring for the thousands of Italian families who have been forced to return to Italy from Austria and Hungary. Her committee collected funds, and women and children were supplied with clothes, milk, and medicine. Signora Pasini attended the Congress at The Hague in April.

## Woman's Progress in Egypt.

To-day the world-wide movement for the education and freedom of women has already made a strong impression on far-away conservative Egypt. Thirteen of the Government schools for the training of teachers have been especially set apart for women students, and now have an attendance of 2,030 girls, with forty-two trained women teachers. In one of these schools there were 138 applications for the thirteen student vacancies. Two thousand eight hundred and sixty-seven small village schools had an attendance of 22,002 girls last year.

The old men of Egypt are, as usual, conservative, and in a country where religion teaches that women have no souls, the wonder is not that there is objection to the education of women, but that the barriers of prejudice should have been so successfully broken down. Already the younger men are eager for educated wives; some of them are even sending their young wives to school or arranging to have them taught at home.

The life of an uneducated harem woman was described by one of them in these words: "I sit on that couch for a time, and when I get tired I cross over and sit on that one."

Apparently it is dawning on the younger men of Mohammedan countries that an educated wife and helpmate is more interesting and profitable than a woman whose most startling capacity is like that of "Sal," famous in Western song and story as a "blame good sitter."

## A Chinese Suffragist.

Mrs. W. K. Chung, Chinese educator and feminist, now visiting New York, founded the first Chinese private school for girls in Hong Kong ten years ago. Mrs. Chung is an authority on women, for she has been a leader in the uphill fight of Chinese women for education and other rights. She is an ardent Suffragist, and two years ago she voted for the members of the famous Assembly which included ten women. This Assembly led the Suffragists to coin the phrase, "Catching up with China."

"The resolution," said Mrs. Chung, "did much good, and it has not all been undone. There were many good laws passed which still obtain; one of them is a law giving women the right to control their property. Marriage laws and customs are better, too. We are beginning to have divorce in China—something which was quite unknown before." The reactionary party, which has now the upper hand in China, closed many of the schools, suspended the Assembly, suppressed the too radical papers, and punished their editors. "But in spite of the reaction," said Mrs. Chung, "we still have more rights than before the revolution; but, of course, women must go on fighting. We were side by side with the men on the revolution. We must go on working like that. We cannot trust the men to do our fighting for us." Mrs. Chung expects to return to China and continue her work as soon as her health will permit.

## Woman Left Out of Account in Turkey.

If women had had a voice in the councils of government, even in what are called the backward nations, perhaps the present world-wide disasters might have been averted. Here is what one Turkish woman, out of her seclusion, wrote some months before the present war, for publication in *Woman's World* (*Kadinlar Diunyasi*), a paper published in Turkish by Turkish women for Turkish women. It shows that "the modern spirit has entered the Turkish harem," says its translator, Miss Harriet Powers, of the American Mission, Adana, Turkey:—

"The chief factor in our new social state is *Woman*. As we study history, we find that hers is the chief rôle in the elevation of a people. Let us take it for granted that our men have broken with the old and accepted the new. They have risen, and the nation also. This, however, is a deceptive advance, because the women have not changed. For, look you, woman is the mother of the nation. The men who have adopted the new, will they live forever on this earth? Certainly not. They will pass, and in their place will come those brought up by their unchanged mothers. If the mothers are still guided by the old, they will cause their children to live the same old life, and the children will build the same old social state, the nation will lapse into its former condition, and will be liable to fall into utter ruin. Have we not often seen these partial and futile reforms in our own country?"

"Yes, many insignificant efforts have been made to save the country from its dying condition, and the chief reason for their failure is that woman has been left out of the account. If these changes had begun with woman, there is no doubt that so much effort would not have been in vain. Now we who have explained these truths fully believe that we women are to save our country, and we alone. Every race is elevated by the hand of woman; therefore are we striving as the men, and much more, to regenerate our country. Yes, we have at last learned that our country is in need of a radical change, and if it comes by woman's hand it will be a blessing indeed."

## Nederlandsche Anti-oorlog Raad.

An important international gathering was held at The Hague from the 7th to the 10th of April. The meeting, for which arrangements had been made by the "Dutch Anti-War Council," who sent invitations to a limited number of persons, was composed of more than thirty people, belonging to the following countries:—United States of America, Austria, Belgium, Germany, Great Britain, Holland, Hungary, Norway, Sweden, and Switzerland. Letters of sympathy were also received from Denmark, France, Italy, and Spain.

The object of the meeting was not to suggest steps to bring the war to an end, but to consider by what principles the future peace of the world could be best guaranteed. After full discussion, a minimum programme was unanimously adopted.

The action to be initiated in the different countries will be ultimately supplemented by an international propaganda. A "Central Committee for a Durable Peace" has been created as a link between national organisations. The Committee of the Dutch Anti-War Council, supplemented by members of other countries, will serve as the executive.

Secretary: Theresiastraat 51, The Hague.

## A SPIRITUAL ARMING FOR PEACE.

Day by day the human sorrow and suffering upon this earth are growing greater; with every hour the spiritual burden which we women bear grows heavier. Not one of us but grieves for some loved one torn from us in the bloom of health, or trembles for those who have yet to be sacrificed, however willing the sacrifice. A common sorrow weaves a bond between all of us who share in it. Women of all lands are going down into the valley of tribulation, and there in the awakening of our deepest consciousness, of slumbering emotions only stirred in rare moments of our existence, we come together in common trouble and gather strength for the common task which the turmoil of the world lays on our shoulders. We love our country with passionate love; we realise to the full its special individuality, which has a right to be perfectly respected. And yet, at a moment when the ideal of humanity stands in most imminent danger, we women must, as far as in us lies, strive to keep it safe and unscathed.

Amidst the death and horror, amidst our anxiety for our loved ones and our deepened love and gratitude towards our native land, we feel there is something at the bottom of our souls stronger than all our differences which binds us more closely together than before. We ask: What can we women at such a time throw into the scale to raise the dignity of mankind to a higher level, even now when the old order is being thrown down into the dust? And though we have not the right to order weapons to be laid down, there is one thing given us—a thing most bitterly needed if the spiritual and moral ravages of this war are not to be still more disastrous even than the loss of human life. We can and must put a stop to the warfare of thoughtless words and poisoned utterances; we must leave no waste ground for international rancour to bear its unhallowed fruits. Let us women put forth all our powers of heart and mind in this endeavour. Let us draw strength from the thought that in every land we have sisters who with equal courage are doing the same.

Peace is the one goal of every army; this we know and learn from every land. But we are threatened with the disappearance from the international consciousness of the knowledge that peace is an inward state, not an outward circumstance. The weapons of war can only create the outward possibility of peace; but peace itself, if it is to be anything more than a breathing space between wars, rests on a deeper basis. Bit by bit this basis is being undermined, and when the hour comes to lay down arms, it will find a generation of human beings quite unprepared for peace. We women must remember it is with spiritual weapons that we must during war itself fight the good fight for peace. We must form an army, courageous and far-sighted, led by spiritual pioneers whose work it is to build a boldly planned and firmly constructed bridge of communication across which those who are now divided by a world of misunderstanding may send hostages to each other bearing pledges of a new will to better understanding. This is the spiritual arming for peace. Yet nobody has thought of recruiting a free company for this service. Women, sisters of all lands, let us create this army; let us take up these weapons, labour in abundance—and not a day but summons us afresh to the battlefield. No time was ever so full of horror as the present, but none ever offered so much scope for the service of heart and mind towards a better future. Let each of us work undauntedly in her own circle to broaden it so that at last the day must come when all these broadening circles encounter one another.

And let us live in this faith, that those of our brothers, husbands, sons, now bearing untold suffering in the trenches for the sake of securing peace for their native land, who shall come back to us at the end of the war, may labour afresh at the creation of new values with which, for their country's weal, to enrich the common treasury of humanity—those loved ones will surely be grateful to us for keeping alight the sacred flame, the spiritual preparedness for the peace for which they have staked their lives.

Berlin.

ELISABETH ROTTEN.

## Women's Voice in the Peace Settlement.

It is already certain that some women will have a voice in the peace settlement after the war. The British Minister for the Colonies has promised the British Dominions Overseas that they shall be consulted, and they include Australia and New Zealand, where women vote. Why do not European women raise their voice and claim that they, too, shall be heard?

## FOR ENDURING PEACE.

A marked movement of opinion in favour of peace is manifest in Europe. It is not a question of immediate peace at any price, but of *future peace* which should have the character of a *lasting peace*.

We find the study of the conditions of this peace undertaken by a great number of committees, especially in the neutral countries, who are considering the bases of an international law. These committees include the *Nederlandsche Anti-oorlog Raad* (President, Dr. Dresselhuys, The Hague), *De Europeesche Statenbond* (President, Dr. Van Eeden, Blaricum, Holland), *La Ligue des Pays neutres* (President, M. Biguani, Lugano), *La Ligue pour la Paix durable* (President, M. Nippold, Switzerland), the Union of Democratic Control (Ramsay MacDonald, Norman Angell, C. P. Trevelyan, London). In Switzerland, parallel with the action of the League for Lasting Peace, we have several associations occupying themselves with the future peace. First of all are the Peace Societies grouped in Switzerland under the title, Swiss Peace Society (President, Dr. Bucher Heller, Lucerne), which has long existed, and has branches in most of the cantons. These societies have now joined together, and are at work examining Switzerland's part in the future peace.

The *Christian Social* groups do the same work; several important meetings have already taken place.

A movement is developing in the *National-Vaudois Church* (Prof. Emery, Lausanne). The *Christian Students' Association* has put the peace problem on its programme for Neuchâtel and Geneva. The Suffrage societies are working at the problem of international law, studying the results of the Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907. The Geneva Committee has started work. Probably the National Alliance of Swiss Women's Societies will also take up this question. Meanwhile it supports the fine movement recently founded in Geneva, *l'Union mondiale de la Femme*, which unites all women who are eager to draw people's minds together, and to prepare for a permanent peace. Its scope is more extensive than that of strictly feminist action, and the number of members that it can already count shows that the *Union mondiale*, which will continue after the war, is called to play an important part in the future.

If we compare what is being done in Switzerland—on the basis of absolute neutrality—with the rising movements in other countries, we shall be struck by the reaction produced in men's consciences by this frightful war, and by the growing desire for fraternity and peace which is awaking in men's hearts.

It only remains to be said what is meant by an *enduring peace*. The conference that meets to arrange terms of peace must not be only military and political: it must be pacifist. France and England have always worked to establish the bases of a future international law. We are certain that after the sad events in Belgium, the treaty of peace will contain guarantees of that kind, and that it will be possible to connect this Peace Congress with the transactions of The Hague, and to include in the terms of the protocol an article which will lead the way for the third Hague Conference called to establish finally the bases of a future scheme of arbitration between nations. Neutral countries, including America, can only support such a move, and work their hardest in its favour, whilst firmly retaining their neutrality.

It is with these objects that the various associations in Switzerland are working, and it is thus that they interpret the phrase, "an enduring peace." A. DE MORSIER.

N.B.—All papers on the pacifist movement may be addressed to me at Varembe, Geneva.

## THE HOLY REBELLION.

Those who hope that a reliable peace will immediately follow upon the conclusion of the present war, take, it seems to me, a far too sanguine view. Only later on, when a relative slackening of the nervous tension accompanying and surviving the war will have set in, can there be room again for the patient growth of work for peace. Such growth will be effected less by active propaganda than by the bitter experience of the effects left by war on the general conditions of the people's life. It is such experience that may be expected to bring about in the European nations a powerful reaction against the parrot teaching of war as a necessary and salutary element in human societies.

The way in which, after as well as during the war, women will in their own minds work out the consequence of such

experience will be for the peace movement of the utmost importance. The thinking and feeling of women may supply the continuous warm current which will melt the icy crust fastened by unreflecting mental repetition upon men's conception of and attitude towards war. The hate noticeable of late in women against the war is so far the only ray of light discernible on the horizon.

The *Holy Rebellion of Women Against the War* should be one of the means to reach the recognition which alone will one day render inevitable a policy of peace: the recognition that whatever in our time may be the gain of a war, it will never be equal to the awful losses it must leave in its wake. If the fighters in a war were taken from the nation's degenerate elements, there might be a meaning in the talk of war as conducive to the nation's health. But just the opposite is what takes place, and therefore the destructive action of war is such that even for the victorious the deterioration of the vital power of its population may be fatal to its future development. It would be inevitably fatal if it were not for the women, who, being exempt from military service, remain able to supply at least healthy mothers for the offspring.

This consideration of the necessity of maintaining and improving the nation's vitality should be one of the most powerful reasons for starting women's rebellion against the heretic doctrine which represents war as a valuable factor in eugenics and social welfare. Women should wake up to see the importance, so far deplorably overlooked, of making the education of youth an element in this fight. In order to eradicate the war spirit, mothers should from a tender age make it clear to children that might must have its justification in right, and that authority can be kept up without use of the fists. It is continuous dropping that hollows out the rock: it needs a constantly repeated experience to fix inflexibly in the human mind the sense of justice.

Only a never-failing resistance can gradually tame the wild and primitive elements in the child's nature. When the children grow up, the mother must teach them how mutual help is a law of nature as immutable as the law of mutual strife. Above all, the conviction must be made to penetrate the youthful mind that the greatest heroes are those who fight for the good of their fellow-creatures, and not for their own power and glory. Youth must learn to understand that neither does victory prove the righteousness of the cause for which it was won, nor does defeat mean that the beaten party was wrong. But first of all the educator must conquer in herself the craving for power and revenge; otherwise she will be unable to free her children's souls from these passions. In all the fighting countries patriotism has unfortunately displayed far too much of its ugly features, pride and hatred, and far too many children have got their souls poisoned with the political passions of their parents.

The problem which offered to lovers of peace the most bewildering difficulty is this: How are we to keep separate from each other the determination to defend your country and the aggressive fighting spirit? How are we to keep alive the former without kindling the latter? We cannot avoid this question, since obviously in present conditions national independence cannot be safeguarded without the determination and the ability to fight possible aggressors.

Nevertheless, experience shows that judicious educators have been able to solve this perplexing problem.

But women must not only now more than ever give themselves up to the work of peace in the human souls—nay, they must also concentrate their will on expanding the limits of the domain where they can contribute to the victory of justice over power.

And to reach the aim they must fight against the old conception of man's and woman's different mission in life. During thousands of years division of labour has consisted in women giving birth to new lives, men destroying lives; women building the homes, men defending their homes, but ruining the homes of others. This order has seemed so entirely fixed by nature that nobody has thought of altering it. Certainly it would be disastrous to mankind if the division of labour ceased, which directs the energies of woman to her home, the energies of man to the outer world. But if we are willing to create a new world which does not move in the old vicious circle, where women give birth and rear new lives only to see them ruined on the battlefields, then women must stand up and unite in a common resolve to put an end to a condition that, century after century, has given so meaningless a task to their mothers' love and care. It is insane to foster during peace time a more and more efficient race, only to let the graves of the battlefields be its goal.

Common-sense is to give more human forms to the competition between nations. Common-sense is to work for a condition where the law of nations is protected by power based upon law and not on brutal force. Common-sense is that women should share the responsibility of government in the country whose young generation they breed and educate.

The forces now scornfully named *feministic*, because the doctrine of might is ashamed of calling them by their true name, *Christian*, were during the living phase of Christianity working against violence. If these forces are to gain victory over violence it can only be if women gain the power to make them active again. And not only to work within the domain of souls—nay, but to build and weld human societies into still higher forms.

An event happened in the year 1914 which seems to me a symbol of the possibilities of the future.

In October delegates from 55 States assembled in Rome, amongst them representatives of all the fighting nations, to hold the usual International Congress of Agricultural Science.

While the soil was watered with blood, manured with corpses, and torn into pieces by shells, it was care about the motherly soil of the earth that during the world's war drew together members even of the nations at war with each other.

Long enough mothers have been treated like the soil—the soil which could endure everything, and still produce unwearyingly. Long ago mankind learned that it was a mistaken treatment of the soil; but as long as the patience of women endures, men make the same mistake about women. But this war speedily brings women to the limits of their patience.

Women—as well as the soil—have war after war shown their power to renew what war has ruined. So they will do even this time. But will they really do it unconditionally as before? *Is it not probable that hundreds and thousands of women during the year that has passed and the year that will come will wake up to the knowledge that it is their national duty to gain the right of controlling their own and their children's destiny?*

That men alone are not able to do it, the year 1914 ought to have shown even the men themselves.

When women have received their rights of citizenship, the vital human power now sacrificed for the so-called purposes of the State will be of the greatest value to the State. And to secure, increase, and ennoble this power will be the first task of political wisdom. Then the problem of peace will also be burning, and politics must be directed to solve these problems, instead of competing with other nations in armaments. If the maternal feelings so trampled upon by this war do not give rise to an international revolt against the withholding of the rights of women, then I do not know whence salvation is to come.

The existence and expansion of the nations are what men now sacrifice their lives for. The aim of women is the same, but they have come to an ever clearer insight that mankind must try new and better methods to reach this aim.

Women are not alone in that conviction. There are men, not only women, who believe that the aim of mankind, as well as of individuals, should be ever greater perfection. Each has to work within her own soul for peace on earth. But the increasing vital intensity which each individual experiences when he has made peace within himself, and got free from the checking influences of harshness and distrust, hatred and revenge—the like vital intensity will permeate the peoples when their will to live no longer suffers under these reactionary forces. Even if we know that the soul of a people never can be so purified from base passions as that of the individual, still we all must work for the victory of light over darkness as truly as we love our home, our friends, our country. It is the mighty, august, and strengthening feeling of the responsibility shared in common with our race which now must as a mighty lever carry on women's work for their rights and privileges as State citizens.

EZALINE BOHEMAN.

Landsforeningen för Kvinnans Politiska Rösträtt, Sweden.

## WHAT AMERICAN WOMEN DO FOR PEACE.

I was asked by the Local Committee on the Hundred Years of Peace Centenary to be Chairman of the Committee on Co-operation of Schools early last spring (1914). I added to my committee some men and women, principals of schools, and supervisors of music and art. In May, 1913, Forestville School of 1,200 children had a Peace Parade in the streets of the district. The Ambassadors from Ghent and London were in Chicago, and motored out to Grand Boulevard to see the parade. They pronounced it the most beautiful and touching sight.

Banners and flags, peace emblems and mottoes, songs, groups to illustrate Liberty, Justice, Education, Joy, and the group carrying foreign flags led by the Stars and Stripes, with the motto "Peace on Earth," the twelve hundred boys and girls dressed in white, with caps, flags, banners, and music—all thrilled the hearts of the spectators.

The parade was repeated in May, 1914, when war threatened from the South, but we believed in talking Peace with more earnestness than before.

While I was planning the work of the children for September 19th, 1915, the terrible news came of the war in Europe.

On the last Saturday in August, the Chicago Political Equality League appointed me Chairman of the Committee on Peace, with power to add to my committee. The Advisory Committee were glad to give their aid, and our work grew rapidly.

We sent out 40,000 petitions for signature of women throughout our land. These petitions are sent to Miss Julia C. Lathrop, Washington, to be used in time of mediation. These petitions were translated into many languages of Europe and Asia, and sent together with letters to leading women in the various countries of the world.

The women were asked to have peace programmes introduced into the programme of every club. They were asked to wear the Peace Pin, to use the Peace Stamp, to introduce the Peace Movement in the schools, and to have the churches respond. Every woman, whether club member or not, was urged to sign the petitions.

The response was very gratifying—all anxious to do something for Peace. Our Committee conducted many peace meetings, and spoke in various cities. The schools were enlisted, and Junior Peace Leagues formed; songs, poems, readings, and essays bearing upon the subject were collected. Children themselves wrote little plays, which they gave before their school-mates and friends. In some schools the salutation "Peace be with you" became the daily greeting. The word *Peace* was seen in the classroom, and the pin was worn to remind them of their desire.

It was felt that the cause would be greatly helped if Madame Schwimmer would come to us; so I wrote, and fortunately could secure her for a week's stay in Chicago. She spoke to more than twenty-five audiences, this remarkable woman, and everywhere carried conviction and aroused wonderful enthusiasm. The message she bore from our millions of sisters in Europe appealed alike to our hearts and our minds, and the questions, "What can we do? What shall we do? What must we do?" were heard on every side. It was considered very urgent that all Peace committees and societies should unite their strength, and the Emergency Federation of Peace Forces was formed at Hull House, with that leader in all good causes, Jane Addams, as Chairman. A call was sent out for a meeting of delegates in Chicago for February 27th and 28th. Meanwhile the women urged Miss Addams to gather representative women in Washington for a conference on January 10th. A wonderful meeting was held, and the Woman's Peace Party was the result.

Committees on Platform, Organisation, and Plan of Work (I was Chairman of this last) were appointed, and the results adopted by the delegates. The Peace Pin of my Committee was adopted as the official pin of the Woman's Peace Party, and the children's pin was recommended for the children throughout the United States.

The Committee which was appointed by the Executive officers, of which I was made Chairman, desires to encourage artists, musicians, and writers to submit pictures, statues, songs, poems, plays, and pageants with a view to their use by people desirous of promoting Peace. We wish lists of everything which will appeal to and kindle the imagination—which will convince the world of the value and blessedness of Peace, at the same time hoping that the young artists will be encouraged to turn their talents in that direction for the progress of the world's thought along right lines.

We see in this reaching out to all the women of the world through our letters and petitions a closer union of the hearts of women through an understanding that love knows but one language, one country, one God.

We hope in this appeal to the refining arts of the world that all people may come into the consciousness that the arts are Beauty, and that Beauty knows no racial or linguistic boundaries. May women lead the world to replace the ugliness and stupidity of war for the beauty and holiness of Peace.

FLORENCE HOLBROOK.

## CHILDREN AND THE WAR.

A specially grave responsibility rests with those who have charge of the education of children at the present time, for it is pathetically easy to influence their minds one way or another with regard to this terrible war. It is in itself such an appalling manifestation of the failure of those in authority to conduct the affairs of the world satisfactorily, that the pedagogue may well pause to consider how he may best prepare the children of the rising generation to play their part more successfully than their forefathers have done.

First and last, the idea of *duty* must be inculcated. In the case of children, the doing of their own work conscientiously and thoroughly is fortunately coincident with acquiring that knowledge and power of judgment which will qualify them to form opinions later on. "With all thy getting, get understanding," is a motto which might well adorn the walls of every schoolroom. Never was the acquirement of "understanding," in the widest sense of the term, more imperatively needed than now. Every lesson has its special value, more particularly, perhaps, the science lesson, with its insistence on patience, exactitude, and honest thinking. History and geography lessons will be specially useful, if wisely treated, and if the partial view of the ordinary text-books is duly supplemented by wider knowledge. The teacher will lay more stress on the growth of thought, the work of reformers, and the responsibilities of a great empire, than on the exploits of national "heroes," and mere conquest. The history and aims of other countries will be duly treated, and the admission of faults in one's own countrymen will surely denote a truer patriotism than the flag-waving, Britannia-rules-the-wave type of instruction which too often passes muster as such. Throughout there will be less effort to impart information, and to provide children with ready-made thoughts, than to provide them with the necessary equipment for thinking their own thoughts, and of educating their inherent love for all that is right and just and true.

Discussion of the actual war may well take a secondary place, but remembering that the children's "patriotism" will be in all probability sufficiently stimulated by other means, the teacher's war-talks might take some such line as the following: Self-sacrifice, of which this war happily affords many examples, is a grand thing; but cannot it be called forth in other ways and for other purposes? Wholesale destruction of life, unspeakable anguish (suffered not only by belligerents), wanton waste, the annihilation of much that civilisation has laboriously built up, the letting loose of brutal passions, acts so terrible that they cannot even be spoken of or written about—these are some of the concomitants of war. The importance of thought and its creative power should be dwelt upon; hence the importance of thinking that an alternative to war must be possible. That will make it possible. Girls especially, whose sex's innate love of all living things, protective instincts, and constructive abilities have hitherto been largely ignored, must be encouraged to believe in themselves and in their ability to influence public opinion.

The career of soldiering, which just now is likely to be very popular with boys, should be fully discussed, and it may be pointed out, among other things, that if it is indeed true that the only way of preserving peace is to be prepared for war, the boy who adopts a military career must be prepared never to put his knowledge into practice. It would be like staying perpetually at school.

Quarrels between individuals may be discussed. (Is it invariably one party to a dispute who is entirely in the wrong? What is the remedy? Killing?) The history of the duel may be traced, and its points of similarity to war discussed. The children's aid in sternly putting down all bullying should be enlisted. In a certain well-known school where the elder boys were convicted of this practice, their explanation of the matter was given in these words: "It's the only way we can bear it when we're little, knowing that some day we shall be able to pay it back." If this is the spirit bred in schools, to say that it is there that wars are begotten would be nearer the mark than the old tag that Waterloo was won on the playing-fields of Eton.

A. C. METCALFE.

## Militarism versus Feminism.

Appreciators of the March supplement will be glad to hear that the subject is further developed in a booklet bearing the same title, by Mr. C. K. Ogden, published by Allen and Unwin, 6d. net.

## THE WOMEN'S VOTE IN NEW ZEALAND.

By MRS. PHILIP SNOWDEN.

The women of New Zealand have exercised the vote for twenty-one years, and it is inevitable that questions should be asked about its effect upon the political and general life of the country. Twenty-one years is not an eternity, and one does not expect anything like the millennium to be achieved in a period so short; but it is time enough for the development, in one generation at least, of a political instinct and a definite political ideal; and so special and distinctive was the effect of Woman Suffrage in certain American States at the first election in which women took part, that one is entitled to look for considerable results from a womanhood enfranchised for twenty-one years.

If it be true to say to the inquiring and sympathetic visitor to New Zealand that no special results of the women's vote are evident there, except in the one matter of the liquor traffic, there is probably a sufficient reason. If the women generally appeared to be lacking in a definite political idealism, the same is true of the men. If it was impossible to discover any women's political party which was not an echo of and an adjunct to the men's parties, it was equally difficult to discover one political party, organised and controlled by men, with a clearly conceived and definitely stated programme and policy. The sober suggestion of a visiting propagandist that it was impossible to state, for it was impossible to discover, the difference between the two orthodox political parties was invariably received by the audience with loud laughter. And the Labour party, with half-a-dozen different programmes for its various candidates, appeared to be at sixes and sevens.

The impression that the traveller is bound to form of politics in New Zealand is that the parties need their principles defined, and the people need leaders. This is true of the men and true of the women.

The value of the simple possession of the vote by women is illustrated over and over again. Men of notoriously profligate character do not venture to evoke the criticism of the women's vote. Respectful consideration of women at political gatherings and in polling-booths is very marked. Women go to vote as they go to market, and their husbands and fathers behave as though it had been so from before the foundation of the world. What it is supposed the women will think is considered beforehand, and politicians eagerly rival one another in proposing political schemes which they think will please the women.

This political spoon-feeding is not an unmixed blessing. It began to be a marked feature of New Zealand politics during the reign of the late Mr. Seddon, who, to maintain himself in power, sought to conciliate numerous interests. It is much better for a nation that its schemes of social reform should be the expression of some thought-out popular demand, and not the lure of some vote-catching politician eager for power and place. The political education of women (and of men) has suffered because rich political gifts have been offered them before they asked for them.

On the liquor question, the women's vote is particularly heavy in the direction of voting-out the liquor traffic. Every three years the question of the total prohibition of the liquor traffic is submitted to the voters of New Zealand, and, it is alleged, the women's vote for prohibition is heavier than that of the men. This is the one outstanding question upon which, it is said, the women of New Zealand shew independent thought. It is natural that the women's vote should be heavily anti-liquor, for they it is who pay the price of men's drinking; and, jealous for the race, it is natural that they should seek to save their children from the effects of so deadly a race-poison as alcohol. But even on this question women were not unanimous, which goes to prove that there is no human possibility of all women ranging themselves against all men.

Nowhere in New Zealand was it possible to discover a man who wished to disfranchise the women. Here and there was a male person who was not enthusiastic. He was generally a new comer, unaccustomed to enfranchised women at home; or he was fond of his glass of beer or wine, and was afraid that the women would take this from him. So he grunted a reluctant approval, which might have been disapproval but for the obvious harmlessness of the thing. No man could be found who wanted to go back to the state of things twenty-one years ago; which would suggest to the thinking person that the prophecies of the Anti-Suffragists have not come true: that homes would be neglected, husbands unhappy, and children forgotten and uncared for.

Nowhere in the world is there a more beautiful country than New Zealand. The scenery is bewitching in its loveliness. The climate is delightful, and the atmosphere so clear that the outline of Mount Cook at a hundred miles' distance is as clear as if the mountain were fifty yards away. There is no poverty apparent, except such as is caused by drink and vice. Everybody can have work, and well-paid work, if he or she will go where the work is; and nobody need starve. It is verily a land flowing with milk and honey. What nature has not done for the good of the people the Legislature has accomplished, so that there is little to be done, and few problems, compared with the needs and problems of the land they speak of as "home." And this undoubtedly accounts for the comparative calmness and indifference to politics of the New Zealand people. Some day, however, the people of New Zealand will wake up to the fact that the serpent has got into their Eden, that the forces and facts which are at the bottom of the age-long problems of the older countries are silently at work amongst them, if their prosperity would only let them see it; and when the awakening comes, and the need for definite action becomes apparent, everything points to the fact that it will be the ancient mother-sense of New Zealand's women that will be the strongest safeguard of the men.

## SOME LIGHTS ON THE LESSONS OF THE UNIVERSAL WAR.

The present war is perhaps the most important sociological event that humanity has seen since the Roman Empire, if not before. A new political world, and consequently a new social world, will be born of this universal war. Already, although perhaps the war has still long months to run, the teaching which emerges from this great social phenomenon is considerable and varied. Two of the chief characteristics of this war are, on the one hand, the appeal to the ideal of liberty, and, on the other side, the real diminution of liberty for all the belligerents. If the speeches of the politicians of France, England, Belgium, and even of autocratic Russia, are remembered, we shall see that they called on their peoples to rise and fight for civilisation and liberty. At the same time, when the love of liberty which is instinctive in human nature roused the masses to defend their independence, there was manifest a notable diminution of liberty in every country at war. Never, I think, has the power of the State appeared in greater force, and careful consideration reveals this power as a danger for democracies. To demonstrate this would take me beyond the limits of a simple article, but I would draw the attention of all democrats to this point: in future, efforts must be made to limit the power of the State if we wish to prevent the world falling under autocratic Government, . . . . . where the State is a god to be revered and to be obeyed in the person of its priests—the leading soldiers of all kinds. In this world-war the State has shown its extraordinary power—(1) by its censorship, varying in intensity according to the degree of democracy of the country (in Great Britain it seems the least exercised); (2) by its absolute control of posts, telegraphs and telephones, railways and navigation; and (3) by its moratoria, its purchase and sales and distribution of food products, etc. The financial and economic power of the great banks and of great industries has had to yield to the power of the State, which, however, is used in their interests. Two life principles are in conflict in this universal war—Liberty and Authority, . . . . . and we can easily see the superiority of the principle of liberty. See the loyalty of the Dominions, all rising and coming to the help of Great Britain, while Ireland, not yet forgetting English coercion in the middle of the nineteenth century, hesitates, and is divided on this question whether it should be for or against the English. Nothing is more instructive on this point than the attitude of the Irish and the Boers. And from this another lesson emerges: Liberty given to the vanquished and to the conquered is a seed of love, while compulsion is a seed of disaffection, antagonism, and even of hatred. . . . . If France has risen as a single man it is because each one has felt that his liberty is at stake, and because each one ardently loves his independence. "Our enemy is our master," repeats every human being in our Western democracies. Another manifestation of the spirit of liberty which inflames the world is the affirmation of nationality. Political groups more or less artificially established by force will be broken in this war, with the exception of those of the Russian Empire. The new groups must be based

on nationalities—that is to say, on the free consent of the inhabitants of the country, aggregated according to their affinities. If that is not done there will be further convulsions, which will continue until the day when humanity understands that violence builds nothing solid, and that to build with human material love is necessary. It is to be hoped that Western democracies will make autocracies understand this.

One of the lessons of this world-war is the weakness of a religious power like the Catholic Church. The Pope has looked on powerless at all the violations of Christian morality, at the insults and sufferings inflicted on his priests and their congregations. He has not dared to condemn and strike and excommunicate those who committed these crimes. And he has not dared because he knew it would not have stopped any of those who committed them, for the religious spirit is dead—everywhere. None, of all those who call themselves religious, acts in conformity with the moral precepts prescribed by religion. That has never been better seen than in this war, where every Christian has forgotten the precepts of Christ: "Forgive them, for they know not what they do," "He who takes the sword shall perish by the sword," "Love thy neighbour as thyself," etc.

The love of liberty which permeates the masses of humanity in the West has as corollary the hatred of militarism, which is opposed to it. Militarism is coercion, brutality, violence—in one word, it is the school of crime, as I showed twenty-two years ago in my book, "La Psychologie du Militaire Professionnel." It is therefore natural that the masses of the people of the West should wish for the destruction of militarism, of which we see the results in the ruin which covers Belgium, Poland, and part of North and North-East France; in the thousands of civilians of both sexes and of all ages who have been shot and massacred; . . . . . in the millions of wounded and dead who for nine months have filled the hospitals or enrich the earth for future harvest, for life triumphs always over death. This world-war has shown the universe what militarism, pushed to its ultimate conclusion, is, thanks to scientific organisation. And that the support of this autocratic regime is fear, or, rather, terror and falsity, has appeared to all. These are the only educational results, the only governmental results, of autocracy and authoritarian rule. It is to be hoped that the lesson of the war will bear fruit—that is to say, that human brains will be penetrated by this idea: that coercion, violence, and falsity are barbaric educational ideas, and do more harm than good. Education, like government, must rest on love and affection, and consequently must always be without punishment. The appeal must be to reason, and not to fear. Human solidarity has shown itself during this war at a level at which we have never seen it before. As evidence of this, I cite the help to the Belgians and the help to the refugees in the North of France. One humanity—one without distinction of nation, race, or class—has shown itself everywhere. It is a good augury for the future, as it is also for the universal reprobation which has been shown against the actions of militarism. That is the index of a uniform moral sentiment gaining the whole of humanity, creator of a strong public opinion, capable of being in the future the force to forbid the accomplishment of crimes such as those of militarism.

Finally, one other lesson resulting from this war is that war is no longer a means of acquiring riches. "It does not pay," to employ a commercial expression. The booty of the victors will never equal the ruin suffered by those same victors. War is out of date, a performance belonging to the past, a survival of epochs when humanity was at the brute stage. That is one reason why people who are educated for war are destined to be conquered by people whose civilisation is more advanced. The complexity, the interpenetration of commercial industry and financial interests, has been evident to all during this war. Another proof of the internationalism which is in process of being built up in the world is that the neutrals have suffered almost as much from the war as the belligerents.

Finally, one consequence of this war will be, I think, a vigorous impulse given to women's efforts to achieve sexual equality. It seems to me that afterwards it will be very difficult to refuse the political vote to women and to return to unequal payment for the same work. War, in destroying millions of lives, will give to women the possibility of filling many professions. The rôle played by women has everywhere been a rôle of solidarity and fraternity, and all have admitted and appreciated it. The social value of women emerges heightened by these trials in the eyes of the masses, who do not notice things that happen every day.

From this universal war women will be able to draw this lesson: Violence is especially the enemy of the feminine sex. Without speaking of the thousands of women violated in Belgium, in France, in Poland, Russia, and Austria, in East Prussia, in Serbia; without speaking of the thousands of other women who voluntarily, in all the belligerent countries, have given themselves up to the pleasure of the soldiers from motives of sentimentality and altruism, because these soldiers were going to their death; without speaking, then, of these hundreds of thousands of women who in different ways are the victims of war, it is important to observe that at the end of the war everywhere women will suffer the consequences of this war. Everywhere in the belligerent countries the women will be much greater in numbers than the men, and the result is enforced celibacy for thousands of women. They will suffer from violence—from militarism. Thus everywhere their cry should be: "Down with militarism! War against war!"

AUGUSTIN HAMON,  
Professor at the New University in Brussels.

### DENMARK.

#### Landsforbundet for Kvinders Valgret.

When the world-war broke out last summer, Denmark stood face to face with a change in her Constitution. This was to grant to women Suffrage under the same conditions as men, and to grant to all equal rights in voting for representatives to the Upper House, in the election of which, up to the present time, the wealthy have been able to exert overwhelming influence. The Upper House had been dissolved, and new elections had just taken place, giving a majority in both Houses in favour of changing the Constitution. The war temporarily stopped all constitutional discussions in Parliament. According to the present Constitution, if the proposed change were to be adopted, a new election to both Houses must take place, and the new Parliament must once more pass the nation before it could go into effect. A portion of the majority did not desire to undertake such an election so long as the war lasted, as opposition was to be feared from the side of the Conservative minority, who were hostile to the new Constitution.

However, towards the close of the winter direct negotiations between representatives from the Conservative party and the Radical Ministry were begun. From these a basis for further negotiations with representatives from all Parliamentary parties was formed. In March the negotiations were carried further, and the result is now a compromise both as to the new Constitution and as to the election law depending upon it. The Conservatives have entirely abandoned their opposition to general Suffrage, but they have succeeded in introducing a desired proportional election system under a characteristically Danish form. In this they have been supported by the Radicals and the Social Democrats, whilst the Moderates have been a little sceptical. Only one small wing of the Conservative party will not agree to the compromise.

Now that the proposed Bill has been passed this week by both Houses a new election must be held. It is believed that this will take place almost without political contention. The parties will not choose opposing candidates, but will allow those members of Parliament who represent the various districts to be re-elected without a new ballot. Parliament will again convene towards the close of May, the new Constitution will be voted upon and passed, and on the 5th of June, the Danish Constitution Day, the new Constitution will receive the signature of the King.

When this comes into effect women will possess the same rights as men in all political matters. They will receive the right of electing and being elected under exactly the same conditions. This has already been the case in municipal elections in Denmark.

It is proposed to postpone the first election under the new Constitution until the war is over, as it is considered undesirable to take a general election, with party feeling running high, so long as the present war continues. Women must therefore wait until peace comes before making use of their newly acquired rights.

ELNA MUNCH.

Copenhagen, April 23, 1915.

#### A Woman Justice.

The first woman justice to be appointed in Montana is Mrs. John C. Duff, who has been appointed Justice of the Peace for Chinook township. The appointment was by the Commissioners on a petition numerously signed, irrespective of sex.

### FRANCE.

Madame de Witt de Schlumberger sends the following article, by Madame Duchesne:

#### War and Women's Work. WORKSHOPS FOR THE UNEMPLOYED.

The morrow after the declaration of war all women who wished to make themselves useful, and who were not taken up with the care of the wounded, set to work to improve the condition of the women who remained behind.

These efforts were devoted particularly to remedying the results of unemployment, which were felt so heavily by a large number of women employed in industries affected by the war.

Charitable workrooms and workshops for the unemployed were instituted everywhere in the large towns. In Paris alone more than 600 workshops were opened in various quarters of the town.

The first group comprised, without distinction, housewives deprived of their husbands' wages, servants without situations, work-women of all kinds, even intellectual workers.

The second group comprised particularly specialist work-women. Offers of workrooms flowed in. The necessary machines were kindly put at the disposal of the organiser by manufacturers, and the only difficulty to be solved at the first moment was that of finding work for the workrooms.

The unemployed women were therefore set to work in filling orders for things rendered necessary by the war itself.

The workshops were devoted, above all, to making comforts for the troops at the front, for the wounded and the indigent; knitted garments, dressings, and clothing.

The workshops that were willing to accept work that demanded a certain professional ability approached the authorities with requests for orders for military equipment, especially for linen. At first their request was only acceded to with reservations, but soon a "Union for the Organisation of Work" began to carry out a plan which had been sketched in the first days of August. The object was to group the workshops of Paris and the suburbs which would accept certain rules; to centralise the demand for work, to distribute it, and to control the purchase of material, in order to fix minimum wages applicable to the work undertaken.

This idea fully answered the needs of the moment. The plan was practically thought out, and deserved the success it obtained. An important loan which was sanctioned by the national relief allowed for the purchase of necessary materials and the carrying out of the first orders given by the authorities. A central workshop was founded to train the forewomen who were to direct the local workshops.

A purchasing service and a workshop for cutting out were soon added, and they developed rapidly in proportion to the growth of the number of workshops and the importance of the orders that were obtained.

On the other hand, the big professional workshops which were organised by the Clothing Trade Unions and the Socialist Committee were also organised in Paris to carry out the work ordered by the authorities.

The largest hall of one of our great co-operative stores became a beehive humming with the noise of machines, whilst the *Bourse du Travail* gave hospitality in the shape of a dolls' clothing workshop, from which coquettish little persons were exported, even to America, and were called "French Dolls."

The national relief took an interest in the work, and new advances of money sanctioned by it allowed the professional workshops to carry out properly important transactions.

The advantage of centralisation was shown by experience; in December a federation of large groups of workshops was formed under the patronage of the Director of Public Assistance. Each group having a delegate to the Council of Administration and in the office, the most varied shades of opinion were drawn together by common action.

The Federation does not only propose to make itself useful in procuring for the work-women of the affiliated societies regular and remunerative work, but is trying to extend its action elsewhere. The Federation includes more than 20,000 Parisian work-women employed in the workshops. It has obtained from the national relief power to control the conditions of work in the workshops, and has received loans from it. Thus, in concert with the work section of the National Council of Frenchwomen a new campaign has been undertaken for the raising of wages of work-women in the clothing trades.

Happy results have been obtained; a minimum wage has for some months been in force for military underclothing, which before had been at the mercy of the employers' arbitrary will; moreover, a commission is in process of constitution to

establish a salary schedule applicable to military work not yet regulated.

Lastly, a Bill regulating the wages of home workers—a Bill for which we have been struggling for a number of years—has been favourably received on its first reading in the Senate.

Amongst all the distress and desolation that the war has brought, will it bring women some of the reforms that have been waited for so long?

G. DUCHESNE,  
Présidente de la Section du Travail du  
Conseil National des Femmes Françaises.

### GREAT BRITAIN.

#### National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

The National Union Executive Committee has declined the invitation to send representatives to the International Women's Congress at The Hague. This decision, which was arrived at by nearly two to one, was based upon the conviction that the recent Council gave no indication that it desired the National Union to take part at the present moment in an active movement for considering the settlement of the terms of peace. Two, at any rate, of the majority in this vote are individually active supporters of the Hague Congress.

It is deeply to be regretted that ten members have for various reasons resigned from the Executive Committee of the Union. Their services in the past have been of inestimable value to the Women's Suffrage movement, and the loss of their skill and devotion will be greatly felt. The names of those who have resigned are: Councillor Margaret Ashton, Miss Clark, Miss Isabella O. Ford, Mrs. Harley, Miss Leaf, Miss Maude Royden, Mrs. Schuster, Mrs. Stanbury, Mrs. Swanwick, Miss Tanner.

The work undertaken by the Union at the outbreak of the war, of registering women willing to give their services to the country either as voluntary or paid workers, has been largely increased. The Home Office has invited the co-operation of the National Union in helping to organise the women who are coming forward in response to an appeal from the Government to undertake war service, filling the places of the men called to the front. The National Union has expressed its readiness to help, provided that certain safeguards were secured. Chief among these are:—

1. Equal pay for equal work, in order that the standard of wages should not be lowered.
2. That provision should be made for giving women the necessary training required.
3. That good conditions as to housing, especially in agricultural districts, should be secured.

At the request of the National Union, a deputation was received by Mr. Runciman, M.P. (President of the Board of Trade), composed of representatives of eighteen women's societies. Mrs. Rackham (chairman of the N.U. Executive Committee) and Mrs. Deane Streatfield represented the N.U. They recommended that an Advisory Board be established in London, on which women's organisations should be fully represented; that these representatives should include among their number various types of women workers, professional, industrial, and clerical. That local committees should be formed in all districts where women were employed, and strongly urged that the Civil Service, especially the higher branches of it, should be thrown open to women; also that more women inspectors should be appointed.

The N.U.'s suggestion of forming local committees has already been acted on, and a request from the Board of Trade that the N.U. should send in names of women willing to serve on these committees has been received.

The National Union of W.S.S. Scottish Women's Hospitals have lost another devoted nurse in Miss Minshall, who has died at her post in Serbia. Dr. Eleanor Soltan is ill with diphtheria, and will be replaced by Dr. Elsie Inglis, who leaves for Serbia at the end of April. Dr. Alice Hutchison is leaving the Hospital at Calais, where her services are no longer needed, as the epidemic there has subsided, and is going to Serbia. The Hospital at Royamont is being increased by 100 beds, and a new hospital is being established at Troyes of 200 beds, under canvas. This will be a mobile hospital, prepared, if necessary, to advance with the Army. Dr. Louise McIlroy and Dr. Laura Sandeman are attached to this hospital. Another fully equipped unit, with laboratories and a personnel of 43, is leaving for Serbia.

A fine tribute has been paid by Sir Alfred Keogh (Director-General of the R.A.M.C.) to British women doctors and nurses. On hearing that Dr. Alice Hutchison was going to Serbia, he

said:—"Splendid; impossible to send anyone better." And of the trained nurses he expressed the opinion that they were worth not their weight in gold, "but in diamonds."

The syllabus, preliminary lecture list, and bibliography of the educational courses on "War: Its Causes, Consequences, and Remedial Suggestions," have now been issued by the National Union. Only fully qualified speakers will deal with the historical part. University Extension lecturers will be among the number of those lecturing. The special features of these courses will be the study of contemporary history of belligerent and other countries; their national ideals of religion, education, art, and conception of culture and civilisation. Mrs. Fawcett will lecture on "The Congress of Vienna, and What May Be Learnt From It." Great interest has been shown in these courses—a hopeful sign of the desire of women to acquire a wider knowledge of the underlying causes affecting international relations.

E. C. P.

#### Church League for Women's Suffrage.

This League, which works for the Church as well as the State vote, has issued the following petition, the principles of which will be recognised by Suffragists, and which is to be signed by communicants of the Church of England:—

To the Representative Church Council of the Church of England.

The humble petition of the undersigned and others, being communicants of the Church of England, sheweth—

1. That the exclusion of women from the Ruri-decanal and Diocesan Conferences, from the Houses of Laymen, and from the Representative Church Council, is an infringement of that spiritual equality of the sexes which is a fundamental principle of the Christian faith.

2. That it forbids the direct expression in these assemblies of women's views upon questions which are there considered, upon all of which women claim the right to be heard, and concerning some of which they can almost claim a monopoly of first-hand knowledge.

3. That the authority of the decisions of such assemblies is thereby weakened.

4. That a stumbling-block is thereby placed in the path of many women, who regard their exclusion, deliberately decreed, as an infringement of their spiritual status as co-heirs with men of the Kingdom of God.

5. That all women are thereby deprived of the stimulus which comes from the sense of equal opportunity and responsibility for both sexes alike.

Your petitioners therefore pray that you will so amend the rules for the representation of the laity in the councils of the Church as to render women communicants eligible for election to all assemblies now open to male communicants.

And your petitioners as in duty bound will ever pray.

The response received is extremely encouraging. Signed forms are arriving from all parts of the country, and the Church Press have proved helpful in making the effort known.

ANNE GILCHRIST.

#### South Africa.

The first South African women to be mentioned in despatches during the campaign in German South-West Africa are two nurses, Miss Van der Merwe and Miss Nel, of Calvinia district. In his account of the operations leading up to the occupation of Schuit Drift and Ukumas (near the southern border of G.S.W.A.) at the beginning of March, Colonel Van Deventer states that they were "among the first to cross the river after the skirmish, and to attend the wounded."

Recent provincial legislation in Natal has made women eligible for membership of local government bodies. The first Local Board election was held at Eshowe, Zululand, on March 20th. There were twelve candidates for seven seats, and amongst those returned was Mrs. Van der Plank, President of the Eshowe Women's Enfranchisement League.

The Women's Reform Club, Johannesburg, has started a fund for the purpose of establishing a consulting room and workroom where mothers and expectant mothers will be advised in all cases of casual infantile ailments by experienced nurses. Baby clinics are a novelty in this country (the only other is in Cape Town), and the Reform Club's experiment, if successful, may lead to further work in other centres.

A Bill for raising the age of consent has been introduced into the Union Parliament and read the first time.

M. K. C. MACINTOSH,  
Editor, *The Woman's Outlook*.  
(International Sec. of W.E.A.U.)

## ITALY.

**Lombard Committee for Women's Suffrage.**

The sad times through which we are passing cause a partial cessation of Suffrage work. Nevertheless during March a lecture was given by Mme. Pasini at the headquarters of the Lombard Committee for Women's Suffrage on the work of the Suffragists of neutral and belligerent countries during eight months of war. On April 11th we organised a public debate on the present important question—the economic and physiological results of the war. M. Agnelli (member of Parliament), Dr. Paolini Schiff, Mme. Rebecca Calderini, Mlle. Cosetta Lagrari, and Professor Luzatto took part in the discussion, which was presided over by Mme. Pasini. Our Committee is now working at developing the social and political education of women. It offers its members the opportunity of hearing speeches by experts, and of taking part in discussions on social problems and political questions of all kinds. The Council of Directors of the Suffrage Committee has had the programme of the International Congress of Women at The Hague translated into Italian, and has distributed a copy to every member, in order that she may be thoroughly acquainted with it before deciding to join the Congress. We Suffragists held a meeting with this object. After a lively debate the following resolution was passed:—

The Lombard Committee for Women's Suffrage, in a General Assembly on April 11th, 1915, although appreciating the sentiment which inspires the initiative of the Dutch women who wish to see peace and justice restored to Europe, cannot join the Congress, which by the nature of the proposed questions and resolutions goes beyond the limits of this Committee, which is exclusively for Suffrage. Attempts have been made by the Press to throw suspicion on this Congress, and to suggest that it has been arranged for by one of the belligerents, who wish to impose their views on the assembly. Another society, the Society for Arbitration and Disarmament, of which Madame Teresita Pasini is the president, which protested at the time of the war in Tripoli, upholds pacifist principles, but has nevertheless refused to join the Congress because the programme of the Congress insists on the general approval of serious resolutions before having discussed them. The following resolution was voted by this Society:—

The Council of the Society for Arbitration and Disarmament appreciate the solidarity shown by English, German, and Belgian women rising above race hatred and desire for vengeance in taking part in this Congress while their brothers, husbands, and sons are fighting against each other. While appreciating the efforts of the Dutch women to restore peace in Europe and to re-confirm the fraternity of nations by which the world would become the common country of a happy and regenerated humanity, it cannot take part in the Congress, which has made one of its regulations the approval of the serious resolutions on the programme before having discussed them.

TERESITA PASINI,  
President of the Lombard Committee  
for Women's Suffrage.

## RUSSIA.

The wives and families of reservists called to the front are now receiving a small allowance from the Government, which is in some places increased by a small sum contributed by municipal and other local bodies. The Government allowance consists of 3 roubles 40 kopecks (about 6s. 10d.) per each adult person per month, and 1 rouble 70 kopecks (2s. 5d.) per child per month. The Municipal Council of Moscow makes up this allowance to 5 roubles per each adult and 3 roubles per child per month, i.e., to 10s. and 6s. respectively. In addition, the province of Moscow allows 1 rouble (2s.) a month to each family in the rural districts, and 2 roubles (4s.) to families in the urban areas. In Tomsk the families of reservists receive 1 rouble 50 kopecks (3s.) per each adult, and 50 kopecks (1s.) each child per month towards rent expenses. In Samara this allowance is slightly higher, amounting to from a minimum of 2 roubles (4s.) to a maximum of 6 roubles (12s.) per family per month. Childless wives of reservists who are able-bodied receive no allowance. "Unmarried" wives and their children, on the other hand, who also receive no allowance from the Government, are allowed by the local authorities amounts which are equivalent to the Government allowance made to wives and to their legitimate children.

In Stavropol the municipal authorities pay the whole amount of the rent of poor reservists' families. In other towns the

forms of relief vary both in amount and in kind. Some take the shape of fuel, boots, clothes, etc. The above figures represent the highest amounts granted in any district of Russia to the wives and families of reservists at the front.

In some rural districts committees have been formed consisting of local inhabitants, mostly peasants, whose object it is to make arrangements for helping needy soldiers' wives. These include collections not only of money, but of various kinds of grain, potatoes, clothes, etc., and offers of help in the ploughing, spring sowing, and other urgent work which has to be done on the land belonging to those who are absent at the front.

At some of the secondary schools the pupils of the upper forms have formed corps under the guidance of their masters, and are getting ready to go to the country districts and assist with all necessary forms of agricultural work on the land of absent reservists.

## WOMEN AND THE WAR.

Women continue to be discovered in the ranks of the regiments at the front. A girl who enlisted under the name of Alexander Daniloff was recently wounded in one of the battles in Galicia. Another girl belonging to the peasant class, Alexandra Braiko, enlisted together with two of her brothers. She was also wounded. A pupil of a secondary school at Vilna, Kira Bashkirova, took part in several battles, was wounded, and received an order for bravery.

Women continue to make enormous quantities of garments for the troops, and there is not one hamlet in the whole of Russia and Siberia from which parcels of comforts of various kinds are not despatched.

The Russian Emperor has presented the Queen of Belgium with a medal on a ribbon of the Order of St. George for her bravery shown in her work among the soldiers at the front.

The Department of Education is enlarging the facilities hitherto granted to women desiring to study medicine. They are now to be allowed to take university courses, and to do clinical work under the same conditions as men students.

The Council of the University of Tomsk has applied to the Department of Education for permission to admit women to the faculty of law at their University.

Three women—Olga Bogdanova, Sophie Lissovsknia, and Anna Mamontova—have taken the degree of engineer-architect at the courses of the Petrograd Polytechnic.

The Minister of Railways and Communications, in conjunction with the Minister of the Interior, has decided to increase the percentage of women railway telegraph operators from 15 per cent. to 20 per cent., in view of the excellent and conscientious work done by women employed in the department. —From *The Woman's Messenger*.

## UNITED STATES.

The beginning of the year of 1915 finds the national Suffrage situation in the United States more hopeful than ever before. The women of twelve States have been enfranchised, and the tide of Suffrage is turning from the Western part of the country, formerly the Suffrage stronghold, to the East. Women of the four great Eastern States of New York, Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania are working to secure victory at the polls when the question comes before the voters at the regular fall elections.

A Suffrage Bill has been introduced thus far this year in every non-suffrage State in which the Legislature has met. And as this is the year in which all of the State Legislatures with the exception of five are in session, this consideration of Suffrage gives some proof of the importance of the issue throughout the country.

Of the thirty-one States in which Suffrage has been considered in the Legislatures, ten have voted in favour in one or both houses, and in many others the Bill has passed the committee stage, and is now pending.

Not only full Suffrage, but varied forms of partial Suffrage, are being urged in the different States, since it is the belief of many of the leaders in the movement that partial Suffrage works as an entering wedge which will help to bring about full Suffrage. Bills for Presidential Suffrage such as that now enjoyed by the women of Illinois, which gives them a voice in the election of Presidential electors, and thus in the election of the President of the United States, are being drafted and introduced in many States. The importance of having Presidential Suffrage will be proved next year, when the Presidential election takes place. It is the prophecy of Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, that never again will any man be nominated for

the Presidency who will not declare himself in favour of enfranchising women.

What the chances for victory are in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts, Suffragists are not willing to assert dogmatically. But the women of these four States are working day and night. Great earthen crucibles have been placed in all the headquarters, and all Suffragists are urged to drop gold and silver into these "melting pots," the contributions to be melted into bullion and converted into coin for use in the Suffrage campaigns. "For Our Sisters in the Campaign States" reads the inscription on the crucibles, and they are but one proof of the co-operation and mutual helpfulness which the women of America are showing in working towards their enfranchisement.

CLARA SAVAGE, Press Chairman,  
National American Woman Suffrage Association,  
505, Fifth Avenue, New York City.

## AMERICAN NOTES.

## SOUTHERN MEN ORGANISE FOR SUFFRAGE.

Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, and Texas have active Men's Leagues for Equal Suffrage. The Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese is actively advocating Woman Suffrage in South Carolina, and in North Carolina the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court is championing the cause. All over the South men of high positions are using their influence for Suffrage. Over a thousand Southern papers are taking the material sent out by the Suffrage Press Bureau.

## A GREAT SUFFRAGE ORGANISATION.

The largest Suffrage organisation in New York City is the Woman Suffrage Party, founded by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt. In Greater New York there are 151,668 enrolled members. One-third of these are men. During 1914, 45,615 new members were enrolled.

## STORM DIDN'T STOP THEM.

In spite of a bad storm, 58,864 Chicago women registered on February 2nd; 75,883 men registered.

## THREE WOMEN SENATORS.

There are now three women Senators in the country. Miss Kathryn Clarke, of Glendale, who was recently chosen State Senator at a special election in Oregon; Mrs. Helen Ring Robinson, of Colorado; and Mrs. Frances Willard Munds, of Arizona. Mrs. Munds had the distinction of presiding over the Arizona Senate recently during a consideration of a Bill to amend the law relating to the fees and salaries of county officers.

## BILLS SUPPORTED BY WOMEN WHERE WOMEN VOTE.

California women are actively supporting the five following Bills in the Legislature this year:—

A child labour law to keep children under fourteen from plying street trades and trades injurious to their health.

The Home Teacher's Bill, providing for the teaching of the rudiments of English and scientific housekeeping to immigrant mothers.

A Birth Registration Bill, making the birth registration law more stringent.

A Compulsory Education Bill, requiring children, unless mentally defective, to finish the eighth grade.

Women as Jurors Bill, making it permissible for women to serve on all juries.

## TIMES HAVE CHANGED.

When Fellsmere, a new city in Florida, planned its charter, it gave married women an equal vote with men at all municipal elections. This was to attract women from other parts of Florida to Fellsmere. Times have changed in the South, when a city can best advertise itself by courting favour through Woman Suffrage.

## SUFFRAGE IN INDIANA.

A limited Suffrage Bill, similar to the one recently passed in Illinois, has passed the Indiana Senate by a vote of 37 to 3. The Suffragists were elated over the rapidity with which the Senate voted on the Bill, and the lack of opposition to it, only three Senators voting against the Bill. If the Bill goes through the House—and it is expected to,—Governor Ralston has announced that he will sign it.

## DID THE CHICAGO WOMEN VOTE?

The women of Chicago are jubilant over the strength they showed at the recent mayoralty election. The vote of the Republican women was the largest ever polled by Republican women in Chicago. The vote of the Democratic women was larger than ever polled before, either in primary or regular election, and exceeded the vote of the Republican women. The total vote of the women was over 155,000. The political actions of the women at this first unrestricted election were a subject of undisguised interest to the politicians. Judging from the number of voters, women's interest in politics is keeping pace with opportunity.

## VICTORY FOR WOMEN WORKERS.

The Supreme Court of the United States has upheld the California eight-hour labour law for women employed in manufacturing and mercantile establishments. Exceptions are made in harvesting and canning fruits, boarding houses, and graduate nurses in hospitals. The Court held that reducing the hours of a woman's labour is not an improper exercise of a State's police powers.

## WOMEN DO NOT WANT RACING.

By a vote of 31 to 6 the Montana House adopted a minority report to eliminate race-track gambling. A poll regarding the Bill was taken of the first 34 women who registered in Anaconda. Of the 25 who answered, all but three were in favour of abolishing gambling. Efforts to legalise race-track gambling have lately been defeated in California, Utah, and Colorado. In each case the defeat was attributed to the influence of the women voters.

## TRUE STORY OF NEVADA DIVORCE BILL.

Anti-Suffragists are saying "I told you so" about the Divorce Bill which the Nevada Legislature has just passed, and which makes the length of residence necessary for divorce in the State six months instead of twelve. What the antis are not saying, however, is that the women had no voice in electing the legislators that passed the Bill. Women did not have the franchise in Nevada when these legislators were elected. The men who were in control of the Legislature were the men who fought the passage of the Suffrage amendment last fall. The women of Nevada put up a fight against the Bill. They sent delegations up to Carson City to protest against the proposed restoration of the six-months divorce law. The Bill was passed over their protest.

Wyoming, however, has another story to tell. The women of Wyoming protested against a similar Bill before the Wyoming Legislature, consisting of men and women whom they had elected, and they killed the Bill. Women drew up a petition, and sent it to the woman who is serving as representative at the Capitol, Mrs. Norma A. Wood. Mrs. Wood made such a forceful and urgent address against the Bill on the floor of the House that the members voted to kill it by a unanimous vote. Apparently not a whisper of the action on the Wyoming Bill has ever reached the ears of the Eastern antis.

## WIDOWS' PENSIONS SAVE STATE MONEY.

It is estimated that if the Widows' Pension Bill becomes a law its administration will cost the city of New York 143,882 dollars less than the present method of breaking up the home and placing the children in institutions. Yet there is powerful opposition to its passage, just as there has been for the past six years.

In California a similar Bill, which had met similar opposition for three years, was passed within three months after the women were enfranchised, and it was passed practically without opposition.

## SCHOOLS AND THE WOMAN'S VOTE.

New York City has been economising at the expense of the schools. During the year 1914 no provision was made for starting new buildings, yet there are 40,000 children on part time. As it takes about two years to plan and build a school in New York, the real pinch will be felt in 1916. The increase in school attendance was the largest for the past ten years, according to Dr. Maxwell's latest report. Within the past month two hundred classes have been consolidated in the interest of economy. This means large classes and less effective instruction. The policy of New York City is in sharp contrast to that of the cities and States where women vote. In them the schools are the first consideration.

### WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE AND A EUROPEAN CONGRESS AFTER THE WAR.

Dear Madam,—Until I read the article under this heading by Mrs. Garrett Fawcett in *Jus Suffragii* for April, 1915, I had no idea that Immanuel Kant had so nearly anticipated what I had said, in "Les Trois Ages de l'Homme," in his essay on a "Perpetual Peace." Kant's idea was that "the civil constitution of each State shall be based on freedom and self-government." He relied on the assumption that it is dynasts and not peoples who wage wars of aggression. I have said (page 171) that: The democrat can anticipate with confidence the time when the whole world will be one vast republic; each country governing itself in all that may be regarded as local matters, while a general congress will regulate the affairs between the various States, and deal with any disputes or disagreements that may arise. I have taken as an illustration the so-called British Empire, and have endeavoured to demonstrate that the power for functioning this mighty system already exists in the British system of local self-government (Chapter XIV., "A Great World Scheme").

There appears to me to be one obstacle, and one only, to the realisation of Kant's great project, and that is the continued belief in the great man. This has been the dominant belief in what I have called the Patriarchal Age. History tends to prove that it is the belief of the common people, the docile class, which forms the basis of the power of kings, kaisers, sultans, and other autocrats (page 41); and in ancient times the women have, as a rule, belonged to this class, and have never disputed man's rights to rule until quite recently. It is impossible for a believer in monarchy to look forward to conditions which appear to be quite reasonable and easy of attainment to a democrat. The king has always represented a locality. Any one king could not govern two countries widely separated by distance (page 171). History tells us the disastrous results of the efforts of George III. in this direction. Had he granted the right of government to the American colonies, as the more democratic Government of Britain later granted that right to Canada, the Australians, etc., it is highly improbable that the United States would have looked on unmoved by the present war. But it is not the kings or kaisers of to-day that are powerful, as those of hundreds or thousands of years ago were. "Kant had pointed out that an autocrat can order a war with as great ease as he can order a hunting party." The docile people have no desire to govern others themselves, but their belief in their own sovereigns impels them to endeavour to impose their king on other people. It is because they keep alive this belief in omnipotent autocrats that even constitutional kings are dangerous. Mrs. Fawcett's hope is that "the next great Congress of the Powers may again endorse the Kantian principle that democracy is the best safeguard against war, but may give it a new application and a wider interpretation than was contemplated in 1795 or in 1815. Democracy means now more than it meant then. 'The people' now means the men and women of every nation. This is being more and more realised in every part of the world." GEO. E. BOXALL.

### INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST WOMEN'S MANIFESTO.

The chief resolution passed by the International Socialist Women's Conference, held at Berne in March, at which representatives from Britain, Germany, France, Russia, Poland, Holland, Switzerland, and Italy were present, ran as follows:

#### THE CAUSE OF THE WAR.

The present world-war has its root in the Imperialist ideas of a capitalist society. The possessing classes of every country have sought to strengthen their power by extending their dominion not only over the workers in their own countries, but also beyond the frontiers of their own nations.

Behind those possessing classes is felt the constant pressure of financial interests, which are international in character, and which, in the great industry of armament-making, have exploited the nations themselves, setting them in competition one against the other.

History will show the diplomatic crimes which led to the war, and will prove how vast is the guilt of the Great Powers. The war has lasted eight months. Countless thousands of human lives have been destroyed. Invaluable gifts of civilisation have been annihilated. The war has raised barriers of barbarism across the path of progress towards man's highest ideals.

The war began with the violation of international law, which brought upon the unoffending neutral country of Belgium the most terrible disasters. At the end of it the nations will be drained of their vital forces, their economic resources will be

exhausted, and their social progress indefinitely retarded.

The interests of the working people of the neutral as well as the belligerent States of Europe—nay, even of the whole world—are irreconcilably opposed to the present war.

In the nations at war the workers are united with their masters and divided from their fellow-workers of other lands. In place of the war waged by the workers to raise their conditions and to secure their emancipation, is placed the "national truce." International fratricide takes the place of the international solidarity of the workers of the world. Not only streams of blood divide the peoples, but foul streams of hate, of self-glorification. Calumnies and insults dishonour each nation, and hide the gifts which each has given to the common civilisation of the world.

Thus the worker's love of country is used to impel him to pour out his energy, self-sacrifice, and valour, not to gain his own emancipation, but to secure the triumph of Capitalist Imperialism.

#### WOMEN'S DUTY.

In consequence of these considerations the Extraordinary Conference of Socialist Women declares:

War on this war! It asks the immediate end of this horrible strife between peoples, and a peace without annexation or conquest. It asks for a peace that recognises the right of peoples and nations, both large and small, to independence and self-government, that enforces no humiliating and insupportable conditions upon any country; that requires expiation of the wrong inflicted upon Belgium, thus clearing the way for the peaceful, friendly co-operation of the nations. Such a peace is a necessary condition in order that in the belligerent countries the workers may awake from the spell of a capitalist conception of nationalism, and that the Socialist and Labour organisations may assume their task as the conscious vanguard of progress, gathering and uniting the masses in a solid phalanx round the flag of international Socialism.

It further expresses its conviction that only the clear, unalterable determination of the Labour and Socialist force in the belligerent countries, energetically supported by the workers in the neutral States, can bring the war speedily to an end.

The Conference deems it the holiest duty of Socialist and Labour women to press forward courageously in the fight against war, ready and willing to make every sacrifice. Women, especially working women, knowing the sufferings that war bestows upon them, desire peace, and it is the duty of Socialist and Labour women to make conscious and effective this will to peace. They must use all existing ways and means for acting as a political power to accomplish its ends.

#### WORKING WOMEN, UNITE.

The Conference therefore invites the working women of all countries to lose neither time nor opportunity in expressing their consciousness of international solidarity and their will for peace by demonstrations of every kind, fearing neither obstacles, persecution, nor danger. Never has there been such need for political action by women. History will record their action at this crisis, and the emancipation of women and the triumph of Socialism will depend on their courage and determination.

At this moment, when disaster overwhelms the world, this Conference has proved that the bonds of sisterhood between the Socialist and Labour women of all countries, even those at war, stand fast. It has shown that they are united in having to perform, with a common will and common action, the one great duty.

This Conference is full of hope that the working women of all nations will show the same unity in promoting international action for peace. Such action of Socialist women is the forerunner of the general movement of the workers to bring an end to fratricide, the first step in rebuilding the one great association of the workers; and it confidently looks to the Socialist parties in all countries to assume the conscious and energetic leadership in the struggle for peace.

For English readers the best account of the Berne Conference is contained in the *Labour Woman* for May. (3, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, W.C.) Annual subscription, 1s.

### THE MARCHIONESS OF ABERDEEN'S PUBLIC LETTER.

Dear Miss Janes,—I am sure all the members of the International Council share in the profound grief which has come upon us all, and which necessarily suspends our work and communications with one another.

We are still bound together by the countless activities which the women of each country are carrying on in their own land,

and for the benefit of all sufferers coming under their care, and we must all rejoice in hearing how splendidly the women all over the world have responded to the stern call to duty and self-sacrifice, and have proved themselves ready for every variety of emergency work coming within their reach.

It is a time of great, though tragic, opportunity, and we may surely hope that the way it has been met will place women in a very different position as regards their power to press for the reforms included in the programme of the International Council of Women when we are once more able to meet in Council.

In the meantime, I am confident that our best policy is for the women of each country to follow what they believe to be their duty as citizens of that country, holding themselves ready for the time when international work will be again possible for us all.

With the view of preparing ourselves for that time, may I be allowed to draw your attention to a movement for the study of international relations, which might be promoted by each of our National Councils on such lines as they may think best. The aim is to encourage the study of the national, social, economic, and ethical problems raised by the war by means of groups of a few persons agreeing to meet regularly for mutual help and discussion. Each group should have a secretary and also a leader, able and willing to give time and care to the preparation of the work, and who will guide the discussions in such a way that all will be encouraged to take a share.

Books should be selected by each group, which all the members will undertake to read and discuss.

I cannot help thinking that such a plan of systematic education in national and international problems, carried on alongside of the active patriotic and philanthropic work of all kinds for which women of all countries have made themselves responsible, will prepare the way for great progress later on.

On the other hand, I believe that international conferences and congresses on subjects connected with the war are for the present premature, and might even be the means of retarding the causes which we have most at heart. I am therefore, on this ground, personally declining the courteous invitation which has been extended to me by the Committee of the International Congress of Women, which is convened at The Hague in April, and I am advising my I.C.W. fellow-officers to take the same course.

It will be remembered that, after much consideration, it was decided at the Executive held at The Hague that the International Council of Women would appoint no delegates to attend the meetings of other international organisations.—I remain, yours always in the faith and the aims of the International Council of Women,

ISHBEL ABERDEEN,

President of the International Council of Women.

### War Pamphlets.

*Women and War.* By Mrs. H. M. Swanwick.

This pamphlet examines war as it affects women; the spiritual and material suffering it causes; the effect of militarism on women; and how and why women should and could uproot the causes of war, and help to build a better world.

"In militarist States women must always, to a greater or less degree, be deprived of liberty, security, scope, and initiative. For militarism is the enthronement of physical force as the arbiter of nations, and under such an arbitrament women must always go under. . . . If destructive force is to continue to dominate the world, then man must continue to dominate woman, to his and her lasting injury. The sanction of brute force, by which a strong nation hacks its way through a weak one, is precisely the same as that by which the stronger male dictates to the weaker female."

"The 'physical force argument,' so dear to Anti-suffragists, runs:—'Political power (which alone gives freedom) must always be in the hands of those who can enforce their will; women can never enforce their will as against men; therefore women can never have political power (which alone gives freedom).' Once you admit the validity of the major premise you have proved much more than the necessity for the eternal subjection of women to men; you have proved the necessity for the eternal subjection of small nations, and the necessity for the eternal strife of nations to determine which is the stronger."

People who desire the enfranchisement of women will only be effective workers if they work for pacifism, or the control of physical by moral force. Pacifists will only be effectual if they admit that woman's claim to freedom is based on the same principle as the claim of small nations. . . . There

is no reason whatever why men should not gradually learn that they get no good, but much evil, from the uncontrolled domination of force. They will learn the lesson much faster when women have studied the causes of war and set themselves against them."

The writer inquires into the causes of war, and shows the illusion of imagining that militarism gives security, and that the real causes of war come from a false sense of national honour—which, like the traditional but false notion of a woman's honour, is held to be violated by brute force,—and from love of gain and glory, and from fear. And although individual men fight from love of country, it by no means follows that wars are for the good of the countries that make them. Men and women together must determine to control foreign policy and the issues of peace and war.

Women can do much even now to form public opinion, and it is their duty to "work for a right foundation of government; to endeavour to establish public right in control of physical force; and to work for the very foundation of a free and secure existence for women. Every Suffrage society ought to be a pacifist society, and to realise that pacifist propaganda is an integral part of Suffrage propaganda."

As to the fear of antagonising men, which makes some women fear to adopt a pacifist attitude, militarist men would never give women the vote in any case. "It is the civilised men who are going to enfranchise women, and it is with such men that women should ally themselves."

### TREASURER'S REPORT.

In accordance with the decision of the Headquarters Committee, the Treasurer will from now on, month by month, acknowledge all subscriptions and donations to the I.W.S.A. in the pages of *Jus Suffragii*.

The Alliance's regular income is derived from:

(1) Affiliation fees which the National Associations pay in proportion to their total membership.

(2) Honorary associate members' subscriptions. An associate member pays £1 annually, and is entitled to receive *Jus Suffragii* and Congress Reports free. The membership also entitles to take part in the Alliance Congresses without further payments.

This regular income has been supplemented during the last two years by a large number of donations to a "Special Fund" raised during the Budapest Congress (June, 1913) for the purpose of establishing Headquarters and paying the salaries of the staff.

The Treasurer will be glad to communicate with intending subscribers, or receive subscriptions and donations at Headquarters. The International Relief Work, which is carried on with specially collected funds, is in urgent need of further financial help, and donations will be gratefully acknowledged by the Treasurer.

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## NOTES FROM NEW ZEALAND.

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.

March 18.

By the new Education Act coming into force this year, great changes are being initiated. Chief of these is the creation of a Council of Education, to control all school work in the Dominion. It is specially expected that, as the Council will consist of people "actually engaged in the various grades of educational work, it will bring about a more natural relationship between the kindergarten, primary, technical, secondary, and university stages of education."

All these departments have the right to nominate at least one member, while the Minister of Education nominates three, of which one is a woman. Altogether, of fifteen members, five will be women.

It had been proposed to appoint female inspectors, but the clause embodying this change was dropped in the passage of the Bill. It is understood, however, that there is likely to be an amendment before long in the matter of appointing women as inspectors.

Some efforts have been made to have "wet" canteens in the training camps. This attempt has been opposed by women and the Temperance party, and the Minister of Defence declares that liquor will remain barred from camps and training areas, while the Government is seriously considering the problem of "treating" men in uniform.

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Mrs. Kineton-Parkes.  
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