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## SIFFRAG JUS

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## ORGAN OF SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE.

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#### NOTICE.

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

#### 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.

#### Honours for Women in Roumania.

Mme. Eugénie de Reus Jancoulesco, the President of the Roumanian Woman Suffrage Society, has received the highest decoration for which a woman is eligible—viz., the Bene Merenti, First Class,—in recognition of her literary and social

#### Roumanian Women's Work.

Mme. de Reus Jancoulesco writes from Radu Voda 27, Bukarest, that she has been devoting herself to the care of orphan girls, and is Directress of the only school for them in Roumania. Lectures have also been arranged for women to prepare for women taking the place of mobilised men. Mme. de Jancoulesco herself gave the first lecture, on "Feminism and War.'

#### Norway and the War.

Frk. Fredrikke Mörck writes from Kristiania:—"Norway is a country in which the idea of peace has always found a good soil for growth. This is exemplified by the following facts:—(1) The Storthing—the Norwegian Parliament—has a Peace Committee of its own. (2) Most of the members of the Storthing are pacifists, as well as those of the Government. (3) Mr. Alfred Nobel, the Swedish pacifist, trusted the Norwegian Storthing with his Fund for Peace and the distribution of the fund. (4) Norway has its peace building—the Nobel House,—with A Peace Library and Kristians. with a Peace Library, and Kristiania is pro tem. the centre

of the whole peace movement."

The peace appeal of the National Council of Women to the Minister for Foreign Affairs appeared in Jus Suffragii for January,

#### Two Brave Telegraphists.

At Schabatz and Klenak all the male personnel of the telegraph office was absent when the bombardment began. Only two young girls remained, Zlata Gregorilcie and Eva Barac, both Serbian by nationality, but Austrian subjects. They remained at their post during the bombardment, which continued day and night for several days.

A similar case occurred at Bazias, on the Danube. postal and railway officials fled. Honka Palinkas remained alone, took over the telephone and telegraph service, and carried it on till the end of the bombardment.

All three brave young women have been recommended for -From Die Staatsburgerin. distinction.

#### The Franz Josef Order for a Woman.

Frau Turnau Wattmann, of Hietzing, near Vienna, has been decorated by the Emperor for services in the field. accompanied her officer-husband to Galicia.

#### A Message from Selma Lagerlof.

The great Swedish writer and academician sends us the following lines -

As long as my tongue can frame a word, as long as blood flows in my veins, so long will I work for the cause of peace, even though it may cost my life and happiness

Selma Lagerlof.
From the novel, "Margareta Fredkulla," originally publiced as a poem. Fredkulla means the maiden bringer of lished as a poem.

#### German Women's Aid for Poland.

The Frauenbewegung publishes an appeal from Frau von Bernhardt for aid for the starving inhabitants of Russian Poland, whose country is devastated by war. In her appeal Frau von Bernhardt says that help is also being organised for suffering Belgium. Europe indeed owes a heavy debt to these two wrecked and ruined countries, and it is good to hear that German Suffragists are trying to bring aid to the sufferers outside their own horders side their own borders.

#### The International Congress of Women at the Hague.

Some misapprehension seems to exist with regard to the International Women's Congress at the Hague. This Congress is not convened by the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, and the prominence given to it in the March number of Jus Suffragii was as an item of news likely to interest readers, not as an official announcement. The Congress is convened by Dutch women, and the resolutions were drafted at a preliminary conference of British, Belgian, Dutch, and German women. The resolutions are not to be taken as final—they are open to amendment,—and women attending the Congress do not thereby signify their agreement with every resolution. The British and French Suffrage Societies affiliated to the Alliance are not sending delegates, and we gather that the same is true of the German Society.

The French have written an explanation of their abstention. They feel that as long as their country is invaded it is impossible for them to discuss The promoters of the Congress wish to emphasise the

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fact that participation in the Congress does not involve a demand for immediate peace, but rather the preparing of sure foundations that peace, when it comes, may be on a sound

#### The Late Henri Poincare on Hatred.

The great mathematician, Henri Poincaré, in a speech delivered on June 26th, 1912, a few days before his death, "Man's life is a continued struggle; blind but formidable forces are arrayed against him, which would overwhelm him, destroy him, load him with misery, if he were not always Why do some rejoice at the ready to resist them. ready to resist them. . . . Why do some rejoice at the defeats of others? Do they forget that each of these defeats is a triumph for the eternal adversary, a diminution of the common patrimony? We have too great need of all our forces to have the right to neglect any; therefore we repulse no one, we only proscribe hatred. Certainly hatred is a force, a very powerful force, but we have no use for it, because it belittles, because it is like a telescope which can only be looked through from the big end; between peoples, too, hatred is poisonous; it is not hatred that makes true heroes. I do not know whether beyond certain frontiers it is considered an advantage to stimulate patriotism by hatred; but it is contrary to the instincts of our race and to its traditions '

#### Children's Peace Petition.

Twelve little girls of Washington, accompanied by a committee of twelve women, all of them Suffragists, presented the Children's Peace Petition to Secretary Bryan on February 25th. In receiving the petition Mr. Bryan said :-

'I am very glad to receive petitions for peace here from anyone. I think that they can come from no better portion of the population than from the women and children. The women at home have to bear the majority of the burdens of war, and they should have something to say in the determination of those conditions which may or may not cause war."

#### Another Solomon.

A wife in Henry County, Kentucky, took drastic revenge on her husband who was trying to separate her from her children. The husband sued for a divorce, claiming that the last child was not his, but asking for the custody of the other children. In a dramatic scene the wife then declared that none of the children were her husband's. Fortunately, the case was tried before a judge who knew both plaintiff and defendant well, and knew that the husband's charge was false. He decided that if the mother loved her children well enough to make such a statement in order to keep the husband from depriving her of their custody, they ought to be hers, and so gave them to her, as the better guardian for them.

#### "Jus Suffragii."

Over 80 new annual subscribers to Jus Suffragii have been registered since January, and the sales of single copies show an increase for January and February of 160 over the corresponding months of last year. Numerous letters are received from all over the world testifying to the value of the paper at

It is important to increase the circulation, and subscribers are invited to send out sample copies to their friends. The April number is particularly suitable for this purpose.

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

A hundred and twenty years ago one of the greatest of German philosophers, Immanuel Kant, published an essay on a '' Perpetual Peace.'' Many great men of many nations have laboured to bring to birth the same idea: How to prevent war: How to lay the foundations of a lasting peace. them may be mentioned Dante, Erasmus, Grotius, Sir Thomas More, Bentham, Rousseau, and William Penn. Therefore, the credit of the thought belongs to no one nation and to no one age. It is truly international.

One method which nearly all the great men I have mentioned recommended was the foundation of a Federation of States (a Concert of Europe) which bound themselves to combined action against any one of them which broke the peace Kant's essay embodied this idea, but added to it another which gave his proposals more actuality than any which had preceded them. He pointed out that Freedom and Self-government-Democracy, in fact—greatly strengthened the foundations of peace. It is the absolute monarch, the autocratic Government, which makes war, often to preserve its own power and privileges or to divert attention from troublesome domestic ques-Free peoples do not make war except for freedom and self-defence. Therefore, the first definite article in Kant's essay on a "Perpetual Peace" is 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. Kant had pointed out that an autocrat can order a war with as great ease as he can order a nunting party. If his military preparations are good, or he believes them to be good, he stands to gain much and lose little by war. He does not seriously risk his person or his property; he simply plays the great game held in his own circle to be the only worthy sport of Kings and Emperors. The people, on the other hand, stand to suffer poignant misery, incredible horrors and losses, those who win as well as those who lose; therefore, argued Kant in effect, "put political power in the hands of the people, and the risk of war will be enormously reduced

Experience of nearly a century and a quarter since Kant's essay was written confirms the soundness of his principle. There has been in those 120 years an enormous growth of democracy, and democracies have not made wars of aggression They have taken part in wars of freedom and defence, but they have not been the sinners who have made wanton attacks on inoffensive neighbours for the sake of aggrandisement or in the hope of averting public attention from troublesome domestic questions.

My 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. people " now means the men and women of every nation. This is being more and more realised in every part of the world. extend self-government and political power to women would enormously strengthen the forces which make for peace. The gigantic cost of war in precious lives comes home to women as the mother sex, even more vividly than it does to men; indeed, it is only since the dawn of the women's movement that a serious effort has been made by the rulers of the world to check any way the hideous waste of life which war involves. Before the age of Florence Nightingale, hundreds of thousands of lives were simply thrown away by absence of decent care.

I do not claim that women would be immune from the war fever; but I do claim that they are more likely than men are to seek, before the war fever sets in, to produce conditions likely to prevent wars, to strengthen those relations between States which lead to mutual understanding and goodwill, rather than relations based on mutual hatred and rivalry. It is this point of view that we must endeavour with all the strength we have to bring before the statesmen who will meet at the Congress which must be called when the war is over. They will meet, let us trust, intent on fixing their minds on establishing conditions which will make aggressive wars impossible. "It is not good for man to be alone." And has man alone made such a splendid success of the government of the world that he can afford to be contemptuous of the help that can be extended to him by women? Let the stricken fields of France, Belgium, Poland, and East Prussia answer, and the desolated homes in every belligerent country.

I believe that already something of this feeling is beginning to make itself felt in the world, and it is strengthened by the terrible sufferings which this war has brought upon women It is idle to attempt a sum in arithmetic, and exactly compare the sufferings of men and women in war time. The agony of both is incredible, and not to be measured. Let any man imagine, if he can, what must be the mental and moral anguish of a woman condemned to bear a child begotten in rape and hatred by a victorious enemy. Such women, in no small numbers, are facing their shattered lives to-day, and in one case, at any rate, a Government has considered in what way such women can best be helped to bear their almost unfathomable misery. - However hideous the sufferings of men in war,

APRIL 1, 1915.

have they had to face any position which makes them loathe their own flesh and the light of day? Let, then, the woman's point of view be considered, and the woman's voice be heard. Let them be put in a position to help men in the future to make all but defensive wars impossible

The women in every belligerent country have been loyal to their men, and have endeavoured by every means in their power to strengthen and sustain the vital energies of their nation. They are beginning, in the more advanced countries, to be recog nised as political entities. Statesmen will be attending the Congress who will have had experience of women as voters, and who will therefore know by positive experience that the fan-tastic fears of the anti-Suffragists are wholly without foundation. There are twenty-six countries affiliated to the International Woman Suffrage Alliance; if any fair proportion of these can charge the representatives of their own country at the Congress to remember that there is no true democracy as long as half the people are left out and are destitute of every vestige of political power, 1915 will show a great and worthy advance over 1815. Kant's principle will be newly interpreted, and the fact will once more be vindicated that the peace of the world is in much safer keeping in the hands of the men and women who are the greatest sufferers by war than it is in those of the five or six crowned heads and their satellites who now have the power at any moment to plunge the world MILLICENT GARRETT FAWCETT. into war.

Note.—Kant's essay, "Perpetual Peace," has been translated into English, with a deeply interesting preface by Miss M. Campbell Smith, M.A. Published by George Allen, Unwin and Co. Price 2s.

#### MILITARISM: MAN'S AND WOMAN'S VIEW.

A man's view on militarism is stamped by a powerful tradition and a history as old as human society; it will therefore chiefly be by means of reason that he may reach to acknowledge the idea of the cause of peace; but an acknowledgment based on syllogisms made on the stated historic basis is in danger of being reserved and qualified. If anyone should doubt the correctness of this, he need only watch the friends of peace among statesmen, politicians, and people in prominent positions in the service of practical life. They accept the idea of peace as sound, but are not able to emancipate themselves from the influence of inherited ideas, and they often think to see their advantage in maintaining the existing ones.

But a woman accepts the thought of peace spontaneously, because it is in harmony with something central in her nature. A socially and politically roused woman is therefore a more faithful friend of the cause of peace than a man. Experience will confirm the correctness of this to any friend of peace. It is therefore not by chance that "Down With Your Arms" has been written by a woman.

Friends of the cause of peace, as of humanity in general, must therefore work for woman's political equality with man; one step forward for this means one step forward for that. Therefore it ought not to be considered a sacrifice on the part of a man to acknowledge woman's political rights, but an assistance which he accepts in the struggle for lighter and happier conditions for mankind. The present unhappy state of Europe has proved that all help is necessary, and if the women would help to wash out of the white garments of civilisation the horrible bloody stain which the war between the Christian nations of Europe is, then their support ought to be accepted as soon as possible.

That the politics and peace efforts of the men need fresh blood and new strength has been fully proved by the war. JESPER SIMONSEN,

Acting Judge in the Criminal Court of Copenhagen.

#### AN APPEAL TO WOMEN FROM THE BALKANS.

Dear Sisters,—This is the third year that the devastating

plague of war has been raging.
Soon after the Balkan War was finished, which in its turn left open new wounds yet to be cured, new questions yet to be solved; the great appalling war burst out between the two European groups of allies. So far it has been localised between the two said groups, but it tends to involve in its whirlwind all of the remaining European States, even countries of the other parts of the world.

All the achievements of culture and civilisation which human energy had been working at for centuries are exposed to destruction and desolation; many religious monuments greatly prized by Christian people are trampled down; millions of citizens have exposed their lives in a cruel contest; hundreds of thousands are already its victims; many thousands of others will have to bear the heavy results of the war; mothers and children of so many countries are in grief, and suffering want.

This is the third year since only the sound of weeping is heard over Europe; the death-scythe is at work, and it brings only sorrows and tears. The efforts and progress of so many countries in the arts of production and invention for ennobling and perfection of life are replaced by ruin, destruction, and

Though the Balkan War lasted one year and the European War has been continuing for months, yet there are no signs of stopping the terrible evil, no signs of putting an end to this loathsome slaughter.

The two present warring groups declare that each one will fight to the last man, and discharge the last projectile. But from nowhere a voice is raised against this temptation, which ends in misery and death.

Dear Sisters,—We, the women of a small nation which experienced all the misfortunes of war, tremble at the dreadful deeds which are being done over Europe to-day, and appeal to you all to raise your mothers' voices of love and mercy, and say: ENOUGH

Whatever the reasons and motives of the bloody war might be, though many problems need a quick solution, one thing ought to be borne in mind: that this solution will come not by slaughter and destruction, but by harmony and peace.

We, the women of all countries that were in war and those that are warring now, are deeply disheartened at the great calamities of the war; but let us use our utmost efforts, and with warm feeling and the tender love of a mother exclaim

It is futile to await passively the end of such a great and ferocious war, for such an end will bring only utter ruin to the nations; and, then, are we guaranteed that the end will bring order and justice?

No, dear sisters; we, the Bulgarian women, though belonging to a small nation, know very well that after carrying on a victorious war the vital problems were not solved, but left behind deeper wounds to be healed.

Did the Balkan War solve the Macedonian problem? No,

Do you think that the European War, after one side or the other is defeated, will put an end to the conflicts and disputed

We say, No; war always brings atrecities, ill-will, and antipathy between the nations; hence follow new oppressions and new enmities. Where solidarity and justice are lacking, there it is impossible to have peace. In the name of this solidarity and justice, let us, the women of all nations, say to the warring parties: COME TO YOURSELVES!

So far, we have patiently followed in the steps of the destruction of war, and with mercy tried to preserve life which is cruelly destroyed, and to repair the damage. Alas! that is not enough; the wounds are getting deeper, the misfortunes endless, and our aid is very small to amend the wrongs. The dreadful moments we are passing through now call us to our highest duty, namely, to preserve the new generations, which are our own children.

Let the women of every civilised nation forward the following earnest appeal

Put an end to the desolating wars, and bring peace and tranquillity to the nations!

All the youth, whose present and future are now threatened; all those that suffer now, and those that think for the good of mankind, will be on our side.

JENNY BOJCIBANKA-PATTENA

Bourgas, Bulgaria.

#### "DOWN WITH YOUR ARMS."

Who could have any confidence in the armed peace? A peace full of threats was not what we desired, knowing that this monstrous machine, the object of the Government's solicitude, under the deceptive title of "National Defence," was a permanent danger to life, progress, and liberty!

With the anguished presentiment of unavowed complications, we asked ourselves from what point on the horizon the famous pretext would come, signal for the dance of death, the tempest

Was not secret preparation for the present conflict made in the immoral international atmosphere of the "great" nations? Small wars led us to foresee the explosion of the great war. The dying forces of the past hurled madly against the forces

of the future.

We feminists have the right to look this terrible situation in the face, and to judge it. Attempts are made to avoid discussion by invoking ideas which are supposed to be beyond our capacity—insurmountable difficulties, complications that can only be solved by cannon!

We have above all the right to assert that if Governments had not so obstinately refused rights to women we should not now be watching with terror the crumbling of a system based on force which we condemned.

Once again experience shows that the social organisation will be wrecked by its want of equilibrium as long as women have not got their rightful place. In the midst of the general disorder and despair women are employing all the resources of their intelligence; their capacity is recognised, appeal is made to their courage and energy. . . But they are feeling, searching, trying to understand, suffering, struggling in misery. Trembling beneath the burden of trial, many do not know exactly where to direct their beliefs; their faith in their country conflicts with their faith in brotherhood; a hardly restrained feeling of anger conflicts with their natural feeling of justice and goodness.

As for men, passive instruments, the catastrophe, bursting suddenly on them, convinces them all that they are in the right; to save their country they join in the horrible struggle, their heart full of blind hatred against the enemy who forces them to leave their peaceful life of work, . . . but they, too, are tortured with the horror of dealing out death, of killing men who, like themselves, have a mother, a wife, beloved child-

And, shameful result of the scourge once unchained, fighters, giving free rein to their ferocious instincts (dormant during peace, but roused by the cannon), seized with criminal madness, give themselves up to the worst barbarities.

Certain individuals, like certain Governments, once war declared, will never respect the "rules of warfare," treaties and conventions of war, so carefully elaborated by "Peace Conferences."

What ought to have been done, what in future we shall claim more than ever, is that in future they shall all be deprived of the power to injure, by the simple abolition of armaments! Are women going to remain silent? Are they going to remain passive? As they are free of all responsibility for the war, will they not profit by the circumstance, and protest? Will they without complaining suffer for ever from these murderous shocks of a dominating militarism? Then is it to be wondered at that women of good will, with minds above the current conceptions of a narrow and vindictive nationalism, are resolutely determined to make themselves the pacific defenders of humanity? Must we remind people that humanity is composed not only of men, but of women and children, who deserve some interest, for there is no scruple in martyring them, treading them to the dust without pity, in the interests of the national

These brave women, conscious of a duty to be fulfilled, are trying to meet the present crisis. To soften and calm the tumult they try to pour some beneficent drops of oil into the international machinery!

The lessons of the war are many; they justify those women who fought against the war parties. Not to act in the moment of danger would be for them to deny their past.

Weighed down with the burden of misery and mourning, the incalculable loss of human lives, and material ruin, will the nations at last decide to free themselves from militarist slavery; to throw away their cursed weapons of war, and replace them with the pen; to establish international law finally and definitely?

Up to now each side wishes to crush its adversary by continuing the struggle to the last breath of the last man!

The certain result of this policy would be: Victors and vanquished exhausted and ruined; the poor working population, never consulted, decimated and scattered. And . . . once more force victorious! It is intolerable that this odious carnage should continue, a disgrace to our century; swollen military expenditure, parasitic armies of destruction, always rousing revenge, fanning hatred, without for all that being able to defend Law and Liberty. It is impossible to build up and organise the "New World," which we wait and long for, without the co-operation of women. The sure and solid basis will be: Justice and political equality of the sexes.

JEANNE MELIN,
Refugee from Carignan (Ardennes), France.
Dun-sur-Auron (Cher), March, 1915.

#### IS WAR TO BE PREVENTED?

Both in time of peace and in time of war we very often hear the opinion expressed that war is horrid, but inevitable, too. And you hear it just now, when a war as devastating and as wide-ranging as could be imagined is ruling all Europe, which we consider a highly civilised part of the world. If the war was a natural event such as earthquake, typhoon, or inundation it would be justifiable to speak as mentioned above. But war depends on circumstances which are under the influence of mankind, and so it is people themselves who cause the war. And therefore it is possible to prevent war; all human things are under the control of human beings, when they are really determined on it.

It is this conviction which during the present time of war causes more and more men and women to join in claiming that the present war shall be the last in Europe. And this is attainable if we work for it in earnest. The opinion that war is inevitable depends partly on the fact that it is the men who through centuries have ruled, and still—though under protest from the women—rule, public opinion. Men are apt to consider war, duel, and even fighting as permissible, nay, fair, means to use when discussion seems to be fruitless or when they are exposed to insults which to them are too great to be endured.

And as they in their daily life consider it dishonourable not to return a blow or not to be the first to give a blow when they are insulted, it is nearly a matter of course to them when war is declared, when disagreement occurs between nations.

declared, when disagreement occurs between nations.

Women have not such brutal opinions; if that were the case, they would have used violent means against the humiliations to which they are subject both in public and private life But in the great organised army of women or among the calm women from the homes it is only a minimal minority who try to get their right by violence. The great majority of women whose sense of honour is even more sensitive than that of the men, often bear and suffer insults in order that no other shall suffer for their sake, and in order to save that which has still greater value for them than their own self. To them happiness does not consist in power, but in peace and homelike feelings. So they are thinking more of a way by which they can settle social and domestic questions, and secure just institutions, and now to help the needy, than of an outward display of power. In the same way, it will be natural to women, when international conflicts are coming on, with all their womanly instinct to ask: "What will happen to the children and the homes if we do not prevent the threatening war?" and not like the "My sword and my honour." And so they will endeavour to prevent the outbreak of war.

The present war, more than any previous one, has shown them that war brings need, misery, and sorrow into the homes and to the children. So the women always prefer discussions about keeping up the peace to the discussions of peace after a destructive war which has devastated belligerent countries and brought misery to the neutral states.

When the women become legislating citizens, and so get influence on the Government of their country, their endeavour will be to prevent war and to forward the common interests of the countries in such a way that it becomes unnatural or impossible to nations with the same religion and the same moral view and nearly the same development of mind to declare war against each other, and to destroy irreparable values—or values reparable only by the work of generations—for each other.

So the fight for Women's Suffrage is at the same time a work

So the fight for Women's Suffrage is at the same time a work for the prevention of war. The war has stopped this work in most countries. Here in Denmark even immediately before the final victory and now we ask with anxiety: "What will be the position of our cause after the war?"

And in the same way as women's sense of honour makes them think and act less brutally than the men, their maternal feelings make them condemn the war and fight for its prevention. They will feel it an irrelevancy that the children they have given birth to shall be used as food for cannon in their best years.

So we must demand that the women get influence on the Government of their country as real citizens. On the citizenship of women depends to a great extent the prevention of the

LOUISE NORLUND.

Copenhagen, Denmark.

APRIL 1. 1915

#### OUR FRIEND THE ENEMY.

BY ROMAIN ROLLAND.

While the war tempest rages, uprooting the strongest souls and dragging them along in its furious cyclone, I continue my humble pilgrimage, trying to discover beneath the ruins the rare hearts who have remained faithful to the old ideal of human fraternity. What a sad joy I have in collecting and helping them!

I know that each of their efforts—like mine,—that each of their words of love, rouses and turns against them the hostility of the two enemy camps. The combatants, pitted against each other, agree in hating those who refuse to hate. Europe is like a besieged town; fever is raging. Whoever will not rave like the rest is suspected. And in these hurried times, when justice cannot wait to study proofs, every suspect is a traitor. Whoever insists, in the midst of war, on defending peace among men knows that he risks his own peace, his reputation, his friends, for his belief. But of what value is a belief for which no risks are run? Certainly it is put to the test in these days, when every day brings the echo of violence, injustice, and new cruelties. But was it not still more tried when it was entrusted to the fishermen of Judea by Him whom humanity pretends to honour still—with its lips more than with its heart? The rivers of blood, the burnt-down towns, all the atrocities thought and action, will never efface in our tortured souls the luminous track of the Galilean barque, nor the deep vibrations of the great voices which from across the centuries pro-claim reason as man's true home. You choose to forget them, and to say (like many writers of to-day) that this war will date a new era in the history of mankind, a reversal of former values, and that from it alone will future progress be dated. That is always the language of passion. Passion passes. Reason remains—reason and love. Let us continue to search for their young shoots amidst the bloody ruins. I feel the same joy when I find the fragile and valiant flowers of human pity piercing the icy crust of hatred that covers Europe, as we feel in these chilly March days when we see the first flowers appear above the soil. They show that the warmth of life persists below the surface of the earth, that fraternal love ersists below the surface of the nations, and that soon nothing will prevent it rising again.

I have several times shown how the neutral countries have become the refuge of this European spirit, which seems driven from the belligerent countries by the armies of the pen, more savage than the others because they risk nothing. The efforts made in Holland or in Spain to save the moral unity of Europe, the burning charity and untiring help that Switzerland lavishes on prisoners, on wounded, on victims of both sides, are a great comfort to oppressed souls, who in every country are suffocating in the atmosphere of hatred forced on them, and who look for purer air. But I find still more beautiful and touching the signs of fraternal aid between friends and enemies in belligerent countries, however rare and feeble they may be.

The two countries which seem to be most deeply divided by the war are England and Germany, and it is just between these two countries that the noblest links of mutual assistance have been forged.

In England, the Emergency Committee for the Assistance of Germans, Austrians, and Hungarians in Distress, the Society of Friends of Foreigners, and the Headquarters Committee of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance have helped to repatriate hundreds of alien women and girls, to provide hospitality, work, clothes, and general help for hundreds of men and women. Sub-committees have visited the prisoners' camps, helped to trace lost relatives, and done all in their power to alleviate the lot of the stranger.

alleviate the lot of the stranger.

In Germany a similar committee has been organised in Berlin, with Dr. Elisabeth Rotten at the head. Such work meets with suspicion and nationalist opposition.

The Berlin Society's manifesto contains a noble and touching appeal, and concludes with the following beautiful words:
"Our thirst to offer aid and to soften pain knows no frontiers

.... What unites men goes deeper than what separates them. . . . . In the midst of the torment that ruins so much around us that we thought worthy of permanence, the possibility of such action steels our courage and gives us hope that new bridges will be built up on which men who now find themselves separated will unite anew and intimately in a common effort."

I commend this large-hearted spirit to all those who have expressed their sympathy with such ideas, and who cherish a persistent faith in humanity; who, even in these days of war, by their fair-mindedness and their goodness of heart, contribute as much to the glory of their country as those who serve it by their arms.

ROMAIN ROLLAND.

## THE INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S CONGRESS IN THE NETHERLANDS.

While the force of arms is raging in the neighbouring countries to the accompaniment of the ceaseless roar of cannon, a noble work is being conducted in the Netherlands—a work that may seem trifling to the chaos of calamities surrounding us, but is yet likely to prove of a wide-reaching character. It has been decided to hold an International Women's Congress at the Hague from the 28th to the 30th April. This is a significant fact, and the Dutch women who have taken the initiative deserve every honour for the courage they have shown.

The International Alliance for Woman Suffrage held their last Congress at Buda-Pesth in June, 1913. It was there decided to hold the next at Berlin in June, 1915. In the meantime the war broke out, kindling a hate which threatens to alienate the nations for years to come. Of congresses and pacific gatherings there is no longer any thought, and the bitter disillusions which the thinkers in all countries have experienced have either severed their mutual intellectual sympathies or caused them to cool considerably in ardour.

Fortunately, a few broad-minded intellectualists, amongst whom was a body of courageous women, still held fast to the ideals of their lives in the midst of the rough realities, and took upon themselves to guard against the international bands between the nations being cut off altogether. They felt that the hearts that were assailed by grief—and too frequently by vengeance as well—might possibly still be amenable to the thoughts of peace and unity. And the Dutch National Committee for International Interests, which is a sub-division of the Association for Woman Suffrage, ventured to lift up its voice in this strain. It proposed that the Congress which it was impossible to hold at Berlin should be convoked instead in the Netherlands.

The twenty-six separate countries affiliated with the International Alliance were approached, but the answers received were on the whole discouraging. The idea itself met with general favour, but it was considered advisable to refrain from holding official assemblies. It seemed that the only chance of success lay in separately consulting the prominent women of the different countries, both belligerent and neutral. This took place, with the result that a meeting was held on the 12th and 13th February last in Amsterdam. A number of British, German, Dutch, and Belgian women were present, and the meeting would have had a far larger attendance had it not been for the imperfect traffic communications. Many women who would otherwise have most certainly graced the meeting with their presence received the invitation too late; others who were on the way got unexpectedly detained owing to passport difficulties, and were only able to notify the President, Dr. Aletta H. Jacobs, of their adhesion to the plan by telegram; but in spite of everything the way was clear to arrange for a three days' Congress.

Chief amongst the points of discussion in the provisional programme are those urging the Governments of the belligerent countries to proclaim the conditions upon which they are prepared to make peace; the protest against the annexation of territory without the previous assent of its men and women inhabitants; and the settlement of all future political disputes by arbitration or conciliation. Moreover, the Congress demands that at the coming Conference of the Powers women delegates be admitted.

From all parts of the world women's associations and women's trade unions have promised to send their delegates;

in fact, the promises are so lavish in this respect that it speaks well for the enthusiasm with which this plan of Netherlands women has been received abroad.

In spite of the levity of sceptics who look down in derision upon what they are pleased to call the "Peace Bigotry" of its advocates, there have nevertheless come forward a group of women who have had the moral courage to give public expression of the first words of Peace. In the midst of the war tumult which is making all Europe quake, these women, many of whom have husbands fighting against each other with mad fury, are yet found willing to associate themselves in a discussion of the means which can be taken to restore the good relations of the nations. And the British, French, and Belgian women, together with their German and Austrian sisters, will extend their hands in fellowship. For they know that with them rests no responsibility for the fatal events which have overtaken Europe; while, at the same time, they feel that their joint efforts may become a potent factor to avoid wars in the future. Therefore in the days to come the voices of these women shall reach unto the farthest corners of fighting Europe, and possibly penetrate even unto the Council Halls

The International Congress of Women is destined to become an event of historical importance, and though its immediate outcome can hardly be decisive, yet, on the other hand, its moral influence will be untold.

Amsterdam. LEOPOLD ALETRINO.

#### SERBIAN WOMEN IN WAR-TIME.

Although the Serbians have had the Turks in their land for several hundred years, they never lived with the Turks nor absorbed their ideals, and they always preserved the European standpoint in civilisation, of which a certain measure of freedom for women, as opposed to the harem system, is the true corner-stone. Now that Serbia is free from the Turk, we find no traces of the evil influence of the East in this matter—less, indeed, than in Sicily and parts of Southern Italy. In the towns of Serbia the educated women of the small middle class are learning to work together for their country's good in the manner of modern women's movements in Western Europe. For example, the Serbian Sisterhood has organised and is carrying on excellently several hospitals, which I went over two months ago. And the same body is doing fine work among the refugees from North-West Serbia, who fled from the Austrian advance last November. The leading ladies of the Serbian Sisterhood are excellent organisers, and of the same type as leading women workers in any Western country.

But the immense majority of the population of Serbia are peasant proprietors. Here in the country districts of Serbia we find another phase of woman's heroism, on a more ancient model, indeed, but none the less free and noble. In war-time. while the whole male population from eighteen to fifty is away. the farm work can only be carried on by the women, with the help of the children and old men. The farm wives have addressed themselves to this task in the wars of 1912, 1913, and the far more terrible war of 1914-15, in a way past all praise. The Serbians are a race of herces at grips with fate, and a "race of heroes" means heroines as well as heroes. The heroism of the women, their quiet courage and cheerful demeanour amid the worst horrors of war, are of course most marked in the north-west districts, which have been ravaged. I have there seen the Serbian women going back to their homes, bringing with them their children, walking day after day through the mud (often three feet deep) of the war-traversed winter roads, till at length they reach the beloved farmhouse always to find it sacked and injured, often to find it ruined. Only those who have seen it can believe the courage and cheerfulness with which they then set about the work of trying to live and keep their children alive, to revive the farm life and village life without the men, and with half or more than half the materials and animals gone. It may be that women are showing equal heroism in all the lands of war-ruined, manruined Europe. But nowhere, I am sure, can they be braver than in Serbia.

G. M. Trevelyan.

#### 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

#### THE FOUNDATIONS OF PERMANENT PEACE: What Can We Do?

By NORMAN ANGELL.

When we ask this question, what can we do about this thing that has weighed upon us now for eight months, there is generally only one reply: we can do our part at home to ensure the victory of our nation. That is to say, we can join committees for relief organisation of one kind or another; we can economise, we can give lectures on the duty of other people to go to the front, and engage in multitudinous activities of a like kind.

Yes, these undoubtedly are things that we can do and are doing, and it may be very rightly. But after? For the war is but a means to an end (although by very many unhappily it is taken as the end in itself), and with the defeat of the enemy the deeper problems have only just begun.

I suppose it would probably be true at this juncture to say that for 90 per cent. of the people there is no "problem" connected with the war at all, or, rather, there is only one problem, and that is the problem of beating the enemy to her knees, of destroying Prussian militarism, or British Imperialism, as the case may be. And there the question is left. are not concerned even to know what these things mean. doubt, indeed, whether most have asked themselves what meaning they do attach to these phrases they use so lightly.

What do they mean? Do they mean that we are going to destroy Germany or Great Britain by killing her population—40 or 80 millions? Obviously not. Do they mean that we are going to put that population under foreign rule? Can we do these things? Would it be wise to do them if we could? And if that is not meant, how otherwise are we going "utterly to destroy German militarism" or British navalism? Obviously, therefore, this thing which we are given to understand is quite simple however costly in life and effort it may be, is not quite so simple. Under the appearance of being simple and practical and avoiding abstract niceties we run a very real danger of accomplishing by the war the very opposite of the thing which we desire to accomplish. We have not made up our minds what this new Europe is to be. We are going into the greatest occasion of reconstruction and rearrangement which modern history has afforded, without knowing what we are going to build or how we are going to build it; we do not even know what it is we want. We do not know what we are fighting for.

It is not as though only one thing could result from this wiping of the enemy from the map of which people talk: things very good or very evil can result from victory. It might be made the occasion for making things much better, or it might be made the occasion for perpetuating the old conditions

under still more dangerous and burdensome forms.

It is curious—as well as pathetic—that we have lost definiteness of aim since the war began. At the beginning we did more or less know what we wanted to do with our victory. We were going to use it for the purpose once and for all of getting rid of certain old policies and inaugurating certain new ones. The British Prime Minister told us that we were fighting this war in order that the old Europe of "competing ambitions, groupings and alliances, and a precarious equipoise" should be abolished in favour of a new one, "a really European partnership based on the recognition of equal right, established and enforced by the common will."

Speaking roughly and generally, two rival and mutually exclusive policies of settlement in Europe are presented as alternatives at the end of the war. And what we who are left behind can do is to decide which of these two policies is the better, and having decided that, to do what in us lies to see that our country carries it out.

And I want to suggest further that there are certain forces now working—forces which will make not for a new and better Europe, but for a perpetuation of the old. Upon the direction in which opinion now develops will depend not merely the nature of the settlement and the character of European civilisation which will follow it, but also probably the length and

Of the two courses available one is for each country to make known that when we talk of putting an end to militarism we propose to accomplish it by putting an end to all militarism; creating a new Europe of States mutually pledged to protect each other from aggression, an arrangement or alliance into which Germany and Great Britain would come on equal terms with the other members, so that the people would have some means of protecting their nationality other than through the

militarisation of their State. Under this plan the whole force the "power" postulated in this balance is the power of military of Europe would be pledged to protect any one of its members. The other course, whether it includes the break up of the German or British Empires or not, means by the admission of all its best advocates a return to the old principle of the Balance of Power, which means the creation of two rival groups in Europe competing in armaments one against the other a policy which involves the perpetuation of the military rivalry of States in its acutest and costliest form.

In his famous speech at Dublin Mr. Asquith said that England stood for "the definite repudiation of militarism as the governing factor in the relations of States"; to insist that for the clash of competing ambitions, for groupings and alliances, and a precarious equipoise" should be substituted "a really European partnership based on the recognition of equal right and established and enforced by the common will

Nothing could more definitely repudiate the old principle of the Balance of Power. A really European partnership the outcome of the common will of all the nations pledged to vindicate the security and right of each, the establishment of such a public right by virtue of the power of all, would, of course, create a real society of nations—it would do for the nations what in civilised societies we do for individuals within the State. It would mean that the military power of the States would be used not for the purpose each of imposing its individual will upon another, but as the instrument of the whole for the enforcement of the common will-a definite law established by the agreement of the whole. It would mean that what some members of the society of nations are prepared to do in the case of Belgium or Austria or Serbia should also be done on behalf of any nation the victim of aggression.

Now, adherence to such a policy meant in its very terms a definite repudiation of the old policy of the Balance of Power, the policy most accurately described by Mr. Asquith's words The clash of competing ambitions, groupings and alliances, and a precarious equipoise," a thing necessarily hostile to "a real European relationship based on the recognition of equal right and established and enforced by the common will." cannot have a common will when your community is divided into two hostile camps; you cannot have a real European partnership if it is so divided; you cannot get rid of the clash of competing ambitions, groupings and alliances, and a pre-carious equipoise if you are attempting all the time to maintain the Balance of Power-a most precarious equipoise-by groupings and alliances. There can be no common force of Europe as a sanction to a common European law when the community is divided in that way, and we are pledged to one side as against another side: pledged to the support not of a principle or right irrespective of the parties that violate it, but pledged to maintain the Balance of Power irrespective of the parties involved. There is no such thing, of course, as a stable Balance of Power; the relative strength of nations is perpetually changing. Military power in any case is a thing very difficult to estimate; an apparently weaker group or nation has often proved, in fact, to be the stronger, so that there is a desire on the part of each side to give the benefit of the doubt to itself, and we come to believe that the way to secure peace is, in Mr. Churchill's phrase, "to be so much stronger than your enemy that he will not dare to attack you." But the other side also thinks that, and each cannot be stronger than the other. Thus, the natural and latent effort to be strongest is obviously fatal to any "balance." "Neither side," as I happen to have said balance. Neither side, 'as I happen to have said elsewhere, "in fact, desires a balance. Each desires to have the balance tilted in its favour." This sets up a perpetual tendency to rearrangement, and regroupings, and reshufflings, in these international alliances, sometimes taking place with extraordinary and startling rapidity, as in the case of the Balkan States. It is already illustrated in the present war.

It, is very nearly true to say of all the combatants respectively, that they have no enemy to-day that was not, historically speaking, quite recently an ally, and not an ally to-day that was not in the recent past an enemy.

These combinations, therefore, are not, never have been, and never can be, permanent. If history, even quite recent history, has any meaning at all, the next ten or fifteen or twenty years will be bound to see among these combatants now in the field rearrangements and permutations out of which the crushed and suppressed enemy will be bound sooner or later

There is no such thing, of course, as the destruction of militarism by the Balance of Power. If we could imagine one side or the other being altogether smashed—which I imagine no decently educated man to-day seriously believes to be possible,—the Balance of Power would be smashed with it, since

It is of the utmost importance that democrats should get this matter clear. The only hope of the destruction of militarism is the creation of some such European society as that indicated by Mr. Asquith and Sir Edward Grey at the beginning of the war. Our only hope of securing from each people their co-operation in the destruction of militarism is to accompany our demand for the reduction of their armaments with a collateral offer to give them that security nationality which without such an offer of protection they can achieve by their arms alone.

The truth, of course, is that those who defend the Balance of Power do not expect the reduction of any militarism

The early talk of the war about its objects being for the establishment of a new Europe must be corrected. is for the re-establishment of the old Europe, the old Europe of the Balance of Power which has given the results that we know. If those most predominant in foreign policy now have their way it will not be a new and better future that will result from the sacrifices that soldiers and peoples are making: the future will simply be the past through another door.

I have not the space here to explain why the policy of the Balance of Power should exercise such hypnotism over certain of our rulers. I think there are quite understandable and explainable motives for that, but I have only space now for the fact. Parenthetically I may just hint that the creation of a united Europe based on law means finally the end of that absorbing game of the struggle for domination. Pride of supremacy, the special temper and instinct which attaches so naturally to ruling classes, is all affronted by the notion that in the future nations cannot impose their will, but must share their rights like the members of a democracy of individuals. All that makes a class or order or school of political thought anti-democratic and anti-parliamentary, and makes it in its tendencies autocratic and despotic, is called up to resist a policy which is the antithesis of domination, the right to rule other men, to impose our will upon them by our superior force.

The question for us is, which of the two rival policies is

Europe really going to stand for at the peace? The character of the peace is going to be decided by that decision. If Europe returns to the two-hundred-year-old policy of the Balance of Power she will merely perpetuate the results which that policy The countries involved do not know to which policy their Government is committed; they do not even know that two rival policies exist: they do not know how they will use the victory which their soldiers may bring.

One can almost imagine the disembodied spirit of the soldiers who fought and died in this war on its morrow saying: "At this price we have brought you victory. What do you intend to do with the prize?" And one can imagine the spirit of the victorious nation, by a sort of farcical but dreadful anti-climax, saving: "Well, we do not know at all what we shall do with this prize. We really have not thought about it.

Surely, if we have any responsibility at all it is to avoid that culminating futility. And it is the avoidance of it, the definite decision now as to which of the two roads we intend to take, the definite making up of our minds which policy it is that we want and intend to put into execution, that is the real answer to the question: "What can we do?" And if we cannot do this thing, make this decision and labour for it, then, in just the plainest and simplest meaning of the words, the final outcome of this war will be evil and not good.

#### A LESSON TO BE GLEANED BY WOMEN FROM THE WAR.

When pleading for the cause of Woman Suffrage in these days one is frequently confronted with the argument that times do not lend themselves to agitation for separate interests, but that all our efforts should be concentrated upon the supreme task of alleviating the heavy misery and suffering

Those who come forward with such arguments show only too clearly that they have still to learn the stern lesson this war is teaching us women—nay, more, that they are in gross ignorance of the very principles of the Women's Movement. In their opinion, the demand for the vote aims merely at the obtaining of political rights, which by the present laws are withheld from women, but, on the other hand, have been extended to men long since; whereas the crux of the Women's Movement lies in the fact that women, having awaked to the

sense of their duties of citizenship both towards the State and towards society, positively need the vote in order to properly acquit themselves of those same duties.

Now the rights we claim are but a means to the end we have in view for the elevation of mankind, in the hope of building up a worthier world, and bringing about healthier, happier ial conditions for future generations. Such scheme reform have hitherto been conducted almost exclusively by men, the women, while subject to the same conditions as men, and feeling their responsibility equally with them, being impotent to render any substantial assistance by reason of the political disabilities under which they are labouring.

The chief rebuke I consider this war has administered to women is that because of their deplorable indifference, their abject fear of the ridicule of men, and their blind adherence o conventionalities and old-fashioned ideas, they have utterly failed in their duty towards society—indeed, they have acted as if such duties were non-existent as far as they themselves were concerned. It is, alas! in a measure our own fault that we are now compelled to gaze upon the appalling spectacle of a world plunged in bloodshed, and to acknowledge our helpless-

The women in every country have fallen into the grievous error of leaving the matter of working for the vote to small groups; it is most highly probable, humanly speaking, that if we had all energetically joined hands in the issue we should have obtained the vote long ago, and thus been in a position to raise our voice in powerful opposition to the ever-growing war budgets and in favour of disarmaments.

The acquiescence in this most unpalatable but solemn truth is a hard fact thrust upon the mind of each of us; but upon the opponents of Woman Suffrage it must fain add the sting of remorse when they at last come to realise that but fo their apathy and conservatism this war, with all its terrible consequences, might never have taken place at all.

The world actually needs the women's intelligent help and labour in collaboration with that of its men. The results of a statesmanship wielded by men alone, with its disastrous effects upon the welfare of society, not only in these times but also in the past, is a grim reminder that the true interests of mankind can be served only by men and women acting in harmonious consort. J. C. VAN LANSCHOT HUBRECHT.

Amsterdam.

#### TERMS OF PEACE.

It is no easy matter to work a terms-of-peace movement, nor is it a pleasant matter. It is to go to the victorious party and say to him: You have given the best young blood of your country; you have given your national wealth to an extent which will take generations of national work to repair, even if you can get a money indemnity out of your enemy: now you have the power to compensate yourself by taking bits of his land or of his colonies. We ask you to abstain from that if the population of this land or this colony is not of itself longing to come to you. And we ask this direct sacrifice of you not so much in the name of mere prudence: we ask it because it is right in itself, and because conquest and humiliation would sow the germs of another war.

And it means going to the losing party and saying: You have sacrificed all you have, and you have done it in vain; your heart is full of bitterness, a very natural bitterness that we all understand—but we ask you not to let that bitterness breed hate against your enemy, not to console yourself by

And if both sides are losing, if nobody has gained a victory, if the result of all this Armageddon is only status quo ante, we are to warn them: Do not consider this peace only as a truce; do not set your mind on fighting it out sooner or later. If your heart is bleeding now from sorrow and bitterness, do not solace it by planning to crush and humiliate your enemy in the future; think instead of regaining international confidence, of doing always right and giving always everybody his own.

Indeed, it is not easy to hold such language, and it is still less easy to act up to it. Yet this is the most pressing and the most important part of the terms-of-peace programme of this moment; this is what must be realised in the very peace treaty, when all minds are full of triumph or anguish; and the proposal must come from the triumphant party, if there be such a party. It is the conditio sine qua non of the positive, organising, institutional peace programme, for which we all work, and whose general outlines we all know

As far as I can see, the propaganda for this negative, abstaining part of the immediate peace programme must be made in and by the belligerent countries themselves. Coming from the neutral countries it sounds pharisaical, it has a taste of laying great burdens upon other people, not having proved that you yourself can or will lift them by a finger. We of the neutral countries can only wish-oh, how intensely!-that the belligerents may have the strength to take up this propaganda and the power to act according to it, and we give all our admiration, all our hearts' gratitude, to the men and women who have now taken upon themselves to win their countrymen for this path of sacrifice, this noble unselfishness, this moral and prudent self-command and self-restraint. I know there are men and women doing this in all the great war countries, and I can fully realise the difficulties they have to cope with The women from the belligerent countries coming to the International Peace Congress in the Hague will be of this sort, and I wish I could give them a full impression of what we feel for them. Love, pity, and sympathy we give to all belligerents, but to those who are able under these circumstances to lift themselves above all national hatred, to disregard all national prejudices, and only think of and work for the future, with the aim of making this future good and happy for us all-to those we give more than pity or sympathy; we honour them. And if they do not succeed; if the victor will take and keep lands and populations that would prefer not to belong to him; if the loser will hate the conqueror deeper still than he hated the enemy, then it will be our common duty to help them and prepare the way once more for international goodwill and international organisation. Anna Wicksell, D.L.

#### 1915.

What good can it bring in compensation for all that its predecessor, 1914, loaded with all the curses of hell, has showered down upon mankind?

Does there—can there—exist such a vast flag of victory on earth as could cover all the baseness and shame of 1914? Can there be in all the world so much goodness, so much reward, to make the thousand millions of people forget that ocean of blood, tears, disappointment, anxiety, and misery? I can hardly believe it.

We Hungarians, even if we should conquer, even if the streets of Vienna, Berlin, and Budapest should be paved with gold in 1915, even if they should harvest twice this year on the great Hungarian plain, we should not, not even then! Because new generations may be born for happiness, and no doubt will also be born, but we, the generation which live with thinking minds in this year of 1915, must reckon with this: that should joy, success, or luck pour sparkling, effervescing wine into our glass, the glass from which we shall drink hitherto, this glass will never, never again be other than chipped and wired!

But why had all this to happen so? Why had millions and millions to die on land and on sea? Why are so many homes in ruins? Why are so many masterpieces of art destroyed? Why are whole hospitals in every country filled with not merely wounded fighters, but with those having cholera, typhus fever, tetanus, and filled with still others, young women and girls whom the bestiality of the invading enemy has ruined body and soul

Simply because humanity led by men has got into a blind into a blind alley, wherefrom there is no other way roadout than to run headlong into the wall.

As it is, naturally the good or bad fate of a thousand millions men depends upon which of the fighting parties has the harder head to meet this stupid wall.

But it is not here that lies the point of gravity. The point of gravity is this: why had such events to come which brought roism out in such form as war brings it out, instead of frucfying this human capital through work which is worthier of the civilisation and development of society? Of all those who confront each other as enemies, forgetting that Goethe, Shakespeare, Tolstoy have lived and preached the word.

Simply because the wisdom of the whole world's statesmen, as if with a common will, thrust back humanity to the level of fifty thousands years ago—back to its troglodyte hiding-place in the caverns. True, they call them trenches nowadays, but the principle is the same, as the springs of the life of its inhabitants are the same as of its troglodyte ancestors

If that was the aim, then it was a pity indeed to make the road from the cave-home of fifty thousand years to the Peace Palace in Hague.

But is man happy where for eight months he has had to behave like the wild animals? Has he no longing for his worthier home—which a woman's hand made so dear to him? If anybody should write a book with the title: "From the

Cave to the Trenches," would his book be the Hymn of Praise of the diplomats and great politicians?

besides its good and bad secrets, promises us Hungarians an event which is known in advance: the general elections. Naturally, again, without the voice of women. Is

But not only we Hungarian women shall answer to that, but let all those mothers, wives, and ruined girls of five continents answer, whose lives were bruised and broken by the helm held by man's hand.

Budapest. COUNTESS ISKA TELEKI.

#### FREDRIKA BREMER'S CALL.

It is not very likely that the women of to-day who struggle so bravely to remedy the boundless misery of the war and unite in efforts to promote the peace idea, know that sixty years ago, in another period of devastating warfare, a woman already rose up, calling out to all the women of the world to join together in a peace alliance.

Still, so it happened, and the woman was Fredrika Bremer Those who ever cared to know anything about Sweden knower name. "The celebrated Swedish novelist," to quote the Times of 1854, the year of the event of which I am going to speak; the ardent, undaunted genius, the noble pioneer, the Swedish women will add.

It was in the days of the Crimean War. The dismal news from the battlefields filled the world—as now. Horrid misery had come again upon thousands and thousands of innocent beings, not to speak of the sufferings of those paying "their duty to their country"—as now.

For Fredrika Bremer there could be no possibility of accepting the dire theory of the "war necessity. with a definite will to find a solution of the terrible war problem, she fell back upon her belief in the powers of woman once stirred and guided into work for universal good. It seemed to her that here was salvation to be found. This was already the pacifistic ideal, but now ripening in the women of to-day, which craves for something more than peace conventions, regulation of armaments, and other outward efforts to bring forth peace on earth—the ideal which embraces a demand for the re-forming of the hearts of mankind. Inspired by that vision, she sat down and sketched out a scheme of an inter-

(Permit me to point out here that this was thirty-four years before the first international woman association was founded—that of the International Council of Women, in Washington, 1888,—and exactly fifty years before the organisation of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance

It was in the summer of 1854 that Fredrika Bremer got ready with her "Invitation to a Peace Alliance," and it was to the Editor of the Times that she first sent it, wishing, above all, as she puts it in a letter to him, that it should "be published in England, whose tongue is now spoken over so great a part of the globe." Also she says, "because I know that no hearts and minds in the world will be more ready to respond to the proposal made in the article than those of the benevolent and high-minded English people.'

It appeared in the Times on the 28th of August, 1854, though, I am sorry to say, with anything but benevolent comments on the part of the Editor. But to that I will come

The wording of the invitation is wonderfully alive to-day. The greater part of it could have been written now. "At a time like this," she begins, "when the Powers of the West arm themselves against those of the East, and enter into a struggle threatening to spread over several of the countries of Europe like a long, bleeding wound, tearing men from their homes, leaving thousands of widows and fatherless children, destroying harvests, burning cities, filling hospitals, calling up bitter and hateful passions, laying shackles on comm embittering life in many thousand quiet, industrious families,

were: to defend craftily, and whenever possible to kill, kill, a struggle—the sorrowful effects of which possibly may be felt y most of the nations of the earth,—at such a time we have wentured a thought, a hope, that through woman a peaceful alliance might be concluded, embracing the whole earth—an alliance opposing the direful effects of the war, and contributing by united and well-directed efforts, under the blessing of God, to the development of a state of peace, love, and well being, to come forth when once the terrors of war shall be over, and the time of devastation has passed away

After this introduction she addresses herself to the charitable associations of women in the different countries, those being at the time the only organised women's bodies existing, pointing out to them the strength of co-operation, and exhorting them to united exertions to a "common acknowledged aim. the organisation of the alliance she proposed the following points: —(1) That there should be a committee in the capital of each country, which should enter into communication with all the different women's societies of that land; (2) that each central committee should, through its secretary, communicate to the central committees of other countries the principal details of the work of women's societies in its own; (3) that a printed circular containing these details should be sent, free of postage, at the end of every year, from every central committee to all those of other countries with whom they stand in communica-

Here are as we see laid down the chief points of every nowexisting international alliance.

The practical work of the associations in the different countries should, above all, be to take care of the children, and, by way of education, rear a new generation with love of peace in its heart; further, in assisting the destitute in every way and in directing helpful work among the sick and aged and the outcasts of society.

"We propose," continues the invitation, "an alliance in the name of the Prince of Peace, extending its healing, regenerating influence over the whole earth. . . . Sisters, then, whom we do not know as yet, but in whose existence we believe and hope, here and there among the ancient kingdoms of Asia, the steppes of Siberia, or in the imperial cities of Russia; sisters of the Western countries of Europe, who have lighted and guided us a long time by your bright example; and you, sisters n that vast new land beyond the Atlantic Ocean; and you, Christian women among the nations of Africa; Christian women in the isles of the South Sea; mild, loving sisters all over the earth, in whose existence we believe, though we have not seen you-give us your hands! May the earth thus becom encircled by a chain of healing, loving energies, which neither ocean nor event, neither discord nor time, can interrupt. As far as the sun sends his rays and the free winds blow over

earth may our peaceful messages fly like doves from land to land, from city to city, undisturbed by the bitterness of strife, so that the world may know that the God of Peace and Love is more powerful than the spirit of war, and that He calls us to be His servants. Each separately we are weak, and can do very little; but if, in the name of Christ, we unite our hands all around the earth, and take it in our arms as a child, we may pray and hope that He will allow us at the end of time to come before our Heavenly Father saying: 'We are here, with the children Thou hast given us.'

The same number of the Times which contains Fredrika Bremer's appeal brings comments on it also. The paper begins with paying its due reverence to the renowned authoress, saying that there could not be any question as to the generous motives and kindly impulses of the writer, but declines, for its part, with all respect, any participation "in the holy crusade Miss Bremer so strongly advocates. And then the whole of it, with only partly concealed sneering, is torn to pieces as "the mere illusion of an amiable enthusiast

But underneath the high tone that the Times adopts, and the supercilious masculine reasoning, there lives an apparent dread of the dangerous consequences of an association of women working for something outside of the home and the family. What is to become of our homes?" there comes at last in an anxious question. "What is to become of 'the holy privacy of female life' if women do not stay in their own houses, caring for their husbands and children?'' The *Times* had never heard of "any real advantage to humanity which had resulted from high-soaring female endeavours to regenerate mankind.'

As to the proposal, unheard of until that moment, of an international association for a common good, the *Times* makes one little cutting reflection: Had Miss Bremer the faintest idea of what the expense would be of getting up an annual return of the kind she contemplates for instance, in a country like

I have not yet been able to find out if Fredrika Bremer ful-filled her plan to publish her appeal in American, French, German, and Russian newspapers, as well as in the Swedish, where it appeared almost at the same time as in the great English paper. One thing is certain: that this pacifist scheme was born too early, that the time was not ripe for the world-embracing thought. Years after, when Fredrika Bremer was gone, men and women were grasping the grand idea of international association for a common acknowledged aim, and by its motive force all the great movements of our time have been

May we be permitted to hope that women, now internationally associated, may devote all their strength to promoting the thought Fredrika Bremer stood up for sixty years ago?

Stockholm, March, 1915. ELLEN KLEMAN.

#### WHAT AN INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S CONGRESS MEANS.

Sisters of all lands, you who have sent out the call to an International Congress, and you who have obeyed the call:

Those who are outside our Suffrage movement, those who only now and then pick up a notice about it in the ordinary papers, may imagine that what has united us is a catchword whose meaning may alter and even vanish under altered circumstances, a catchword covering emptiness, whilst "realities" lie beyond its scope. They may fancy us hitherto assembled round an abstraction, and now returning to the area of time-sanctioned "experience." They may babble their old lesson on "artificial claims," etc. We know that our claims are not artificial, that they have developed spontaneously from groups of women everywhere. We know that they have grown up from within the individual woman's personal life in its contact with the outside world.

We know, moreover, that in meeting each other under the Suffrage banner, in exchanging views and experience, we have found something far more valuable than useful plans of work and methods of agitation. We have caught a glimpse of a beautiful land of the future where every nation and every individual shall give their tribute to the life of the whole, and get it back enlarged and embellished. It was granted to us not only to get the sight of, and in some measure to work for, an ideal that was to take shape in some future time, but to live already that sublime life of mutual give and take, where every one, every nation, and every individual, is enriched by the riches of all others.

Is this what our International Congresses have given, or is it not? What we seemed to grasp, was it a construction of the future only, erected on a basis of notions that might prove to be false and projected into the thus far empty space of time, that was in reality going to be filled with structures of quite a different kind? And are we now facing the final breaking up of that loosely constructed model of a future that is never

Ours is a troubled age in religious matters. The tension or open conflict between intellectual formulæ and religious cravings, acknowledged or not acknowledged, is great, and the vivendi found by different groups and individuals is very different. Thus, much of our deepest personal life we do not share with each other. Still, there are many amongst the Suffragists who can witness as believers that what they have felt in listening to the soul-stirring speeches of Mrs. Chapman Catt and Dr. Anna Shaw comes very close to, and even merges in, the feeling evoked in us by religion itself. The reign of Justice, of Purity, of Love is not only to come: it is already come; it already is a living reality where human souls meet in reverence of these forces, and in the firm will to make them paramount. That is what we have felt at the highest points of our Congress life. Is it not true, then, to say that in those moments the *civitus Dei* itself passed before our eyes?

Europe is torn asunder. An abyss has opened gaping wide

between nation and nation. The horizon is dark, and in the thunder of the cannon one seems to hear the death-knell of European civilisation. That must not be. That is not so. The chasm must be filled. We are not going to let the hellish sounds obliterate from our memory the sounds we have listened to with rapt ears, sounds of beautiful harmony.

England? Of the endless correspondence, and of the batches of late as it deserves, but of whose meaning I would fain give some idea. He talks of the bells that will chime the happy hour when the nations of the earth shall stand like a group brothers and sisters, the bells bringing glad tidings to all the

Lo! Earth becomes God's empire! Behold! Humanity finds God! HILMA BOVELIUS (DR.), Docent in Lund University, Sweden.

#### REPORTS FROM SOCIETIES.

#### DENMARK.

We have good news about the amendment of the Constitution. After the elections for the Upper House had taken place in July, 1914, and brought the majority to the Liberal parties, war broke out, and all further proceedings about the Constitution were stopped.

An inquiry from the Social Democrats was announced, and to-day a compromise is proclaimed between the Conservative party and the Radical Government, and politicians from all parties express themselves very hopeful of the result.

If the Constitution had been carried just after the July elections, it would have been carried without any regard to the Conservative party. At present there is the possibility that our new Constitution may be accomplished through cooperation of all the political parties. The difficult and serious relations of Europe seem to have united the leading powers in their efforts to come to a peaceful conclusion. The Conservatives have accepted equal and universal Suffrage, and the Liberals have yielded on the question of the composition of the Upper House based on another method of election. Woman Suffrage is intact; we shall get the vote on the same terms as It is nearly impossible to believe it, but it is prophesied that the new Constitution most probably will be drawn up on the 5th June—the day we celebrate our old Constitution, which was given in 1849, another serious year of war. ELINE HANSEN

Danske Kvindeforeningers Valgretsforbund.

#### FRANCE.

#### A French Feminist Killed in Battle.

Our friend Jean du Breuil, the active supporter of the women's cause, was killed in battle on February 22nd, and all Suffragists will mourn him, for if he was much loved in France, he was not unknown abroad. The following is a short extract from the article in which the Figaro announced his death:

M. Jean du Breuil de St. Germain, lieutenant in the 10th Dragoons, was killed near A--- in going to the help of three of his men who, in a detached post, had been attacked by a German patrol and seriously wounded. Shot in the chest by two bullets, Lieutenant Du Breuil died three minutes later, paying for his devotion to his men with his life. His commandofficer, in announcing his death, said of him: 'Lieutenant Du Breuil had a warrior's soul. I had already admired him under fire in Belgium. He was bravest of the brave. He died a hero's death in the defence of his country.' Lieutenant Du Breuil gave up his commission in the Dragoons in 1898 to go to the Transvaal to fight against the English. He there learned to respect and love them, and made many lasting friendships among them. On his return to France he took a keen interest in social questions, and especially in the emancipation of women. He took an active part in propaganda for these views in Scandinavia and in Great Britain, where he gave a very successful course of lectures in English.'

Jean du Breuil was descended from an old French family, and was the son of the Conservative Deputy for Langres. He wrote historical and political studies in a very individual style, especially on Jansenism, the origins of the Revolution, and the separation of Church and State; and, lastly, three minist pamphlets, "The Social Misery of Women," ffrage," and "Men's Interest in Woman's Suffrage."

The President of the Union Française pour le Suffrage des Femmes expressed on its behalf to our friend's mother our grief and the irreparable loss which our cause has sustained. Of him it would be no idle boast to say that he was ever ready Our great Swedish poet, Viktor Rydberg, has written a symbolic poem called "The Bells," that I am not able to transgiven it for his country, after spending it freely in the cause to give his life for every noble and chivalrous cause; he has of improving woman's lot, and especially that of workwomen, whose cause he ardently espoused. His warmth of heart and his love of justice made him feel sincerely and deeply human equality, and he was killed in going to the rescue of three privates. He was never deterred by trouble or inconvenience from giving lectures at our request in different parts of France, where Suffrage societies eagerly asked for him. His stirring words often brought tears to the eyes of his audience when he spoke of injustice to be redressed and the urgent needs of women, and he saw in Woman Suffrage, whose cause he served with ardour, a remedy for many evils.

It was necessary to hear him speak of the French work-women; of their life, often so hard; of their gaiety; their courage, for which he always felt such a keen and just admiration; to hear him, with the talent and conviction of an orator, tell of all that man and humanity owe to women for centuries. in order to understand the depth of his solicitude and of his thirst for justice, and to understand the irreparable loss which his death is to the feminist cause. It is as if one of the pillars of our house had fallen down. He would have been the last to say that his death should discourage us, but we search in vain for the support that he was always ready to give us, and that was the result of his personality, his charm, and his position. He was well known abroad, where he had several times given lectures with great success, enhanced by his tall figure and fine presence. He had accompanied us to the Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance at Stockholm in 1911 and at Buda-Pesth in 1913. At Stockholm he helped to found the International Men's League for Women's Suffrage, and was elected Vice-president. He was then general secretary of the French League of Electors for Women's Suffrage, of which M. Buisson is president, and M. Du Breuil de St. Germain remained vice-president. He was also member of the Central Committee of our Union Française pour le Suffrage des Femmes. His death is an international loss for Suffrage, as well as a national one. May it serve as an appeal to other young men, and make them feel the duty of co forward to replace him whose presence and strength are now so heavy a loss

An officer of proved bravery, he was killed on February 22nd, 1915, in going to the help of several of his men on patrol duty, who had been killed or wounded in front of his trench. DE WITT SCHLUMBERGER,

> President of the Union Française pour le Suffrage des Femmes.

#### Frenchwomen's Point of View.

Our international women's papers have given great space to women's activities during the war, but less to their state of mind and point of view, which, nevertheless, seems to us one of the most interesting points to explain. If women's activity is everywhere the same in response to similar anxieties, their point of view is essentially different, and it is important for We should suggest, therefore, that in every country the National Suffrage Committee should choose a person to give a general idea of women's opinions. That is what we ourselves intend to do—to show our sisters in neutral countries, who are so nobly desirous of rendering service, our real feelings, so that if possible misunderstandings may be avoided. It is certain that at this moment the task is particularly delicate, and we wish first of all to express our gratitude to the countries who have already given proof of their fraternal kindness.

Our most heartfelt thanks are first of all due to Switzerland, which has been able to give assistance to the victims of war which we shall never forget. Thousands of persons, women and children, old enemies in captivity, who have been despoiled of the few resources that they had been able to take away with them, have been sent back from Switzerland after months of suffering and They have found a comforting reception; perfect privation. and considered kindness, which has touched the heart of our country, but the action of Switzerland did not stop there. It acted as intermediary for the exchange of the severely wounded, and the latter have spoken to us with emotion of the kind attentions showered upon them; and lastly, how can we ever thank enough the country which organised the Information Bureau, the visits to the prisoners? The whole world will appreciate with what noble and disinterested spirit; with what grandeur of soul, and with what generosity Switzerland has fulfilled its mission.

A large share of our gratitude is also due to the U.S.A. The relief works in Paris carried out by the Americans are innumerable. Hospitals, ambulances, parcels sent to the front, clothing, etc., have been and are still rendering immense service. We Frenchwomen in particular have been deeply touched by the firmness and dignity of the representatives of the U.S.A., who were able, on every occasion that called for it. to raise their voice in defence of public right, for the protection of towns and their inhabitants.

To Holland we wish to express our deep gratitude for the enerous hospitality it offers to the Belgians, and to our refugees from the North.

At this moment we hear that in answer to our unexpressed wish high personages in Holland are proposing to organise International Committee to examine the reports made on the

We cannot here forget Spain, whose authorities protect our unfortunate compatriots who are detained in belligerent countries and in the invaded districts. Nor must we omit Italy, Norway, Denmark, and all the countries whose citizens have spontaneously come to France to testify by their various actions of help their feelings of sympathy and support.

The task fulfilled by the neutral countries has therefore already been splendid and noble; in continuing it our friends will have deserved well of humanity; but this mission although so vast, has not satisfied the generous feelings of The very horror which has been roused in pacifist women. them has made them wish to pass the limits of philanthropy, to try at this very moment to inaugurate a movement to end hostilities. It is on this point that we wish to explain our selves to-day-to show the impression created in our country by some of the proposals that have been put forward. Let us say at once that while recognising the good intentions of our sisters, their present pacifist projects have found no echo in We think they would have acted more wisely in previously consulting the women of the belligerent nations, in asking them before they took any action whether the moment was well chosen to create new pacifist organisations, or to revive Congresses to serve as bonds of union between the women of belligerent countries. We know only too well why they did not act thus. Perhaps they feared that we should not welcome any demonstration of this kind, and that by our fault the feminists would not be able to express their pacifist aspirations strongly enough. Nevertheless, it would have been well to consider that in some countries the choice of the present moment for disinterested pacifism can be contested. Is it not indeed very difficult to-day to promote disinterested pacifism? The peace of which the neutral nations speak to as, they are, of course, bound to desire with all their hearts. They know too well from the example of one neutral State on what the fate of a country hangs, and it is certain that in Europe no nation will feel itself in safety before the end of hostilities. Moreover, in the whole world the economic consequences of war are felt, and the results will continue as long as the conflict lasts. In France we can say that on the subject of peace and war public opinion is absolutely unanimous. If there are some differences of opinion in regard to the manner in which future relations between the women of different nations could be resumed, there is only one voice in all parties, in all classes, in declaring that the opportunity for peace cannot be decided on except by those who alone have borne the burden of the war. Our confidence in our leaders is absolute.

French feminists before the war were most fervent and convinced pacifists; the greater number have not changed; they remain pacifist in heart and mind, and after this horrible war they hope to take up the fight for civilisation against the sowers of hatred and against those for whom force takes the precedence of right.

question of pacifism.

But at this moment there can be no
While the men are killing each other their women can neither speak nor discuss. Perhaps the women of certain countries may regret that their voices, still too weak, have not been heard while there was still time before the tempest, but we Frenchwomen can make no reproach to our men. They have acted in this matter as we should have acted ourselves. We know that no one in our country wished for war, and up to the last moment no one believed in it. Our country is not a violent country, and force finds no passionate devotees. We do not dream of making other nations share all our ideas. Our critical spirit allows us to see the good qualities of others side by side with our own, that spares us from falling into the sin of pride. We know that every nation

has its own civilisation, and each one has its own strength, its charm, and that their very diversity makes the world more full of life, more varied, and more interesting. . . . . Since the beginning of hostilities months and months have passed. In every country belligerents have suffered, and there is not a family which does not mourn a relation or friend. The same hope of happy peace is nevertheless at the bottom of all hearts, but the women who reflect the national spirit have for that very reason different aspira-tions in every country. In France the nation does not desire immediate peace, . . . . It has never felt so strong, so united, so sure of itself and its friends. How could it wish to hear peace mentioned before it has freed its invaded districts, before it has delivered martyred Belgium, and how could we women discuss now in calmness a programme at the Congress in which there was a question of truce, of arbitration, and of reconciliation?

It is too soon or too late.

For our common cause, for our rights as women, we shall certainly be able to come to an understanding with each other when our hearts beat less strongly for those dear to us and for our beloved country, but for the moment let our sisters of neutral countries understand that our thought can only be

For the Committee of the Union Française pour le Suffrage

des Femmes,
The General Secretary, C. L. BRUNSCHVIEG.
The U.F.S.F. will send gratis to Societies and women in foreign countries the French and Belgian documents relative

Apply to the Secretary of the U.F.S.F.,

53 rue Scheffer, Paris, 16me. arr.

ROLL OF HONOUR.

Women's War Casualties .- Mme. Waidmann, attached to the military hospital of Remirement, tended sick and wounded with the utmost devotion since the outbreak of war. She has now succumbed to an illness contracted during her duties. was mentioned in the military order of the day. Mlle. Léonie Hector d'Espagne has died of illness contracted in caring for Belgian refugees in the Paris circus. Sister Cécile died at Saint Malo of illness contracted in nursing wounded soldiers.

Mile. Lefebvre died of illness contracted in nursing wounded at La Bucaille.

Mentioned in Army Orders .- Mme. de Freycinet, superintendent of Hospital 5 at Orleans, is mentioned for extra-ordinary devotion. Mme. Boyé, Superior of the Sisters of St. Charles, of the hospital at Bayon, has installed and organised a perfectly equipped hospital, where sick and wounded have been tended with unexampled devotion.

The Cross of Chevalier of the Legion of Honour has been conferred on Mlle. Canton-Bacara, Red Cross nurse at the ambulance of Vauxbuin, for devotion and wonderful courage shown in remaining at her duties in the zone of enemy artillery, and in volunteering to remove the wounded under heavy fire She rendered important services by remaining at her post during the German occupation, and was wounded by a shell.

Mme. Béthenod was given a military funeral at Lyons, having died of poison contracted in nursing the wounded.

Mlle. Billanit, of a military hospital at Nice, died of illness contracted during her work.

#### GERMANY.

Answer by the "Deutscher Verband fur Frauenstimmrecht" TO THE CHRISTMAS GREETING FROM ENGLISHWOMEN.

To our friends and comrades in Great Britain!—In the name of the German Union for Woman Suffrage, we express our warmest thanks for your noble Christmas greeting. As a branch of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, through whose paper this greeting reached us, we feel specially allied to you in thought and conviction. But we think we are expressing the feeling and wishes of many German women outside our organisation in telling you that your message has given us the greatest delight and satisfaction. It proves to us that true womanhood, while deeply devoted to its own nation, can go beyond it, and feel the sorrow and suffering of the women of all countries.

For many of us this terrible world-war has been the bitterest

wishes and optimism thought it firmly fixed. So it is a real consolation to us to know ourselves one with the women of other countries in the endeavour, wherever sorrow and misfortune need us, to overstep the barriers and hindrances of national feeling; to help according to our powers, and to heal the wounds that inexorable war inflicts even on noncombatants. Like you, we acknowledge the higher law that ordains peace to all human beings. Like you, we believe in women's mission in the great work of peace that must redeem the world. But we cannot share your hope that common action for peace by women of belligerent and neutral countries could at this moment be successful in preventing or even shortening the horror by an hour. All the more clearly, however, do we see our duty after the war. Then, drawn together more closely than before by the same suffering, and striving after the same high ideals, we will, with women of all civilised countries, each one in her place and according to her powers, do our utmost that this terrible experience may never recur, and that at last the consoling promise may be fulfilled: "Peace on earth, and goodwill towards men."

From our common sorrow and our common hopes our good wishes go to you.

MARIE STRITT, President; and Alma Dzialoszynski, Secretary, German Union for Woman Suffrage

ROLL OF HONOUR.—A member of the Suffrage Union has received the Iron Cross. Fräulein Lonny von Versen, a painter, has been nursing in a field hospital at the front since the outbreak of war, and both in the Vosges and at St. Mihiel has shown the greatest bravery, helping the doctors at operations under shell fire. Fräulein von Versen received a medal four years ago for jumping fully dressed into the water to save a girl of fifteen.

Frau Bodenbach, of Duisburg, received the medal for bravery from the King of Würtemberg, and the Iron Cross for services in nursing. Fräulein Aust, of Bochun, received the same double distinction for tending wounded under fire on the Eastern frontier. Field-Marshal Von Hindenburg decorated her personally, and gave her a written commendation. Shortly after this distinction she saved two children from the flooded Oder, at the risk of her life. Fräulein Aust was twice wounded, but is continuing her services.—From Die Staatsburgerin.

HELP FOR ALIENS.

An office (Auskunfts und Hilfsstelle) in favour of Germans in foreign countries and foreigners in Germany had been rganised after war broke out, in Berlin N. Friedenstrasse 60. The impulse originated from an association called "Freundschaftsarbeit der Kirchen," which offered its headquarters, and paid all expenses incurred by the board. This committee is working in touch with similar organisations in the hostile countries, and is endeavouring to uphold the spirit of love and reconciliation among the individuals of the belligerent nations.

Letters have been forwarded by the help of friends in neutral countries, and inquiries about several civil prisoners have been supported by clergymen. The members of Russian, French, English, and Serbian families who are in distress get informa-tion and help at this office. The relief fund is now increasing, as well as the number of volunteer workers, after a pamphlet appeared with subscriptions of some well-known persons and various large organisations, the German Peace Society, the Association for Private Help, the societies for the protection of children and young girls, some Protestant and Catholic unions, and others. The social workers in this committee are mostly women. They look after these poor victims of war, and try to find out what assistance they need. The foreign women are helped to return to their native country, or, if staying here, are provided with food, coal, or clothing, and, if necessary, with money. The committee is in communication with many charity organisations. In different cases the wives of civil prisoners have been supported with money by the municipal authorities. The most difficult task is always to find employment for these poor women. But it can be said that the work of the relief committee is more and more appreciated by the public, as it gives comfort and help to many lonely and distressed creatures.

Besides the constant work of the "Nationale Frauendienst," other branches have been formed according to new problems arising during the time of war. In Berlin there is a new disappointment in our lives, for with deep pain we must recognise that the civilised world has not by a long way attained the level in morality and humanity on which our

question. The leaders of women's organisations have pointed ut their members who are capable of giving public instruction about provisions and food by their own experience, or after having been prepared by special courses. Offices have been established, and hundreds of meetings were arranged, where housewives get every information on how to cook cheap and ealthy meals, and which provisions they have to use or spare. Many organisations of women will take up the cultivation of vegetables. Landowners offered their grounds in the city and surroundings for this purpose, and women gardeners will train a volunteer army of Girl Guides and women students for this work. The vegetables will be given to the poor people. Some ground will also be farmed to working women, under favourable conditions.

FRIEDA LEDERMANN. Berlin.

#### GREAT BRITAIN.

NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.

Since our last report Miss Courtney has resigned her post as hon. secretary of the National Union and Miss Catherine Marshall has resigned her post as hon. Parliamentary secretary. Miss Royden has also resigned the editorship of the Common Cause, the organ of the Union, and Miss Leaf the Press secretaryship. All four desire to take a more active part in promoting what they consider the right sort of peace ettlement than they felt themselves able to take as officers of the Union. Miss Evelyn Atkinson has been chosen to replace Miss Courtney; Miss Lyon replaces Miss Royden; no successor has been appointed to Miss Marshall or Miss Leaf.

The first work of the new Executive Committee has been to interpret and begin to carry out the resolutions of the Council. An elaborate syllabus of lectures is being prepared in pursuance of the resolution to encourage a study of the causes wh to war, the consequence of war, and what means can be taken to prevent war in future. The Union has had some very successful educational courses in the past, and it is hoped that this one may bring more clearly before women the problems on which, if they are to use their votes wisely, they should have some general view. We do not ask the vote only for parochial matters, but for imperial matters.

The Societies are further being urged to arrange deputations to local authorities, under the Defence of the Realm Act, to secure a more reasonable treatment of women and to use all the organising and foreseeing power in which women excel. so as to help the non-combatant population in the event of attacks, and also to relieve men of a portion of the work which women would do better. No one is so fit as women to look after the old and infirm, the sick, and the children. National Union feels acutely the waste and the indignity of huddling all the clever and trained and able-bodied and practical women together in the way so familiar in militarist circles.

Women and children" always in the same category with imbeciles! We have no desire whatever to become combatants, but we desire to put our services at the disposal of the military authorities for the safety and succour of the non-combatant population. Doubtless these offers will in course of time be accepted. But the ways of officials are slow, and they do not population.

be the organising of deputations to Members of Parliament to point out to them the many ways in which war affects women and increases the injustice of denying the vote to the sex which does not make war. When the war broke out, the very first thing the women did was to offer their services to the country; and in particular it was suggested that women should, wherever possible, do the work of young men, and in this way liberate them for the war. Seven months passed before the Government began seriously to organise this difficult work, and the women are acutely aware of the disadvantage of their position relatively to the position of men, who, being voters, claim fair conditions and fair pay in Government employ. The Labour women and the Suffrage Societies are joining hands in the demand for fair and decent conditions.

The recently established Women's Interests Sub-committee of the National Union has been carefully considering the needs of the widows and other dependents of soldiers killed in battle,

It is hoped that the U.D.C. will send a representation of the widows and other dependents of soldiers killed in battle,

The principal interest is now concentrated in the economic and has made some interesting recommendations, which include a scheme for the optional training of young childless widows in some gainful occupation, and also strong recommendations that women should be much more largely represented on the pensions committees, and that officers who have to make all sorts of intimate inquiries of women should be of the same sex.

The Executive Committee of the National Union has decided that it was the clearly expressed will of the Council that no opinion should be expressed by the Union on the merits of the present war. All shades of opinion are found on this subject within the Union, and it would be impossible to find agreement. Speakers for the Union are therefore not entitled on National Union platforms to express their particular views: they must go elsewhere to do that.

The Scottish hospitals of the National Union are going on with their excellent work, and the handsome sum of £14,431 has been raised. Sorrow has overtaken the Serbian unit in the loss of two of the staff. Sister Jordan, who nursed Dr. Wakefield in typhus, has herself succumbed to it; and Miss Margaret Neil Fraser, a dresser and orderly, well known as a lady golfer, has died from the same terrible plague. A former National Union organiser, Miss Thurstan, who has been more than half over Europe in the "flying column," has at last been invalided home with a wound and pleurisy. She is enthusiastic about her work, as indeed they all are. H. M. S.

#### The Union of Democratic Control and Women.

Very shortly after the outbreak of the war, there was formed in Great Britain a Union whose policy is contained in the following four cardinal points :-

- 1. No province shall be transferred from one Government to another without the consent by plebiscite, or otherwise, of the population of such province.
- 2. No treaty, arrangement, or undertaking shall be entered upon in the name of Great Britain without the sanction of Parliament. Adequate machinery for ensuring democratic control of foreign policy shall be created.
- 3. The foreign policy of Great Britain shall not be aimed at creating alliances for the purpose of maintaining the "balance of power"; but shall be directed to concerted action between the powers and the setting up of an International Council, whose deliberations and decisions shall be public, with such machinery for securing international agreement as shall be the guarantee of an abiding peace.
- 4. Great Britain shall propose as part of the peace settlement a plan for the drastic reduction by consent of the armaments of all the belligerent Powers, and to facilitate that policy shall attempt to secure the general nationalisation of the manufacture of armaments, and the control of the export of armaments by one country to another.

The prime movers in the establishment of this Union were three Members of Parliament (Mr. Charles Trevelyan, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, and Mr. Arthur Ponsonby) and a fourth who was at the time a candidate for Parliament (Mr. E. D. Morel, who exposed the Congo atrocities). These four formed an Executive Committee, to which was added Mr. Norman Angell, of world renown; Mr. J. A. Hobson, a distinguished women can help themselves and others if they are given a chance is only about a hundred years old, and officialism seems still to have visions of "the fair sex" fainting or going into hysterics

ceconomics, and ones continued the second of the fair sex o is the only organisation working for the popular control of foreign affairs, and these are always quoted by the Anti-Suffragist as being quite peculiarly outside the range of women's intellect. But the U.D.C., as it is popularly called already, has the courage of its convictions, and when it talks of democracy it means democracy, and not virocracy.

At its suggestion, a committee of women has been formed to organise a women's conference in London on April 14th, and it is hoped that from this conference there will result greater activity and interest on the part of women for the objects of the U.D.C. A public meeting in the evening will be addressed by Miss Mary Macarthur (the well-known Labour leader), Mrs. Philip Snowden, Mrs. Swanwick, Mr. H. N. Brailsford (who has done such brilliant work for Women's Suffrage), and Mr. C. P. Trevelyan, M.P.

It is hoped that the U.D.C. will send a representative to the

#### The New Constitutional Society.

The New Constitutional Society for Women's Suffrage, which possesses a large room, ordinarily devoted to meetings and committees, converted it within a fortnight of the outbreak of war into a "War-relief Workroom" for skilled needle women. These were engaged through the Labour Exchange, and their wages arranged on a sliding scale, from 10s. to £1, with a higher salary to the skilled forewoman in charge. These wages average roughly two-thirds of what the girls had previously carned, and they were given ample opportunity to seek permanent work. This many of them obtained. Thanks to the forewoman's care, the work of the less skilled hands improved under her supervision. Machine-knitting was also

The adoption of the sliding scale disqualified the society from receiving any help from the Queen Mary Fund, so that money had to be raised and orders obtained entirely by the members' own exertions.

Besides keeping on a Girls' Club, already established, at Dover, the N.C.S. has opened one for working-women in Camberwell, where a comfortable room, with newspapers and war maps, and frequent quite simple entertainments bring a little

The society has succeeded in holding its weekly open meetings continuously, with a high average attendance, observing the universal truce, but abating nothing of women's claim to full citizenship, the necessity for which has been proved more fully than ever before by the appalling calamity of this maumade war.

#### The Women's Freedom League.

At the outbreak of the present war the National Executive Committee of the Women's Freedom League was called together, when the members passed the following resolution:

The National Executive Committee of the Women's Freedom League reaffirms the urgency of keeping the Suffrage flag flying, and, especially now, making the country understand the supreme necessity of women having a voice in the counsels of the nation; and, in view of the earnest desire prevalent in the ranks of Suffragists to render service to their country at this critical time, the Women's Freedom League are organising a Women's Suffrage National Aid Corps, whose chief object will be to render help to the women and children of the

At that time we were in the midst of a successful Suffrage campaign in North Wales, and we kept it going until the middle of September. We also continued our caravan tour, and have ever since succeeded in keeping our work for Woman Suffrage in the forefront of our activities, in London, in Scot-

land, in Wales, and in the provinces.

In addition to Suffrage work many of our members up and down the country are working on Care Committees and other local bodies with the object of safeguarding the interests of women and children; workrooms have been opened by us for unemployed women, centres for providing meals for nursing and expectant mothers have been established, a small toy factory is being run at Hackney, where girls and women have been trained to turn out perfectly finished and well-dressed dolls the specialities being the Dombey Boys and the Tipperary Twins,—and cheap vegetarian restaurants have been started. In connection with the restaurant at Nine Elms, for which Mrs. Tippett is responsible, and where over 200 meals a day are served at prices varying from 1d. to 2d., a children's play-club is in full working order; and a children's guest house, where children whose mothers are ill are to be housed, fed, and well looked after for sixpence a week, will shortly be opened. We are also helping to support the women's hospital at Bromley, opened by one of our members, Mrs. Kate Harvey, for women who can find no accommodation in the general hospitals, which are now so largely filled with wounded soldiers.

Early in the year we gave an afternoon and evening party at Caxton Hall to nearly one thousand Belgian refugees, providing tea and supper, a huge Christmas tree laden with toys for the children, and a musical entertainment in which many Belgians took part. Short speeches were made by our President, Mrs. Despard, by Monsieur Vandervelde, by the Mayor of the City of Westminster, and Miss Nina Boyle. This month we had a successful two days' café chantant at Caxton Hall, the proceeds of which went towards the funds of our various

From the beginning of the war the Women's Freedom League has acted as a kind of watchdog in the interests of women. When the Watch Committee of Plymouth proposed

to its Town Council that the C.D. Acts should be revived we immediately began a successful campaign of opposition in the district, and we ran another equally successful campaign in Cardiff against the restriction of women's liberties. We have Cardiff against the restriction of women's liberties. strongly opposed the public-houses being closed to women at certain hours when they remained open to men, and have insisted on equality of treatment for men and women. have formed a Women Police Volunteer Corps, our aim in London being to have a woman in police uniform in every Metropolitan police court and in every London park to look after the interests of women and children. When the Board of Trade issued its circular on war service for women we at once issued the manifesto given below, and asked the President of the Board of Trade to receive a deputation from the Women's Freedom League in the interests of women workers, and the Prime Minister to receive a deputation on the subject

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE'S MANIFESTO ON WAR SERVICE FOR WOMEN.

The Women's Freedom League are glad to note the tardy recognition by the Government of the value of women's work brought before the country in their scheme of war service for women. We demand from the Government, however, certain

Firstly, that no trained woman employed in men's work

be given less pay than that given to men. Secondly, that some consideration be given when the war is over to the women who during the war have carried on this necessary work.

Thirdly, that, in case of training being required, proper maintenance be given to the woman or girl while that training is going on.

Recognising that the Government's scheme offers a splendid pportunity for raising the status of women in industry, we ege that every woman should now resolutely refuse to undertake any branch of work except for equal wages with men. By accepting less than this, women would be showing themselves disloyal to one another and to the men who are serving their country in the field. These men should certainly be safeguarded on their return from any undercutting by women.

Finally, seeing that the Government are now making a direct appeal to women to come forward and help in the defence of their country, and that fresh responsibilities are being thrust upon them—thousands through the loss of their husbands being left to perform the duties of both father and mother—we feel that this is an opportune moment for the Government to guarantee that before they leave office they will bring before the House of Commons a measure for the political enfranchise-

We urge all Suffragists to support us in this demand now. (Signed) C. Despard, President.

E. KNIGHT, Hon. Treasurer. F. A. Underwood, Secretary.

FLORENCE A. UNDERWOOD.

#### Irish Militants and the War.

It may be of interest to the readers of Jus Suffragii to know the attitude towards the war of the Irish Women's Franchise League, the organisation of Irish Militant Suffragists.

The Irish Women's Franchise League regards war as the negation of the feminist movement, and in a special manner of the Militant Suffrage movement. The underlying spirit of the Militant Suffrage movement, when it destroyed property in order to call attention to the importance of life-values, was a protest against the rating of property at a higher value than life: the essence of war, on the contrary, is the destruction of human life and the devitalising of the human race in the pursuit of property. That being so, the Irish Militant Sufragists feel themselves bound in a special manner to war upon war. Women, not having been consulted, directly or indirectly, in any of the belligerent countries, as to the war or the policy which led up to it, have not even that indirect responsibility for it which rests upon the mass of male voters. Women are accordingly not called upon to endorse this war or its conduct in any way. As Suffragists (whatever our individual feelings) it is our duty to preserve an attitude of neutrality with regard to the merits of the war, to concentrate upon our demand for votes for women, that we may have a veapon with which to prevent future wars, and to do all we can to bring about a speedy and lasting peace.

Taking this view, the Irish Women's Franchise League has, since the commencement of the war, (1) carefully abstained from expressing any opinion, as a society, on the merits of the war or the responsibility for its outbreak; (2) taken no part whatever, as a society, in any scheme of relief in connection with the war: (3) continued its agitation for votes for women. especially in the Amending Home Rule Bill promised by the Government to satisfy the Militants of Ulster; and (4) given special attention to the manifestations of British militarism which have been evoked by the war. We regard it as the duty of every woman to fight the militarism which is nearest to her; and we regard British militarism as more immediately dangerous to us and to our cause than German militarism—with which the women of Germany may be left to deal.

APRIL 1, 1915.

Some comment has been caused by our abstention from all relief work. We cannot, however, regard such work as any part of the functions of a Suffrage society. During the great Dublin strike of 1913-1914, which came much more keenly and closely home to the people of Dublin than this war has yet done, many of our members, as individuals, helped in the relief-of distress; but it was never suggested that we should divert to such work any portion of our corporate energies or of the funds and organised power which we had built up for a definite object. Our attitude towards war-relief schemes is precisely similar.

Taking these views, we are naturally keenly interested in the various peace movements which have been initiated by Suffragists, and which specifically recognise the citizenship of women as an essential condition of any lasting peace. Accordingly we have decided to be represented as an organisation at Dublin.

The forthcoming International Congress of Women in Holland.

H. Sheehey Skeffington.

#### British Dominions Overseas.

SOUTH AFRICA.

The Annual Conference of the Women's Enfranchisement Association of the Union was held in Capetown on January 14th—19th. It was only after considerable hesitation that the Executive had decided to call the Conference, as many members of the Association felt that Suffrage work should remain in abeyance at least until the end of the rebellion and the campaign in German South-West Africa. The majority however, believed that even a small Conference would afford a valuable opportunity for discussion which it would be unwise to lose, in view of the fact that the first general election since union will take place this year. The event fully justified their expectations. In this country, where distances are great, and means of communication slow and often inadequate, personal intercourse between Suffrage workers in the different provinces is as stimulating as it is infrequent. The chair was taken by Mrs. Macintosh, President of the W.E.A.U., and 16 of the 24 Leagues of the Association were represented.

#### REVIEW OF 1914.

In the course of her opening address, the President stated that the five chief events in the life of the W.E.A.U. during 1914 had been :-

1. The introduction, and subsequent shelving, of the 'Wyndham'' Bill for Woman Suffrage in the Union

2. The extension of the municipal franchise to women in all four provinces.

The affiliation of the W.E.A.U. to the British Dominions Woman Suffrage Union.
4. The affiliation to the W.E.A.U. of two new Leagues-

Bedford, C.P., and Eshowe, Zululand. [Since the Conference a third new League has become affiliated: Aliwal North, C.P.]

5. The outbreak of the war, in which South Africa's special task is the campaign in German South-West Africa, and her special difficulty the rebellion, now happily at an end.

Active Suffrage work has been an impossibility since last August. Individual Suffragists have thrown themselves eagerly into patriotic and relief work of various kinds. Almost all South African women are good needlewomen, from force of circumstances, and they have provided both comforts and necessaries for the troops, for Red Cross Societies, and for the poor. They have also done good work on public bodies (Relief Committees, etc.), and in the organisation and administration of the various national and local funds.

Money and equipment have been sent to the Hospital Ship Elbani "; entertainments and literature have been supplied to the troops in the various camps; and large cases of clothing have been despatched to London in answer to an appeal from the British Dominions Woman Suffrage Union, for the children of the London poor and for children of Belgian refugees.

RESOLUTIONS FOR 1915.

The most important resolutions passed at the Conference

1. That the Leagues should continue to subordinate Suffrage propaganda to relief work during the war.

2. That at the general election the Leagues should withhold

support from anti-Suffragists, but should be at liberty to give upport to Suffragists.

Only the negative half of the resolution binds the Leagues to a definite policy. The positive course is permitted to those Leagues which may wish to avail themselves of it. In view of the cessation of ordinary political life for the time being, and the impossibility of predicting the lines on which the elections will be fought, this policy was the only one possible.

3. The W.E.A.U. placed its whole organisation at the dis-

posal of the Government for relief or patriotic work during the

In reply to the offer, the Minister for Defence has suggested that Leagues or individual members should work for the Governor-General's Fund, the objects of which are to provide for the relatives and dependents of men on active service both during the war and afterwards until claims for pensions shall have been considered by Parliament.

Suffragists have already given much assistance to the organisers of this fund, but it is to be expected that their activities will increase in the near future.

#### "THE WOMAN'S OUTLOOK."

Among other matters discussed at the Conference was the Among other matters discussed at the Conference was the financing of "The Woman's Outlook," the official organ of the W.E.A.U., which, "started in faith and hope, and kept alive by love (not charity!)," to quote the President, is doing its best to keep members in touch with each other and with fellow-Suffragists in other countries during these dark and

M. Macintosh.

#### CANADA.

#### DEPUTATION TO THE PREMIER OF ONTARIO.

On February 24th a large and representative delegation was received by Premier Hearst, of the Province of Ontario, and laid before him the arguments for extending the municipal franchise to married women on the same basis as exists at present for widows and spinsters. The deputation was introduced by Mr. W. Munns, secretary of the Canadian Suffrage Association, who read a list of seventy-four towns in favour of extending the franchise to married women taxpayers. In Toronto the measure had a majority of 13,910. Dr. Margaret Gordon, Mrs. Denison, Dr. Margaret Johnston, Dr. Stowe Gullen, and others made speeches in support of the proposal. Dr. Gullen said that the present barbaric war would not have happened if men had placed women everywhere on an equality

with themselves. The Premier returned a non-committal reply

The Canadian Suffrage Association, whose headquarters are in Toronto, have been actively working for the extension of the municipal franchise. They recently sent out an open letter to all municipal representatives, requesting them to pass resolu-tions in favour of this reform. The result was thirty referendums in favour of the proposition, representing one-half the population of the Province of Ontario

Six Suffrage societies have been started in Ontario during the past three years.

The first English-speaking Woman Suffrage Association in the province of Manitoba was formed in Winnipeg in May, 1910.

M. LOUISE LONG,

Canadian Suffrage Association.

#### HUNGARY.

CHILDREN AND WAR: PARENTS' CONFERENCE.

Cur president's lecture on this subject was preceded by an educational conference of parents, teachers, and physicians, who unanimously passed a proposal urging the Feminists' Society to petition the education section of the municipality to forbid children's public performances, and to enforce the Ministerial order forbidding children's work under the age of fourteen. A teacher said: "We must explain to children that they can perform altruistic actions for the work of culture, and that to love that which is good and hate that which is bad is as virtuous as to blindly obey an order which we know is bad." A lady doctor, owner and physician of a psychopedagogic sanatorium, gave some tragic examples of how sadly the nerves and minds of some children are affected by the war. Teachers also gave most interesting accounts of the children's ideas and opinions of the war. Mrs. Szegvári, a member of our committee, moved, and it was carried, that the leaflet of the Dutch "Anti-Orloog Raad" should be translated into Hungarian, and sent to all our schools.

In the public lecture, Vilma Glücklich spoke on the same question to a great audience which crowded the great hall of the old Parliament. We were pleased to witness how heartily she was applauded when she urged that in order to save children from permicious influences of the time, they ought not to be taught hatred, but love for all humanity; that the war being the result of every Government's disastrous economic policy whole nations cannot be made responsible for it, and our love for all mankind must not be changed or influenced by the events of this tragically great historic time. The child must understand that the greatest heroism is the one which conquers self to accomplish his duty towards his country. Military service is not such an easy deed merrily to be copied in larky games, and the hatred of other nations must not be brought into civil life. She remembered thankfully the very valuable and interesting order of the education section of the Municipality which bids the teachers deal with the war in their classes but not in its bloody aspect, not with hatred, but from its economic side. The children must feel themselves more than ever a little part of the great community for which they have to make sacrifices of their own pleasure, leisure, and needs, They must have, above all, the example of their elders and teachers. She moved the proposals of the preceding conference, which were carried unanimously, and will be brought before the competent authorities. The education section of the Municipality deserves great credit for having maintained all civic schools during the war, and for this purpose forbidden the teachers to volunteer for military service.

#### Women's Roll of Honour.

Two more women post clerks received the Golden Cross on the ribbon for bravery from the King, on account of their brave behaviour at the time of the invasion of the enemy.

#### WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

Women are taking up work of all kinds in place of the men fighting on the battlefield. They are preparing to labour on the fields, lest the food of the people shall be lacking next harvest; a woman is proposed to take the place of a notary; women are guards in villages, and innumerable women are representing their fathers, husbands, brothers, or sons in the nost varied occupations.

#### Mothers' Insurance.

The section, "Mothers' and Children's Protection," of our Society, besides its hard and busy work of special care in war-time, finds time to provide fundamental principles for the future. The workmen's insurance law is under revision, and Mr. Ernest Reinitz, secretary of the Men's League and expert in insurance work, gave a draft of a Mothers' Insurance Act to a meeting of the section. The board of our Society decided to keep this question on the order of the day, and to consider and discuss the proposal of other experts as well. If found necessary, other societies and corporations will be invited to join our work.

#### LOCAL BRANCHES

The branch in Nyiregyháza endeavours to get State help for unmarried mothers, and acknowledgment of children of soldiers in camp born out of wedlock. This branch provides work for women, and prepares an energetic movement for mothers' protection. At the request of the Red Cross it has undertaken to organise and run the local information office of the Red Cross.

The branch in Szeged, besides the special relief work in war time, has classes for women clerks in foreign languages, bookkeeping, correspondence, arithmetic, etc.

In Nagyvárad, our oldest branch is endeavouring to gain the help of the local industrial corporations for their propaganda in favour of the training of women in all industrial branches so that they shall be ready to take up trained work after the war in as great a number as possible. They have workshops and tearooms. With the support of the Minister for Agriculture's ture's agency they have an employment office for women field labourers, provide teachers for poultry farming, besides incubators and food for the young fowls, as well as seeds for vegetable gardening. For this purpose they endeavour to get free' territory belonging to the town, and after having it

ploughed, divide it among such women as are willing or capable of undertaking it for the summer.

We rejoice very much at the formation of the Women's Peace Party, feel proud of the leaders, and great satisfaction at Rosika Schwimmer's activity for internationalism and peace.

The Hungarian National Branch of the International Society of Help for Unemployed held an enquête on the 13th of March, when the Baroness Fehérváry gave in her lecture proof of a large view and true social feeling. She urged the necessity of centralisation of the employment agency, and acknow-ledged the successful work of the Feministák Egyesülete, which was charged by the authorities with the employment agency of women workers, and deserves all support of social organisations. She condemned unpaid voluntary work which deprives so many women of their honourable employment, and condemns them to pauperism or even worse, and said that voluntary work should be reduced to guardianships. She stated that organisation was the means of acquiring minimum wages, urged higher education for commercial women clerks, as only the well educated can be well placed, and the underpaid ones cannot provide for their future. In the discussion some very good proposals were made for a Municipal Central Office advising on choice of trades and keeping of permanent statistics of employment—for the minimum wage on State contracts. for a women's school for social sciences, etc. Also very sad statistics were given of the increase of prostitution among women of the middle class as one of the disastrous consequences of the war

A resolution was carried to petition the Government urgently to state the minimum wage of the home workers, and to ask for the orders of linen for the army to be given direct to the women's societies with the exclusion of the middleman

Our highly honoured and valued co-worker, the Papal Prelate, Dr. Alexander Giesswein, is going to give us a lecture upon the Higher Court of the Nations. He will develop his most interesting theory, which is based upon natural philosophy as well as historic material, proving that as jurisdiction is a development of civilisation and society, the further development of society shall be international jurisdiction, a highest court and peace which is no Utopia.

EUGENIE MISKOLCZY MELLER.

#### ITALY.

#### EARTHQUAKE VICTIMS.

All our activity, as that of every association of women or men in Rome, has been until to-day and is partially still absorbed by the urgent work of help—viz., nursing, dressing, feeding the thirty thousand refugees from Avezzano and all the large and small towns of Marsica and Abruzzi, destroyed by the terrible earthquake of January 13. The poor survivors looked like rags of humanity left to wander among the utter destruction of their land-half naked, starving, scared, deprived of everything and everybody, stunned almost to stupidity, and some even insane with fear and sorrow.

Some of us went directly to the spot, some helped in nursing the wounded, in receiving them at the station, dressing and feeding them. For days and days, every four hours, special trains from the region of sorrow poured into Rome—a procession of silent, ghastly-looking people, with no more human expression left, but looking like wild, hunted beasts; a procession which, by force of facts, revived in our sympathising hearts and minds that of the poor heroic Belgian refugees. Every other work came to a stop in face of this absorbing occessity to take care of these poor victims of natural forces Slowly life is now taking up its regular course, and the associations their work.

#### SOLDIERS' FAMILIES.

Our Executive Committee is now preparing a meeting to discuss the general lines of a legal disposition (to be obtained from Government) intended to better the economic situation of soldiers' families, and the steps to take to succeed in making the law pass. Adhesions to the meeting have come from On. Sandini, Graziadei, La Pegna, Zaccaguino, Luccifero, Bar zilai, and many other members of Parliament; also from On. Lollini, M.P., President of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage (founded in Rome last July); from the Associazione per la Donna, from the National Union of Public School Teachers, from the National Federation of High School Professors, etc.; and from some of the political parties' associa-

We thought this a most necessary step to take, as all the charity work (school for children, etc.) carried on this line by the N.C. of W. and its branches helps only one out of ten thousand, as it can possibly reach only the few living in large towns, and leaves the great majority of poor families in small towns and in the country utterly helpless. Besides, we think it our duty to ask for a legal reform every time the law is unjust or insufficient, as may be the case, not only on account of the economic crisis, the cost of living being enormously increased, but also and really because what the pays to soldiers' families is below every possible living minimum. For instance:

> From 6d. to 7d. a day for the wife From 3d. to 3½d. a day for each child. From 10d. to 11d. a day for both parents together.

Let us hope to be successful in this attempt, in which we have taken the lead. I would on this point call on help from all our Suffragist friends in every nation. I beg them all to send me the prospectus of what the Government of their nation pays in the same case. I have written to this purpose, and had news—and complete and the latest—from Great Britain; but nothing has yet come from other nations. Knowing how much of the correspondence is being destroyed just now on account of the war, I hope my call to our dear and brave Jus Suffragio will be more successful.

#### FROM OUR COMMITTEES.

Milan, which has finally joined our Federation, did a splendid work last summer in helping our poor emigrants, pouring in dreadful conditions into Italy from the belligerent countries. Its President, Signora Pasini, deserves special praise. This committee has just elected its Council according to the principle of the different classes of women Suffragists. it works. It commemorated last week the late Alessandri na Ravizza, one of our great humanitarians. The speaker, Signora Pasini, had great success with the large audience in Milan in reviewing all the energetic work done by that noble lady, a real lover of the poorest waifs of humanity.

Naples.—This committee, presided over by Signora Trina Melany Scodnik, initiated a course of lectures on women's rights by calling a lawyer, Sig. Capocci Belmonte, to give an account of his powerful study of women who are compelled to work for factories and commerce and industry at homea study done with the noble aim of calling the attention of the Government and the people to this miserable category of women, less paid, and worse treated, depending for their salaries on caprice and hardship, deprived as they are of the powerful arm of organisation.

On the occasion of a competition for teachers for public schools in Naples, the committee passed and carried to the Lord Mayor of the city a protest against the fact that while men and women alike may start their career in public schools at the age of eighteen to end it at sixty-five, men are admitted to competition till the limit of thirty-five years of age, while women cannot be over thirty.

Our other branches—Turin, Mantua, Genoa—are doing very active social work, starting and joining every alliance made to prepare and perfect public work in case of need. They all have largely subscribed to the list of the National Committee ANITA DOBELLI ZAMPETTI,

Corresponding Secretary of the F.N.P.S.F. 19 Via Ezio, Rome.

#### NORWAY.

A Woman has been Decorated with the Cross of ST. OLAF'S ORDER.

For the first time in our history, the honour of the Order of St. Olaf has been conferred upon a woman.

Miss Cathinca Guldberg, who received her training as a nurse in Kaiserwerth, Germany, has been the leader of the Deaconesses' Institution since 1868. She is promoted to the honour of a Knight of the Order St. Olaf for her great merits in the nursing of the sick, as the Deaconesses' Institution was the first, and for a very long time the only one that worked for the training of nurses for hospitals and parish work, as well as for attendance on the sick in private families.

She wears the order with honour, for her devoted work for the benefit of society is highly valued over the whole country. And we find it just that at last a woman is acknowledged worthy of this honour.

#### WOMEN AND LEGISLATION.

On the 1st of March the Scandinavian Family Law Commission, which was appointed five years ago, resumed its work, and its meeting-place is this time Kristiania. The Commission was appointed by the Governments of Norway, Denmark, and Sweden, and its work concerns somewhat similar legislation in the three countries in the domain of family law.

One woman and two men from each country are members of the Commission—viz., from Norway, Miss Elise Sem, barrister; from Denmark, Mrs. Estrid Hein, oculist; and from Sweden, Mrs. Emilie Broomé. The Commission has finished its work on laws concerning marriage and divorce, and now discusses the Married People's Property Act.

Our Storthing (Parliament) has passed a Bill that gives illegitimate children the right of inheritance and the right to bear the name of their father. Already the father of an illegitimate child had the duty to maintain its mother some time before and after childbirth, and to pay for the education of the child till its fifteenth year was completed. Now the new law enlarges his responsibilities towards mother and child

Christiania. F. N. QVAM.

#### RUSSIA.

WOMEN AND THE WAR.

Women continue to join the ranks as volunteers. A young girl of sixteen was recently stopped on her way to the front. She wore a soldier's uniform, and on account of her youthful appearance was stopped at a railway station in Poland by a nstable, when it was discovered that she was a schoolgirl who had run away from her home in Kiev.

The wife of the colonel of one of the Siberian regiments oined her husband's regiment under a man's name, and acted as cavalry orderly, carrying messages in the danger zone She was slightly wounded.

In all the villages women are hard at work sewing, knitting, and providing comforts for the troops. Money contributions come in daily from peasants. All the women's clubs are working at high pressure providing underclothing, tobacco, etc., for the soldiers.

#### TEMPERANCE AND THE WAR.

The City Council in Barnaul (Siberia) decided to prohibit for ever the sale of alcoholic drinks, but did not especially mention wines made from grapes, and beer. The local brewers took advantage of this omission, and since they have a good deal of influence in the City Council, a petition to exclude beer from the provisions of the ordinance received a considerable measure of support. The Press and the public took the matter up at once. Petitions protesting against the action of the brewers began to pour into the City Council, with the result that the sale of alcoholic drinks, including beer, was absolutely and entirely prohibited. There was an agitation in Moscow for the exception of wines from the total prohibition, which was put into force on August 9th. A Commission was appointed by the City Council to study and report on the question. The report showed 11 for and 10 against the sale of wine in the Moscow district. In this case again the protests on the part of the public and the Press were so overwhelming that the City Council enacted an order on December 9th which prohibits the sale of all alcoholic drinks, including wine and

Women are to be admitted to the medical faculties of the Universities of Kazan and Saratov.

The management of the Warsaw railways has decided to admit women to serve in all capacities, provided they can show that they have received secondary or higher education.

-The Women's Messenger.

#### National Women's Trade Union League of America.

The N.W.T.U.L. will hold its fifth Biennial Convention in New York City from June 7th, and issues a stirring call showing the urgent need of levelling up the conditions of industrial women. The European war is pressing most heavily on unorganised women, and trade-union action is more needed than ever to prevent undercutting, and to insist on men and women uniting to demand equal pay for equal work. Statistics show the wretched conditions and wages of women workers in many industries. In the canning industry a woman sometimes works 117 hours a week, or over 19 hours a day!

owing

#### THE SEARCH FOR THE MISSING.

Bureau Zuricois pour la Recherche des Disparus Zurich, 39 Thalackerstrasse.

Oh, the grey, grey days! the aching hearts, the awful suspense! Where are they, our dear ones, those brave boys and men? We heard from them, until—suddenly—silence!

Were they taken prisoners? Are they wounded, are theydead? Shall we never, never see their dear faces again, never again clasp their hands? What may they not be suffering while we are thinking of them?

Oh, the suspense, the awful suspense! Even to know the worst would be better! Many, many hearts are suffering

The number of missing soldiers is appalling. So, from two sides, the "Nouvelles du Soldat," a semi-official organisation connected with the Red Cross in Paris, and from the official bureau for the Grand Duchy of Hesse-Darmstadt, where alone 1,200 cases of missing soldiers have been reported, an urgent demand has been made in Zurich to start a new bureau.

The call was responded to by a couple known all over Switzerland as social workers, representatives of "Christian Socialism" of the highest type. And it is a woman, we are proud to say, Frau Clara Ragaz, to whose energy and devotion we are indebted for the new organisation just formed in Zurich.

Besides the Red Cross in Geneva, the bureau in Berne, that in Lausanne, founded and directed by Madame Girardet, private initiative has also been active in following up cases. Indeed, at the two most interesting meetings when the new committee was formed, one lady surprised those present by relating her own experiences. Seventy cases had, somehow, come to be reported to her, and she had been successful in a great many of them, all of which had been previously reported to the Red Cross in Geneva without leading to the desired result. There are, it appears, besides the official means, such as official lists, etc., employed by the Red Cross, possibilities of tracing missing soldiers by unofficial ways and means, and these the new bureau will develop to the utmost.

All cases will have to be reported first to the bureau of the Red Cross in Geneva, and will only be taken up by the Zurich Bureau if, after three months, they have not been dealt with successfully by the former. The Zurich Bureau will therefore act in co-operation with the Red Cross, but on different lines.

One of the means employed will be to send lists with the names of missing soldiers to military prisons, hospitals, etc., with the request that any soldier who happens to have met one of those whose names appear on the list should add a few lines to that effect on the list itself, giving particulars. These lists will remain long enough in each place to be seen by every-body, and will then be returned to the bureau. Much useful information is expected to be collected in this way.

Another means will be to approach the clergy in the different countries, or indeed anyone likely to come in touch with soldiers, and to gain their co-operation. The bureau will deal

with cases on the Western front only.

In one of the delightful, old patrician houses in Zurich the bureau has been offered a home gratuitously, and there

devoted workers are beginning to have their hands full.

Let us hope that from that room, 39 Thalackerstrasse, flooded by the sunshine, beautiful in its grand proportions, with its stately garden in front, rays of light will go out to comfort many an aching heart. EMILY ALTSCHUL.

#### Miss Jane Addams on Peace.

Under the presidency of Miss Jane Addams a National Conference met at Chicago, and drew up a comprehensive scheme for the promotion of peace. Dr. John Mez, of Munich, and Mme. Rosika Schwimmer, of Hungary, were among the speakers. Miss Jane Addams headed the deputation of four which carried the resolution of the Conference to President Wilson urging him to call a Conference of neutral nations to act as a voluntary court of continuous mediation. Miss Addams will shortly sail for Europe with a large party to attend the International Congress at the Hague

#### Martial Law and Woman Suffrage in Holland.

Some parts of the Netherlands are declared to be in a state of siege; the military authorities have complete control. Miss Nine Minnema was to speak on Woman Suffrage in the small town of Lemmer, but the meeting was forbidden by the commandant of the district,

#### 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.

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 Suffragi 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 Head-quarters. 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 ADELA STANTON COIT.

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Women's Compulsory Service.

In conscript countries perhaps the most frequent objection to Woman Suffrage is that women do not perform military Suggestions are therefore frequently put forward for

service. Suggestions are therefore frequently put forward for an equivalent service by women.

Marie von Bunsen has outlined a useful scheme. Girls of fourteen, on leaving the elementary school, should be sent to training schools under competent educated mistresses. They should receive thorough instruction in hygiene, housekeeping, care of children, cooking, sewing, and laundry. They would live under healthy conditions with plenty of outdoor exercise, and the work would be adapted to their age and strength. Singing, folk-dancing, and lessons in history and literature would be included. A six-months course would give good results; but, if possible, two years' service should be arranged, and include a year's agricultural work.

Girls attending secondary schools would have a year's training between 16 and 17, and would form a useful reserve of possible army nurses, and paid or unpaid officials. The help-less untrained girl and woman would be eliminated.

#### Women's Wages in War-time.

In spite of the great demand for labour due to the removal of millions of able-bodied men, women are meeting with resistance in their efforts to fill men's jobs. Women's trades, being largely in the supply of layours. ance in their efforts to fill men's jobs. Women's trades, being largely in the supply of luxuries, are slack, and they turn to others where there is a known shortage, to be told that women are not admitted. In Great Britain, men's Trade Unions have once again shown their jealousy of female intrusion. Edinburgh, which had the discredit of turning women out of the printing trade, now has the blame of excluding them from acting as tram conductors. The employers advertised for women to fill fifty vacancies, and enough women were forthcoming, but as the men employees refused to work with them the company was obliged to withdraw its offer. So much for "chivalry"! Agriculture again presents good openings for women, but British farmers, unwilling to pay an adult's wage, are asking for and obtaining little boys prematurely taken from school to do farm work. boys prematurely taken from school to do farm work

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