

JUS SUFFRAGII

MONTHLY
THE INTERNATIONAL WOMAN



ORGAN OF
SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE.

Volume 9. No. 10.

JULY 1, 1915.

PRICE PER YEAR, 4 SHILLINGS; 4 MARKS; 5 FRANCS; 2½ FLORINS; 3 KRONER 60, SCANDINAVIA; 5 KRONEN, AUSTRIA; \$1; SINGLE COPIES, 4d.

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The King of Denmark cheered after signing the Constitution giving Votes to Women.

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DENMARK.

"Landsforbundet for Kvinders-Valgret."

As many of the readers of *Jus Suffragii* know by now, the new Danish Constitution was signed on June 5. This new Constitution gives the same rights to women as to men in all political matters. The women have got the right of electing and being elected under exactly the same conditions as men.

The Constitution was signed at half-past one p.m. by the King in the presence of the Cabinet. This ceremony took place in the King's Castle, "Amalienborg." At this time a big procession of women went through the streets to the castle, and immediately after the King had signed the Constitution a deputation of 25 women representing different women's societies was received by him. Later on the same deputation went to the Lower House, where the Cabinet and the whole Parliament were assembled. In behalf of many thousand women the spokesman of the deputation, Miss Henni Forchhammer, addressed the Cabinet and the Parliament. The Prime Minister and the Speaker answered.

It was a significant day for the Danish women, but no doubt the most encouraging event of the day was all the greetings and congratulations that came to us from women in other countries, showing us the deep feeling of sympathy that animates our fellow-labourers for our common cause.

On July 3 and 4 the "Landsforbund" is going to have its annual meeting in Aalborg, in Jutland. Our members are looking very much forward to meeting and celebrating together this big victory of ours.

Copenhagen, June, 1915.

OUR PORTRAITS.

MRS. JOHANNA RAMBUSCH.

Mrs. Johanna Rambusch, who is a resident of Aalborg, Jutland, and whose husband is a doctor, has been the President of "Landsforbundet for Kvinders-Valgret" since the beginning of 1907. She is an excellent speaker, and as she has lived most of her life in the country she knows the country people extremely well—an important fact in her work of organisation.

MISS ELINE HANSEN (born 1859).

President of "Danske Kvindeforeningers Valgretsforbund." 1889, teacher at the public schools of Copenhagen. Started domestic economy as a subject, 1898. Studied in Norway, Sweden, Germany, Belgium, and Great Britain. Since 1910, director of municipal cookery instruction for girls and young women in the city of Copenhagen. 1894-1903, secretary of the Executive Board of Dansk-Kvindesamfund, the oldest Danish women's association. 1899-1906, recording secretary of National Council of Women. Danske Kvindeforeningers Valgretsforbund was started 1898. Eline Hansen has been a delegate of the Teachers' Society to this Association ever since; acted at first as the secretary, and since 1910 as the president. Eline Hansen was a delegate in Berlin, 1904, when the International Alliance had its first European Conference. 1906, when the Congress took place in Copenhagen, was the president of the Finance Committee; has since then been present at all the Congresses held by the Alliance except that in London, 1909. June 5th, 1915, member of the deputation to the Government and the Rigsdag.

MRS. ELNA MUNCH.

Mrs. Elna Munch has been the vice-president of the "Landsforbund for Kvinders-Valgret" since the beginning of 1907. At the same time she has been president of the "Committee for Agitation."

The University degree of A.M. was conferred on Mrs. Munch for mathematics and physics. Her husband is War Minister in Mr. Zahle's Cabinet.

MRS. CLINNY DREYER.

Mrs. Clinny Dreyer, editor of *Kvindevalgret*, belongs to those who in 1907 began working for the "Landsforbund for Kvinders-Valgret." She formed many of the local branches,

and has spoken at numerous Suffrage Societies' meetings, and also at the meetings of political and social societies. Since 1907 she has spoken regularly on June 5th—the Danish Constitution Day—at the large open-air meetings, and at the Danish annual Suffrage Congresses. She has been one of the lecturers on social and political questions in connection with the Landsforbund lectures. For four years she was editor of the Danish Provincial Suffrage correspondence, of which copies are sent to 100 provincial papers. Her husband, Dr. Dreyer, is the director of the Zoological Gardens. For six years she was correspondent to *Jus Suffragii*.

On June 23rd she spoke in Berlin about the Danish women's Suffrage work. She has travelled a great deal in Europe, America, and Mexico, and has always been interested in social and political matters.

MISS HENNI FORCHHAMMER,

President Danish Council of Women; Vice-president International Council of Women.

Born in 1863. Linguist; gives lessons and lectures on English, Danish, and phonetics. Author of "How to Learn Danish"; also French, German, and Dutch editions of the same. Lectures and writes articles on various social questions. Helped to start university extension and housewifery instruction in Denmark. For several years Foreign Secretary, now President, of the Danish Council of Women, and Chairman of its Health Committee. During last winter helped to organise work for unemployed women. Delegate at many of the meetings of the International Council of Women; since 1914 second Vice-president of the I.C.W. Spokesman of the women's deputation to the Government and Rigsdag on June 5th, 1915.

THE PRIME MINISTER, TH. ZAHLE.

To characterise Mr. Zahle as politician, it must be said that he always has remained faithful to true democratic ideals. He is straightforward in politics, and true to his word.

Mr. Zahle has constantly stood for Woman Suffrage, and declared it righteous and natural. On June 5th, when the women's deputation was received in the Rigsdag, he declared himself convinced that Woman Suffrage would be of great value to society.

After having finished his studies in law, Mr. Zahle became for a short time editor of the largest and most Liberal provincial paper. Afterwards he was attached to the staff of *Politiken* as leader writer of the political part of that paper. In 1895 he became a member of the Rigsdag, and still represents the same constituency, where he has had to struggle against Conservative adversaries.

At the Rigsdag he soon became leader of the Radical section of the Liberal party, which in 1901 came into power. In 1905 the Radical section retired, and formed a special party, with Mr. Zahle as leader. In 1909 the Radical party, though in a minority, was compelled by circumstances to form the Cabinet. Mr. Zahle became the Prime Minister. At this time the Radical party brought in a proposition about a new Constitution which abolished all privileges and gave suffrage to women.

After the elections of 1910 the Radical party was still in a minority, and Mr. Zahle and his Cabinet resigned. The new Prime Minister, Claus Berntsen, on the 23rd October brought in an amendment to the Constitution. The Radical party gave this proposition unqualified support, but the Conservatives defeated it.

After the new elections of 1913 the Radical party grew stronger, and again came into power, with Mr. Zahle as Prime Minister. Immediately the amendment of the Constitution was brought in again, and was adopted in the Folketing, but the Landsting prevented its adoption by leaving the House. The Landsting was then dissolved, and the new elections gave a majority for the amendment.

The war then broke out, and Mr. Zahle succeeded in uniting all parties for the purpose of carrying absolute neutrality. And suddenly in the spring the tidings came that the carrying through of the new Constitution was assured. This was obtained through a compromise with a section of the Conservatives and the loyal support of Claus Berntsen and his party and the Social Democrats.

"Bold" and "noble" are the adjectives bestowed upon the proceedings of Mr. Zahle in carrying the Constitution. Never has he forgotten to do honour to the former Prime Minister, Claus Berntsen, who at first brought in the proposition and faithfully assisted Mr. Zahle in carrying the amendment. Lately Mr. Zahle has demanded a vote of confidence of the Rigsdag in the Cabinet's foreign politics and its carrying out of Denmark's neutrality, and he has got it.

LOUISE NORLUND.



MISS TH. DAUGAARD,
Editor of "Kvinden og Samfundet."



MRS. BLAUENFELDT,
President of Suffrage Church League.



MISS ELINE HANSEN,
President Valgretsforbund.



MRS. CLINNY DREYER,
Editor of "Kvindevalgret."



MRS. ELNA MUNCH,
Vice-President of Landsforbundet.



MRS. JOHANNA RAMBUSCH,
President Landsforbundet.



MISS HENNI FORCHHAMMER,
President Danish Council of Women.



THE PRIME MINISTER, TH. ZAHLE.



PROCESSION TO THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.
From right to left: Miss Eline Hansen (white), Miss Forchhammer (black), Mrs. Elna Munch (white hat). (All three are in the same row, which is the second behind the banner-bearer.)

THE WOMEN'S VOTE IN DENMARK.

THE PROCESSION TO THE KING ON THE DAY OF THE NEW CONSTITUTIONAL BILL, 5TH JUNE, 1915.

The enormous procession of women, which first moved to "Amalienborg" Castle, then on to the House of Parliament, consisted of women of all classes and all ages—young and old, known and unknown, rich and poor—in all, about 12,000.

The procession, led by a pretty, blue-eyed, fair-haired, typical Danish girl, who carried a huge Danish flag, was greeted with great joy from the crowd in the streets, and with tremendous ovations when it turned into the square in front of the castle. Here the procession was ready to receive the King when he arrived from his summer residence, "Sorgenfri."

In one of the halls of the castle the King and Queen, surrounded by their children, received the women's deputation. The President of the Women's Union (Miss Henni Forchhammer) read the address, as follows:—

"On this important day, when the new Constitutional Bill of Denmark has achieved its final confirmation, we, as representatives of many thousands of Danish women, desire to express to your Majesty, to Denmark's Government and Rigsdag, our joy at the complete political rights which this constitution affords the women.

"We fully appreciate the influence on the legislation of the country to which the vote gives us admission, the legislation which concerns women as well as men.

"It has been a great satisfaction to see all parties united in this cause, and it is our expectation that the legislation which women and men are to begin now together will be carried out with full consideration for the views and interests of women as well as for those of men. We understand the responsibility and duties which are involved in the new rights, and we express as our hope and earnest wish that the participation of women in political life will be for the happiness of our country and people."

Miss Forchhammer then delivered the address to the King, who replied:—

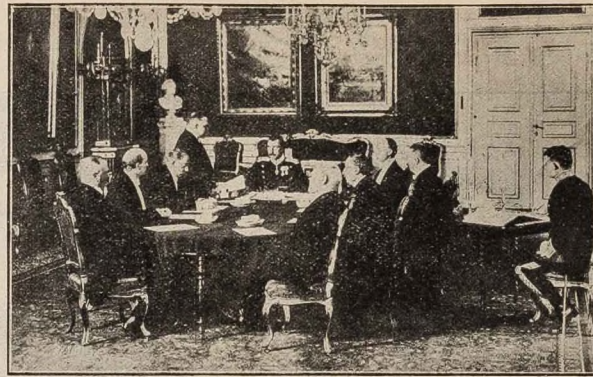
"I thank you for the friendly address. I maintain full confidence and trust that the women, adopted by all parties of the Rigsdag, will be equal to the men in their work.

"We have already had experience in this direction, in municipal life, but in one place the women cannot be dispensed with, and that is in the homes. In these, women's influence cannot be replaced, because through the love of the child for its home is the origin of the love for our home in common—Denmark.

"Repeating my thanks for the address, I ask you to convey my thanks to the body of women, and the greetings of the Queen and myself."

THE NEW DANISH CONSTITUTION.

On June 5th, 1849, Denmark received a Constitution changing its government from an absolute to a limited monarchy. The people obtained universal (*i.e.*, manhood) equal and direct suffrage for the two chambers, Folketing and Landsting, for men over thirty.



THE SIGNING OF THE CONSTITUTION BY THE KING AND THE CABINET, JUNE 5, AT THE ROYAL CASTLE.

After the loss of the provinces Schleswig and Holstein, in 1864, the Constitution was again altered. The Liberals, friends of the peasants, wished to retain the principles of 1849, but the landowners and National Liberals succeeded in introducing a privileged vote for the Landsting. This modification became law in 1866; but again, in 1872, an attempt was made to obtain a more democratic franchise, and a prolonged struggle between Conservatives and the democratic parties followed, which has now ended in the full triumph of democracy. According to the Constitution of 1866, the following has been the method of election to the Rigsdag:—

Members of the Folketing were elected by direct vote for one member for three years. The elections took place according to districts, one member for 16,000 inhabitants, bringing the number of members to 114.

Electors for the Folketing must be men of good character, thirty years of age, with a year's residential qualification.

Eligible to the Folketing.—Electors as above, but twenty-five years of age.

The Landsting consisted of 66 members, of which 12 were nominated by the King, 7 elected by the city of Copenhagen, 45 elected by 9 electoral districts, 1 by the island of Bornholm, 1 by the Farø Islands.

Members were elected for eight years, half being elected every four years.

For the Landsting there were two categories of electors—the primary electors (*i.e.*, every Danish man of thirty with a year's residence), and the privileged electors (*i.e.*, those with an income above a certain limit or paying a certain amount in taxes).

In rural districts the primary electors chose a secondary elector.

In the towns the secondary electors were chosen partly by the primary electors, partly by the privileged electors.

The secondary electors, in conjunction with a third class of electors, the "immediate electors," large taxpayers, elected the members of the Landsting.

This complicated system was introduced in 1866 to prevent any one party capturing seats.

The new Constitution, adopted June 5th, 1915, abolishes these complications, lowers the age of electors to the Folketing from 30 to 25, gives women the vote and the right to sit in Parliament, and abolishes the year's residential qualification. The number of members in the Folketing is raised to 140.

A measure of proportional representation will be introduced. The changes in the election of the Landsting are even more considerable.

The new Constitution abolishes the privileged vote. The secondary electors are all elected by Universal Suffrage. The age of the electors is raised from 30 to 35, which is the same for eligibility. The residential qualification is abolished, so is the nomination by the King. The only difference in the composition of the two chambers is that the Folketing will be elected *directly* by electors of 25, and the Landsting *indirectly* by electors of 35. The Landsting will have 72 members instead of 66.

Proposals for changes in the Constitution must be submitted to a plebiscite.

From *Le Danemark*.



THE WOMEN'S BANNER HEADING THE PROCESSION.



THE DEACONESSES IN THE PROCESSION.



THE DEPUTATION OUTSIDE THE KING'S PALACE, JUNE 5th, 1915.



ASTRID STAMPE-FODDERSEN.



SVEND EGGSHØJ.



JUTTA BOJSEN MØLLER.

DENMARK.

PROGRESS OF THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT.

It was in 1869, after George Brandes' translation of Stuart Mills' book, that the first woman's movement took place. It was not the votes they were thinking of then, but to better woman's social position, and in 1871 an association was established with Mrs. M. Bajer as chairman. She worked for the political and social question, and little by little several other associations were started all over the country, and in 1888 they published a paper, *What We Want*, with Mrs. Johanne Meyer as editor.

HOW THE WOMEN SET TO WORK.

They established a commercial school and a free Sunday school for the poorer classes, including servants, where lectures were held; drawing and industrial schools, information offices, where all applications were answered free of charge.

A special school for seamstresses was unsuccessful, also a school of domestic economy; and it was some of these enterprises the associations started to procure education and development for women, and which resulted in improving their position in the family as well as in the community and State, and later it opened the doors for them to the University, the academy of arts, the technical schools, the commercial schools, etc., and through these again to the work to which these educational institutions give admittance.

Women are also at work as joiners, cabinetmakers, bookbinders, painters, watchmakers, goldsmiths, and typographers, and even as barbers. However, for some of these great physical strength is needed, but then again others go in for china painting, modelling, chiselling, etc.

Special courses were started for future teachers; it takes three years to pass the examination. They obtained the same starting salary as men; they were allowed to marry and still remain in their positions, but it is against the law to have any lady rector (principal).

Already in 1875 the women were permitted to pass the matriculation at the University and other academic examinations. The theological examination was granted only in 1905.

The two first women to pass the matriculation were Miss Johanne Gluruk and Miss Nielsine Nielsen, who passed it in 1877, and the latter was also the first woman to become a physician, 1885. In the first years very few women availed themselves of the opportunity of becoming "academic citizens"—i.e., full members of the University. Up to the year 1884 there were only 12 women students, but in the years 1903-4 34 passed the matriculation, and in 1910-11 154 passed, and each year the number has increased.

Medical science is the study which, however, has attracted the Danish women most, but to start with they had considerable difficulty in obtaining hospital training; even a chief physician at a hospital in Copenhagen resigned because he would not risk having women students in his ward. But now, of course, there are women candidates and assistant physicians, and the latter have acted as chief physicians during the chief physician's absence, and a few candidates have even now obtained positions as school doctors in Copenhagen. Several women doctors have obtained quite good positions as private practitioners. Dr. Eli Möller was the first woman practitioner to pass the doctor's degree, in 1906. She has acted as instructor in anatomy, and for some years she was assistant physician at a hospital in Copenhagen. For several years she has had her own private clinic in Copenhagen. She is a member of the "Danish Medical Association."

Miss Johanne Christiansen also passed her degree, but went abroad to continue her studies in physiological chemistry, for which she obtained a stipendium, which is distributed every six years.

Miss Anna Hude was the first woman to pass the degree of Master of Arts in 1888, and in 1889 she obtained the University's gold medal. She has published several historical works.

Several more women have now passed this examination, and one, a Mrs. Sis Jacobsen, gives lectures at the University.

Miss Henny Petersen was the first woman law candidate in 1905. It was not, however, till the year 1906 that women were granted permission to become lawyers, attorneys, and head clerks.

You naturally also find women engaged at different ministries—railway, telegraph, and post offices. Already in 1868 Mathilde Fibiger was engaged at the head telegraphic department. For employment at railway stations the women have to apply for permission to pass a special traffic examination. As they are generally occupied for indoor service, they have no use for a uniform; but at the Customs, where women also are engaged, a special uniform has been designed for them. They are allowed to marry.

Further, you see women engaged as gatekeepers, country postwomen, in shops (several are owners of shops), in banks, insurance offices, and telephone offices.

Red Cross was started in 1876, and at that time it was not considered proper for ladies to undertake this work, although Ilia Fibiger, a lady by birth, undertook nursing through the period of the cholera in 1853. In 1900 the Crown Princess was the chairman of the Red Cross Society, and took much interest in the work.

You find many women at agricultural and gardening work. Some are farmers, others estate proprietors; they pass the rural examination.

WOMEN IN THE ARTS.

There are many women sculptors. Mrs. Anne Marie Carl Nielsen was the first sculptor to be member of the "Royal Academy Council." Her works are well represented at the museums in Berlin, Leipzig, Dresden, Hamburg, and other towns.

HONOURS FOR WOMEN.

With regard to decorations, women in Denmark have not yet been awarded "the Legion of Honour" like the women of France, but on very special occasions the gold or silver medal is presented, also a medal for "noble deeds," medal for saving life, and the medal "Ingeni et Arti." The "Medal of Merit" was presented to a Danish woman for the first time in 1792.

To Jane Addams at The Hague.

Lady of Light, and our best woman, and Queen,
Speak now for Peace (though anger breaks your heart),
Though naught but smoke and flame and drowning is seen.

Lady of Light, speak, though you speak alone;
Though your voice may seem as a dove's in this howling flood,
It is heard to-night by every senate and throne.

Though the widening battle of millions and millions of men
Threatens to-night to sweep the whole of the earth,
Back of the smoke is the vision of Kindness Again.

From the *Herald*.

VACHEL LINDSAY.

NOTES.

Victory in Iceland.

The complete victory of Woman Suffrage in Iceland follows closely on that of Denmark. The King of Denmark signed the new Constitution for Iceland on June 19th, giving votes to women. In this case, as in that of Denmark, the women begin with a higher age limit, which will be gradually reduced.

Mme. De Witt Schlumberger.

With deep regret we record the sad loss suffered by Mme. De Schlumberger, whose third son has been killed at the front, and offer her, on behalf of the Alliance, heartfelt sympathy.

"Jus Suffragii."

Secretaries and correspondents of societies affiliated to the International Woman Suffrage Alliance are earnestly requested to send in monthly reports for publication in *Jus Suffragii*. After the war international work must be taken up again, and meanwhile a record must be kept of women's activities in all countries. All MSS. must reach London by the 25th of the month.

Alcoholism and the Food Question.

The strain of war is great on the workers, and the various Governments who have allowed the drink interests to develop the curse of intemperance, and to tie it round the people's necks, now find that the result is impaired efficiency, such as may turn the scale in the conflict of war. As long as drink ruined only the homes and health of the workers, nothing was done to cope with it. Now statesmen are perturbed, and seek to prohibit it. In Great Britain, the Women's Labour League has conducted an inquiry among working women as to the prevalence of the evil, and suggested ways of dealing with it. The replies show that it is the chronic neglect of Government in securing decent homes and good food for the workers that has driven many a hard-working man to drink. If given a decent house, plenty of good food, and sufficient rest, he will not wish for it.

Men's and Women's Wages in Australia.

The *Woman Voter* of April 6 draws attention to the glaring inequality in men's and women's wages in Australia, as shown in the returns of the *Commonwealth Statist*. During 1914 the average wage for men, based on 8,948 occupations, was 55s. 7d., and for women, based on 308 occupations, 27s. 5d.

These figures need comment and explanation. Are the comparatively few occupations open to women, unskilled? Are so many women engaged in domestic work and married that comparatively few enter industry? Do the wages take account of board and lodging in the case of domestics? We shall be glad of further information.

Farming for Women in Australia.

In Victoria the Women's Rural Industries Co. has taken a farm of fourteen acres to train women in gardening. Six young women are in training under Miss Cecilia John and Miss Ina Higgins, the former a poultry expert, and the latter a fruit and flower expert. The farm is near a good market, and has unlimited water. The women in training pay no fees, they give their work, and receive board, lodging, and training. The farm is co-operative, worked on £1 shares. No men are employed, and the women wear rational dress, consisting of a brown knickerbocker suit. A similar movement is on foot in South Australia.

The Conspiracy of Silence.

A struggle for freedom, of peculiar interest to women, was begun last year in the United States.

Mrs. Margaret Sanger, of New York, whose work as a maternity nurse and whose experience as a mother convinced her of the cruelty and immorality of the notorious "Comstock" laws, which forbid, among other things, any discussion of birth control even by physicians, determined to bring the matter before public opinion at the risk of prosecution and imprisonment.

Her series of articles, "What Every Girl Should Know," in a New York paper, together with the publication of a pamphlet, brought matters to a crisis.

Mrs. Sanger was charged at the U.S. Federal Court of New York, was refused a postponement, and in order to have time to prepare her defence was obliged to leave America—the first instance of a woman being forced to do so for a case of a political character.

Women's Roll of Honour.

The death is recorded of Marguerite Biedermann, of Schaffhausen. Mlle. Biedermann and her parents had devoted themselves since the outbreak of war to the care of French refugees from Germany. She met the trains, and accompanied the convoys to Geneva, attending to the aged and sick with the utmost devotion. Many of these unfortunates were suffering from infectious angina, and Mlle. Biedermann contracted the disease, and has now died, at the age of twenty-four years. Mlle. Biedermann is one of many noble Swiss women who are doing their utmost to alleviate the terrible sufferings of the refugees.

Mlle. Jeanne Marie Gonthier is mentioned in Army orders for courage in performing arduous duties of superintending military hospitals at Reims under bombardment.

Alfred De Vigny on Women's Rights.

The great French poet, Alfred de Vigny, wrote in 1844:—"After much reflection on the destiny of women in all ages and in all nations, I have ended by thinking that every man should greet every woman by asking 'Pardon!' instead of saying 'Good-day!' for it is the strongest who have made the law."

English Women and Divorce.

As is well known, the English law puts very great obstacles in the way of divorce, especially of women or poor people, with the result that there are 17,000 cases of judicial separation every year, an unknown but certainly large number of unofficial separations, and 39,000 illegitimate births. The hardship inflicted by the denial of divorce is especially hard on poor women. The Women's Co-operative Guild, the largest organisation of working women, with about 35,000 members, has firmly supported divorce law reform, and has now had its annual grant of £400 withdrawn by the Co-operative Society because it refused to abandon its right to work for what objects it chose, including this reform. A recent case before a London magistrate illustrates a very common hardship and the attitude of male authorities.

Mr. Paul Taylor was asked by a young woman whether it would be possible to obtain a divorce from her husband, who had deserted her seven years ago, and had now drifted into a lunatic asylum, as she had an opportunity to marry again. He replied: "I don't think you have the slightest opportunity of getting a divorce. It would be a very serious thing if you could, under the circumstances. Your husband may recover. The law does not regard that as a ground for a divorce, and, in my opinion, very properly so." Surely this is one of the cases that point to the need for a reform of the present divorce laws. Not only has this marriage been broken up by the man's desertion for seven years, but he has in the meantime become a lunatic. Is Mr. Paul Taylor of the opinion that even should this man recover there could be any possibility of a reconciliation between these two persons; and would such a reconciliation be in the best interests of the race? Would he compel this woman to live with a man who might pass on the taint of lunacy to her children? As long as such reasoning as his continues we shall have diseased offspring, or an increasing number of irregular unions, with more and more illegitimate children—a state of things deplored by the divorce law reformers, but ignored by all the people who see in any extension of divorce a blow at the sanctity of marriage. The late Sir Thomas Clouston, in his evidence before the Royal Commission, affirmed that he did not know of a single case of recovery from lunacy of five years' duration.

A Japanese Breach of Promise Suit.

The first Japanese woman to win a suit for breach of promise was Miss Hede Nozawa. Her successful suit seems to menace the continuance of the Madam Butterfly romances in Japan. Under the existing laws of Japan a marriage is not valid unless it is registered, but registration is not compulsory upon the man. It is not even usual. Miss Nozawa, who seems to have taken an advanced position, refused to live with Sozahiru Vanaka unless their marriage was duly recorded. He put off this trifling detail, in accord with frequent usage in Japan, and, after living with her for a month, quarrelled with her and left her. The blood of a new era of womanhood appears to have run in Miss Nozawa's veins, and she refused to be accounted as a mere Oriental chattel, to be taken on and put off at pleasure. Her suit was carried through three courts, and finally came to the highest tribunal in the land. She was awarded 10,000 dollars, a sum which amounts to a large fortune in that country.

THE STATE AND THE INDIVIDUAL.

The religion of the State, like every other religion, is a dangerous thing. The crimes that have been committed, that are committed, in its name stagger us, or ought to, if they do not. That religion persuades men to sin as true for us as it was for Lucretius; and that the one religion is political and the other theological ought not to blind us to their essential likeness. To call the worship of the State religious may be ambiguous, but it is worth risking ambiguity if it will draw attention to vital features and appalling dangers, especially when the recognition of both is necessary if the nations now at war are ever really to be at peace. History has made us familiar with the horrible dangers of "religious" wars and "religious" orders in the theological sense. It is high time that we recognised dangers as horrible in the religion of nationality, and realised that the State of to-day has succeeded to the Church of yesterday, heir to the old glories and the old atrocities. A religion, whatever else it is, is something for which men will die. A Church is an organisation based not on individuals conceived as isolated units, but on a profound community of belief and tradition and hope, and on a corporate life of mutual effort and mutual service far transcending what all the individuals could attain if all were working apart, even though all were working at full strain. Like a language, it is something that no man can make alone. The deepest political thinkers have seen that this is as true of a State as of a Church, and many have not been afraid to admit that there is something in the essence of the State that may rightly be called mysterious, in so far as the link between human beings is deeper and closer than we can understand at present, and the possibilities of the perfect State something far beyond any actual manifestation of it with which we are acquainted. This link is so close that the individual's true welfare depends always on his helping to make those manifestations stronger and finer, and even if he perishes in the effort it is well with him. Such a belief is not a mere speculation of the study: it is what sends men to die in the trenches now; it is the noblest call in the German "Deutschland über Alles" and in the English "Who dies if England lives?" In its best sense, in this exaltation of mutual service above the individual's selfish caprice, it is sacred. But it can easily become superstitious and diabolic—superstitious if it slips into imagining that these finer forms of life for which the State exists can ever be found in anything but the actual finer lives of its members; diabolic if it leads to sin against other individuals in other States. There is nothing *outside* individuals, though there may well be something working in them more than themselves taken alone. But there is an inveterate tendency to slip away from this true standard of the quality of life in actual men and women, and to take instead some external gain, mathematically large and spiritually trivial, money, territory, mass of population, or in general to confound the ideal State, the goal of all our efforts, partially discerned and almost wholly unreachd, with the actual Government dominant at the time—a Government always imperfect and often abominable. The flag is a fine symbol, but it has the danger of all abstractions: the wrong content may be substituted for the right one. It is the old danger of idols in a new form. There is only one real safeguard against all this, and that lies in vigilant self-criticism on the part of every nation. And such criticism implies at once public criticism and willingness to bear the criticism of aliens. The most powerful nations need it most, because they are the most tempted to identify the mere possession of power with the good life. "Woe," said Wordsworth, in a notable passage; "woe to that country whose military power is irresistible. . . . My prayer, as a patriot, is that we shall always have, somewhere or other, enemies capable of resisting us and keeping us at arm's length." No doubt it is because power and union, in some form or other, are essential to man's development that the temptation is so insidious, but that only shows how much we should be on our guard. A strong and united nation can be so glorious a thing that we are prepared to glorify any union and any form of strength. But we are lost if once we cast aside rational methods and exalt national union, whatever its character, as something altogether above reason, in the sense that it can dispense with scrutiny. This war ought at least to have shown us one thing, and that is how immensely strong a corporate body can be for evil as well as for good. If we see heights of self-sacrifice to which we scarcely thought average humanity could rise, we see abysses of cruelty to which we scarcely thought it could sink. And if we keep our eyes clear of prejudice we can see it rising and sinking alike under the

stress of corporate emotion and obedience to leadership. If the mass is subservient, everything depends on the mood of the leaders; and subservient the mass too often is, from good reasons and from bad, from loyalty and from lack of independence. Men do things, heroic things and horrible things, in a crowd, an army, a nation, a "mob," that they would never do alone. The psychology of "the group" is plainly a much more potent factor in either direction than many of us thought. The abysses of evil are indeed so terrible that we are tempted to hide them from ourselves in every kind of way, sometimes by flat disbelief, if we are generous, in *all* accusations, whether against ourselves or against an enemy; or, if the indictment is too weighty for that, by weak condonation, cowardly excuses about "the inevitable," counter-accusations, as though two "wrongs" could ever make a "right," or perhaps by nursing a blind confidence that one section of humanity at least, our own, is safe for ever from any abyss, while our opponents are damned beyond redemption. The folly of this last expedient ought one day to be apparent to every sane patriot and every good European. As a mere matter of fact, the races and the cultures of the Western Powers now at war are so closely intertwined that external observation alone might tell us that, whatever happens, and whether we like it or not, we cannot help being members one of another. This is not to say that all the States involved must be equally guilty; far from it. But, however deeply justified a burning indignation may be against any one tradition and any one system in especial—and deeply justified it may be,—it is insanely superficial to let ourselves talk and think as though the nations of Europe did not belong together. All war is civil war, and this war in a high degree. It is the sense of that which makes the peculiar misery for those of us belligerents who do believe, on evidence we dare not disregard, that our opponents have been guilty of initiating cruelties. But there is a touch of comfort in the misery, too. For it springs from a faith in the solidarity of mankind, a faith which really underlies the faith in the solidarity of a nation. Belief in either depends on the belief that man needs nothing so much as man, and that our effort should be not to cut off and stamp out the men and nations who do wrong as though they were so many poison-germs, but to transform them. We do not despair of our own people because of the criminals among them: we try to make them better. We have, in fact, to combine two things which seem almost incompatible, we must refuse condonation to any iniquity and atrocity, whether in our own nation or in another, and yet we must keep in touch, even through that refusal, with the better elements that will save it. For this we need to face the truth. An international journal, no doubt, is not the place in which to discuss, and during war-time, the terrible charges that are searching, or ought to be searching, the hearts of us all. But it is the place in which to urge on all individuals the stern duty of facing in their own countries the indictment brought against their Governments, and, if proved, of protesting against what has been done in their name. Such a work can only be accomplished successfully from within. And the heavy task is laid especially on all Suffragists: their principle has always been that no modern State can be healthy unless the right of private judgment is freely exercised by responsible men and women. Suffragists, of all reformers, should be bold enough to sweep aside the foolish charge of anti-patriotism always brought against patriotic critics. They should know that he who stands up against the State as it is, is the prophet of the State as it shall be. If we ever forgot this before, we cannot afford to forget it now. Some of us till now have believed in the Suffrage chiefly because we believed that even good government was no fit substitute for self-government. We were prepared to admit that conceivably for a time there might be better administration and wiser laws under a limited franchise, and yet that nothing of all this could compensate in modern life for the self-education involved in the individuals being called upon to think for themselves, to face their responsibilities, and interrogate their own consciences. Even at the cost of grievous error, we felt it was better for them, and therefore ultimately for the State, that they should try. But the need is infinitely increased if the Government of the day should be acting wrongly. There is nothing to ensure that the evil elements present in any country, the elements of tyranny, should not get the upper hand in the leaders. Education alone is not a defence, and the dangers are increased tenfold if a country should be permeated with the doctrine that the pursuit of its "greatness" is for it the one supreme consideration, a doctrine that we know has been revived with extraordinary force in our own

days. Through influence over the Press, through the disposal of military forces, through the ramifications of bureaucracy, the party dominant can attain astonishing power. It would be better, one is tempted to say, if they could prevent all knowledge of their misdeeds from filtering into their country. But this they cannot do. They can, however, use, and they do use, that most demoralising of doctrines, "the end justifies the means," and from this follows a sophistication of the public conscience worse than anything in all the annals of the Jesuits. "The means may destroy the end" would be, as a modern writer has said, a far truer and far less pernicious adage. There is one unfailing test, and one only, that we must apply: Do these means, do these gains, make the men who employ them, the men who win them, nobler and more humane? The blind adoration of the State, uncritically considered, taken apart from the alert individual conscience, can lead men straight into cruelties fit only to be put side by side with the burning of heretics, and, like religious fanaticism, drawing its strength from an unholy alliance between fervent self-devotion and lust of domination. It is no low material standard that we ought to apply. We do not bid men criticise the State in the interests of a fat and sordid satisfaction; on the contrary, we want not men only, but women also, to pass beyond their petty interests and into the widest questions of the highest welfare. But it must be a real welfare, not the intoxicated service of a Moloch, an idolatry paid to the "Kaltcs Ungeheuer" of Nietzsche's detestation.

London.

MELIAN STAWELL.

LETTERS FROM A GERMAN SOLDIER.

I.

Yes, do rouse my indignation and my anger, which brings the tears to my eyes; rouse it—that is what I want! Wake my sleeping powers so that they may strengthen, so that I can put my thoughts in order, and, if I should return from this war, fling them once for all in the faces of men—men who deceive themselves, and find a justification even for this murdering—who are still seeking some—heaven knows what—great moral after-effects from wholesale slaughter. I will never conceive that men, civilised men, friends in time of peace, can as a result of any principle whatever suddenly fall into the madness of letting loose on one another with instruments of murder, to behave like wild beasts. Man takes man as the target for his bullets. "Thou shalt not kill." How can a man of any feeling make sense out of such contradiction? Now, indeed, "thou shalt kill," for your country says that friends are now enemies; for the Press fills the masses with hate so that the war may be brought about at all. War—so in war "thou shalt kill," because that is the custom, or because death for one's country is especially rewarded by God as a hero's death. The Church agrees: "Be loyal even unto death." So if I am loyal to my country, and if I, from love of my country, with a bullet for ever part other men, just as loyal and just as civilised, from their fathers, mothers, sweethearts, sisters, and sons (though according to the Press they are the barbarians and we are the innocent lambs), whether or not they slowly breathe out their poor enemy lives, hideously wounded, it is all the same; I am a hero any way. And if finally I, too, at last get the bullet that I richly deserve, and it puts an end to my beastly behaviour, then I shall have been loyal unto death; then men will honour me as a hero, if they don't forget me among the thousands of other heroes; and they will bury the hero's body out there, if there is time enough, or if they can find it—otherwise the scent of the dead hero's body must help them to find the former hero. But the main point is, God will at once raise him to the seventh heaven, the hero, the murderer. No, I can't really take that in; I am either too stupid or too clever for that. Murderer! For against war the commandment "Thou shalt not kill" does not count, so long as our nation and other people's nations get material advantages from it. It is indeed explained that it is not a question of material advantages, but that war is based on the idealism of the peoples, that this is the fact once for all, that unluckily it is not possible to alter it at all. So from the moment that anyone says that there is war, I kill my friend, my fellow-man, with whom under normal circumstances an unbreakable tie binds me. So he is to be a hero, this murderer. How can one man look another in the face after? No, if this bestial business is not attacked with the utmost energy, then I give up all hope in men's desire to advance in civilisation; then I do not desire to live any longer; then I would rather have less intelligence, so that my soul may not any longer have any consciousness of itself; then I

will kill myself so that I may not see—may not be forced to see—this world any more. Murderer, suicide, hero!

II.

I will make use of the short time for rest to report to you. About ten days ago we left our quarters, and were packed off to the railway station. One day and night passed, then the train came to a final stop. Getting out at the station we were greeted by shrapnel. After a march of several hours we took our stand in a wood, our headquarters being a small town, which was daily under fire from the enemy. Right away on the first day two were wounded; one of them died. Then we took up our position; work was carried on day and night, changing off in shifts. The way to our position was partly among trees and partly across open fields. Grenades annoyed us very much; the nearer we got to our position the more grenades there were. We went forward crouching, and making no noise. It is night; fireballs flare up, lighting the surroundings for a moment with a dazzling glare; grenades explode with a regular crash; it sounds like breaking wood, only a thousand times louder, with a metallic clang. You hear the steel break into a thousand bits. Now and then a foot soldier is asked: "How far is the enemy from here?" Answer, "200 metres." You go further, and ask again; "50 metres"; still nothing stirs. Five metres; all is quiet. I look through loophole; close in front of it are lying dozens of corpses, and parts of what were once men. No one can bring them in; often they lie in the line of fire, a single step away, just as they came out of the trench for a charge. At one place Germans and French lay all together by a half-shot-away trench, with heads or legs hanging into the ditch. The fighting made it impossible to clear them away; they had been lying there for days already. Now at least we have been able to get them away, but the ones that are lying in front of the trench are decomposing more and more, and are more and more torn to pieces by the grenades. There lies one; I push him, for I don't know whether he is asleep or dead. The dead and living often lie peacefully side by side, waiting for release or to be carried to the cemetery. Hand grenades are flung, bombshells fired, work is carried on in the mines.

I go back to quarters. Everything is repeated as it was when I left. Now and then a grenade goes off, behind or before us, but there comes over one a sense of relief; atrocity lies behind one for one day.

Recently we buried a comrade, almost all of whose head had been torn away by artillery shot, so that only a little of it was to be seen. I never was at a burial where I felt so cold, so without feeling, so indifferent. It is as though I despised something; perhaps myself and all fellow-men, or life, or all ideals. Who can take the responsibility for this war? Why are men told to be good? What is good? No, anything like this must never happen again; such a war must be crushed in the embryo. Here you have a picture of a little bit of the European war; but it is not yet at an end, but goes on with greater force. Indeed, it has the greatness, the disagreeable character, of a siege; it has gradually become a guerilla war, and can go on for years yet if the *right personality does not appear and make an end to the thing*. This time of human, of animal, baseness needs only the right spirit, who, through a highly developed sense of responsibility, could put an end to this horrible, indecent business. Unfortunately, we have no one in Europe who possesses the capacity, and therefore the European people in the course of time will just have to make peace for itself, for it cannot go on so.

These letters have been sent by the young soldier's fiancée with the following letter:—

"I lived in Austria-Hungary till I was seventeen; I have been here in Holland, my parents' home, only for a few years. When the war broke out, the letters of my young friends brought a perfect storm of enthusiasm for the action of the fatherland. This was unintelligible to me; here from Holland it all looked quite different to me. Could it be that there they did not see the madness of this war of the peoples? Did not the women see it either, or was it only impossible for them to express themselves freely?"

"When I heard of the idea of wanting to hold an international congress of women here in Holland, great happiness came to me. I followed the acceptances as they came in from the different countries with the greatest eagerness. Yes, women have at least one advantage over men, in that they cannot be compelled to that patriotism that commands killing; that they are not obliged to take part in this crime of hate and enmity between the peoples. If only they would all realise this one

freedom of theirs which is now so significant, and say to themselves: 'It is now our task to uphold the common ideals which unite the peoples, the ideals of a noble humanity, to protect them from going under, to fight for their life.' I know that these ideals are still alive in many a soldier. In the trenches there is other pain than that caused by bodily wounds. What must be suffered by a proud and yet humble spirit, conscious of himself, when he is forced into such carnage, and sees all his moral powers paralysed?

"So you see that I come in this young man's name also to express my gladness and my gratitude to you; and how many others would like to do the same if they only could! But those women who feel that they have in them even a glimmer of a higher human self must not keep silence; they must not agree that in our time, in which Christianity has set its seal through centuries of influence, the only true patriotism is the patriotism that commands their sons and brothers and husbands to kill, and which makes brutes of them in the literal sense of the word. No, they must raise their voices for a nobler love of country if they do not want to be accomplices in a hideous crime.

"If only I could help in the work! What I can do through letters and sending pamphlets is so little. And yet it is so bitterly necessary that women should rouse themselves, and be conscious of the duty that now lies on them."

FRANCE.

A RECENT BROCHURE BY M. FERDINAND BUISSON.

We think the readers of *Jus Suffragii* will be interested in the following extracts from a new pamphlet by Mr. Ferdinand Buisson, "France and the School During and After the War." This pamphlet contains a lecture given at Paris to the League of Education by Mr. Ferdinand Buisson, a former member of Parliament and president of the League of the Rights of Man.

Mr. Buisson's high moral worth is sufficiently recognised even by his political adversaries, and the importance of his opinions is too great to make it necessary for us to say more.

MADAME DE SCHLÜMBERGER.

"It is not by words that the French woman has paid her debt to her country. It is not even by the admirable spirit of devotion which is innate in her. What the war of 1914 has brought to light in our French women is a capacity for organisation, for administration, for discipline, for direction, at the same time elastic and methodical, bold and prudent, generous and thoughtful, which we never suspected them of. If you wish to have an idea of it, read the fine pages of the *Pedagogic Review*, where a good judge, the Director of Primary Education, gives a résumé and description of the patriotic activity of French teachers.

"It has been said without exaggeration that the general mobilisation of women has been worth that of the men, and it was more unforeseen. They have enrolled themselves in the Army of Relief—relief of innumerable kinds—and also in the Army of Work, where they have been seen in the fields and in the towns bravely replacing men, even in hard tasks, in order to save the family's bread. And everywhere they have shown the same spirit of union, the same spirit of order, the same stoic and smiling perseverance. From the post where the shells rain down, to the infectious bedside where they touch hands with death; from the ambulance to the workroom; from the most perilous missions to the most obscure work—everywhere has the French woman been responsible for the most decisive answer to those who thought our education decadent.

"It is thanks to you, women, that feminism has gained in France during the last few months. I do not know whether our legislators are preparing at last to give you—as in America—the right of vote, which is wrongly called universal; but I know well that not one of them now is ignorant of the fact that you are capable of using it. You have behaved as citizenesses without waiting for it."

Moral Teaching in Schools in America.

A Bill is now before the New York Legislature to enforce the teaching of moral hygiene in the schools, and to include in the qualifications of teachers training in moral hygiene. It is being promoted by Mrs. Sarah Lyons and other social workers, and opposed by the State Department of Education on the ground that "the teachers are not prepared to teach morals." The suggested training is in simple ethics, truthfulness, chastity, and courtesy, which should not be beyond the teacher's competence, and which are certainly important in the training of the child.

GREAT BRITAIN.

N. U. W. S. S. COUNCIL MEETING.

The N. U. W. S. S. held a special Council meeting on June 17th and 18th in Birmingham, which was largely attended by delegates from societies in the Union. This Council was called for the purpose of determining whether the Executive Committee had rightly interpreted the wishes of the Union when they decided not to send delegates to the Women's International Congress at The Hague, and also to deal with other questions on which divergence of opinion had been found to exist, especially in regard to the resolution passed at the annual Council in February, calling upon members and societies "to take every means open to them for promoting mutual understanding and goodwill between nations for resisting any tendency towards a spirit of hatred and revenge."

The following resolutions were passed with large majorities:

"That this Council considers that the N. U. W. S. S. Executive Committee has in its action correctly carried out the resolutions of the annual Council Meeting."

"Seeing that the difficulty of interpreting the resolution passed at the last Council has proved conclusively that there is no unanimity in the National Union as to the best means of promoting at this time the cause of international goodwill and future peace, this Council agrees that political propaganda directed to those objects cannot be undertaken by the National Union, and that Resolution B. 3 passed at the last Council must not be interpreted as involving political propaganda, individual members being free to work through other organisations in any way they think fit."

Resolutions were also passed expressing gratitude to Mrs. Fawcett for her splendid services to the Union, and the best thanks of the Union to Miss Courtney, Miss Catherine Marshall, and the ten members who had resigned from the Executive Committee, for their faithful services, coupled with an expression of regret at their resignation.

A message of congratulation to the women of Denmark was sent from the Special Council to the Danish Women's Suffrage organisations on their victory for equal Suffrage with men. Mrs. Oliver Strachey was elected as hon. Parliamentary secretary to the Union, and the following members were chosen to fill the vacancies created by the resignations in April: Miss E. F. Rathbone, Miss Frances Sterling, Mrs. Alys Russell, Miss O'Malley, Mrs. Stocks, Miss F. de G. Merrifield, Miss Helen Fraser, Mrs. Coombe Tennant, Miss B. A. Clough, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, and Dr. Florence Willey.

PROPOSED CONFERENCE AFTER THE WAR.

A letter from Mrs. Chapman Catt, President of the International Women's Suffrage Alliance, dated April 21st, has been received, containing a proposal from Sweden that the I. W. S. A. should call a Congress after the war in the same city which is selected for the Congress of the Powers for the resettlement of Europe. Its object would be to place before the plenipotentiaries taking part in the European Congress the claims of women to a share in the government of their respective countries, and the reasons for believing that the enfranchisement of women would strengthen the foundations of a permanent peace.

This proposed Congress differs from any the I. W. S. A. has ever yet held, in that it contemplates inviting the co-operation of other internationally organised women's societies which have adopted the principle of Women's Suffrage. All countries taking part in this Conference will have equal representation.

The Executive Committee of the National Union gave a unanimous vote in favour of this proposal, and it has already been discussed and approved by the Headquarters Committee of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance. If the assent of the countries represented on the I. W. S. A. is given to the holding of such a Congress, it may be hoped that the similarity of its object to that set forth in the resolution passed at the Women's International Congress at The Hague on April 28th, "to ensure the holding of an international meeting of women in the same place and at the same time as the official conference for the purpose of making practical proposals to that conference," will afford a common ground for united action on the part of all Women Suffragists when the war is over.

WOMEN'S MILITARY HOSPITALS.

The kind appreciation expressed by the military authorities in France and Serbia of the work done by the N. U. W. S. S. Scottish women's hospitals has greatly cheered and encouraged all who are working for their maintenance. Général de Torcy, after inspecting the units at Troyes, was delighted at the efficiency of the unit, which he said "was better even than I

had hoped"; and the people of Troyes were overjoyed when they heard that the unit was sent to the help of their "own dear men."

The French soldiers at Royaumont have a pretty way of expressing their gratitude, not only to the women doctors and nurses, but to the women chauffeurs. One soldier tells us that Royaumont "est un Paradis," and the chauffeurs "les bons anges qui nous amènent en Paradis."

Dr. Elsie Inglis is now at Mandovatz with the first Serbian unit. Dr. MacPhail has contracted typhus fever, but the last news was to the effect that she was going on well. Dr. Davidson has gone to take her place.

The second Serbian unit is stationed at Valejevo. The Austrians in their retreat left 2,500 dying men there, and of the twelve Serbian doctors who went to their relief six have died. It is in this famine and disease stricken district that our Serbian unit will take up its work. When it was detained in Malta to nurse our own soliders it earned high praise from Lord Methuen, the Governor. He wrote to say that he was powerless "to express his gratitude sufficiently for the help given. They leave here blessed by myself, surgeons, nurses, and patients alike, for they have proved themselves most capable and untiring workers."

Yet another testimony to the value of women doctors was given at Kraguevatz at the funeral of Dr. Elizabeth Ross, who died there of typhus.

An address was read from the steps of the Cathedral, from which the following extract is taken. "I would express," said the speaker, "Serbia's deep gratitude to this noble soul, who came from afar armed with science to lessen Serbia's pains and Serbia's sufferings, and who—one English victim more—fell as a warrior herself in helping these wounded and sick warrior peasants. Miss Elizabeth Ross, you came to serve this land in whose ground you are now buried; you served it well; you fulfilled to the end your duties as a Christian, as a British woman, and as a woman of science. My country thanks you for it. Your memory will live ever in the Serbian heart, and your noble example of self-denial will highly increase our love and admiration for your British motherland, for your British womankind, for the civilisation of the great British nation."

Although in this particular instance honour was paid to a British woman, it must not be forgotten that the honour is shared in some measure by all women who are striving in various ways, however humble, to mitigate the horrors of this war. The London Society for Women's Suffrage has up to the present raised over £5,000 for the Scottish Women's Hospitals in France and Serbia. The total sum subscribed was on June 26th over £37,000, and the N. U. W. S. S. is proud to be able to maintain more than 1,000 hospital beds in France and Serbia. The names of nurses have been mentioned in Sir John French's despatches from the Front, and the decoration of the Royal Red Cross has been conferred on a number of nurses belonging to the various military nursing services at home and abroad. No women doctors have, however, been similarly honoured.

"WAR BABIES."

If any doubts existed as to the truth or otherwise of the rumours current about the enormous increase in the illegitimate births under the present conditions, these doubts have been finally set at rest by the findings of a special sub-committee set up to investigate the reckless charges made of immoral conduct of women and soldiers.

This sub-committee was formed of leading women belonging to a number of organisations engaged in promoting the moral and physical welfare of women and girls. Inquiries were made by them in sixty-two principal towns in England, Wales, and Scotland, and various authorities were consulted. Among these were doctors, midwives, Poor Law guardians, rescue workers, social workers, police court missionaries, and societies having special knowledge of the lives and conditions of women and girls.

The result of this inquiry has proved that the charges made were either enormously exaggerated or absolutely untrue. "Place after place reports," says the sub-committee, "nothing abnormal," "no increase (in illegitimate births) expected," or "no appreciable increase."

The sub-committee recognise that in these times of stress and strain our first duty must be to promote a spirit of self-control and a calm, courageous temper in our young girls, and to redouble our efforts to provide a wholesome outlet for their natural excitement and patriotic zeal. This is now being done in a great variety of ways, and the results are most encouraging.

E. P.

NOTES FROM NEW ZEALAND.

FROM A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.

That the Prohibition and Temperance party should have suffered reverses at the last election seems to be the natural result of this wave of militarism, upon which thought inevitably centres. The relationship of war to the drink traffic was expressed baldly by the head of a deputation in favour of wet canteens in the camps. Addressing the Minister for Defence (the Hon. J. Allen), Mr. Menteth said: "It was the man who sometimes indulged in dissipation who made the best soldier." Camp environment and conditions should cause women special concern at a moment when criticism is curtailed. For the last war regulations command that "No person shall by word of mouth, or in writing, or any newspaper, periodical, book, circular, or other printed publication, spread false reports, . . . or reports or statements likely to cause disaffection to His Majesty or interfere with the success of His Majesty's Forces by land or sea, . . . or spread reports or make statements likely to prejudice recruiting, training, discipline, or administration of any of His Majesty's Forces." This may well cover all comment of an adverse nature upon the conduct of camps and the peace propaganda of Quakerism, amongst other things.

I expected to find that the outbreak of war would have popularised our form of conscription, but this has not been the case. Some fifty boys were under prosecution [for "failure to render military service" and kindred offences under the Defence Act] in Christchurch a few days before I arrived. The deprivation of civil rights was still being inflicted. I regard this as a barbarous penalty and one which is a standing menace to woman's vote, since it makes military service the prime qualification for citizenship. That it is on our statute books should continually remind us that militarism, whether German or not, spares nothing to obtain its ends.

The Society for Protection of Women and Children has done useful work for those under its charge in the accompanying statement issued by it:—"The committee of the Society wish to protest against the statement made by the Hon. J. Allen that the Government will not compel the members of the Expeditionary Force to make provision for their wives and children. The committee wish to draw the attention of the Minister to the action of the Canadian Government in refusing to accept men without the consent of their wives, and the proclamation of the Australian Government compelling volunteers to make provision for the wives, children, or illegitimate children before enlisting. The committee hope that the New Zealand Government will take means to protect the women and children of New Zealand."

The "Workers' Educational" activities have just been started in New Zealand by Mr. Meredith Atkinson, who assisted, I believe, the Suffrage work in England some while ago. The classes will, we trust, make us more independent in thought and clear in reason, and less servile followers of the leadership of the Press, which is, I think, a Colonial peril. From the local papers, full of rancour and "atrocities," it was refreshing to turn to *Jus Suffragii*. It has the spirit of that injunction of Abraham Lincoln's:

"With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on." E. V. H.

SOUTH AFRICA.

Three new Leagues have been formed during the last month—at Cradock, Somerset East, and Aberdeen, all in the Cape Province. The "spade work" done by these small Leagues in country towns is invaluable, especially because they are in contact with the women of the farming community, who are otherwise very difficult to reach.

There has recently been a widespread public agitation for the commutation of the sentence of death passed on a young European girl for infanticide under particularly painful circumstances. Our Leagues have organised public meetings and circulated petitions; and when the sentence was commuted to two years' penal servitude the Women's Enfranchisement Association of the Union (the national organisation), in common with other women's societies, sent a request for its reduction. It is hoped that the prisoner will be released when she has served some portion of her sentence.

Most of our Leagues are still devoting their energies to some form of relief work. The need for their efforts has been increased by (1) the recent anti-German riots in all the large towns of the Union, which have resulted, among other things,

in throwing many British subjects out of work; (2) the return of the members of the Southern and Central Forces of the Union from German South-west Africa. There is a general expectation that an Expeditionary Force will be recruited in due course, and a general unwillingness to settle down to regular employment until the Government has made some announcement. Many of the men have returned to find their farms or their "billets" waiting for them, but those who were cut of work on the outbreak of war are in difficulties. The hardships fall heavily on the wives, who are, of course, no longer in receipt of allowances from the Governor General's Fund, or of allotments from the men's military pay. Many women are realising in these days the falsity of the belief that war is not a woman's business.

M. K. C. MACINTOSH,
Editor, *The Woman's Outlook*.

RUSSIA.

THE ADMISSION OF WOMEN TO THE UNIVERSITIES.

In a previous issue it was reported that women students were to be admitted on equal terms with men to Russian universities. In the current number of *The Women's Messenger* it is explained that there are certain restrictions with regard to such admissions. In the principal university towns of Russia there exist separate so-called "higher courses" for women, which correspond to the university courses open to men alone. These higher courses were first instituted owing to the fact that the close association of men and women during their university training produced, in the opinion of the authorities, "enhanced political agitation and discontent among the student population." After the universities had thus become closed to women, "higher courses" were gradually established in Petrograd, Moscow, and some, but not all, other university towns. The new legislation as to the admittance of women to universities is apparently to apply only to universities like those of Saratov and Kazan, where no higher courses exist, and the number of female students is to be limited to the vacancies which remain after all suitable male applicants have been admitted. Only duly qualified women belonging to either the Christian or Mohammedan faith are to be admitted. This is a safeguard against the admission of Jewesses, since only 2 per cent. of the students at any Russian university may be Jews, and the restricted vacancies under this provision are always fully occupied by Jewish men. The explanation given as to why women are not to be admitted to the universities of those towns which possess higher courses is that "such a permission would probably result in a desertion of these courses by the women students." "It therefore comes to this," says the editor of *The Women's Messenger*, "that the courses do not exist for the benefit of the students, but the students for the benefit of the courses, which would otherwise be exposed to pecuniary losses. The courses were first established because the university was closed to women, and now the university is to be closed to women because it would interfere with the continued existence of the courses."

ACTIVITIES ON BEHALF OF SOLDIERS' WIVES.

As mentioned previously, the wives of reservists receive—in addition to the scanty Government allowance—a certain measure of support from the city or county district authorities, which takes the form of a money allowance, or else help in the form of rent, clothing, cheap or gratuitous dinners, crèches for small children, or the provision of employment for the women. In Petrograd and in other towns special labour exchanges have been established for this purpose. Sewing is also given out to women in connection with these organisations. The necessary material is provided by the Red Cross and other official organisations. Whilst most of the work is given out, a certain number of workrooms have also been established where a certain number of women are employed. Day nurseries are run in connection with these workrooms. A weaving school was opened for the benefit of reservists' wives and dependants at Samara. During the period of training the women are paid 25 kopecks (6d.) a day. The training occupies on an average two to three weeks. After that the work is paid for at the rate of 3 kopecks the arshin (28in.). The daily average of production is from 20 to 30 arshins a day, amounting to from 60 to 90 kopecks. There is a large demand for the material produced in the school, as it is found to be of excellent quality. A school where machine knitting is taught is shortly to be opened.

A wealthy house-owner in Odessa has placed gratuitous accommodation at the disposal of the local body of the Red Cross Society, where large central workrooms have been estab-

lished, which work in connection with thirteen smaller establishments in other parts of the town. In some of these the workers receive dinner and tea free.

WOMEN AND THE WAR.

The Emperor of Russia, on the occasion of his visit to the military hospital at Odessa, had his attention drawn to a woman patient who was wounded when serving as a soldier at the front. The Emperor asked her when and how she was wounded, and bestowed on her a mark of distinction.

A Sister of Mercy, Ksenia Bondaranko, received the St. George Cross of the 4th Class for saving a captain who was seriously wounded. She carried him under fire from the trenches to the ambulance station—a distance of about 1½ mile.

St. George medals have been granted to a woman doctor, Mme. Amelung, and the nurses, Baldina, Guernet, Kolokolzera, Laridnova, Mazievskain, Silantieva, Freitag, and Engelhardt, also to the wife of the writer Kuprin for her services to the wounded and for the organising of a hospital.

Three women were discovered among the soldiers of one of the infantry regiments: Rodionova, a daughter of a gold-digger; Bikova, daughter of a Government official; and Latkova, a worker from Petrograd. All of these entered their regiment as volunteers, went through the shooting course and drill practice, and took part in several battles. The authorities are sending them home.

The airwoman, Maria Kurnieva, received the Cross of St. George for some daring reconnoitring work over the Austrian positions at Osowetz. Owing to the information supplied by her, Russian guns in that fortress were able to silence successfully the enemy's siege guns.

Since the beginning of the war seventeen girl soldiers were discovered among a scout detachment of a Cossack regiment. Eight of them were killed, and many were wounded. Two of them, Kokortzeva and Lagereva, were promoted to corporal's rank. The following story is related in the *Kieslianin* about Lagereva, who is apparently a slight young girl of not quite eighteen. During the encounters around Suwalki, a scout detachment of four Cossacks, under her command, were surrounded and taken prisoners by a superior enemy's force. Whilst they were being searched, Lagereva concluded from some exclamations in German (which she understood) that the captors had discovered that she was a woman. A subsequent visit of several officers to the place into which the captives were locked confirmed her in her suspicion that danger of a special kind was threatening her. During the night, however, the prisoners contrived to break the window, through which they made good their escape, Lagereva herself killing the sentry. They even succeeded in recapturing their own horses. On their way back they were joined by three other escaping prisoners, and they succeeded in capturing between them a detachment of eighteen Uhlans. When the German "Oberlieutenant" discovered by whom he and his men were taken prisoners he tore his hair in rage, and exclaimed in despair: "To whom did I surrender myself?" Very important papers and plans were found on his person. Lagereva succeeded in safely leading back her own detachment and their prisoners, and delivered her report to her commander. "Private Lager" was upon this promoted to be a corporal in the 1st Regiment of the Don Cossacks. Lagereva received the St. George Cross of the 4th Class for blowing up a bridge over the Niemen during a transit of the German troops, having been fortunate enough to find the fuse attached to a charge which the Germans themselves had placed under the bridge.

The second Russian National Municipal Congress passed the following resolution: "This Congress considers it a matter of duty and justice to record with deep gratitude the work of Russian women in all the organisations and branches of the municipal activities in the Russian Empire. Their assistance has in a considerable degree been responsible for the great success which the Association has been able to achieve in the responsible work falling within its province."

From *The Women's Messenger* (May-June).

SWEDEN.

For the Suffrage women of Sweden, as well as of all other countries, this month has been glorified by the victory of our Danish sisters. Our feeling as Scandinavians makes the victory still more dear to us.

To celebrate the event, the Swedish N.W.S.A. arranged a festivity on the 5th of June, on which occasion we had the pleasure of seeing as our honoured guests not only some Danish women, but also The Hague delegation. The President of the N.W.S.A., Miss Signe Bergman, opened the meeting with

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S CONGRESS AT THE HAGUE.

ENVOYS TO THE GOVERNMENTS.

One of the most remarkable missions ever undertaken by women is that of the delegates sent by the Women's Congress to present its resolutions to the Governments of Europe.

Miss Jane Addams, of the United States (president of the Congress), and Dr. Aletta Jacobs, of Holland (chairman of the Arrangements Committee), both belonging to neutral nations, were deputed to visit the belligerent States. Miss Rosika Schwimmer (of Hungary), Miss Chrystal Macmillan (of Great Britain), Mrs. Ramondt (of the Netherlands), and Miss Balch (of the United States), visited the Scandinavian countries, and were received by the Ministers, and in Norway by the King; Miss Macmillan, Mrs. Ramondt, and Miss Balch then went to Petrograd.

So far no account has been received from the envoys to the northern countries, but we hope to receive a full account for the August number. Miss Addams and Dr. Jacobs were accompanied by Miss Alice Hamilton and Mrs. van Wulften Palthe.

Miss Jane Addams and Dr. Aletta Jacobs returned to London on June 18th, having—as agreed by the Congress at The Hague—presented the resolutions adopted there to the representatives of the Governments of Great Britain, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Italy, France, and Belgium, to his Holiness the Pope, and to the President of the Swiss Republic. They were received everywhere with the greatest courtesy and consideration, and in each instance saw the Foreign Minister, and in most cases the Prime Minister as well. In Berlin they were received by Herr von Jagow and the Chancellor (Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg), who accepted their mission as being a suitable one on the part of women. In every case Ministers expressed their approval that women should have taken up the part of peacemakers. They agreed it was impossible for men to undertake a similar errand, as, being combatants, their efforts for peace made them open to the charge of cowardice, which could not be brought against women. In Vienna they were received by Count Sturgkh and Baron Burian, and in Budapest by Count Tisza. In Berlin, Miss Addams was invited to speak on the social and philanthropic work of Hull House, Chicago, at the Lyceum Club, and also at Miss Salomon's school for social workers. She was asked many questions as to the Congress, but was not invited to speak on the Congress in Berlin, where they had already had several visitors from the Congress. In Vienna there was a good meeting in the Women's Club to hear about the Congress, and Miss Addams was received by many notable Women Suffragists. In Budapest there was a large public meeting, at which Miss Vilma Glücklich presided, and which was heartily supported by the Feminist Society. In Hungary alone was the Congress supported by the Suffrage Societies. At Budapest there was also a dinner at which many Members of Parliament were present, and great prominence was given in the Press to Miss Addams' mission. There was greater freedom of speech in Hungary than in the other countries concerned, and a greater support given to the Women's Congress. The Hungarians gave Miss Addams introductions which enabled her later to obtain an audience with his Holiness the Pope. From Budapest, Miss Addams and Dr. Jacobs and their party proceeded to Berne, where they were received by Mr. Motta (the President of the Republic) and by Mr. Hofmann (Secretary for Foreign Affairs). From Switzerland they went to Italy, where they were received by Signor Salandra and Signor Sonnino. Although Italy had only just entered the war, and the prospects of negotiation were not immediate, Miss Addams pointed out that though they might not be willing to negotiate to-day, the negotiations must come at some time, and that it was therefore well to consider the women's proposals. In Rome they also saw Cardinal Gaspari, Papal Secretary of State, who deplored the injury to religion caused by the present unhappy war, and said that the Vatican was ready to take part in negotiations even if the prospects of success were uncertain. They then had half-an-hour's interview with the Pope, who expressed himself in kind and encouraging words, and approved of the women approaching the Governments. In Paris they were received by M. Viviani (the Prime Minister), M. Delcassé (Minister of Foreign Affairs), and in Havre by M. D'Avignon (Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs). They did not in any case attempt to be received at any of the Courts. In each case the point they urged was that negotiations should be opened at once, as they would have to be opened

some words on the proud event that we were going to celebrate. Then Dr. Lydia Waldström made a very interesting speech on the subject, "Why Sweden Has Stayed Behind," in which she set forth that countries such as England and Sweden, governed for so long on democratic principles, are always more slow in carrying through reforms, while a country such as Denmark, where democratic rule has been established at a comparatively late time, does not hesitate to go to the whole length as to reforms. The next speaker was Mrs. Karin Holmgren. She spoke of "Our Aim," and ended with a hearty congratulation to the Danish women, followed by four Swedish "Hurrahs!" At supper, speeches were held for the Danish guests and for The Hague delegation; the latter was answered by Miss Chrystal Macmillan.

The other event of the month has been the visit of The Hague delegation on their way from Denmark and Norway to Russia, in order to wait upon the Governments of the northern countries, as was decided at the Congress at The Hague. On the 2nd of June, the delegation—Miss Rosika Schwimmer, Miss Chrystal Macmillan, Mrs. Ramondt, and Professor Emily Balch—waited upon the Swedish Minister of Foreign Affairs, who gave them an audience of about an hour. The impression of this audience, as well as of those in Copenhagen and Christiania, seems to have been very good. On the same day the delegation was invited to dinner at a country house near Stockholm. On the following day a meeting was held at the Grand Hotel, well known to many from the Congress in Stockholm, where Miss Macmillan, Mrs. Ramondt, and Miss Schwimmer made speeches which made a deep impression on all present, and were greeted by hearty applause. After the meeting the Swedish Hague Committee had arranged a collation for their foreign guests, on which occasion they also had the pleasure of seeing as their guest Dr. Selma Lagerlöf.

On Friday a dinner was given at Skausen, where the King's Custodian of Antiquities, Professor Oskar Montelius, made a speech, in which he alluded to an armory congress of last summer, when he had expressed a hope that in two thousand years weapons of war should be found only in the museums—a hope that all present seemed to consider as Utopian. Miss Schwimmer thanked him for his kind speech, and expressed her conviction that the weapons would belong to the museums in a time much nearer to our own, for which aim the women of the world should work with all their might.

When on Monday, the 7th, we followed the delegation to the station on their way up to the North of Sweden, through Finland to Petrograd, we all of us felt a breath of the war—a breath of that heroism shown by so many women in these days, and in our hearts we wished them God-speed on their noble mission.

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On the 19th and 20th of June a large Suffrage summer meeting will be held in Huskoarna, arranged by the local Suffrage Society. There will be no fewer than three open-air meetings—one in Huskoarna, one at Visingö (a beautiful island in the Lake Vettern), and one in Yonköping (a town near Huskoarna). At Visingö, Ellen Key will speak on the subject, "Women's Will and Women's Power"; and Mrs. Anna Wickzell on the subject, "How to Secure a Permanent Peace."

Further details of this meeting will be sent in for the next number of *Jus Suffragii*.

EZALINE BOHEMAN.

Stockholm, June, 1915.

International Women's Relief Committee.

The work of this Committee has been confined for the past three months to the work of repatriation. Fortnightly parties have been sent to Germany in charge of an American lady. These have included many children who otherwise had no one to look after them, many young servants, and some old and helpless women. There have also been many mothers with families of children. All these people were very grateful for the help given them in making arrangements. Efforts are now being made in co-operation with other societies who are also helping alien women, such as the Emergency Committee of the Society of Friends and the Friends of Foreigners in Distress, to further improve the conditions of travel, and provide comfort and convenience for those leaving the country.

In return for the work done in repatriating German girls, the German Government has allowed English women and children to be collected in Belgium by the American Ladies acting for the Committee, and about 200 have been brought out, including many from the war zone.

some time, and they presented the memorandum on the subject of continuous mediation, which was generally favourably received. The attitude of the belligerents was that they could not themselves open negotiations, that the initiative should be taken by neutrals, and that if proposals were made by the neutrals the belligerents could not refuse to consider them. Miss Addams' impression was that in every country there was a civil and a military party, who were united as to defence, but who would differ as to the terms of peace, and that the longer the war continued the harder it became for the civil party, and the more the military power encroached on the civil. In every country they visited they were urged to beg for the removal of the censorship, but they did not feel that that was part of their function. It was impossible for them to judge of the strength of the civil and military parties, as the Press in each country was silent as to one side.

In every country they met the Presidents of the Women's Societies, who sometimes condemned the members of their organisations taking part in The Hague Congress; but in view of the fact of each Government receiving emissaries from the Congress, it was not possible to condemn women as individuals for taking part in it. In every country they found that one set of people looked upon the war from the national point of view, and desired an equivalent in gain for the losses in blood; but there were others who looked at it from the human point of view, and the point of view of the welfare of Europe. Those whose great interests were in commerce, in literature, and in science, took a different view from those party politicians who were elected merely from the national standpoint. In every country many pacifists had been swamped by the national war spirit; in every country they heard the same phrases about national ideals and self-defence and devotion to the fatherland. One Minister whom they interviewed told them their interview was the sanest thing that had happened to him since the outbreak of the war. Another Minister discussed the details of the plans for continuous mediation, and suggested that the neutral mediating body should consist of two delegates from neutrals and one from belligerent countries, with no power to bind their nation.

Everywhere they met the feeling of horror and bitter regret at the destruction of civilisation and the suffering inflicted on mankind. Everywhere, both among soldiers and civilians, they found the feeling that the world must be secured against the repetition of such a tragedy. The outstanding result of this momentous experience seemed to be that just as nationalism had superseded warfare and competition of clans and cities, so internationalism must supersede or supplement nationalism.

Miss Addams sailed for America on June 26th to present the resolutions to President Wilson.

On June 27th Swedish women held meetings in 300 places urging peace and mediation by neutrals, and supporting the Women's International Congress at The Hague. Everywhere the belief was expressed that women's growing influence is the new hope of establishing lasting peace. Everywhere the meetings were crowded and enthusiastic.

Manifesto of French Women Addressed to The Hague Congress.

We deeply regret not being able to be present at your Congress. We wish to thank you for your brave initiative, and to give you our sympathy. We also wish to say why we French women would have wished France to be represented at the Congress.

From the Beginning of the War Women Have Wished to Make Their Protest Heard.

At the beginning French women and others no doubt wished to have a feminist protest organised in London. Nothing happened. No cry of pity was raised against the massacres of August and September. Women, like men, were silent, and bowed beneath the brutality of facts. But can passivity become a duty? The silence of feminists must not appear a denial.

Women Wish for Peace for the Freeing of Humanity.

Women are grouped to claim their rights, but they are inspired also by a more disinterested motive. The fundamental motive of feminism is the wish by preventing war to create a better and juster humanity.

Women Bring Fresh Arms Against War; They Are Not Dazzled by the Fighting Call.

They understand that they alone can blot out this horror of horrors. Let them not be accused of puerile pride. They are

strong against war because, considering it from the outside, they are not carried away by the intoxicating and passionate joy of action, and they do not risk being enamoured of war. The gospel of the strong, which exalts brutal and material force, is represented by some as a manly law which rejects pity and right as feminine weakness. Feminists, who are sometimes reproached with imitating men, repudiate this virile tradition with all their strength. They wish to remain women, and they know that their ideas as women will triumph.

Mothers Hate War.

"Let women rear their children and not interfere with men's affairs." It is precisely as mothers that women are the enemies of war. Their whole being is opposed to the taking of their children for massacre. There is there a universal force—an international principle which goes beyond frontiers. Women defended these ideas before the war. The terrible hours that we now live through have made the necessity more pressing.

Women Must Speak Instead of Men, Who Feel Themselves Forced to Keep Silence.

We are told: "Men are killing each other. Is it not an absurdity to talk of universal brotherhood?" But in none of the belligerent countries are women admitted to political life. They are not responsible for the war. They did not co-operate in it. Is it not their duty to say what men cannot say? But women know that their sufferings are the same everywhere, and that the million dead, three million wounded and prisoners reckoned at the beginning of March, are wept with the same inconsolable tears by the women in all countries. Some wish to restrict women to nursing, but even there they are united by the same suffering and pity. It is easy to understand in the hospitals how it is not only in the economic domain that war is "the Great Illusion." For all those who dress wounds so stupidly made there is no collective hatred of men. Before the same suffering all are members of the same human family. The more brutal force insults reason and justice, the more we must maintain that we submit to it as a cruel necessity, but that we hate it; the more need there is for words of peace and brotherhood.

Women, in Meeting During the War, Preserve International Fraternity in Spite of Everything.

This fraternity is the truth which is to be proclaimed by your Congress. It proclaims it and realises it. It permits the members representing belligerent countries to meet and to prove that the separation is not complete or final.

Women Must Adhere to Ideas from which a Just Peace will be Born.

Peace will come, but some wish to prolong the hatred. We wish for a sincere peace, and it is women who must give the example of universal forgiveness in spite of—even because of—their personal sorrows. We wish for a lasting peace, therefore a peace based on right. Let women oppose the brutal dream of crushing a nation—a dream which eminent men such as Norman Angell and Charles Gide have demonstrated is impossible and dangerous. Women who do not fight have no right to incite others to fight. Let them say that international relations shall be renewed, and that everlasting rancour would renew the martyrdom of those who have died for us.

French Women are Convinced that an Armistice would only Serve to Prolong the War.

(The Congress at The Hague unanimously agreed to abandon the preliminary resolution asking for an armistice. It is therefore unnecessary to print the remark under this heading.—ED.)

Women Must Prepare for Action to Follow the War.

We agree, generally speaking, with all your proposals. The work of reconstruction will surpass what has ever been allotted to humanity. All women must take part in it. We ardently hope that the work proposed and organised by the Congress will continue actively in all countries. We should regret it if there were no French women to contribute to this task. They are sure enough of their national faith to accept a place by the side of the women of other nationalities, whoever they may be, and even to accept discussion. We are at your disposal to help you in France, according to the measure of our abilities.

Women Have a Great Mission to Accomplish. Let Them Not Wait to Execute It.

We have faith in the action that women will exercise, and that future action in this terrible period is our greatest hope. We say with you: "We must speak—we must act." It is too often said: "We must wait; we will take up action after the war." We will put one single question to those who wish us to

remain silent: "We are to keep silent? But till when? Till France and Belgium are Delivered from Invasion?" But if at this moment other countries are invaded, the women of those injured nations could cite our example as a reason for refusing all international collaboration, and the chain of mischief and hatred would continue indefinitely.

Let us beware. It is dangerous to renounce, even for a short time. If it is not always easy to continue, how much more difficult it is to recommence!

SIGNATORIES:

Mme. GABRIELLE DUCHENE (President of the Labour Section of the National Council of French Women, Directress of Relief), Mme. NORRE LAMBELIN, Mme. CLOTILDE MULON, M.D., Mme. JEANNE BEAUDOIN (Trades Union Secretary), Mme. MARCELLE BENOIST, Mmes. JEANNE BOUVIER, STELLA BON, CHARLOTTE BILLARD, JEANNE DASTE, SIZANNE DUCHENE, JEANNE HALBWACHS, THERESE JOUANEST, MARIE-HELENE LATRILHE, MARIE SCHRAPPNER, ELIANE SEPTAVAUZ, ISABELLE TONARELLI, CAMILLE TRAVAILLE, BERTHE AMOURIAUX, MARIE LOUISE ARDAILLON, ELISE AUGET, BASNIER, BAZIN, LOUISE BEAUJAN, ALICE BELIME, ANTOINETTE BOURBON, GERMAINE CUVILLIER, JULIETTE DALIGAULT, YVONNE DEVILLE, LUCIE DOUELLE, HELENE DYROC, BERTHE DUFOUR, BERTHE FOURTICQ, ANNE GERMAIN, MARIE GINGAST, GOURNAY, GREY, ANGELINE HOUBLIAN, JULIETTE LAURENT, LEBLANC, JEANNE MAYER, GERMAINE LECLERC, MARGUERITE MEYER, JEANNE MILLET, FANNY MINGOT, FRANCOISE MONTARON, MOREAU, JEANNE PIERRE, JEANNE RABOT, ADELE RAON, JEANNE RENIER, RENIER, MARIE SALADE, MADELEINE SIGWALT, IRMA SUREL, JEANNE THOMSEN, HELENE VASENER, LYDIE VERGER.

Letter from Austria.

DEAR MADAM,—You invite me as an Austrian to send you my impressions of The Hague Congress. May I begin by saying how deeply I regretted not meeting you there, for I think no one had better right to be present than the Editor of *Jus Suffragii*, which in these trying times of war has upheld the international solidarity of women in such an exemplary way. How gladly we should have thanked you personally, and what joy you would have had in seeing the same solidarity reigning in the Congress!

It is not easy to reproduce the impression of this Congress.

My feeling on returning from The Hague was that of one who, after months of torturing homesickness, has been allowed to spend a few hours at home, and who now returns to a strange land, and, as if roused from a dream, cannot come to himself. In those Congress days one lived in another world—in the world which used to be our quiet old home, the world of peace, a world of peace because here human beings from beyond the frontiers, from beyond the seas, came together and did not train guns at each other, but held out hands of greeting. They looked in one another's eyes not with mistrust and hatred but with kindness; their minds were not bent on injuring and destroying, but on understanding each other. They felt no wild hatred against each other, but a common heavy sorrow, common inexpressible longing and effort. The subject of every speech was indeed war, but never victory or defeat. The object of all thoughts was peace, but not triumph or destruction. I know how difficult it was for many women to be present. We Austrians, like the Germans and Hungarians, had no special difficulties—i.e., our Governments put no obstacles in the way. But we could not help smiling when we heard there was a rumour in England that the Congress was encouraged and influenced by the German Government, whereas the official view, even the view of the official women's movement in Germany and Austria, was that those who attended the Congress showed a lack of patriotism! Nevertheless in Austria there was warm support for the whole affair. The preparatory committee sent out an appeal, and in a few days received a quantity of letters of support and contributions for the Congress.

Three women's societies sent delegates—viz., the "Allgemeine Oesterreichische Frauenverein," which has always represented Radicalism in the Austrian women's movement, the "Neue Wiener Frauenklub," and the Women's Temper-

ance Union. A woman came, too, from the terribly visited country of Galicia, and represented the Poles—that nation which longs so ardently for freedom and independence, and hopes to find it most readily under Austrian protection.

I was glad that such great sympathy was shown by the Congress for Poland and for Belgium—the two countries who have suffered the most,—and that the resolution was adopted "recognising the right of the people to self-government, affirms that there should be no transference of territory without the consent of the men and women residing therein, and a democratic parliament should not be refused to any people." It was altogether a characteristic trait of the meeting that a willing ear was given to every voice from oppressed nations and districts, and that a place was found for the Jews and Finns oppressed by Russia.

In this, too, the fundamental idea of the Congress made itself felt, that we must decide whether we women wish might or right to rule in the world. *The Congress was a protest against the rule of force, a search for the ways of justice and peaceful understanding.* But it was also a magnificent demonstration of the international solidarity of women—a solidarity which remained firm and unshaken during all the discussions, business meetings, and debates. It was not so difficult to keep peace as had been feared. For the women who came together had no need to rein themselves in. They had only to give free play to their feeling, which, besides the quiet consciousness of love and attachment to their own people, was a truly international one. They could say with a clear conscience in their resolution that "this international congress is a proof of women's keen desire to unite the whole of mankind, and that they consider it a joyful duty to do all in their power to re-establish good relations between the nations and to combat the feelings of hatred and revenge." The Congress devoted much work to proposals for securing future lasting peace. Woman Suffrage was of course a chief point, for how can we but think that women's influence in politics would be against war?

But you, Madam, too, must certainly be grieved that so many women, even those in the Suffrage movement, have for the moment so disappointed us, and not only put international feelings in the background, but can also be enthusiastic for the war. You in your paper would no more than I in ours ever give up claiming the vote for women in order that we may defend our ideals, but never give them up or postpone them in order to get the vote sooner or more easily. When we returned from the Congress we had a splendid meeting to report on it.

Frau Rosa Mayreder spoke also. She is author of "Die Kritik der Weiblichkeit," which is so much appreciated in your country, too. Unfortunately family affairs, to her great regret, prevented her taking part in the Congress, but she was in warmest sympathy with it, and said on this occasion:—

"War is the most absolute and extreme expression of the masculine values hostile to women, as it is also the final result of a civilisation based on unlimited competition in force. Where war and the instincts that condition it are celebrated as the highest there is no room left for the ideals of the women's movement. No place is left for women but that they have occupied up till now." She thought the Congress of "immeasurable value for the women's movement, and that its great significance was as giving a direction. It has given the women's movement anew its direction, which it must keep in preference to all the nearer and practical objects, unless it is to lose its birthright—the rank given by high ideals—for a mess of pottage. The idealistic intentions, not the practical results, are also the reason why we felt this Congress as a ray of light in a stormy time, announcing the longed-for harbour."

Oh, if we could only get into the harbour; but the sea of blood seems to lie before us endless, more endless than ever! But still we will not give up hope. We women will each in our own country, each in our humble way, perform our duty of preparing for peace. I think that in the end all history is the work of human beings. And if we succeed in steeping souls in the will for peace, the souls of high and low, of the spiritual leaders and the masses of the people, the impossible would become possible, the wish would become true, and at last peace would come out of this war.

In this hope,

I remain, Yours sincerely,

Vienna.

LEOPOLDINE KULKA,
Editor of *Neues Frauenleben*.

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The Alliance's regular income is derived from:

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Printed by PERCY BROTHERS, LTD., The Hotspur Press, Manchester; and 20, Bucklersbury London