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NOTICE.

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

"JUS SUFFRAGII."

Many subscriptions still remain unpaid, and should be sent in at once.

Will anyone with a spare copy of the October Number of *Jus Suffragii* kindly send it to Headquarters. It is sold out, and many demands are made for it.

Icelandic Women's Victory Delayed.

We regret to announce that the enfranchisement of Icelandic women has been delayed. The Bill had passed both Houses of the Althing (Icelandic Parliament) and required only the sanction of the King of Denmark to make it effective, when a constitutional difference arose between the Althing and the Danish Cabinet.

In response to increasing demands for independence, Iceland had been granted a Parliament of its own in 1874, and later, in 1903, it had acquired the right to a resident Minister appointed by the King. The Icelandic Minister was instructed by the Althing to present the Bills passed by both Houses, including the Women's Suffrage Bill, to the King himself, and not in the presence of the Danish Cabinet. This body, however, maintains that according to the constitution the King can only agree to Icelandic Bills if the Danish Cabinet is present at the Conference between the King and the Icelandic Ministers. Because of this refusal the Icelandic Minister has resigned, and all the Icelandic Bills are hung up pending a Conference of prominent members of different political parties of the Althing which the King has summoned at Copenhagen. It is to be hoped that this unfortunate delay will not affect the ultimate success of the Icelandic Women's Bill.

United States Congress and Votes for Women.

The Rules Committee by a vote of four to three decided to report favourably on Mr. Mondell's resolution, providing time for action upon the Suffrage Amendment in the House of Representatives. The committee allotted six hours for a debate on the Suffrage Amendment. This is the first time for twenty years that the Lower House has voted on the question of enfranchising women. The result is not yet known.

American Suffragists have for years pressed their claim to an amendment of the Federal constitution. The Democratic party in general, and President Wilson in particular, have opposed the granting of Suffrage by Federal amendment as being contrary to the theory of States Rights, and the President recently, in congratulating Miss Anne Martin, who led Nevada to victory, said that that was how it should be done, by gaining the States one by one.

Mme. Brigode's Work in Brussels.

A Belgian lady who came to London from Brussels to raise funds for the relief of the destitute gave a glowing account of the splendid work of Mme. Brigode. The Patriotic Union of Belgian women is straining every nerve to provide employment for the women whose homes are destroyed and who stream into Brussels from the devastated regions. During the almost complete cessation of industry, appalling misery prevails. The Patriotic Union has opened knitting rooms and employs the women to make garments; many have also been taught cigarette making. Lace makers are continuing their trade, and Mme. Brigode earnestly appeals for orders and contributions to aid in her efforts to avert starvation.

Irishwomen and the War.

A writer in the *Irish Citizen* says that Nationalist women have three objects in view—

- (1) Working for equal political rights with men in any Irish Parliament.
- (2) Working for Home Rule among Englishwomen.
- (3) Working at once and always for World Peace. She says also: "We hate neither English nor Germans, but war."

Bavarian Suffragists and Women's Work.

The Munich Society petitioned the municipal authorities on the outbreak of war to let women fill suitable posts left vacant by those called to the colours. It was suggested that women should be employed in inspection of markets, clerical work in the Town Hall, the municipal savings bank, as tramway conductors (if advisable in two shifts). The Suffrage Society undertook the care and feeding of the children in such cases.

German Socialist Women and the Unemployed.

Over 600 Socialist women volunteered for relief work in Berlin, and as a result of their experience of the frightful misery among unemployed sent a manifesto to the Home Office and the Berlin municipality demanding that the Government take immediate steps for the relief of the unemployed.

A German woman doctor who is acting as a volunteer motor driver has been decorated with the iron cross.

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Correction.

In the December issue of *Jus Suffragii* the article under Germany, "Women's Work During the War," a letter from Berlin by Louise Marelle was erroneously described as translated from *Kvinden og Samfundet*—it should have been from *Kvindelvalget*. An article on "Women's War Service in Austria" from *Kvinden og Samfundet* was received from the same translator at the same time, hence the mistake.

Coercion for Women.

Fresh steps continue to be taken to further restrict women's liberties, and to penalise them alone for evils in which both sexes share. In Cardiff (Wales) certain prostitutes, mentioned by name, have been forbidden to be away from their homes between 7 p.m. and 8 a.m. Having disobeyed this order, they were tried by court-martial and sentenced to two months' imprisonment. The Suffrage Press has strongly and unanimously denounced this fresh attempt to introduce special penal treatment for women.* The existing civil law provides for the imprisonment of prostitutes for offences committed and proved. If they have committed no offence they should not have a special new form of punishment inflicted on them.

In Berlin, barmaids in the "Animier Kneipen" have been turned out of their employment. It is said that in Berlin 2,000 of these waitresses have been thrown on the street. (The Animier Kneipen are drinking places where the waitress drinks with the customer.) The police authorities of Berlin have issued instructions that all registered prostitutes are to be kept under strict control in the interests of the public health, and also such girls and women who behave in a conspicuous way which might shock the feelings of the public. Such persons will all be arrested and detained and put under the supervision of the special "morals" police. It is added that these measures are taken for the protection of the troops, and as such will be appreciated by the public.

The *Frauenbewegung*, in quoting these orders, says that now is not the time to protest against them; but surely it is the duty of women to protest, as they are doing uncompromisingly in other belligerent countries, against such encroachments on the rights and liberties of women. Police control and supervision are the most insidious dangers that threaten women, putting the most tyrannical powers into the hands of the police and exposing women to odious charges and to blackmail.

AMERICAN VICTORIES.

The victories won in the recent elections in the United States were not so many nor so important as we had hoped. Yet we have won two more States—Nevada and Montana; and the territory of these two is so vast that now one-half of the entire territory of the United States is covered by Woman Suffrage. Inasmuch as no movement has ever arisen in a State where Woman Suffrage has been once established to abolish it, we may consider that Woman Suffrage is there established for all time. Next year (1915) the vote will be taken upon Woman Suffrage in New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania. These States, having been earliest settled, are densely populated. Yet if these four States could be picked up in a solid block and set down in the middle of the State of Montana, there would be enough territory around the edges to make another big State equal to that of Indiana and another little State the size of Rhode Island. The West is filled with as valuable resources as is the Eastern section of the country, and is well able to maintain a dense population. Give it time and it will acquire financial and commercial importance.

The victories of Nevada and Montana are therefore not to be scorned. Twelve States, or one-fourth of the total number, have now gained the right to vote for President of the United States.

* As a result of protests the order is now withdrawn.

It would be difficult to explain to one unfamiliar with American conditions the causes which prevented victory in other States. In most of them there was a hand-to-hand combat between the so-called wets and drys. The wets are the saloon forces; the drys are the prohibition people. The wets are invariably opposed to Woman Suffrage, taking it for granted that women as a whole will be more easily won over to prohibition than men. Up to this year no State in which women vote has had a prohibition campaign, and this has been somewhat of a strength to the Suffrage movement. It had been possible to demonstrate that prohibition had been established in States where men only voted, and that in no State where women vote had prohibition been established, with the exception of Kansas, and that law was enacted long before the women had the vote. Although the liquor forces have always opposed Woman Suffrage these facts somewhat placated those least antagonistic. At the recent election, however, the question of prohibition was submitted in several of the Suffrage States, and it was carried in Arizona, Oregon, and Colorado.

The Suffrage movement is now placed between the Scylla of prohibition on the one side and the Charybdis of high licence on the other. That these Suffrage States have gone prohibition means that the saloon interests will fight Woman Suffrage harder than ever. On the other hand, had they gone against prohibition the drys would have fought it upon the ground that the women do not help when this contest arises. It is difficult for those not present to realise the intensity of these wet and dry campaigns. Both wets and drys are equally narrow-minded on the woman question, and when our vote is caught between the two jaws of this issue it is ground into mincemeat. It is impossible to get a correct expression upon any other question which comes up in the same election. Yet in Ohio, where this wet and dry issue was most fiercely fought, 41 per cent. of the vote went for Suffrage. We now know exactly how many more voters we must win, and this is something to the good.

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.

A NEW YEAR'S MESSAGE TO ALL THE COUNTRIES IN THE I.W.S.A.

Hope all things, believe all things. Believe and hope that the coming year will bring to the nations of the world power and will to develop their own civilisation in their own way according to the wishes and the genius of their own citizens—women as well as men.

Believe and hope that after the end of the war there will be a Congress of the Nations, great and small, which shall demand free representative institutions in all of them, including political freedom for women.

Believe and hope that this Congress may further devise means to create a really effective and powerful International Concert pledged in the future to wage collective war upon the first nation or group of nations to break the peace.

This is my New Year's message to my friends and colleagues in all the nations affiliated to the International Women's Suffrage Alliance.

Some may feel I am too sanguine and optimistic. In reply I would recall what was done at the Congress of Vienna after the close of the Napoleonic Wars in 1814 and 1815.

The European nations there represented were far more reactionary, far less developed politically, than the nations which would be represented in Congress of the Powers called after the close of the present war; but even with this comparatively unhelpful material, what did the Congress of Vienna do? Firstly, the conquerors declined to humiliate or dismember the conquered. They declared that the war had not been against France but against the military despotism of Napoleon. Secondly, they came within an ace of binding themselves together into a European Concert pledged in future to wage collective war upon the first nation or group of nations to break the peace. They failed to carry this scheme, but they did create the Concert of Europe, which has existed ever since, and has as a matter of fact prevented many wars, substituting peaceful discussion and conciliation for the arbitrament of the sword. Thirdly, they recommended free representative institutions to countries still under autocratic government. Women, of course, had never been heard of in 1815, and this recommendation did not contemplate their enfranchisement; but much water has passed under the mill in the hundred years since 1814, and I feel that every country in the I.W.S.A. should strongly urge the enfranchisement of women upon the Congress of the Powers which will almost certainly be called after the conclusion of the present war. Fourthly, the Congress of Vienna recommended the abolition of the Slave

Trade. Professor Gilbert Murray, writing about this in the *Hibbert Journal*, October, 1914, says: "It is wonderful to think that this was not only talked about but really achieved; the greatest abomination in the world definitely killed, finished, and buried, never to return, as a result of the meeting of the Powers at the end of the war." If Castlereagh, Metternich, Talleyrand, with the King of Prussia and the Emperor of Russia, could be got thus far in 1815, what may we not hope for a far more enlightened and more experienced group of statesmen in 1915? The nations represented at the later date will include, it may be hoped, the United States, New Zealand, Australia, and Norway, which have already had experience of the working of Women's Suffrage. All the nations now at war know the bitter suffering which war brings to women; each one of them has gratefully acknowledged the self-sacrificing and devoted services of its women. Do the nations owe women nothing in return? Are they to remain helots outside the pale of citizenship? Let us never be content with this position. Here is something which the women in all the nations may begin to prepare for. Let us all set on foot steady, zealous, well-organised work to bring before the next great Congress of the Powers the claim of women to citizenship.

MILLICENT GARRETT FAWCETT.

THE BASIS OF ENDURING PEACE.

There is only one basis for a peace that shall endure, and this basis is the Good Will. Many people see in this statement an admission that nothing whatever can be done towards establishing this peace except preaching good will. One may easily place too much reliance on social machinery and external conditions, but one may also be wilfully blind to the power which machinery has to retard or encourage progress. There are conditions under which the good will can develop, and there are conditions under which it is smothered or battered and crushed. Looking at social conditions with the eyes of science, searching for the causes of effects, we recognise that if we give a man hope and the fruits of his efforts we encourage the virtues of hope—self-reliance and energy; if we give a woman liberty, we encourage the virtues of liberty—the spirit of enterprise and of honesty. Suffragists know that to keep women subject is to crush originality in them and to tempt them to use devious ways for attaining their objects. We may know that a lack of courage or candour and a shirking of responsibility are faults common in many women, but we do not think it sufficient to scold women for that: we say these faults are faults common to enslaved persons, or they may be removed by removing the chains of slavery.

So with intelligent effort to remove strife among men, it is well for us patiently to consider what are the main causes of strife and whether these cannot be dealt with by agreement instead of by war; whether it is not possible to introduce into international quarrels the arbitrament of a just international law, just as we have in personal quarrels established the arbitrament of courts of justice. The mediæval absurdity of the duel is being abolished over a large part of Western Europe. And yet the idea of honour is not diminished. Women, at least, who never fight duels, will not be prepared to admit that they have no honour to defend; the modern woman feels that her honour can be guarded only by her own will, and that the degree of physical force which she may possess has nothing whatever to do with her honour. She is likely, therefore, to be more and more critical of that conception of a man's honour which puts spiritual strength at the mercy of a strong arm, and still more of that conception of a nation's honour which places it always on the side of the big battalions.

When nations go to war, what are the pleas by which their diplomatists always justify themselves? *First* we must certainly put the plea of Honour. *Second* we must put the plea of Self-defence. "If we do not attack A, than A will attack us. A has been preparing for years to attack us, and if we do not choose an opportunity favourable to us, A will certainly choose one unfavourable to us." *Third* comes the plea of Self-interest or of Dominion. This is by no means as attractive as it used to be, and it is generally disguised under the first two. But it is an old, old temptation, that which Christ was shown from the summit of the temple, the temptation of dominating by force, of a world-empire which should impose the language, the laws, the religion of the conqueror. Nowadays we express it in different ways, but whether we say "Trade follows the flag," or boast of an "Empire upon which the sun never sets," or of a "culture" which is spread with bombs, or of a "holy war," we are sowing the same seed, the dragon's teeth which

spring up in battalions of armed men. The fact is, of course, that so long as men nurse the illusion that the self-interest of their nation requires it to dominate every other nation, there can be no peace, because every tree in the garden can never be taller than every other tree.

I believe that from this war will emerge a clearer appreciation of this elementary truth, and that men will be more inclined to say, "Let us, when we lay down our arms, meet together and evolve some system of arbitration so that the outlaw nation which refuses to abide by the arbitrament shall have all the forces of all the other nations against it." I know that there are people who consider that this would be only paltering with the question—followers of Tolstoy, who believe that no person or nation should ever be coerced, and that all armies, police, laws, and taxes should be abolished. I cannot share this view. As the world now is, at any rate, I do not believe it is possible to substitute moral for physical force; but I believe it is possible to place physical force under the direction of right. The difficulty arises in the interpretation of the word "right." Each person thinks he is right; each nation thinks it is right. The fact is that no person, no nation, is fit to be judge in his own case. As we have superseded personal feud by impersonal law, so we must supersede national wars by international arbitration; and just as the force of the whole nation is the sanction for law, so the force of the whole civilised world must be the sanction for arbitration.

Let us not suppose that the mere establishment of the machinery of arbitration is going to do everything! Machinery must be worked, and only the minds of human kind can work the machinery of arbitration. It will have its dangers and abuses, but, provided that the people—women as well as men—will everywhere insist that its workings shall be open, it can prepare the way for a national settlement of disputes and for the minimising of causes of dispute. Establish something like an effective international court whose proceedings are public, and you will get international opinion effective in the treatment of smaller nationalities. It would be comic if it were not melancholy to see the virtuous indignation with which every country views the oppression and exploitation of smaller nations by every other country except itself. The cynic may well sneer when an enthusiastic advocate of the plebiscite for other countries is brought up short by the question whether he is prepared to apply it to his own country. We Englishwomen remember with amusement how Mr. Winston Churchill described the Referendum as "a fair pretence to strike a fatal blow," and subsequently declared that it was just the thing for dealing with Suffragists.

Some people suggest that Arbitration should deal only with matters which do not affect Honour or National Interest. This would be to leave out everything in the least likely to cause war. National honour does not depend upon strength, otherwise we should have to admit that the small nations had no national honour; and the interests of all Europe are above the selfish supposed interests of any one nation. If we insist that all matters of dispute shall be referred to arbitration, we remove the great motive for piling up armaments: Fear. This motive is rarely called by its true name, but there is no possible question that it is one of the most operative causes of war. Every nation has to compete with every other nation: financiers and armament firms fan the flames of competition, and the very existence of thousands of armed men is a standing temptation to try their strength.

To sum up. By the establishment of International Arbitration you establish the conception of International Right and you make possible:

- (1.) Gradual disarmament.
- (2.) Open diplomacy, resulting in democratic control.
- (3.) Respect for small nationalities.
- (4.) The liberation and consequent education of women.

Under the domination of brute force women can never come into their kingdom. I hold that men should guard and nourish women in their racial functions, and not spend their strength in being killed or in killing the guardians of other women, and in unproductive efforts which leave women to struggle alone with the burden of the race. There are in men a natural and healthy love of risk and adventure; a natural and healthy pugnacity and love of conflict. As the brain of man improves, he will see in the risks and adventures of peace and in the conflict with natural forces scope enough for all his strength. What we have called peace has been passive and stupid, and not a living peace at all. In revulsion from it many of our splendid youths have welcomed war as a duty. But peace, true peace, is radiant and young and energetic;

it is life and nurture and beauty and austerity, just as war is death and waste and filth and corruption. Peace has nothing to do with muddled diplomacy and corrupt concessions and the exploitation of the poor, with slum dwellings and huge dividends and a world divided into the idle and the overworked. Peace is full of risks, but they are the risks of giving, not of taking, life. Peace is full of hardships, but they are the bracing necessary hardships that we can cheerfully bear together in the brotherhood of man.

We have "a long way to go." But we shall get there some day if we never lose our courage or deny our faith.

H. M. SWANWICK.

BACH'S CHRISTMAS MUSIC IN ENGLAND AND IN GERMANY.

I was at the Temple on Christmas Eve for Bach's music. The shimmering double church was full of old and elderly men, of women of all ages, with a sprinkling of soldier-lads, brought along, on what may be their last Christmas in this world, by their mothers and sisters and sweethearts. Everyone—but it was perhaps that my own eyes and heart were opened—everyone seemed so altered from other perfunctory times, grave, sincere, aware of all it meant.

With the first rasping notes of the organ, tearing the veil of silent prayer, there came before my mind, as when a cloud-rent suddenly shows depths of solemn moonlit sky, the fact that *There* also, *There* beyond the sea and the war chasm, in hundreds of churches of Bach's own country (I can see the Thomas-Kirche at Leipzig, where he was Cantor, and the church of his birthplace, Eisenach), *There*, at this very moment, were crowds like this one at the Temple, listening to this self-same Christmas Music. *There* also elderly men, stay-behinds, and many, many women, old and young, and a sprinkling of soldier-lads brought for that, maybe, last Christmas at home and on Earth. Praying like these silently kneeling around me, and praying for the same mercies: Give us, O God, strength to live through these evil times, or, if so be, die to some purpose; suffer not, O Lord, who seest our hearts, that we be crushed in this war not of our making; teach us to forgive the cruel folk who hate us; give us such peace as will never be broken. Forgive us, deliver us; remember, O Father, the peace and goodwill which were promised with Thy Son.

Something like that, articulate or not, is welling up with unshed tears and silent sobs in those kneeling crowds, behind those screening hands, both on this side and on yonder, of the shallow seas and the unfathomable ocean of horror and hatred. They are united, these English and those German crowds, in the same hopes and fears and prayers, even as, unsuspecting, they are united in the same sequences of melody, the same woofs of harmonies wherewith, across two hundred years, that long dead but undying organist of Leipzig enmeshes, draws together, nooses and nets our souls to lift them, clarified, close embraced, nay consubstantial, into the presence of the new born, the eternally reborn, Hope of the World.

They are thinking and feeling the same, those German and these English crowds. They are played into unanimity not only by Bach with his tunes and counterpoints, but by the ruthless hands of our common calamity. The same heroic, or resigned, or despairing modes; saddest of all, perhaps, the brief snatches of would-be cheerfulness, and beneath all individual, all articulate differences, the unanalysable harmonies of collective sorrow.

They have come, those German women like these English ones, to seek rest in this church and this music after their day in hospitals and relief offices and committee rooms. They also have brought along with them their soldiers, their boys or their lovers, home perhaps for the last time; brought them from old peaceful habit, or because one can feel nearer together, without the unnerving fear of words and glances, here in this church, side by side, embracing in the music and in God. And, the service over, they will many of them, German women like English, go back to their homes, light up the Christmas tree, pull the paper caps and the favours out of the crackers, and laugh and play, so that the children at least may forget the war, and remember only that the Christ Child has been born once more. German and English, the same burdens have been brought to the church, been laid down in the prayer and the music; the same burdens have been shouldered again. Never have we and they been closer together, more alike and akin, than at this moment when War's cruelties and recriminations, War's monstrous iron curtain, cut us off so utterly from one another.

United, moreover, in the common feeling of Christmas. For a symbol turns the simple fact we can singly know into the myriad applications we can together feel. And the Child Christ, whom, orthodox or unorthodox, we are all celebrating, was not born once, but is born always, over and over again. He lies in every cradle, the incarnate, unblemished hope of every land and every generation. And He is the Redeemer because every new life, like every new day after the winter solstice, like the wheat quickening in the winter furrow, is the redemption of our Present by our Future, the deliverance by our Hope from our Despair. Enmity dies and is forgotten, being accidental, changeable, sterile, and against the grain of life. But peace and goodwill on earth is born for ever anew, because it is born of the undying needs of our common humanity.

That is the message of Bach's Christmas music, his cosmic thunders hushed into pastoral flutings; the message of the long-deceased German organist to us English who listen; the message of us listening English back to Bach's fellow-countrymen united with us in listening and in sorrowing and hoping.

VERNON LEE.

WOMEN'S PREROGATIVE.

It has been said by a leading American feminist that "In warfare, *per se*, we find maleness in its absurdest extremes." Here, we are told, is to be studied the whole gamut of basic masculinity, from the initial instinct of combat, through every form of glorious ostentation, with the loudest possible accompaniment of noise. War shows us that men are very far from the civilisation they profess, certainly; but if that were all there would be good reason for surprise that with the advent of more rational habits of thought and action such methods of settling disputes have not long ago passed into oblivion. But that is not all, and it is precisely on our understanding this fact that the hopes of the future are based.

War is the prerogative of man in a special sense, and it is because he feels this so strongly that the difficulty of gaining a hearing for views which tend fundamentally to disparage the value of war is so great. For to men war involves that element of sacrifice, of giving up one's life for others in a noble cause, that has made argument with the martyr an impossibility in all ages. To a man it is the basest treachery that anyone should breathe a word in opposition to the cause he has undertaken to defend. To do so would be to minimise the chances of success, to weaken the something which gives him driving power, and to encourage the warriors against whom he is pitted. Hence it is that as far as men are concerned it is impossible to conceive the hypothesis, so long as war lasts, that one's own side may not be entirely in the right; and hence it is that the realisation of the true position of one's adversary which might so often lead to an early cessation of hostilities is inconceivable to each and all of the nations concerned in any struggle.

But the spirit of sacrifice involves more than the unflinching course from which the martyr must look neither to the right hand nor to the left. It involves an enthusiasm which no amount of argument can overcome: a denial of self which it would be unjust to depreciate. To obey the call of King and country is a duty as sacred as the behest that a man should lay down his life for a friend: it is superior to reason: it can brook no counter considerations. In a word, as far as man is concerned the outbreak of war implies the immediate closing of every opening through which the possibility of a rapprochement might contrive to enter, and the war is left to pursue its horrible course unless some powerful neutral intervenes to separate the embittered combatants—an improbable and dangerous proceeding. All works with the inevitability of fatalism, and any suggestion of a possible alternative is regarded as the highest treason.

Meanwhile the millions of non-combatants look on aghast. Some cheer—and these form "public opinion": all hope their own side will win, for in case of victory they will at least come in for the minimum of personal misfortune and share in the honour and glory—and in the pickings. It would be high treason, as aforesaid, to do otherwise, for that is the male code of honour in war time. *And in war time only men matter.*

Such, at any rate, has been the view hitherto: and to a large extent such is the view to-day. It is true that in primitive times warfare frequently had as its ultimate object the capture of females, but, for all that, women in war time are a negligible factor. They just lapse, except for camp problems, and in so far as something must be found for some of them to do. Men must preserve a discreet silence: what women say or think

nobody really cares. It is a terrible confession, *yet this is a prerogative of woman of which she may well be proud to-day.*

It is terrible, yet it is the symbol and token of woman's greatness. She has neither part nor share in the slaughter of humanity, and *she* may speak where *man* dare not. In the past she had no voice to raise: she was not conscious of her power. To-day, if she will but realise it, the redemption of civilisation rests with her, and perhaps with her alone. Woman has but to become conscious of her power, of her privilege; has but to realise that after all more than half the world, were *every* nation at war, is permanently non-combatant; and that now, when so many nations are looking on at the carnage in amazement and horror, the value of public opinion is all-important. There is no question here of stopping the *present* war immediately, but of the attitude of mind which may in the near future make war an impossibility, and may even now hasten the end of this war or enable the final settlement to be in the direction of lasting peace.

For in this question men are by nature, by habit, and by tradition powerless to act, for the reasons we have set forth; and the latest and greatest confession of failure is to be found in that giant of European thought, to whom France to-day looks as her spiritual leader—the author of "Jean Christophe." Solitary and despairingly, Romain Rolland, in an article in the "Journal de Genève," raises his voice above the tumult of battle in his noble appeal. "O young men," he cries to the young French conscripts, and joins to them in his generous sympathy the youth of all nations, friend and foe, "O young men that shed your blood with so generous a joy! O heroism of the world! What a harvest for destruction to reap! Young men of all nations, brought into conflict by a common ideal, making enemies of those who should be brothers; all of you marching to your death are dear to me."

The supreme sacrifice of man! And before his eyes there pass the armies of those to whom he had been as a father-confessor, the interpreter of their dreams, the poet of their highest imaginings. "Slavs hastening to the aid of your race; Englishmen fighting for honour and right; intrepid Belgians who dared to oppose the Teutonic colossus, and defend against him the Thermopylae of the West; Germans fighting to defend the philosophy and the birthplace of Kant against the Cossack avalanche; and you, above all, my young compatriots, in whom the generation of heroes of the Revolution lives again; you, who for years have confided your dreams to me, and now, on the verge of battle, bid me a sublime farewell."

And what have their elders done for these young men, what ideal has set them one against another? "A maddened Europe ascending its funeral pyre, and, like Hercules, destroying itself with its own hands." Such is the final achievement of man: pell-mell they rush on one another—souls and bodies of all colours.

"Is our civilisation so solid that you do not fear to shake the pillars on which it rests? Can you not see that all falls in upon you if one column be shattered? Could you not have learned to love one another, or, if that were impossible, at least to tolerate the great virtues and the great vices of the others? Was it not your duty to attempt—you have never attempted it in sincerity—to settle amicably the questions which divided you—the problem of peoples annexed against their will, the equitable division of productive labour and the riches of the world? Must the stronger for ever darken the others with the shadow of his pride, and the others for ever unite to dissipate it? Is there no end to this bloody and puerile sport, in which the partners change about from century to century—no end, until the whole of humanity is exhausted thereby?" And then Rolland begins his burning indictment. He confesses it. We are all to blame. "Again the venerable refrain is heard: The fatality of war is stronger than our wills. The old refrain of the herd that makes a god of its feebleness and bows down before him. Man has invented fate, that he may make it responsible for the disorders of the universe, those disorders which it was his duty to regulate. There is no fatality! The only fatality is what we desire; and more often, too, what we do not desire enough. Let each now repeat his *mea culpa*. The leaders of thought, the Church, the Labour parties did not desire war. That may be; what, then, did they do to prevent it? What are they doing to put an end to it? They are stirring up the bonfire, each one bringing his faggot. . . . There is not one amongst the leaders of thought in each country who does not proclaim with conviction that the cause of his people is the cause of God, the cause of liberty, and of human progress. And I, too, proclaim it."

Rolland against Hauptmann! Yes: we all read it aghast. And here comes Rolland, repentant as it were, seeking with whom he may join hands. Labour has failed. Christianity has worse than failed: it has denied itself. "You Christians to-day would not have refused to sacrifice to the gods of Imperial Rome; you are not capable of such courage. You also are undismayed by bullets and shrapnel yet tremble before the dictates of racial frenzy—that Moloch that stands higher than the Church of Christ." *Et propter vitam, vivendi perdere causas!* But worse than this is the unutterable despair of his fellow-men which drives Rolland to his final confession of all. There is none left to hear! "I know that such thoughts have little chance of being heard to-day. Young Europe, lusting for battle, will smile contemptuously and show its fangs like a young wolf." It is a useless struggle! He speaks merely for the sake of speaking. "I do not speak to convince others, I speak but to solace my own conscience."

Thus the greatest mind of Europe—the supreme message of man to man, A.D. 1914. There is none to hear! "I speak but to solace my own conscience!" Young men, old men, working-men, diplomatists, priests, imperialists—they will not hear. *But it is always of men he thinks.* Not a mention of women, of the women that hear him gladly, in whose hearts his words find a ready echo, his noble words: "Our duty it is to rise above tempests, and thrust aside the clouds; to build higher and stronger, dominating the injustice and hatred of nations, the walls of that city wherein the souls of the whole world may assemble."

This is the cry that women may take up: the cry that men will not and dare not hear. To such ideals the press of all the world is closed, the platforms of all the world are silent. But in print and in speech women may already help forward these ideals, and none will say them nay. For the times have changed, but the nature of woman cannot change, as some of her enemies have most truly declared. Woman, because to her has fallen the task of bringing into the world those human souls and bodies which in war are but food for cannon, is able to realise what man is not able. "For such a purpose," she might well say now that she has attained self-consciousness, "I will not bring more human life into the world." And man would neither understand nor would he be greatly shocked. It matters not to him what women are saying or thinking, for women are but women.

Yet a public opinion must be created, and how can that be if the voice that is privileged fails to make itself heard? "Women of all nations unite!"; that should be the new cry—not "Woman has no country!" but "Woman must have every country!" And whoever raises such a cry may be sure that it will not solace an individual conscience alone. Such a cry, already heard, though in far-off muffled tones, in every branch of the women's movement, must wake an echo in the hearts of millions who will pass it on to others. It will not seem treachery to a cause: it will not seem the coward's mean appeal; for it will be but the voice of Nature driven to rebellion by the horrors of violence and destruction. Not that woman has yet realised her mission of peace, the privilege that her imagined weakness has bestowed. Many women, perhaps most women, are still caught in the meshes in which the tradition of long years of subjection has enveloped them. They gaze blindly at the carnage or hasten to staunch the blood that flows—as ministering angels, to heal the wounds that the heroism of man has dealt to his brother. And rightly, for this is their duty in such a time. But it is clearly not enough to be content to do one's duty here. The blood flows too fast, it is only some drops that are staunch— the wounds gape too wide, it is only the scratches that are healed; and meantime the bodies are piled higher and higher, the graves are dug deeper and deeper.

But if woman climbed up to the clearer air above the battle-field and cried aloud in her anguish to her sisters afar off: "These things must not be, they shall never be again!" would man indeed say, "Down with her!"; Would he not allow her prerogative? Would he not even wish to climb up, too?

M. SARGANT FLORENCE.
C. K. OGDEN.

THE CHILD IS FATHER TO THE MAN.

Governess: "Well, Tommy, why don't you let your little sister have the sledge part of the time?"

Tommy: "I do. She has it going up the hill, and I have it coming down."

FRANCE.

In the troubled times that we are passing through, those who wish to preserve in their own soul and spread around them a little serenity and calm courage must try to fulfil all their ordinary duties as well as the extraordinary tasks resulting from the war. For this reason I did not wish to neglect the temperance visits that I usually pay each year at this time to 17 primary schools for boys and girls in my canton, to encourage the children to join temperance leagues and to give prizes to children who have kept their promises. In Normandy, where there is much alcoholism, the children need courage to remain total abstainers; but there is perceptible progress among them, and there was a good opportunity to speak in the schools of the prohibition of vodka in Russia, and the prohibition of the sale of absinthe in France since the war. The fact that wounds are much more difficult to heal in soldiers addicted to alcohol was also likely to strike the children's imagination and to make them think. In all these country schools each of the little girls was knitting for the soldiers, and the mistresses send the garments made to the mayor; the wool is provided by voluntary gifts. Everyone, even the little girls, feels she is doing something for her country.

In the last school I visited it occurred to me to ask the mistress where she had spent her holiday. She replied, quietly: "I was nurse in an ambulance corps, and spent all my time nursing typhoid cases"; in this way she had spent the time for rest so well deserved after the year's work, and I did not think of praising her devotion, but I thought other teachers had perhaps spent their time in the same way.

At this moment everyone thinks such devotion quite natural, and the information we receive from our provincial branches of the U.F.S.F. proves that our Suffrage members do us credit everywhere. They belong to all the relief committees founded to help the wounded, the refugees, women and children.

In Paris, where every arrondissement has its mayor and special organisation, our General Secretary, Mme. Brunswic, has worked hard and helped in the good organisation of relief. For instance, in the 16th arrondissement to avoid the pauperisation often caused by unemployment relief, the women who receive it are asked to give several hours' work each day for soldiers' clothing, so they do not feel they are receiving alms that are a humiliation. Mme. le Verrier, who has the heavy task of taking charge of the central depot of warm clothes for the wounded supplied by the U.F.S.F., receives the most touching and enthusiastic letters from the soldiers. We sow on to every garment a ticket, "With the good wishes of the French Union for Women's Suffrage."

This report shall close with the following incident, quoted by the "Française":—"A lady, frail and elegant, visited a doctor's nursing class. 'I want two nurses,' she said, 'to work in our ambulance. I had better say at once what the work is, to avoid disappointment. They will be on their feet about ten hours a day, and often called up at night. As we are in the firing line, there is always the danger of shells. The wounded are brought straight to us from the battlefield, sometimes in a fearful condition. Finally, as it is a military hospital, they must find their own lodging and food, and will be guaranteed no time to eat. I want two nurses.' Twelve volunteered!"

DE WITT SCHLUMBERGER,

President of the French Woman Suffrage Union.

FRENCH WOMEN'S WORK OF RECONSTRUCTION.

Steps are being taken in France to rebuild towns and villages destroyed by war. M. R. Risler has presented an important report on the subject to the Musée Sociale, recommending that women should be on the committees for approving plans. It is evident that women, as home-makers, should be consulted in the planning of new homes.

FRENCH WOMEN'S ROLL OF HONOUR.

Mlle. Marie Gilles, whilst nursing the wounded, was killed by a shell.

Mlle. Marcelle Semmer has been given the cross of chevalier of the Legion of Honour for courage and devotion in face of the enemy when they occupied the village of l'Elusier, Dept. Somme. She rendered great services to the French troops and was slightly wounded.

Mme. Chéron, a school teacher at Bouffignereux, on the Aisne, showed great energy and courage. She was alone in charge of the Town Hall when the Germans entered the town, and met their demands with firmness and calm. On the return of the French troops she supervised the supply of food and the identification and burial of the dead. During the

bombardment she prevented panic and encouraged the inhabitants by her heroism.

Mlle. Marie Rosnet, a sister of St. Vincent de Paul, superior of the hospital, Clermont-en-Argonne, remained in the village alone with the other sisters after occupation by German troops. The commandant promised her not to destroy the town in return for the care of his wounded. When, nevertheless, the town was set on fire, she protested to the commandant, who then sent men to put out the fire. She and her sisters nursed French and Germans with the utmost devotion. A school teacher at Minorville single-handed turned her schoolroom into a hospital with twenty beds, so that in the midst of devastation an ambulance was found ready to receive the wounded.

Nursing Sister Sainte Suzanne was killed by a shell while nursing the wounded at St. John's Hospital, Arras. Nursing Sister St. Pierre was wounded at the same hospital. Sister Bertine organised an ambulance and showed the greatest courage during the bombardment of Arras. Sisters of the Orders of the Holy Saviour and of St. Vincent de Paul and other nurses devoted themselves to the care of the wounded in a hospital under bombardment. All these have been mentioned, with many other devoted women, in French Army orders. The nurses of Noyon remained at their posts during the occupation of the town by the Germans. Mlle. Marie Messin was shot down while tending wounded soldiers in a cemetery near Nancy. She died in her parents' arms, saying that she died happy in serving her country. Four school mistresses have been reported to the French Minister of Education for courageous conduct—Mles. Fouriaux, Lanthiez, and Cavarrot, of Rheims; and Mme. Fiquémont. The three former installed and directed a hospital in a girls' school at Rheims, and at the beginning of September the hospital was filled with severely wounded men. On September 2nd, on the approach of the Germans, the wounded had to be removed. Mlle. Fouriaux took them to Epernay, and saw them safe into a military train; then, at 9 p.m., although worn out with her labours, she returned to Rheims on foot, arriving at 3 a.m. as the enemy were entering the town. She and her colleagues remained in their hospital nursing French and German wounded. Before quitting the town on the 12th, the German officer-in-charge thanked the women for their services. On the 14th the bombardment began, and the hospital was riddled with shell and set on fire. Mlle. Fouriaux and her colleagues transported the wounded to cellars, and themselves slept in a shed on straw. At T— Mme. Fiquémont showed similar heroism. Her husband having been called to the colours, Mme. Fiquémont was appointed to act as secretary to the town hall. From the 4th to the 12th of September, Germans occupied the town, and during the bombardment the town was largely destroyed by shell fire. A shell burst in Mme. Fiquémont's bedroom, but she refused to abandon her post, and from September 24th she acted as substitute for the Mayor, who is old and ill. A medal has been conferred on Mlle. Lautanie for devotion in nursing cases of gangrene. The King of England has conferred a decoration on Mlle. Eugénie Antoine for her courageous care of wounded in the ambulance at Vailly-sur-Aisne during the bombardment.

Mme. Gay-Lussac died of infectious illness contracted while nursing German wounded in hospital at Pau.

The Union of Frenchwomen has organised ambulance boats to collect wounded and transport them by waterways to the base hospital. The ambulance boats are fitted with kitchens and all conveniences, and the soldiers' clothing is cleansed and disinfected.

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A BRAVE FRENCHWOMAN.

A small town in North France was invaded. The Mayor had left to put his daughters in a safe place. Mme. L., an Alsatian by birth, was sent for to confront the General. He demanded where and why the civil population had fled, and she bravely told him that it was to protect their girls. The General replied that he would prove to her that his troops were no savages, and that provided no act of hostility was committed no one would be injured, and he kept his word. The town recognises that it was saved by the courage of Mme. L.

Odette Bussard in *La Française*.

FRENCHWOMEN MENTIONED IN ARMY ORDERS.

Many women have been commended for risking their lives to save life. The nuns of St. Charles, near Nancy, have sheltered and nursed over a thousand wounded since August 24th, under heavy fire and after the civil population had left the place.

Mlle. Cuny and Mlle. Bertrand during the bombardment of their town devoted themselves to the wounded with indefatigable zeal. (Official Journal, October 8th.) Mlle. Marie Pierron showed extraordinary devotion and courage, going herself into the woods to search for wounded and attending to them in the immediate proximity of the enemy. (Official Journal, November 13th.) Mlle. Davinage stuck to her post as telegraphist under the enemy's fire, and only left half an hour before their entry; she returned a few days later with the first French people.

A FRENCH SISTER DECORATED.

During the bombardment of Gerbéviller by the Germans on August 24, many French wounded were tended by six nuns of the Order of St. Charles at Nancy. They remained at their dangerous post, and their superior, Sister Julie, showed a splendid example of courage and devotion. The President of the Republic has personally thanked her and informed her that the cross of the Legion of Honour would be awarded her.

FINLAND.

The Editor of *Jus Suffragii* has asked me if I could procure some reliable news of Russia's Finnish policy during this autumn, as she had not for three months received any evidence from Finland. I am sorry to say that we do not know much more; Finnish papers are not permitted to come to Sweden, and Swedish papers are not admitted to Finland, and even in private letters no single word may be written either about the war (in our letters) or about Russian inner policy in letters from Finland. But from Finns residing here we have got the main points of what is going on, and the following is what I believe to be perfectly true:—

State of war has been proclaimed in Finland as well as in Russia, and under the protection of this "state" the first President of the Finnish Diet, Assessor Swinhufvud, has been dismissed from his office as a judge, arrested, and deported to Tomsk in Siberia; even other citizens are unlawfully arrested and deported to Russia or Siberia; the papers are suppressed. A Russian governmental committee, as far as I know appointed before the war, has worked out a programme for making of Finland what is in reality a Russian province, and through the influence of the Russian Governor in Finland and other powerful Russian circles, the Emperor has been prevailed upon to sanction the programme just now when the war laws make it possible to have it done without any protest in the Press. The contents of this programme are said to be: The Finnish State officials are made removable—according to Finnish law, no State official can be decharged from his office without being legally found guilty of some crime,—and are to be judged by Russian law. They are not to be permitted to belong to any political party, and Finnish administrative officials are to be trained in Russia. Russian laws upon Press, associations, and meetings are to be applied in Finland; the Finnish University and schools are to be controlled by the Russian Ministry of Education; the Finnish custom system and money system are to be abrogated, and the situation of the Greek orthodox Church in Finland is to be altered so as to be predominant even in this country. With all this the Finnish Diet is left as it was, but only as an outward form, with no real power or influence.

To the best of my knowledge this is true, and even if nothing can be done to hamper it now during the war, it ought to be kept in mind and acted upon with all possible energy as soon as the war is over.

ANNA WICKSELL.

Lund, Sweden, December, 1914.

GERMANY.

Like a warm spring breeze in winter's icy cold comes the report of the activity of the International Women's Relief Committee to all members of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance. In Germany especially we owe our warmest thanks to our English sisters for the kindly help extended to our countrywomen who have fallen into distress owing to the war, by offering them hospitality, situations, and help on the journey home. In the name of the German Association for Women's Suffrage (Deutscher Verband für Frauenstimmrecht) we offer our hearty thanks to the members of the I.W.R.C. for their kindly aid.

As they cheered those poor stranded ones directly so they have cheered us all indirectly by honouring the feeling of international solidarity, the bond of love that unites us in striving for a common goal in a world full of hatred and mutual destruction.

We regret that owing to the sad change in the political situation we must give up the pleasure of welcoming our beloved International Alliance and the representatives of the affiliated national societies next June, and we regret it as much in the interests of our great cause as of our national Suffrage movement. In accordance with all previous experience we looked forward to a great propagandist result on our work in Germany of this Congress and the conviction carried by its leading personalities, and the facts of Woman Suffrage.

The shattering of this hope and of our preparations which had been so carefully planned, and carried through with such enthusiasm to offer a worthy setting to the Congress, and the loss of the joy of welcoming our dear colleagues, that is in the midst of the present universal suffering the special tribute of sorrow which the German Suffragists must pay to this fearful world war. As in other belligerent countries, Suffrage propaganda is here forced quite into the background.

Our State societies (Landesvereine) and local branches have all joined the National Women's Service founded by the National Council of Women for alleviating distress due to the war. A quantity of most important social work is accomplished by this organisation over the whole Empire in conjunction with municipal bodies and the Red Cross. Comprehensive care for the families of those engaged in the war and those in distress owing to the war, the fight against unemployment, provision of employment for women of all occupations, collection of enormous quantities of gifts for the soldiers in the field, domestic war relief to the widest extent, and so on. In many places our Suffrage organisations are in the forefront in this struggle against the inner enemy.

Whether this devoted work of German women in the service of their country will bring about a better understanding by the country of their efforts for equal civil and political rights, who can tell to-day? Some hope, many doubt. *Qui vivra, verra!*

MARIE STRITT,

President of the German Woman Suffrage Association.

NEWS FROM THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN GERMANY.

A survey of women's present activities shows them chiefly concerned with the problems of food and clothing, besides nursing. So women return under altered conditions to their primitive occupations. But modern woman has to care not for the single household, but to apply the gift for organisation and technical knowledge to the feeding and clothing of masses. In almost all towns where committees for voluntary help have been formed, they have to deal with cheap dinners for the masses, middle-class dining centres, and children's meals. Women have also taken up fruit preserving in 150 districts, so as to use the national resources to the utmost.

Women's work in the clothing question has been divided between the provision of warm clothing for the troops and the care for the clothing of the necessitous population; in many districts this is combined with the provision of work for unemployed women. In Berlin workrooms have been arranged, in which second-hand clothes are cleaned, mended, and altered for poorer people. Knitting rooms have been started, where socks and other comforts are made for the soldiers. About 800 women have been employed since early September, and about 800 mothers have been given home work.

The Munich Branch of the Woman Suffrage "Bund" has started a relief centre for women artists, and the collaboration of the Artists' League and the Suffragists has had noteworthy success, and helped a number of women artists out of their difficulties.

The women's societies in Cologne have undertaken very original work—the training of dogs in sanitary work. These dogs can render useful service in finding the wounded. The dogs trained by the women were tested publicly and sent to the front.

The Union of East Prussian Agricultural Women has set to work to prepare for a resumption of agriculture, and is making special efforts to promote poultry breeding and weaving, which have been confided to the care of the women by the Chamber of Commerce. The women's organisation is introducing the latest technical appliances for the weaving industry.

GERMAN WOMEN IN THE MEDICAL SERVICE.

Sister Elfriede Scherhaus has accompanied one of the regiments on the Eastern field since the beginning of the war, and has received the iron cross for her services at the battles of Faulen and Hohenstein. The General presented it to her with these words: "As you belong to our bravest, it is a pleasure to me to present you with the iron cross."

Sister Frieda Gessert, of the Bethany Society, received the iron cross from the Crown Prince.

The first German woman to be killed in the war is Marga v. Falkenhäuser, killed by an aerial bomb on the field hospital at Süssone.

German Catholic nurses at le Breuil belonging to the St. Clement's Sisterhood were taken by the French, who took possession of their hospital. The French surgeon gave them the following testimonial:—Les sœurs, allemandes, qui ont soigné les blessés au Breuil en Septembre, 1914, ont donné aux blessés français comme aux blessés allemands des soins dévoués et intelligents.

The *Kölnische Zeitung* writes appreciatively of the services performed by women in laboratory work. Prof. Bonhoff carries on bacteriological researches for typhoid germs in various branches of the Army and is assisted by a number of competent women, who are on excellent terms with their superiors and colleagues on the theatre of war, "on the one side there is confidence and appreciation, and a delightful comradesly tone, and the recognition on the part of the men of the value of women's presence in maintaining a high moral tone. They seem to recognise that they have something precious in their hands that must not be injured. On the other side unbounded zeal, gratitude, and cheerful pride in their work."—From the *Frauenbewegung*.

GREAT BRITAIN.

NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.

The question whether, in the opinion of the British Auxiliary of the International, it was desirable to hold a business congress in some neutral country was considered by the Executive Committee of the National Union on December 3rd, and it was proposed by Miss Chrystal Macmillan, seconded by Mrs. Harley, and carried, with only two dissentients, "That the National Union propose to Mrs. Catt that a business congress be summoned for 1915."

One must not overlook the many difficulties of such a congress at such a time, and yet one may feel that it would be worth an immense effort and a considerable sacrifice to hold it. There could be but one aim in such a congress: the aim of arriving at some understanding of each other's needs and ideals, which would make the moral force of women more effective for peace in the future than it has ever been in the past. No one would come to the congress who did not believe she had something to learn; no one would come who did not intend to treat every delegate as a friend. To hold business meetings, at which everyone from warring countries would be obliged to speak in language carefully divested of any just cause of offence, would in itself be a fine piece of education, and at the same time a demonstration of what women can achieve. No one desires that women should be combatants; they are "recognised" as such by none of the "civilised" Governments. It is for women, then, by nature and by law non-combatant, to be interpreters of the nations to each other. No easy task, indeed! But a great one, and worthy of great minds. Let us hope there are many such among women.

Although women are everywhere reckoned as non-combatants, there is no question that in every land which is actually invaded, it is the non-combatants who suffer most. When a conquering army enters a district, the armed forces of that district (if they have not surrendered) evacuate the place and leave the non-combatants to the tender mercies of the invaders. The homes of the non-combatants, of the women and children, are destroyed, whether the war be in South Africa or in France, or Belgium, or Germany. The indignation which every nation in turn feels at the destruction of its own homes is a natural indignation: what harm have the innocent women and children done to deserve this cruel treatment? Each nation in turn asks this question, but the curious thing is that each nation refuses to see that this is a necessary consequence of war, and is in fact the true horror and wickedness of war—that the innocent suffer, the non-combatants perish, the young are ill-born, the civilian population irretrievably injured. A state of war causes many thousands of men to fight who have no bellicose sentiments; it causes desolation in thousands upon thousands of homes, and then, by a strange and wicked irony, one hears people say that because the men of Nation A. have burnt the homes and massacred the children of 100,000 innocent women of Nation B., it behoves the men of Nation B. to burn the homes and massacre the children of the innocent women of Nation A. "Honour" requires it! Whose honour? Security requires it! Whose security?

The non-combatants of three English coast towns have had a small sample of what it feels like to be bombarded. Scarborough and Whitby are held by British opinion to be unfortified; the Hartlepoons are admitted to be fortified. But women and children were killed there in a far larger proportion than fighting men. No panic was caused; women are at least as ready to make sacrifices as men. But what we feel is that if such sacrifices are asked of us we must know what they are for and we must approve. We must see that these sacrifices benefit the race of which we are the guardians. We will no longer be disposed of as property.

The Scottish Women's Hospital sent by the National Union to France is now established in the Abbaye of Royaumont, and another unit has left for Serbia. The Scottish Federation has raised between £6,000 and £7,000, and is still collecting for further efforts. Another piece of work being taken up at Headquarters is the raising of a fund by which educated professional women thrown out of work by the war may be given paid employment as organising secretaries to the many emergency and relief works being carried out at this time. For many reasons volunteers are rarely as well trained or as constant as professionals, and there will thus be a gain in two directions.

H. M. SWANWICK.

HELP FOR ALIEN ENEMIES.

The Emergency Committee for the help of "alien enemies" in England has lately started a committee for the care of the concentration camps. We aim to have one or more members of our committee periodically visit each camp, where they have talks with the men and take messages from them to their wives and families, which are as a rule delivered by friendly visits. We also try to supply the camps with clothes and books and games when specially asked for; also with leather for boots. The commandants and others in authority have been very kind and amenable to suggestions as to ways of improving the conditions of the camps. Though comparatively little seems actually to have been done, yet the general feeling of goodwill and fellowship has undoubtedly been increased.

BEVAN B. BAKER,

Hon. Sec. to Sub-Committee on Detention Camps.

British Dominions Woman Suffrage Union.

In common with all Suffragists, the British Dominions Woman Suffrage Union ceased Suffrage work on the outbreak of war, and postponed even sending out the official report of the Conference held in London on July 9th till a time when it was more likely to command attention. Meanwhile, a considerable amount of other work has been done.

1. An appeal for clothing for poor children in London was drafted immediately after the war began, and 1,000 printed copies were sent overseas. A month afterwards an account of the wonderful schemes of relief organised by the British Suffrage Societies was sent out. The response from every one of the Dominions to these appeals, both in clothing and money, has been most generous. The full list, with particulars of distribution, will be published later.

2. The following proposal having been received by the hon. secretary in October, from one of the South African delegates, was printed (1,000) and sent out in time to reach even the most distant places before Christmas Day:—

That a day should be set apart by the women of the Dominions overseas for prayer for enlightenment on their true work in the present world-crisis and even more in the coming period of social reconstruction, that counsels may prevail that in the peace which will follow this war the woman's voice may be heard, and that spiritual and permanent interests may prevail over those which are material and temporary."

"For so the whole round earth is every way
Bound with gold chains about the feet of God."

The day proposed is December 31st.

Thus during this half-year, the most terrible in the nation's history, the women of the Dominions overseas have been and are linked with the women of the great Suffrage Societies of Britain in service and in prayer.

3. The hon. secretary has arranged with the editors of the Suffrage papers in London that a specimen copy of each of these papers shall be sent to the leaders of all women's societies and to many other influential women overseas. The hon. secretary has sent a special letter to New Zealand, Australia, Canada, and South Africa, calling attention to these papers and also to the value of the women's papers

NORWAY.

On the 17th of December a deputation from the Committee of the National Council of Women of Norway was received by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. The President of the N.C.W.N. read the following address:—

To the Government,—When to-day we apply to the Government it is after many consultations with women in the other neutral countries as to the way in which we should co-operate, on account of the disasters which the present war brings upon the nations.

We think the best plan among those which have been discussed would be to request the Governments of the several neutral countries to confer with each other for the purpose of offering to act as mediators between the belligerent nations. However far we may now be from all prospects of peace, the time may yet arrive when it would be of the greatest moment to the countries at war that a highly respected permanent mediating council was ready to negotiate and help.

Mr. Wilson, the President of the United States of America, has, as we know, offered to be mediator, and if no direct official offer of mediating has been made by any of the other neutral countries the reason is surely not that the wish to offer assistance should be lacking among the peoples of Europe. At any rate, we may be assured that the women of the countries which have till now escaped war feel most keenly that the neutral countries fail in their duty if they do not do all in their power to put an end to the unspeakable sufferings which the war brings upon the other countries.

The National Council of Women of Norway has desired to inform the Norwegian Government of the wishes prevailing among prominent women in the various countries. And we should feel most grateful to be informed later on whether there is any chance of such plans being realised.

On behalf of the Committee of the National Council of Women of Norway.

GINA KROG, President,
THEA HOLST, Corresponding Secretary.

After the President had given further information about the efforts made by women in the various countries, the Foreign Secretary said that he would lay the matter before the Government. For the present he could say nothing more definite about the question, but he could safely say that he spoke in the name of the whole Government when he declared that they would all do everything in their power to give assistance if the opportunity offered itself.

Norske Kvinders Fredsforbund.

(Affiliated to the National Council of Women of Norway.)

GREETINGS TO WOMEN THROUGHOUT ALL THE WORLD.

The Norwegian Women's Peace Association, at a meeting, held November 19th, 1914, at the Nobelhouse, desires to send greetings to women throughout the world.

As citizens of a neutral country, far from the devastations of war, we have nevertheless a deep understanding of the horrors that follow in the wake of war.

Unable as we are to offer any assistance, we can only express our heartfelt sympathy with all the suffering and despair now prevailing in the belligerent countries.

We are convinced that those women all over the world who are striving together to further great humane interests at a time like the present must be filled with a desire to uproot the political creed amongst the nations that leads to violence, and of which we now witness such lamentable results.

THE DOGMA OF THE NECESSITY OF WAR MUST BE OVERTHROWN.

Surely the day has arrived when "legalised warfare," which is in the strongest opposition to the ethical and intellectual heights that civilised countries have for generations striven to attain, should give place to humane legislation for a peaceful settlement of international disputes.

At no time has the work for peace been of such importance and necessity as it will be in the immediate future. "A new world wherein dwelleth righteousness" is a prophecy which especially we women must try to realise for the sake of coming generations.

We send you our sisterly greetings, hoping that the present state of war, so disgraceful to mankind, may soon be supplanted by peace and goodwill among the nations.

RANDI BLEHR, President.
CLARE MJOEN, Secretary.

Kristiania, in December, 1914.

published in each Dominion. At the present moment more than ever before, it is of vital importance that women shall know what other women are thinking and doing.

No appeal for funds for the B.D.W.S.U. has yet been sent out, because thought of the war fills every mind, and all money goes first to relieve the needs of those in distress through the war. But stationery, printing, and postage—the Union's only expenses at present—cost a good deal, and contributions towards defraying these will be gratefully received.

HARRIET C. NEWCOMB, Hon. Secretary.
MARGARET HODGE, Hon. Press Secretary.
DOROTHY PETHICK, Hon. Treasurer.

IRISHWOMEN'S SUFFRAGE FEDERATION.

The Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation, confident of the moral strength of the nation they represent, wish to respond to the greeting from German Suffragists published in the December issue of *Jus Suffragii*. They rejoice to find that the bond of universal sisterhood which unites the women who have placed the ideal of individual liberty before them, has risen above the fierce struggle in which our nations are engaged, and that even above the clamour of strife a voice of hope for the future may be heard.

The message of their German sisters encourages them to look forward to the time when the women of the world, united in one great desire for progress and peace, may usher in a new era in which international co-operation shall bring about a better understanding amongst the peoples of all nations.

E. SPRING RICE,
President Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation.
S. R. DAY,
Hon. Sec. Munster Women's Franchise League.
H. S. CHENEVIX,
Hon. Sec. Irishwomen's Reform League.

VICTORIA, AUSTRALIA.

WOMEN IN MUNICIPAL LIFE.

Another sex barrier has been quietly removed in Australia. The State Parliament of Victoria has placed a Local Government Amending Act, one clause of which makes women eligible for municipal office in that State on the same terms as men. The clause met with no opposition in the Legislative Assembly (Lower House). Even in the Legislative Council (Upper House) a body elected on a property qualification, which in the past delayed Woman Suffrage and other feminist reforms, the clause was accepted without a division. One member of the Council, after stating that "every honourable member knew the absurdity of the proposal and what a nuisance it would be at municipal elections," announced that he intended to vote for it. This is one more instance of the wholesome effect of women's votes.

NEW ZEALAND.

WOMEN IN PARLIAMENT.

The member for Wellington East is to be congratulated upon the pleasant surprise which he sprang upon the country. By the handsome majorities of 37 to 16 and 39 to 14 the Legislative Council Bill was, on his motion, amended by the House of Representatives so as to qualify women for election to the Council. And why not? In 1893, when the admission of women to the Parliamentary franchise was carried, there may have been some reason for hesitation. It was, of course, quite illogical to say that women were as well qualified as men to vote for the return of men to the House, but that even with the assistance of a rather larger number of men they were not qualified to say whether or not any of their own number were worthy of election. Logic, however, has never been characteristic of the British race. The amendment does not confer upon woman a full political equality with man; the Bill did not admit of it. The scope of the Bill was limited to the constitution of the Legislative Council, and by a majority which, on the second occasion, was nearly three to one the House declared that women should for that purpose be put on an equality with men.

THE NETHERLANDS.

LETTER FROM MEVROUW VAN BIEMA HIJMANS.

In September, 1914, many well-known German women sent a letter to the women of neutral countries. The following answer was sent to Dr. Gertrude Bäumer, President of the German National Council of Women, by the President of the Netherlands National Council of Women:—

Madam,—I should like to say to the German women what I shall try to write to you after reading your "Explanation and Request," which is summed up in the words: "Let the voice of truth pierce through the chaos of passion and hatred." With all my heart I wish to work with you to that end, and I therefore address myself to you. We, who stand on one side without passion, and have no reason to hate any of the belligerents, know more of the truth, and our judgment is more impartial than that of those engaged in the struggle. But the one thing we know for certain in this war is that devoted courage and barbarous madness of destruction go hand in hand, and that this is just as true of the German Army as of the other armies. And how could it be otherwise?

You German women cannot grasp that, perhaps, and yet you have admitted, as well as we, that our civilisation is very imperfect, and you struggled for Woman Suffrage so as to be better able to share in the work of social reform. You knew as well as we that in Germany, as in all countries in times of peace, girls are sold, women dishonoured, and that in most cases the police are powerless against it; that those guilty are usually not even traced. If you think this out you will be obliged to admit that among the soldiery quite different elements are found besides the husbands and sons of highly educated and refined women—*e.g.*, the procurers of Berlin are also there, and countless men guilty of various misdeeds who have committed undiscovered crimes. And do you think that those who in times of peace have sinned against the community will behave better in war, where it is so much easier to escape detection?

You speak of the "unspeakable cruelties of the misled Belgians" and of the "barbarous enemies who have desolated East Prussia," and you resent that the small and unhappy Belgian nation should speak of its barbarous enemies who devastate the land and have brought unspeakable misery to the population. Believe me, Madam, when I assure you that all is not true in your little book, "The Truth About the War," that has been sent to us women abroad, and that much has happened in Belgium of which it is silent. That is quite natural when the description is one-sided.

You German women beg us not to believe that your husbands and sons have behaved with brutality, but you demand that we should believe it of the husbands and sons of another nationality; and yet ties of personal friendship unite German women to those of other countries who are equally civilised. Is it possible that men's education has everywhere been at fault except in Germany? Would it not be truer to say that conscription everywhere brings bad elements into the army, and that they will everywhere be guilty of similar crimes, and that the better elements will be unable to hinder it? We all love our country—you Germans neither more nor less than we others. I can assure you that Russia, England, France, and Belgium are firmly convinced that they are fighting for country, freedom, independence, and justice.

Must we, then, judge that this conviction is honest in one nation and dishonest in others?

We Dutch women are thankful that our men have not had this test so far, and we hope it will remain so. But we feel already that we share the guilt of this war with the other European Powers, and that our civilisation which we men and women have created is only on the surface.

We must not ask who is in the right; we must accuse no one of cruelty, for every war is the most cruel, the most horrible thing imaginable, and there is no help against its cruelty. Our world is in ruins, and in despair we gaze at life and its misery, and we feel more strongly than ever that only through the conviction of each individual that their country would be served best by combating the war idea, only by recognising peace as the highest good, can true civilisation be developed in the future.

H. VAN BIEMA-HIJMANS,

President of the Dutch National Council of Women.

A DEFINITION OF FEMINISM.

Feminism is the belief that a woman knows what she wants better than anyone can tell her.

RUSSIA.

The whole population of Russia is joining wholeheartedly in the innumerable social enterprises for the benefit of the fighting men at the front, and for the relief of home conditions arising out of the war. There has never been a time in which it was felt as it is to-day that the whole nation, all classes, are absolutely united in their purpose. There is a strong feeling everywhere, however, that should Russia emerge victorious from this crisis this should not mean an increase of militarism, but, on the contrary, a new era of peace and internal development.

WOMEN AND WAR.

An appeal was issued by a woman student of the Petrograd University to form a corps of women soldiers to go on active service with the troops at the front. Whilst there are as yet no particulars as to the result of this appeal, the number of girls and women of all classes who are joining the army as individuals is increasing daily. One young girl of 17, who is serving as private in a certain regiment, received recently the St. George's Cross for valour on the field of battle, the first woman to be thus honoured. During battle one of her neighbours was wounded. The Russian troops were retiring at the time, leaving the wounded behind. But after dark this girl soldier and an officer went back to find their comrade. They succeeded in doing so, threw him across their saddles, and turned back pursued by the enemy and murderous rifle fire. The girl's horse was wounded and went lame, but she would not surrender, and turning round returned the enemy's fire. Fortunately, a detachment of Cossacks came up in time to save her. Later on she was wounded when out reconnoitring with a party.

The famous Siberian explorer, Mme. Koudashev, is serving in a cavalry regiment. The woman aviator, Princess Shakors Kaia, offered her services as army air woman. At first the authorities refused her offer because of the danger that in case of capture the enemy would refuse to recognise her as a combatant. But these objections appear to have been overcome, and the Princess is now on active service as a regular member of the Russian aerial arm.

For the purposes of the administration of relief women have for the first time been admitted to sit on Parish Councils in all the country districts.

WOMEN DOCTORS.

At the beginning of the war the Russian Red Cross organisation seems to have shown a tendency to exclude women physicians and surgeons from posts at the base and field hospitals. It has reconsidered its position, however, and it has now officially announced that medical women will be appointed to serve under the Red Cross organisations on exactly the same terms as medical men. The same applies to fifth-year students, who are now being given medical appointments both at the front and at home.

Alexandra Ivanovna Konshina, whose name was mentioned recently as having contributed the largest sum (one million roubles) given by any one individual to the War Relief Fund, died on September 24th. She left twelve million roubles for various charitable purposes.

Women have largely replaced men in all branches of the printing trade in Petrograd. Women compositors are, however, receiving only 20-25 roubles a month for doing exactly the same work for which their male predecessors were paid 36-40 roubles.

For the metal and locksmith trades, which have been working at high pressure since the war, the number of women workers exceeds that of men. On all special orders the women receive equal pay with men.

In Moscow the wives of cabdrivers who have been called to the front have donned their husbands' attire and continue to ply their trade. One of them was at first arrested by the police, but when she explained that she was taking her husband's place in order to support her family, she and subsequently other women in the same position were given formal permission to act as cabdrivers.

The prohibition of women's night labour at factories has been temporarily suspended in view of the great pressure of Government orders.

Extracts from the *Women's Messenger* (December).

ROLL OF HONOUR.

Miss Bell, aged 19, had both legs shot away by a shell while tending the wounded at Mons.

SWITZERLAND.

Swiss women are working actively for their country, for the Red Cross, for the mobilised soldiers, in workshops for unemployed women, employment bureaux, cheap dinners and clothing, and above all, in the struggle against unemployment and misery; but besides all this work, I specially wish to describe to the readers of *Jus Suffragii* work which will interest them more because it is international in character. It is true it is not actual Suffrage work, and if the members of our Associations take part in it, it is purely as individuals. We were not asked to take part as associations, and regret it, but we think we were neither sufficiently well known nor our organisation sufficiently strong for us to be specially invited.

I shall not talk of the committees for helping Belgians. They are at work in almost all the towns of Switzerland (they are not exclusively run by women) and collect money and clothing, and offer hospitality to the unfortunate refugees, either in their own homes or in houses free of rent. At Geneva a committee has been formed to help the inhabitants of the North and East of France who have fled to the Departments in Savoy adjacent to Switzerland. But all this activity, however far-reaching and useful, is not peculiar to our country. On the other hand, Geneva alone is the seat of the "agency for prisoners of war" founded by the International Committee of the Red Cross. The services that it has rendered since the summer are inestimable. It receives the lists of prisoners of war on the whole Western front, and is thus able to make inquiries as to those whom their own country describes as "missing," and to reassure innumerable families. It also serves as intermediary between the prisoners of war and their families for the transmission of packets, money, etc. About 300 volunteers work there regularly, of whom the majority are women. The mail is enormous, and averages 10,000 letters a day—poor, frantic, despairing letters which break the hearts of those who read them; letters from peasant women full of faults of spelling; simple touching letters from mothers who beg us to find their "dear boy," from wives who think they will hasten inquiries by describing their husband, "he has such a fine fair beard"; from great ladies, from princesses whose "only hope is in the Geneva Agency," from political, scientific, and literary committees. Among all there is the terrible equality of uncertainty and suffering. The work is so vast that it has had to be divided into separate departments. One batch of people open the letters and send an acknowledgment; another batch classifies them according to the information furnished in the letters. These particulars must contain the fullest details—at the very least, the Christian and surname, rank, number, the unit to which he belongs, and also an intimation that inquiries made in his own country have proved useless. Precious time is lost for want of full details. Other helpers classify the inquiries on cards alphabetically; others make similar cards from the lists of prisoners of war. Others write the letters containing sad or joyful news of the dear missing ones, sometimes sending the simple announcement of serious wounds or death. An average of 1,200 to 1,300 inquiries are answered daily.

The city of Geneva has put the whole building of the Musée Rath at the disposal of the Agency, over which the Red Cross flag floats, and several adjacent offices are also filled. In the Musée Rath there is also an inquiry bureau for personal applications, and the treasurer's office, which transmits money to prisoners.

REPATRIATION OF CIVIL PRISONERS OF WAR.

Another piece of work occupying many women in Geneva is the repatriation of interned persons. As that is an official matter, it is obvious that it is not entrusted to women, who are not citizens, but their help and devotion have been called upon. In consequence of an understanding proposed by Switzerland and consented to by France, Germany, and Austria, civil persons (women, children, and boys, and old men not of military age) who were in those countries when war was declared, were made prisoners and confined in concentration camps, and are now by degrees exchanged and repatriated through Switzerland as intermediary. Geneva as a frontier town is the last stage of the French men and women returning from Germany and Austria, and the members of the Geneva Committee accompany them to Annemasse, the nearest French town, and is the first stage in a neutral country of the German and Austrian prisoners in France, who are also conducted to the frontier station.

Up to the present about 8,000 interned prisoners, mostly women, have passed through—children's nurses, German

governesses, various employées, theatre singers, animal trainers, French women travelling or taking a cure in Germany, pious old ladies living at Lourdes, young French wives of Germans obliged to leave their native country for that of their husband (one of the beauties of our present marriage laws!), even when they do not know the language; poor peasant women made prisoners in Lorraine on the outbreak of war. It is a procession as varied as it is sad. All these people arrive worn out by the rough life in concentration camps, weary of the interminable journey, shivering in their summer clothes. Often a child is born on the way or another dies. There is full play for pity and sympathy.

The liberated prisoners are met on their arrival at the station by the official commissary and members of the committee, and are given tea and rolls. They are then conducted to a neighbouring building specially fitted up with baths and lavatories, and rest rooms and couches, where they can rest and the children sleep. The committee ladies' help is invaluable in carrying the babies, changing and washing them, supporting the aged, and sometimes supplying medical help, for which members of the Samaritan Medical Help Society are always present. Clothes and linen are supplied, for these poor creatures are often in rags; chocolate, newspapers, post-cards are given. Sometimes the young and strong are taken to see the town and the lake. Two who urgently wished it were taken to mass. They are talked to and their story listened to, and all this sympathy cheers their hearts. All that is possible is done to make their halt at Geneva comforting and cheering. A meal or more according to the length of their stay is provided in a popular restaurant, and often the peasants who have come to market send flowers to decorate the tables, and in return the travellers often make a collection and send the proceeds to a philanthropic society in Geneva. Then the long procession starts again. Two responsible people, a man and a woman, accompany each convoy of eighty people, and at every Swiss station where these trains stop—at Lausanne, at Berne, at Zurich, at Winterthur,—special committees are there to take advantage of the short stops to bring food, clothing, and little gifts.

INFORMATION BUREAU.

I wish also to draw attention to the International Feminist Information Bureau for the victims of the war, founded at Lausanne by Mme. Girardet Vielle. Mme. Vielle is a fervent Suffragist and a member of our Central Committee, and she hopes to be able, through her feminist connections, to get information about missing relatives who do not come within the scope of the Geneva Agency. This bureau does fine work.

Our Swiss women, therefore, have not remained quiet and idle in the great tragedy because our neutrality protects us. On the contrary, we feel that *because we are neutral* we have duties to fulfil, not only to our country, which suffers greatly economically, but towards all the belligerent States. And we are proud to fulfil these duties.

EMILIE GOURD,

President of the National Swiss Association for Woman Suffrage.

P.S.: I wish to repeat here that my services are at the disposal of the readers of *Jus Suffragii* who wish to send letters or newspapers, or to receive them, in the belligerent countries. With regard to prisoners of war, it is better to apply direct to the Geneva Agency.

[Ed. NOTE.—In all cases international coupons should be sent to defray postage.]

THE INTERNATIONAL FEMINIST BUREAU FOR INFORMATION FOR WAR VICTIMS.

Mme. Girardet Vielle formed this office at Lausanne on the outbreak of war, and wishes to thank all the women's societies who have collaborated in the work. The bureau has the double advantage of being connected with the International Red Cross of Geneva and of having the women's organisation to work with.

In answer to Mme. Girardet Vielle's appeal, Fr. L. G. Heymann and Frau Minna Cauer, in Munich and Berlin, have also organised a central information bureau which will facilitate correspondence immensely. But an urgent need is the creation of a similar centre at Copenhagen to do for the Eastern theatre of war what Lausanne is doing for the Western. However much the Red Cross may do, there remains an enormous amount of work for a women's office in tracing civilians. Mrs. Chapman Catt has written to Mme. Girardet Vielle expressing her appreciation of the work done, and her encouragement has given

great pleasure to the promoters of the bureau, who are doing a great work with very little money. It transacts business postage free, and has free use of an office and five typewriters and the voluntary services of about fifty people. Every day more than 200 letters are received and over 300 sent out, besides large quantities that are forwarded. Three thousand families have been indexed and 146 traced.

The Empress of Germany, the Queen of England, M. Poincaré, and the French Minister of War have been approached with a view to obtaining authorisation to communicate directly with commandants and doctors of concentration camps.

SWEDEN.

GLIMPSES FROM OUTSIDE.

A WAR GAIN.

A newspaper heading caught our eye the other day: "A Slaughterhouse that Causes Great Loss," and we took for granted it referred to to-day's Europe. We side, mainly, with those who look upon the present world war as a "bad business," because they have good reason already to see that none of the aims that the respective parties claim or conceal can be procured in this way. But in a case of "a bad business" there is generally somebody else who benefits, and in this instance it seems to be the peace movements which gain in a way that one cannot as yet measure or guess the full extent of. This movement, which has hitherto stood as the weakest and most timid amongst this century's great thought movements seems suddenly to have reached its maturity during these months of blood and horrors, and there is no need for it any longer to move amongst philanthropic sentiments or illogical theories now that the world is ruled by unbending facts. The old cry: "Lay down your arms," one scarcely ever hears nowadays. It sounded so fresh and stimulating in the good old days when a high potentate stood up and waved a palm leaf dipped in holy water before an enraptured humanity, while Bertha von Suttner and William Stead acted as his trainbearer. The new, fire-baptised pacifist, thoroughly divested of the pioneer's charming credulity, leaves "the arms" alone and examines the causes of which they are the symptoms, finding in this way his activities extended to all spheres of social life. Very aptly did Gina Krog observe: "It is not good for the peace-thought to be alone." Now it has got company enough: all thoughts that move in the direction of progress and reform gather round it. For that reason, it seems to us, the movement could afford to drop its sectarian name which hurts so many ears already hypnotised by the sound of the sabre, and sink its identity in the strong (and powerless) stream of reformatory efforts rushing through our decrepit world.

In Holland this new condition has found expression in the "Nederlandische Anti-Oorlog Raad," a union of all sorts of societies, each of which has explicitly or unexpressed the world peace movement on its programme. Another Peace Society started by an English ex-Minister has the merit of revealing through its name, "Union of Democratic Control," the movement's leading principle. It goes without saying that the International Suffrage Alliance is a bearer of these ideas, and as it has not suffered the same fate as the International Socialist Alliance and broken up, it is able, in spite of communication difficulties, through this to fortify its members both in belligerent and neutral countries. English have, before others, the credit of having laid stress on and discussed the, at the present moment, most important world problem, "Constructive peace." Mrs. Pethick Lawrence has crossed the Atlantic Ocean carrying with her a programme to seek to enlist the American women's interest in a "universal opinion" to be presented to the coming Peace Congress. For if this war is quantitatively unprecedented it is necessary that the conclusion of peace should be something "noch nie dagewesenes" quantitatively. In fact, one asks for nothing less than that peace should be arranged independently of the ultimate war result—doing away with antiquated ideas of conqueror and conquered. Such a peace, one argues, will give real gain to all. No doubt it would! Nobody in the old world is likely to believe in the possibility of such a peace, but for all that, it is a star worthy of hitching one's waggon to. There are moments when it would be dishonourable not to despair, but at the same time it is always commendable and great to conquer despair by high idealism.

(From *Hertha*, January 1st, 1915.)

Translated from a speech at Karlskrona S.F.W.F., tenth anniversary meeting.

... We were made Suffragists by getting our eyes opened not only to centuries of injustice, but also to the thousands of possibilities awaiting women. We know that citizenship and citizen responsibilities will make women grow and develop, and we older women look hopefully to the woman of the future—she who need not fight and struggle for even the smallest of rights, she who will have a place as much in the sun as ours has been in the shade, and who, therefore, will be so much greater and better than we. We have lived and worked to remove the obstacles from her way, and we expect her to reach far. We work because we know there are so many latent good forces in woman which can and shall enrich the society in which she lives, enrich her country and humanity at large.

The men have built a high and wonderful social structure, but in this year 1914 we see the world's most civilised countries drowning Europe in blood. Terribly, as during the Middle Ages, rages war in the world. Is it not as if this poor world cried out for a new element in the State? I have heard how the wounded soldiers are comforted by the gentle touch of a woman's hand dressing their wounds. Wounded, mutilated nations may, perhaps, also feel the need of a woman's hand when their wounds come to be bandaged; nay, I say will need it. Is it not already a fact that women to-day do the men's work as well as their own? The women keep up and repair while the men destroy. In such an hour of need and danger men look to women for help. But will the women always be contented to have a right only to save what can be saved from the debris and to bandage wounds, instead of exercising a right to work at preventing such disaster? Will they always put up with carrying life's heavy burden and bring children into the world only to see them killed by a more or less ingenious terrible machinery of war? To work for women's franchise is to work for peace in the world. They know that, the unenfranchised women of Germany, England, Austria-Hungary, France, and Russia, and we Scandinavian women and the women of America know it also. It is a great cause to work for, and it appears greater and deeper the more one understands it.

(*Rösträtt för Kvinnor*, December 1st, 1914.)

UNITED STATES.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

Among the resolutions adopted by the National Convention upon recommendations contained in the committee's report presented by Mrs. Frances Burns, of Michigan, chairman, were the following:—

That the Association urges United States Senators and Representatives to take up at once the amendments pending in Congress for the enfranchisement of women.

That Congress be urged to enact immediately legislation that will protect the rights of women citizens who marry unnaturalised foreigners.

That Congress be petitioned to protect women "against State denial of the rights of citizens of the United States to vote for members of Congress, Presidential electors, and United States Senators in the States where they reside, by making federal laws in pursuance of that clause of the fourteenth amendment of the federal constitution, which says that 'no State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privilege or immunities of citizens of the United States.'" (This is the Federal Suffrage Bill advocated by Kentucky.)

That all women be urged to encourage such industries and institutions as adhere to the principle of "equal pay for equal work, regardless of sex."

Whereas, the present war in the countries of Europe has already turned their fertile fields into desolation, their cities into ruins, their arts and industries into ashes, and has left their people homeless and bereft; and

Whereas, the slow gains of human brotherhood and civilisation are being lost because of the hatred that now supplants love between the people of these countries; and

Whereas, it is our conviction that, if the women of these countries, with their deep instinct of motherhood and desire for the conservation of life, had possessed a voice in the councils of their governments, this deplorable war would never have been allowed to begin; therefore, be it

Resolved: That the N.A.W.S.A., in convention assembled, does hereby affirm the obligation of peace and goodwill toward all men, and further demands the inclusion of women in the

governments of nations, of which they are a part, whose citizens they bear and rear, and whose peace their political liberty would help to secure and maintain.

Resolved: That we commend the efforts of President Wilson to secure peace. Sympathising deeply with the plea of the women of fifteen nations, we ask the President of the United States and the representatives of all the neutral nations to use their best endeavours to bring about a lasting peace, founded upon democracy and world-wide disarmament.

AMERICAN NOTES.

WOMEN AND NATIONAL DEFENCE.

In the second week in December a resolution was introduced into the House by Congressman MacDonald, of Michigan, providing for the submission of the question of national defence to the men and women of the United States. The resolution proposes that a commission shall formulate and submit to the people three alternative projects for naval and military equipment. The significance of this resolution to women is that the referendum proposed by it is to be submitted to the women of the country as well as to the men.

(From *The Suffragist*.)

THE IMMIGRATION BILL.

The new Immigration Bill is now before the Senate, having passed the House of Representatives. It denies the right of entry into the United States to all persons who rebel against their government to the extent of advocating the destruction of property. It is aimed at English militant Suffragists.

(From *The Suffragist*.)

FAMOUS DETECTIVE'S OPINION.

Speaking recently at the Fifth Avenue Suffrage Shop, William J. Burns, detective, stated: "In my twenty-five years' work in the cities of this country, work which has taken me into the thick of affairs, I have seen that the Suffragists, while working for the ballot, are also promoting good citizenship. My experience in detecting criminals has convinced me that universal Suffrage is necessary to bring about many needed reforms. When Suffrage comes, you will select from among your number the women best qualified for public work, and they will make the cities fit places for the children to grow up in. I wish I could put the 'white slave' problem into the hands of a selected group of women in this city whom I could name, and give them the power that men have. They would soon clean it up."

A SUFFRAGE GOVERNOR IN NEW YORK.

The New York Press reports: "Charles S. Whitman, the individual citizen, is for Woman Suffrage, a frank and hearty advocate of equal political rights for men and women. He told Suffrage leaders who called on him that he was ready to vote 'Yes' on the question whenever it should be submitted to the people. 'You all know my views,' Whitman said. 'Speaking as an individual and not officially, I am in favour of extending the franchise to women. There is no doubt in my mind as to their right to exercise it.'"

MUNICIPAL VOTE IN ONTARIO.

The women of Niagara Falls, Ont., may vote. That is, they may vote on municipal matters if they are not married—so injurious to a woman's intelligence is matrimony considered.

The campaign of New York women across the border seems to produce an echo over the Falls. On January 4th, 1915, the voters of Niagara Falls, Ont., are to be consulted on the proposition that marriage shall no longer disqualify from voting a woman otherwise qualified.

Canada, where municipal Suffrage for women is extending rapidly, will find it increasingly hard to resist the force of example of her neighbours when the women of New York are fully enfranchised in November, 1915.

PROGRAMME OF ILLINOIS WOMEN.

The women of Illinois who have Presidential and Municipal Suffrage were advised by Lieutenant-Governor O'Hara to hold a Women's Congress to draw up a programme of recommendations for the State. The following measures were endorsed:

Legislation which will remove from office all officials who do not enforce existing laws;

An eight-hour day for women;

A Child Labour Law to raise the age at which a child may go to work from 14 to 16 years;

Legislation preventing boys under 14 and girls under 18 years from participating in street trades;

Legislation preventing messenger boys under 21 years of age from working between the hours of 9 p.m. and 6 a.m.;

Legislation demanding one day of rest a week;

A minimum wage.

WOMEN TO FIND MISSING PERSONS.

Police Commissioner Woods announces that he is appointing a police matron to special duty in the bureau of missing persons at Police Headquarters. Miss Maude E. Miner, head of the New York Probation School, has long urged that women could most easily obtain information from boarding houses, which constitutes an important part of the work.

(Press Bureau—Empire State Campaign Committee, 303, Fifth Avenue, New York, December 5th, 1914.)

MEDIAEVALISM IN THE HOME.

The medieval view of women that man and wife are one, and the man that one, is not, it would appear, even yet wiped out from the law of New York State. It was supposed that New York had evolved far beyond the chattel view of women, yet the other day Justice Blackmar, of the Supreme Court of Brooklyn, rendered the following decision:—

"Our laws have not reached the point of holding that property which is the result of the husband's earnings and the wife's savings becomes their joint property. No matter how careful and prudent has been the wife, if the money originally belonged to the husband it is still his property, unless evidence shows that it was a gift to the wife. *In this most important of all partnerships there is no partnership of property.*"

The situation between a married couple which led to this decision is one of the most customary in this country. A married man had been in the habit of turning over to his wife a certain weekly sum for housekeeping purposes. By exercising thrift and care the wife had saved a sum of money, which was deposited as a joint account between husband and wife. Unfortunately serious disagreement arose between the married couple, and the woman, wishing to have a small reserve in case of emergency, tried to prevent her husband from drawing out the money she had saved. The husband brought a successful suit against her.

By this decision, in New York State, any surplus which might accrue from unusual ability as a housekeeper belongs in fact not to the woman herself, but to her husband.

A leading woman lawyer commented: "Of what use, then, is it for a woman to save for any purpose, even for the education of her children, unless she can guarantee—a thing that no one can guarantee—that through a period of years her husband is going to be of the same mind as herself! All the power is his. The only programme Anti-Suffragists have offered to women is that they should stay at home and 'save.' The result of years of 'saving' would be that not one cent belonged to her."

Woman Suffrage for the Metlakahtla Indians has been included in the recommendations drawn for the government of these Indians, who inhabit the Annette Islands adjacent to Alaska and under the control of the Secretary of the Interior.

If these recommendations are duly approved, these Indian ladies will be eligible for the National Council of Women Voters, an organisation which bids fair to outclass the Daughters of the American Revolution.

It was last year that John Drew, the famous actor, said, among other things, "Woman Suffrage is a serious menace to the happiness of our home life." It was this year, at the Albany Dog Show, that he scanned the Anti-Suffrage exhibit and then walked over to the Suffrage booth and enrolled.

It was Congressman Heflin, from Alabama, who declared in Congress that the women of his State did not need the vote, because chivalry had already given them all they could possibly want. In Alabama a husband has still the legal right to beat his wife. Even so does the law reflect chivalry!

It was in Palo Alto, California, that the women voters broke the record. Seventy-six more women registered than men. As the result of Woman Suffrage, California has a

registration of 1,219,345 voters, which is said to exceed that of any State west of the Mississippi.

It is in New Jersey that the next Woman Suffrage election comes off, and it is to be a special election held for the purpose next September. The campaign is all mapped out. The workers will use the winter months organising the counties, the spring months in enrolling the voters, and the summer time in covering the State with literature and rallies, so that when the voter goes to the polls he may be unconvinced but he will not be unposted on the merits of the question. What New Jersey will do with the Suffrage question has a special interest, due to the fact that women under its first constitution had the right to vote on equal terms with men, and this right was taken away by the Democratic party in 1807.

Miss Chittenden is reported as saying that the Anti-Suffragists believe in women filling public positions if they "are not hampered by family ties." And Alice Duer Miller asks, "Hampered, Miss Chittenden? Is that how Anti-Suffragists look on family ties?"

ANNA CADOGAN ETZ,
Up-State Woman Suffrage Press.
December 17, 1914.

MRS. SCHWIMMER'S PEACE MISSION.

THE PETITION TO PRESIDENT WILSON.
SWEDEN.

The Swedish National Woman Suffrage Association has asked for the following statement:—

The breaking out of the war caused great difficulties in the communications between the different countries. It was evidently because of this that the Swedish N.W.S.A. was found among the signatories to the proposal of peace action drawn up by Mrs. Rosika Schwimmer. The Swedish N.W.S.A. telegraphed its agreement to the general proposal of mediation to be presented by Mrs. Schwimmer to the President of the U.S.A., but the more detailed printed draft was unknown to the Association before it was received in print.

In the name of historical truth the Swedish N.W.S.A. feels obliged to state that what in the year 1905 prevented the breaking out of a war on the Scandinavian Peninsula was the love of peace in both countries and the firm resolution of the late King Oscar to prevent, at any cost, a war between the brother nations.

FRANCE.

As Mrs. Fawcett and Frau Elma Munch wrote in the November number of *Jus Suffragii*, Mme. de Witt Schlumberger writes us in the name of the French Union for Women's Suffrage that the name of France or a French Society has been included in error on the list signing the petition presented in September to President Wilson and asking his intervention for peace.

The correction would have been made sooner, but Mme. de Witt Schlumberger has only recently received the petition and list.

ROSIKA SCHWIMMER'S MANIFESTO.

A REPLY.

With regard to the manifesto: "To all men and women and organisations, who wish to stop the international massacre at the earliest possible moment." This plan is interesting, but we must not hide from ourselves that it will meet with great obstacles. It is self-evident that everything is organised for war, whilst the supporters of peace are satisfied with words rather than deeds. Professor Patrick Geddes has suggested that after the war the forces of peace should be as thoroughly organised as those of war. A peace army is as necessary as a war army.

The present war will only cease, at least it is to be hoped so, with the complete crushing of militarism, whether it be German, English, French, or Russian, and all the mediation that can be offered before this result is attained will be necessarily ill-received.

The peace army is evidently the army of workers of all kinds, who work at construction, not at destruction. And it is clear that this army is not yet organised as it should be.

HENRIETTE HAMON,
AUGUSTIN HAMON,
Professor at the New University of Brussels.

"On Earth Peace, Goodwill towards Men."

TO THE WOMEN OF GERMANY AND AUSTRIA.

Open Christmas Letter.

SISTERS.—

Some of us wish to send you a word at this sad Christmastide, though we can but speak through the Press. The Christmas message sounds like mockery to a world at war, but those of us who wished and still wish for peace may surely offer a solemn greeting to such of you who feel as we do. Do not let us forget that our very anguish unites us, that we are passing together through the same experiences of pain and grief.

Caught in the grip of terrible Circumstance, what can we do? Tossed on this turbulent sea of human conflict, we can but move ourselves to those calm shores whereon stand, like rocks, the eternal verities—Love, Peace, Brotherhood.

We pray you to believe that come what may we hold to our faith in Peace and Goodwill between nations; while technically at enmity in obedience to our rulers, we own allegiance to that higher law which bids us live at peace with all men.

Though our sons are sent to slay each other, and our hearts are torn by the cruelty of this fate, yet through pain supreme we will be true to our common womanhood. We will let no bitterness enter in this tragedy, made sacred by the life-blood of our best, nor mar with hate the heroism of their sacrifice. Though much has been done on all sides you will, as deeply as ourselves, deplore, shall we not steadily refuse to give credence to those false tales so freely told us, each of the other?

We hope it may lessen your anxiety to learn we are doing our utmost to soften the lot of your civilians and war prisoners within our shores, even as we rely on your goodness of heart to do the same for ours in Germany and Austria.

Do you not feel with us that the vast slaughter in our opposing armies is a stain on civilisation and Christianity, and that still deeper horror is aroused at the thought of those innocent victims, the countless women, children, babes, old and sick, pursued by famine, disease, and death in the devastated areas, both East and West?

As we saw in South Africa and the Balkan States, the brunt of modern war falls upon non-combatants, and the conscience of the world cannot bear the sight. Is it not our mission to preserve life? Do not humanity and commonsense alike prompt us to join hands with the women of neutral countries, and urge our rulers to stay further bloodshed?

Relief, however colossal, can reach but few. Can we sit still and let the helpless die in their thousands, as die they must—unless we rouse ourselves in the name of Humanity to save them? There is but one way to do this. We must all urge that peace be made with appeal to Wisdom and Reason. Since in the last resort it is these which must decide the issues, can they begin too soon, if it is to save the womanhood and childhood as well as the manhood of Europe?

Even through the clash of arms we treasure our poet's vision, and already seem to hear

"A hundred nations swear that there shall be
Pity and Peace and Love among the good and free."

May Christmas hasten that day. Peace on Earth is gone, but by renewal of our faith that it still reigns at the heart of things, Christmas should strengthen both you and us and all womanhood to strive for its return.

We are yours in this sisterhood of sorrow,

Emily Hobhouse, Helen Bright Clark (Mrs. W. Clark), Sophia Sturge, Lily Sturge, the Hon. Lady Barlow, Margaret G. Bondfield, Mary Trevelyan (Mrs. Charles Trevelyan), Isabella A. Rowntree (Mrs. Joshua Rowntree), Nora Hobhouse (Mrs. Leonard Hobhouse), Dorothea Hollins (sec., Fulham and Hammersmith Branch Women's Labour League), H. M. Swanwick (Mrs. Swanwick), Margaret Ashton (Councillor), A. Maude Royden, Margaret Llewelyn Davies, Elizabeth Gibson Cheyne, M. K. Gandhi (Mrs.), Gertrude Bone (Mrs. Muirhead Bone), Agnes Hubbard (Councillor), Lilla Brockway (Mrs. Fenner Brockway), Margaret Moscheles (Mrs. Felix Moscheles), Ada Salter (Mrs. Alfred Salter), Katharine Bruce Glazier (Mrs.), Eva Gore Booth, C. E. Playne, Edith A. Roberts, Dorothy H. Cornish, Ruth Cornish, Esther G. Roper, M. H. Huntsman, M. Cornish, M. G. Cornish, Elinor J. Heaton (Mrs. J. A. Heaton), Mary Morel (Mrs. E. D. Morel), Mary L. Cooke, Helena I. Clanchy, A. Barclay, P. H. Peckover, Theodora M. Wilson, Rebecca Garnett (Mrs. William Garnett), Florence E. Hobson (Mrs. J. A. Hobson), Kathleen Outhwaite (Mrs. R. L. Outhwaite), Anne Cobden-Sanderson, Helena Hirst (Mrs. F. W. Hirst), Josephine Thompson, Edith S. Bright, Richarda Gillett, M.D., Mrs. Frederick Mackerness, Isabella O. Ford, Florence Luard, Edith M. H. A. Bigland (Mrs. Percy Bigland), "Constance Smedley" (Mrs. Armfield), Helen Webb, M.B., Lucy Gardner, H. Franklin (Mrs.), Elizabeth Helen Ford, E. Sylvia Pankhurst, Laura G. Ackroyd (sub-editor of *Inquirer*), Nora O'Shea, Margaret Brackenbury Crook, Ellen Crook (Mrs.), Annie L. White, Dr. Marion Phillips (gen. sec., Women's Labour League), C. P. Sanger (Mrs.), Ada Jane Hooper, Annie M. Orchard (Mrs. W. E. Orchard), Isabella Jones, E. M. Chesson, Hannah Maria Taylor, Jeanne Mitchell (Mrs.), Emmeline Cadbury (Mrs. W. A. Cadbury), Maria L. Swanson (late hon. sec. Darlington Branch National Union Women's Suffrage Societies), Alice A. Lucas, Clara C. Lucas, A. Burt Woodhead,

Thomasine A. Swanson, Louie Bennett, Helen S. Chenevix, Clara Moser, Mary H. Saunders, E. M. Norman, Margaret I. Saunders, Ada Prouse, Rachel Lewis, Bella Gossip, Jane Hume (Women's Labour League); Jessie Payne, Norah L. Smyth, Mary Wratten (Mrs.), Mrs. S. Cahill, Ellie Kummer, Lillian Harris (sec., Women's Co-operative Guild); Annie B. Woodhouse, Julie E. Tomlinson, Minnie Cheetham, Mary V. Hoffman, Esther Howard (Knutsford Women's Suffrage Society); Annot E. Robinson, Marguerite A. C. Douglas, Ann Yates, Dorothy Smith (Manchester).

Tributes to "Jus Suffragii" and Headquarters.

Doubts were expressed at the beginning of the war as to whether the publication of *Jus Suffragii* could be continued or would be welcome. From many letters received it is evident that our international paper is expressing the points of view that members of the International Alliance wish to have expressed. We quote a few of the appreciations received, both of *Jus Suffragii* and of the work of the Headquarters Committee:—

Let me express my gratification that the Headquarters Committee has converted an enforced stay of Suffrage work to such excellent account. I am glad that the international idea of the Alliance has been sustained so well in the relief work. . . . I feel proud that the Alliance, through its headquarters' officers, has measured up this call with so much understanding, sympathy, and skill.

CLARA M. SCHLINGHEYDE,

New York.

I am exceedingly pleased with the recent improvement in the paper, which, owing to the more general character of the articles contributed, is now eminently readable by everyone, even in war time.

REGINALD H. POTT,

London.

We in Denmark are very much satisfied with the good work you are doing in London. We feel proud of you. We appreciate, too, the noble attitude of *Jus Suffragii*.

ELINE HANSEN,

Denmark.

I was greatly interested in the November number of *Jus*, and think you have solved a difficult question very happily.

HELEN CHADWICK,

London.

We have all been very satisfied with your work.

NADINE TOPELIUS,

Finland.

It is always a joy now to receive *Jus Suffragii*. One learns through it how much common interests unite women of all lands even to-day, in spite of all that naturally in war time tends to separate them, especially as they feel more at one with their own nation than ever, and take sides passionately with their own people. In spite of that, the sorrow for sacrificed life and the impulse to help and heal is shown in all countries. Special thanks are due in this connection to the Editor of *Jus Suffragii*, who has shown admirable tact in carrying out her task of conducting an international paper from London in war time. Everything is avoided that could in any way hurt the feelings of women in the belligerent countries, and the Editor does her utmost to get news of the women's movement from countries with which England is at war.

ELSE LUDERS,

in *Zeitschrift für Frauenstimmrecht*,

Berlin.

Your editing of *Jus* is admirable.

SUBSCRIBER,

Switzerland.

Jus Suffragii was never so useful as now to the Suffragists of all countries as a medium of inter-communication.

THE "IRISH CITIZEN."

We are quite agreed that Headquarters could not be conducted in a better way anywhere else. We are full of admiration of the splendid way in which you have managed things through these trying times. It could not have been done better in a neutral country. The numbers of *Jus* which I have seen I find quite admirable for their impartiality and for the international spirit still prevailing in spite of all.

SIGNE BERGMAN,

Sweden.

The international women's movement has reason to be proud of the manner in which it has withstood the devastating effects of the war. In the December issue of *Jus Suffragii* reports and messages are presented from the women's organisations of the different countries of Europe, and even in the belligerent countries it is clear that the feeling of international unity remains.

"LABOUR LEADER,"

England.

"Many thanks for the splendid work the Headquarters has done in true international spirit, and with most hearty wishes for a far better year than this one has been for us all, but most specially for the belligerent countries."

ANNA WICKSELL, Sweden.

"I have received the November number of *Jus Suffragii*, and am in entire agreement with its contents, and thank you most warmly. I do not think an international paper could be better edited."

FRIDA PERLEN, Stuttgart.

Das Unglueck hat Europa heimgesucht—
Verheerend haust der Krieg, faellt Mann und Ross,
Ja, Tag um Tag traenkt er den Sand mit Blut,
Das in den Adern unserer Besten floss.

Geschleudert in die Massen hat der Krieg
Die blutige Fackel des Verderbens wild,
Das nur der Menschen schlecht'sten Trieb entfacht,
Und jede innere bessere Regung stillt.

Wo man sich wohl und gluecklich sonst gefuehlt,
Ward ploetzlich ueber Nacht der Freund zum Feind,
Aus jedem Antlitz, das das Auge trifft,
Der Hass, die Frucht des Kriegs, zu blicken scheint.

Und so in Feindes Land, wie andere auch
Verjagt so rauh von meiner Taetigkeit,
Wo kaum man wagt der eigenen Sprache Laut,
Gestrandet war auch ich in dieser Zeit.

Da bracht' das Schicksal mich in das Bereich
Der Frau, dort wo sie schafft und wirkt und heilt
Die Wunden, die der Krieg gebracht, und oft
Zur Rettung mancher Ungluecklichen eilt.

Und es ward mir vergoentnt, an diesem Platz,
Zu helfen an dem Werk, so gut und hehr,
Umgeben nur von Guete liebevoll—
Es trifft das Ohr kein Wort des Hasses mehr.

Wie wohl das tut, wie mich das gluecklich macht
Zu weilen unter solchen Menschen heut,
Zu ihren Fuessen lege ich daher,
Von ganzem Herzen meine Dankbarkeit.

L. B.

[En. NOTE.—This poem is contributed by a German girl who came to the I.W.S.A. Office seeking help on the outbreak of war, and stayed on as one of the most useful workers in the office.]

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S RELIEF COMMITTEE.

The terrible sufferings of destitute Belgians not only continue but grow worse, and unless united effort on the part of all other nations is made, famine and disease will exterminate those who have escaped the speedier death of fire and sword. The refugees in Holland, in spite of all that the Dutch can do, are suffering from overcrowding and exposure and lack of sanitation, and urgent steps are needed to help these unfortunates. This committee has continued to send over clothes and money to buy food; altogether about 700 cases of warm clothes have been sent, and a welcome present of 100 sheep's carcasses was received from the Government of Victoria and sent on to Holland to help provide Christmas dinners.

This committee has urged that more of these helpless sufferers should be brought to England, where a warm welcome awaits them, it being obviously impossible for a small country like Holland to grapple with this living flood, and it being an unfair burden to impose on their generosity.

CAMPS FOR PRISONERS OF WAR.

Two members of the committee are making special efforts to provide increased comfort for prisoners of war interned in

concentration camps. The Church League is also providing them with German books.

INQUIRY BUREAU.

A number of inquiries have been received from the Baden and Munich Women Suffrage Committees, which have undertaken to put Germans in England into communication with their relations, and also from the Bureau Feministe at Lausanne. We welcome gladly this opportunity of co-operating with our German and Swiss sisters and helping to reassure anxious relatives. It may be well to inform friends of German and Austrian women that in no case are they interned or molested. They must register at a police court, and must inform the police of change of address. Those who are in situations can safely remain there. There is sometimes difficulty in finding fresh employment, so that we advise any girl who leaves her situation to return to her own country. No obstacle is placed in the way of women wishing to return to Germany or Austria, and this committee continues to give all the help in its power and arranges weekly parties, which are personally escorted to the German frontier, and in some cases farther. Over 800 have already been sent. A small fee is charged to those able to afford it, which pays the expense of the conductor, and help is given to those without means.

HOSPITALITY FOR BELGIANS.

Although, generally speaking, all Belgians in England are under the care of the War Refugees' Committee, and are referred by us to them, a few special cases have appealed to us, sometimes from those in Suffrage organisations, and we have done what we could to help them. One lady, the wife of a major in the Belgian Army, arrived from Brussels, having heard that her husband was wounded and in hospital here. Inquiries, alas! showed that the name had been mistaken, and no news was to be had of the missing officer. Another lady with two little boys arrived from Antwerp, having heard no word from her husband since the fall of the city. A home was found for all three at Windsor. Two teachers, mother and daughter, being, like so many, unable to carry on their work, but wishful to earn something in England, were found hospitality. The daughter, whose fiancé was fighting, had had no news of him since September. Such are some of the anxieties of a nation in exile.

TOYS FOR GERMAN CHILDREN.

One of our subscribers has shown sympathy for the families of interned men by giving Christmas presents for some of the children.

GERMAN WIVES OF BRITISH PRISONERS.

A new problem has arisen with the arrival of a number of German women, some of them unable to speak English, but who have been sent over here, as they have married Englishmen who are interned in Germany. We have, therefore, besides numerous English-born wives of Germans, also German-born wives of British to help. Work has been found for several of them, and assistance is being given from relief funds.

FUNDS.

The general funds of the Relief Committee are now very low, and contributions will be gratefully received, especially such as may be used for the relief of distressed Austrian and German women.

Ought There to be an International Congress of Women in the Near Future.

I wish to put on record my view that an international meeting of women, while the war is still raging, is highly undesirable. Many women would be unable to attend; but this is not my chief objection. Such a gathering might not improbably lead away from closer co-operation and deeper mutual understanding between women of the different nations, and tend actually to provoke and accentuate discord.

War inevitably produces a passionate and intense glow in the fires of Nationalism: Each nation engaged in this war feels its very existence is at stake; each believes its cause to be the cause of justice and freedom; each has suffered and sacrificed much, and is prepared to suffer and sacrifice much more, because each feels, rightly or wrongly, that it is fighting for its very life. This intense National feeling causes a corresponding diminution in the glow of Internationalism. However much we may all of us in the International Women's Suffrage Alliance believe in Internationalism, however strongly we are convinced that co-operation and not war is the higher

destiny of nations, this ideal for the time has to be subordinate to the National ideal in each of the contending countries. This point was, I believe, very strongly emphasised by Mr. Vandervelde in his recent speech to the Fabian Society in London.

To bring the women representing the belligerent countries together in a Congress at such a crisis is, it seems to me, to court disaster. We should run the risk of outbursts of uncontrollable Nationalism as opposed to Internationalism, and we might very probably see something like the scandal which has sometimes marred Peace Congresses, where the delegates, with the name of Peace on their lips, have been known to come to blows with their hands and umbrellas. Let us hope women would have more self-control; but who can tell?

Anything approaching this would be a serious disaster. Let us who are both Nationalists and Internationalists have faith and patience. If the fire of Internationalism is burning low at the present moment, let us guard the sacred fire and tend and feed it carefully as occasion offers, but do not let us expose it to the hurricane of Nationalism now raging, which might go far to extinguish the tiny spark which still lives. Guarding the sacred fire was woman's task in the earliest dawn of history: let it be ours to-day.

In conclusion, I will only add that I feel so strongly the undesirability of holding an International Congress of Women at the present juncture that I should decline to attend it, even if it were called by my honoured chief and beloved President, Mrs. Chapman Catt. MILlicent GARRETT FAWCETT.

HUNGARIAN MEN SAY WOMAN SUFFRAGE WOULD PREVENT WAR.

That the enfranchisement of women would have prevented the outbreak of European war is the opinion held and expressed in a resolution by the Men's League for Woman Suffrage in Hungary. The Men's League was a thriving organisation before the outbreak of war, which called to the front all men of age for military service. The remaining members, older men, most of them of high standing in the academic and business worlds, called a meeting in Budapest, in which speaker after speaker supported the opinion that Woman Suffrage would be efficacious to prevent war.

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