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MESSAGE TO THE I.W.S.A.

If our President, Mrs. Chapman Catt, were within reach, I am sure she would send a message to our friends and colleagues in each country auxiliary to the I.W.S.A. that would be helpful at the present hour. In Mrs. Catt's absence I must endeavour, however inadequately, to supply her place.

I want particularly to say this: We are faced by the disruption, the animosity, the misunderstanding caused by war; but all the same, notwithstanding the cruel strain, we must firmly resolve to hold our International Alliance together. We must believe all through that good is stronger than evil, that justice and mercy are stronger than hatred and destruction, just as life is stronger than death. We women who have worked together for a great cause have hopes and ideals in common; these are indestructible links binding us together. We have to show that what unites us is stronger than what separates us. Between many of us there is also the further link of personal friendship cemented by many years of work together. We must hold on through all difficulties to these things which are good in themselves and must therefore be a strong help to us all through these days of trial.

In nearly all countries, whether belligerent or not, the war has caused great suffering. In ~~our~~ country in particular the suffering has already been overwhelming. Suffragists in each country will, I feel confident, set themselves heroically to the work of healing, restoring, assuaging, remembering always that women stand for the life force and the future, impersonated in the woman and the child.

At the I.W.S.A., ordinary international Suffrage work being for the time suspended, Headquarters Committee have undertaken to extend help of various kinds to the large numbers of foreign women left stranded and in some cases penniless and friendless in London in consequence of the war. Our treasurer, Mrs. Coit, and our recording secretary, Miss Macmillan, have been indefatigable in carrying out this work; they have been at the office every day and all day working at it ever since the war began. They have been helped in this most important and difficult task by a large band of willing volunteers. Details will be found on another page.

On behalf of my colleagues I offer to each country auxiliary to the Alliance an expression of deep sympathy and sorrow. In many countries we have to face the fact that the immediate realisation of our hopes in regard to Women's Suffrage has been frustrated by the war. But this should by no means cause us to despair. Good work done for the equal citizenship of women will not be lost, and is certain to bear fruit in due season. The unprecedented calamity of an almost world-wide war, bringing millions of men face to face with each other for mutual slaughter, destroying daily millions and millions of painfully accumulated property, besides the priceless and irreparable monuments of antiquity, will throw a fresh light on the necessity for a political reorganisation of society, giving

power to the masses of the people and to women to control their own lives and destinies.

If the political citizenship of women in all the countries concerned had become an established fact long enough to secure its organisation into concrete political power, it is impossible to doubt that this power would have been used to ensure such a political reorganisation of Europe as would have rendered it certain that international disputes and grievances should be referred to law and reason, and not to the clumsy and blundering tribunal of brute force. The very vastness of the present calamity may bring a remedy to prevent its ever happening again. This is what we should all strive for.

MILLICENT GARRETT FAWCETT.

INTERNATIONAL MANIFESTO OF WOMEN.

Drawn up by the International Woman Suffrage Alliance and delivered on July 31st at the Foreign Office and Foreign Embassies in London.

We, the women of the world, view with apprehension and dismay the present situation in Europe, which threatens to involve one continent, if not the whole world, in the disasters and horrors of war. In this terrible hour, when the fate of Europe depends on decisions which women have no power to shape, we, realising our responsibilities as the mothers of the race, cannot stand passive by. Powerless though we are politically, we call upon the Governments and Powers of our several countries to avert the threatened unparalleled disaster. In none of the countries immediately concerned in the threatened outbreak have women any direct power to control the political destinies of their own countries. They find themselves on the brink of the almost unbearable position of seeing all that they most reverence and treasure, the home, the family, the race, subjected not merely to risks, but to certain and extensive damage which they are powerless either to avert or assuage. Whatever its result the conflict will leave mankind the poorer, will set back civilisation, and will be a powerful check to the gradual amelioration in the condition of the masses of the people, on which so much of the real welfare of nations depends.

We women of twenty-six countries, having banded ourselves together in the International Women's Suffrage Alliance with the object of obtaining the political means of sharing with men the power which shapes the fate of nations, appeal to you to leave untried no method of conciliation or arbitration for arranging international differences which may help to avert deluging half the civilised world in blood.

Signed on behalf of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance,

MILLICENT GARRETT FAWCETT,
First Vice-President.
CHRYSTAL MACMILLAN,
Recording Secretary.

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PROTEST AGAINST WAR.

INTERNATIONAL MEETING OF WOMEN IN LONDON,
AUGUST 4.REPRINTED FROM *Votes for Women*.

The great women's demonstration against war on August 4 had been called at a moment when peace seemed possible, but it was held in the very darkest hour that the world had ever known. And yet to many of those present the gathering was even more wonderful than the occasion that had called it forth; much more significant. They trusted that the war was the last great violent outburst of evil passions of greed and lust and hate which had shadowed the world since history began; they believed that the gathering was the earnest of the new splendid spirit that should brood over the face of the quietened waters and the devastated but expectant world; the spirit of woman's love and loyalty and sympathy for woman, and through her for humanity. Never before had such disaster threatened the world; never before had the conscious, organised, articulate women of all classes and parties and of several nations met to make, on behalf of womanhood and childhood and the home, a protest against the time-honoured methods of brutal force by which men—regardless of half the race—have seen fit to settle their national disputes. It was a protest, passionate, sane, and practical, of the civilised against the barbaric; of the spiritual against the material, and of the mother who takes thought for the future happiness of her children against the destructiveness of a brief, insensate rage.

Olive Schreiner was on the platform, better informed than any others as to the horrors of war, and hating it the more; Mrs. Fawcett, Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. George Cadbury, Madame Malmberg, the Finnish patriot, Madame Schwimmer, Hungarian representative on the International Suffrage Alliance, and many others.

It was particularly interesting to hear the foreign speakers. Madame Gellrich, of Germany, the first of these, received a great welcome from that crowded audience. She had come to England to see our beautiful cities, she said. She had admired our industries, she had been delighted by the development of the woman's movement; she had looked forward to Englishwomen becoming enfranchised very soon, and German women quickly following suit, and then the two great nations standing side by side to teach the world the beauty of peace. And now there came this fatal war. The idea of war was in the air. Men—always so easily influenced—said, "There must be war." Let women tell them there must be no war. She appealed for peace.

MME. SCHWIMMER'S PASSIONATE APPEAL.

Mme. Schwimmer said without all speaking the same language they could understand each other's hearts. There was the same great passion in each, a prayer for peace. She envied those countries which could yet speak of peace as possible. Her own country was already at war, and she knew what war might bring the women of a country. She had heard a week before from her own people a terrible story of industries that had ceased because the workers were called to the war, and no man between the ages of eighteen and fifty left at his usual occupation; the country ruined, the men fighting desperately, the women with the horror of dishonour in their minds.

"The old civilisation will be destroyed," said Mme. Malmberg. "It is for us women and workers to see to it that we build a cleaner world in its place."

It was a shrewd and essentially feminine remark of Mme. Thoumaian, the Swiss speaker, "Everyone speaks of war as if it were a dispensation from the Almighty; something like measles, that we cannot avoid, and so must accept with patience." She went on to urge that, like the Sabine women,

the women of modern Europe should exhaust every effort in an attempt to save their menfolk from the horrors of war, and if everything else failed, themselves to go on strike for peace.

No speech was finer than that of Mrs. Barton, President of the Women's Co-operative Guild, who spoke for 32,000 working women when she protested that if the people of the country had been consulted, war would not have been declared.

THE SPEECHES.

Mrs. Henry Fawcett, who presided, as vice-president of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, referred to the unparalleled suffering to thousands which would be caused by this terrible war. Voteless women were not responsible for the complicated series of political events which had led up to the war. (Applause.) They could not prevent war or permit it, but as citizens they had their duty to perform. The highest and most precious of national and international aspirations and hopes would have to be set aside. The greatest comfort was that where tens and twenties of people had been concerned to stop "this insensate devilry" in days gone by, millions were so concerned now. (Applause.)

"Let us call upon the women of all nations," said Mrs. Creighton, "to work together with us towards producing an atmosphere of peace." At the great International Council of Women in Rome only a few short weeks ago, when there were delegates present from all the nations of Europe, those present had felt that the interests, hopes, and aspirations of all women were the same. This war would be a purging of the nations. Something that women could do was to keep down to a certain extent the panic and the war fever in this country, and advance on every possible occasion the cause of friendship with women of other nations.

Nowhere were there more anxious hearts and minds, said Mrs. Barton, of the Women's Co-operative Guild, than in the homes of the working-class women of our country. Everywhere women were against the war, especially working women, who know what it means not only to have those they love taken from them, but to see their children in need of food. Women were heart-broken at the thought of this terrible calamity. It had been said that there was a great feeling between the nations, but she denied that there was any feeling of hostility whatever between the peoples of the countries. Women had got to make their voices heard, and in a country like ours the people should have real representation, because it was the people who would have to pay the price. Women must have political power.

"IT IS NOT MY FAULT."

She told how, coming up from Sheffield, an old sailor, fifty years of age, was put into the carriage by his friends, and afterwards two young Germans got in. On the platform was the eldest son of the old sailor in such a terrible state of grief that he had to be supported, as he came to see his old father off to the war. Strong men and women wept together. As the train passed out of the station one of the Germans, a young married man, stood up and put out his hand to the old man, and said, "By God, we are enemies; give me your hand—it is not my fault." They shook hands, and the old sailor replied, "It is hell, my lad. Why could not it have been settled by arbitration? I have travelled all over the world, have given thirty years' service to the Navy in China and Japan, and have never made an enemy of a foreigner, but plenty of friends."

Mrs. Swanwick, who spoke on behalf of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, said that the way women acted in this crisis would be an argument for or against their enfranchisement. All organised women were against the war. Women were the guardians of the race; when men took to killing each other, women had to take up the work of men. When men went to war, women had to replenish the earth when men had devastated it. It was upon that that women based their right to be heard in a crisis of war. Women were organised in Great Britain as never before, and they could be patriotic without causing one other woman to weep. They could do the best service without injuring any other country.

Mrs. St. Clair Stobart said that the crisis had brought home to her very forcibly the necessity for inclusion of women in the councils of the nations. A double standard of morality prevailed in the world. There was one standard of morality for women and another for men, one standard for individuals and another for nations, and it was indisputable that until women were included in councils which concerned the morality of nations this standard would be maintained, which condemns the murder of an individual, but even extols murder when it is wholesome. If it were

wrong to take one human life, it was equally wrong to take thousands. Women were the custodians of human life, which had been given into their charge. Men respected their treasures, and if the slightest injury was done by a penknife across a piece of canvas the perpetrator was severely punished. Women were not allowed to fight in defence of their treasures, of their life's work, which was human happiness.

Mme. Gellrich, of Germany, said that no declaration of war would make women of different countries hate each other. Women were not on the earth to hate but to love. The way to show our civilisation was not by killing each other, but by helping each other.

The terrible evils which English people were dreading, said Mme. Schwimmer, of Hungary, were already a reality in her country. Trade was stopped, and Parliament closed because the Speaker and most of the members of Parliament had gone into the fighting line. (Applause from the audience, which evidently approved of that picture.) Mme. Schwimmer proceeded to narrate to the audience a story from her own knowledge illustrating with awful poignancy the unutterable horrors involved in a state of war. At home women's work was stopped, children were already starving. Men, she said, were already murderers, and like cattle were being killed. Women must use every effort in their power to stop this war. Every single moment with which they were able to hasten the end of what was going on meant saving thousands of lives of men, women, and children. Women were looking forward to a human world instead of a man-made world, in which there would be no War Ministers but Peace Ministers. (Applause.)

Mme. Malmberg, of Finland, who pleaded for a "cleaner world," said the wholesale slaughter in time of war was not of the sons of kings and emperors, but the sons of working people. The Jingo Press, which was forcing war upon us, for honour's sake, was ashamed to mention Russia as Britain's friend and ally. England was really being asked to fight to keep the Czar upon his throne and enable him to beat down the free people of her native land.

THE SABINE WOMEN RECALLED.

Mme. Thoumaian, of Switzerland, reminded the audience how the Sabine women had thrown themselves between their husbands and their brothers and so stopped war. If women had not succeeded till now in restoring peace, they had not worked hard enough; they must strike against this war.

The National Federation of Women Workers was represented by Miss Macarthur, who said that the people had not been consulted at all in the crisis. It needed more courage to advocate peace than war, and women would not be found lacking. It was for the women and the men who were true to their manhood to stretch out their hands to those of other nations asking them to fight for peace. People were talking about England's honour. Was it to the honour of England that millions of women should be toiling for starvation wages and little children should be suffering? The war which women were engaged in was the war against poverty.

Mrs. George Cadbury and Dr. Marion Phillips also spoke. Two resolutions were put to the meeting and carried with unanimity and enthusiasm. The first was in similar terms to the International Manifesto, which is set out in full on page 159. The second was to the effect that women's societies were urged to use their organisations to help the sufferers from the economic dislocation caused by the war.

FRENCH SUFFRAGISTS AND THE WAR.

The following letter has been issued by the President of the U.F.S.F.:

DEAR SISTERS OF THE UNION,

In the terrible hours of crisis that our beloved country is passing through, and when the majority of us have hearts aching with the parting from husband, son, or brother, we feel more than ever drawn together and members of the same family, for we have the same suffering and the same hope in our hearts.

The Union expects every member to do her duty with simplicity and generosity, helping her country in some way after speeding her loved ones on their way to the frontier. This letter would have been sent to you sooner if communications had permitted. In such a solemn hour as the present tears must only flow inwardly; outwardly they must be repressed, and work must be done. We urge our members strongly to do their duty and offer their services to the Red Cross or relief works.

But there is not only the duty of nursing the wounded and

helping the destitute. A duty lies close to everyone's hand, that of keeping the country's wheels running in men's absence.

M. Viviani, President of the Council, has said in his Appeal to Women that the men's departure leaves the work of the fields interrupted; harvest and vintage must be gathered in.

"In the name of the Government of the Republic, I appeal to your pluck and to that of your children. I beg you to keep up all work in the fields, to get in the harvest, and prepare for that of next year. You could not render your country a greater service. The provisioning of those who defend the frontier depends on you."

Dear Sisters of the French Union, speak and act in the sense of these commands. No service is too humble in the public service; the only thing that matters is to do one's duty bravely, wherever it may be. By taking charge of children much can be done; the support of the family and the race is women's peculiar charge at present. Let us fill all offices and occupations which by serving our neighbour benefit France. Women who now dare to live in idleness will be guilty and disgraced.

We may think that if women in all countries had the Suffrage they would have prevented the war, while respecting the honour and rights of countries, but it is not the moment to speak of it. Still less is it the moment for any sort of feminist demonstration against the war, such as I have been invited to make; our duty to our country forbids such a demonstration at this moment.

Later on we may hope for international action on the part of women of all countries, emanating from America, and undertaken in the name of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance and the International Council of Women. As for us Frenchwomen, let us show by our calm and courageous attitude, by our devoted hearts and hands, and by our intelligent action, that we are worthy to help to direct our country since we are capable of serving it.

DE WITT SCHLUMBERGER,
President U.F.S.F.

TO MISS McMILLAN, MISS SHEEPSHANKS,
ROSIKA SCHWIMMER, AND OTHER
SUFFRAGE FRIENDS.

My Dear Friends,—Just a few words. I hope I need not say that I was fully in sympathy with what the board of officers of the Alliance has done to prevent this terrible war. When I received your letter and the question about going to our Queen, I knew already that it was too late to interfere. Day and night I trouble my brains what we can do to stop this scandalous bloodshed. Ought not the women of the whole world to send a strong and serious protest to the different Emperors, Kings, and other responsible men? No meetings, but a world-wide protest in written letters. One alone can do nothing, but big organisations can perhaps do anything. Are we only there to cure the wounds that men made?

It is Sunday evening, the one evening in the week I find a few hours to write; the whole week I am occupied from morning till midnight. Although my peaceful country is not yet in real war, every moment can bring us in that state. We feel already all the awful results of the war. In every street, in every house, is now misery. A large part of the industry is stopped, because the heads of important departments are now in military service, or because a lot of working-men have been called away. Most of the men have been sent to the frontiers so suddenly that they have left their wives and children behind in the greatest misery.

A lot of women arrive here with their little ones from the different countries at war, without anything else than what they wear, because their husbands had to serve as soldiers, and in the foreign countries they got no time to pack some necessities before they were sent away. I cannot tell you how immense the misery is now already in my dear country.

We have stopped our Suffrage work. There is so much more important work now for us to do. And why should we go on? Is it not terrible to sit and wait what one or other crowned head wishes to do with us and not be able to interfere?

But, pardon me, I was not going to write to you in this way, only to send you a few lines about the letter I received and a few words of sympathy.

For *Jus Suffragii* I cannot send a report, because there is no Suffrage work done; our Suffragists are now all engaged in charity work and that kind of thing. When that will come to an end you will hear again from me.—With hearty greetings, sincerely yours,

Amsterdam, August 16th, 1914. ALETTA H. JACOBS.

THE INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S RELIEF COMMITTEE.

With the outbreak of war the normal work of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance must of course be suspended. At the same time, never was there greater need of a bond of union between the women of all countries, so many of whom are now a prey to the cruellest sufferings.

The London headquarters office of the Alliance was recently the meeting place of representatives of England, France, Germany, Belgium, Austria, and Hungary, all of whom are now at war, as well as of Holland, Sweden, America, South Africa, and Switzerland. The scene is now changed, and the same office is a relief centre for women of all nationalities, women stranded in England without means or without employment. The I.W.S.A. has constituted itself an International Women's Relief Committee, and its help has been accepted by the American Embassy, which has charge of German and Austro-Hungarian subjects in England, and by the Home Office, which refers inquiries from women to it. During August over 250 applications for help have been dealt with, some helped back to their own country, and the remainder provided for either in situations or with free board and lodging.

Many of those applying for help are governesses or clerks thrown out of employment by the general necessity of economising and the closing of certain business houses; others had come to learn English, and were in difficulties owing to the cessation of remittances; others again are wives of German reservists unable to receive their husbands' pay and left penniless with children to support.

In all the trouble and misery that has fallen upon these poor women as upon so many others, there is one bright spot, and that is the generous help extended to them by those amongst whom they find themselves. Money has been freely given, and a large number of families have thrown open their doors to the stranger. This one small corner of the vast European tragedy shows the suffering inflicted on helpless women, innocent victims of this wicked war. Here as elsewhere women's tears are flowing at separation from their families, at loss of their homes, at seeing all means of livelihood suddenly snatched from them. One lady, a Pole, wished in vain to rejoin her aged mother on the Russo-German frontier, and her daughter, who, while absent from home, heard that her children had been turned out of their home, and was unable to rejoin them. Poor women landing from America en route for various Continental towns were unable to proceed, and found themselves alone, penniless, and except for this relief committee, friendless. One terrified girl had been reduced to selling her hair to buy food, and as her desire to return to her home was so desperate that nothing would dissuade her, she was liberally supplied with money, and set forth radiant and grateful for Germany. A philanthropic bachelor took a married woman and her husband into his service, and though his patriotic feelings conflicted with hers, he reported that "she put her feelings in her pocket and cooked splendidly."

Although naturally the greater number of those in difficulties are German and Austrian, applications for help have also come from Poles, Russians, Swiss, Danes, and Norwegians. The flood of homeless Belgians is so great that a special society has been formed and a special fund raised to help them. They are, of course, in the worst plight of all, being refugees from a conquered and devastated country and having had their homes demolished and all means of subsistence destroyed.

To women of all nationalities at this sad time the International Woman Suffrage Alliance offers a welcome, and it may be hoped that in the minds of many who have sought and found help, Woman Suffrage may be associated with sisterly helpfulness, and that those hitherto blind to the true nature of women's political aspirations will realise the injustice of excluding women from all voice in deciding national policy which makes or mars women's lives as well as men's.

MARY SHEEPSHANKS.

NURSES FOR SUFFRAGE.

"What about the war? What about the war?" cried voices in the crowd as Miss Lavinia L. Dock, of the Nurses' Settlement, rose to address a street meeting on Suffrage the other night in New York City.

"Yes, what about the war?" repeated Miss Dock. "You can't get along without a woman in your home, and you need her outside of it just as much. See what a muddle they are making of things on the other side! They are jumping at each

others' throats just because some old King or some old Emperor has had his feelings hurt, and they are killing off all the fine young men."

Nurses understand the horrors of war, and also its weakening effect on future generations, through the killing off of the strongest and bravest men, who ought to live and become the fathers of the race. The International Council of Nurses at its last meeting went on record in favour of Woman Suffrage by a practically unanimous vote. A. S. B.

GREAT BRITAIN. THE WAR.

In the report which appeared in the August number, it was suggested that the course of events in Great Britain was bringing the whole nation up against its professions and that we should have to decide whether, when the test of action came, we were going to act upon the principles our politicians so loudly profess, or whether we should throw them overboard. In the immediate menace of war a nation cannot argue. In a war in which women have had no part or lot, their first thought everywhere has been to attend to their particular share of business—theirs to fill men's places; theirs to keep the home; theirs to preserve the lives of infants and to heal the broken bodies of men; theirs to try and save some of the harvest from the trampling hoofs of barbarism. But Suffragists will be unworthy of the political power which they have claimed as a human right in a civilised world if they do not now, while they are working to stem the torrent of misery, strive with all their mind and soul to understand the causes of this recurrent madness, so that they may heal it. We need be under no delusion that this healing can be accomplished in a day. Women themselves, millions of them in every country, are still taking their opinions and principles ready-made from men, and until women learn to think as women (and not merely feel as women), they will not effect much. A popular English song writer has written "Men must work and women must weep." As long as men think that women must only weep for the errors of men, they will not trouble much. They are used to the tears of women; down all the ages women have wept for the errors of men. The modern woman must drive back her tears; she has her work to do, as always, in meeting the situation created by men, but she has also a great new pioneer work to do in making her womanly thought prevail, in conquering the repulsive idea that womanly thought is cowardly thought, and the equally repulsive idea that it is womanly for a woman to echo the sentiments of men.

In taking an important part in organising the great women's meeting at the Kingsway Hall in London on August 4th, the National Union was concerned to make emphatic declaration of the right of women to be heard in matters of peace and war. Up to the present time the Union has declared no policy with regard to the merits of this particular war. One knows that many, probably most, of its members hold strong views, but these can only be expressed as the views of the Union after the summoning of a Council, one of those great women's parliaments by which this democratic Union always decides any change of policy.

NEW ACTIVITIES.

Meanwhile the National Union has "suspended its ordinary political work," because in war-time one's political work has to be "extraordinary"; it has offered its services (and with 602 societies and branches all over the country, it will be seen that those services are worth having) for the relief of suffering caused by the war, and already a very large number of our women are on local relief committees, and are working as hard as they can on progressive lines. The response of the Societies to the inquiries made by the Executive was striking. Although the war broke out in the holiday season, when great numbers were away from home, answers poured in by hundreds and the unanimity and intensity of purpose were magnificent. Democratic institutions certainly justified themselves in the conduct of our Union. We are pulling together with all the greater vigour because of our free and representative constitution; we are keeping our staff of secretaries and organisers, our offices and our weekly paper, the *Common Cause*, and we shall have endless opportunities, in the course of our relief work, of holding up Suffragist ideals—ideals of civilisation and liberty.

We have urged upon all our members the need for trying to maintain employment and for not buying up and hoarding gold or necessaries. The care of foreigners stranded in our midst has been a matter of conscience. We have endeavoured so to organise the work as to make relief effective and avoid

overlapping. The active care of motherhood is a heavy responsibility upon the women, and it is hoped that a great work may receive the necessary impetus at this time. Another question that becomes acuter than ever in time of war is the increase in vice and disorderly living. The modern woman's newly won knowledge and determination should arm her in the conflict with this evil.

WOMEN ON LOCAL COUNCILS.

In ordinary times we should have felt that the month of August had brought to British women a great triumph, for in this month two Acts have been passed by which men and women in England and Scotland can be elected for county, borough, town, or parish councils, if they have resided twelve months in the district. This means that married women living with their husbands and daughters living at home will be eligible, and it will be possible for many more women to stand than heretofore. There now remains one more necessary reform: to give the Local Government vote also to these women, for under present conditions men are in an overwhelming majority as voters. Only women who pay rates can vote, and it is obvious that the great majority of ratepayers will always be men. It seems clear that the wife of a ratepayer ought to be reckoned as his partner for voting purposes. She may now be elected, but still cannot vote.

THE WOMEN'S SOCIAL AND POLITICAL UNION.

On the outbreak of the war the Home Secretary announced the unconditional release of all the militant Suffragist prisoners. Mrs. Pankhurst has announced that since the militancy of women was rendered "less effective" by the infinitely greater violence of men, the Suffragists would abandon militancy during the war, and since peaceful work was also "futile," the W.S.P.U. has closed its offices and ceased for the present to publish the *Suffragette*. It is said they have dismissed their staff. Miss Pankhurst sent a communication to the papers, declaring that the W.S.P.U. approved of Great Britain's intervention in the war, and asking the newspapers to publish this declaration so that the members of the W.S.P.U. might know what to think.

H. S.

NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.

[Reports from Societies not affiliated to the I.W.S.A. The I.W.S.A. takes no responsibility for the principles or opinions expressed by Societies which are not affiliated.]

THE WOMEN'S SOCIAL AND POLITICAL UNION.

The Women's Social and Political Union announce that its attitude towards the war is as follows:—

They believe that under the joint rule of enfranchised women and men the nations of the world will, owing to the women's influence and authority, find a way of reconciling the claims of peace and honour and of regulating international relations without bloodshed. The W.S.P.U. nevertheless believes also that matters having come to the present pass, it was inevitable that Great Britain should take part in the war; and with that patriotism which has nerved women to fight for the rights and duties of citizenship on behalf of the national good, they ardently desire that their country shall be victorious. This because they hold that the existence of all small nationalities is at stake and that the status of France and Great Britain is involved.

Now that their political prisoners are released, and in view of the grave crisis in which the country is involved, the W.S.P.U. have decided to suspend hostilities and activities for the time being.

THE CHURCH LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

At this crisis in the history of our nation the C.L.W.S. feels that it must abandon in great measure its usual work and put its organisation at the disposal of the authorities in order to render any service for which it can be utilised. It has placed its central offices and headquarters' staff at the services of the body charged with the task of dealing with distress in London occasioned by the war, and has made similar arrangements for its district organisers in Brighton, Birmingham, Manchester, and Swansea. All rent and salaries, of course, will be provided by the League, and the Executive Committee has recommended the branches throughout the United Kingdom to offer their members and offices to the local authorities.

The National Relief Fund headquarters has in response called upon the League for clerical aid, and in the provinces

the services of several branches and members have been accepted by the municipalities. The C.L.W.S. has also a representative in the Advisory Committee of the Women's Emergency Corps, to whom it is lending two of its rooms for office purposes. The Organising Secretary has also been glad to co-operate with the splendid work being done by the International Suffrage Alliance for stranded foreigners.

ANNE GILCHRIST,

Literature Secretary, C.L.W.S.

FREE CHURCH LEAGUE GREET'S GERMAN SUFFRAGISTS.

"The Executive Committee of the Free Church League for Woman Suffrage sends greeting to the Woman Suffragists of Germany, and assures them of deepest sympathy in the suffering the war has brought to all Europe. It prays that this war may soon end, and that the international relations which so happily prevail in the woman's cause may extend to life generally, and be from henceforward unbroken."

This resolution was passed at an emergency meeting of the League on August 7th, and was forwarded to the President of the German Society, and also to the Suffrage organisations in Austria, France, Holland, Belgium, Servia, and Hungary.

UNITED STATES.

PROTEST AGAINST WAR.

The American Suffragists have gasped with horror over the war, just as have the women of all countries, even more, perhaps, because we have no reason to feel driven by the strong partisanship which might possibly impel some of the European women to condone the slaughter.

For the first few days it seemed as if Suffrage activities had almost come to a standstill. The closing of the stock exchanges, the rise in the cost of living, concern about safety of relatives and friends who were abroad, all combined to divert people from their normal work. Now things are moving again, but the Suffragists are all working with an unprecedented sadness.

The officers of the National Association sent the following appeal to the organised Suffragists of the twenty-six countries represented in the International Alliance.

SUFFRAGISTS' APPEAL TO WOMEN OF THE WORLD TO DEMAND PEACE.

The cloud of a great international war darkens all Europe, and the shadow of the conflict hangs over all the nations of the world, ensuring disaster to all people and the turning back of civilisation for a century to come.

During the past hundred years women have given their toil, not only to motherhood and the cares of family life, but also to the building up of the great industries of every country. They have devoted thought and energy, and have made great sacrifices to develop education and establish reforms for the betterment of humanity. Hundreds of thousands have sacrificed their lives to the life-giving vocation of motherhood. Yet, without one thought of the sufferings and sacrifices of mothers who have reared sons, or of the tremendous industrial burdens that war will impose upon women, who will have to do their own work and the work of the men called to the field of battle; without consideration of the little children who will have to be taken from school or from play for industrial toil thus wantonly imposed upon them by the Government whose duty it is to protect and shield them; this curse of a mediæval war is thrust upon those whose will and wish have not been consulted.

Is it that hundreds of thousands of their sons may go down to death before the terrible machinery of modern war that the nations call upon women to give their youth, their years of toil, and their labour for a higher civilisation? Have they reared sons only to become a prey to the ambition of kings and exploiters? Shall the strongest and noblest of the races of men be sacrificed and only the weak and maimed left to perpetuate mankind?

The Suffragists of the United States call upon the women of the world to arise in protest against this unspeakable wrong, and to show war-crazed men that between the contending armies there stand thousands of women and children who are innocent victims of men's unbridled ambitions; that under the heels of each advancing army are crushed the lives, the hopes, the happiness of countless women whose rights have been ignored, whose homes have been blighted, and whose honour will be sacrificed if this unholy war does not cease, and

Add. The W.S.P.U. closed its offices and terminated for the time being the publication of the "Suffragette"

reason and justice take the place of hate, revenge, and greed. This is not a national issue; it involves all humanity.

Let the women of every nation involved in war make their men understand that the highest patriotism lies in conserving life, wealth, and energy; and that war means not conservation, but destruction of all that is best in civilisation.

PEACE PARADE.

A movement developed spontaneously in New York City for a great peace parade of women. It spread like wildfire, and was soon called "The Women's March for Civilisation," for it was felt most vividly that a mere demonstration of grief was not enough. The American women are feeling as never before their duty to stand for construction, for conservation, for life, not for death and destruction, no matter what the pretext offered as excuse. The date is to be August 29th. The parade will be over before this reaches the readers of *Jus Suffragii*. The plan is for all kinds of women to join as one—Suffragists, anti-Suffragists, native born, foreign, rich, poor, everyone,—emphasising only the bond which draws them together. There will be no music—simply muffled drums,—no flags or signs, except the plain white peace flags, banded in black. The marchers are asked to wear black or white with black sleeve bands.

Representative women from all over the country have telegraphed their approval and co-operation, and over a hundred organisations of women have responded to the call. The great National Council of Women has sent official endorsement.

The Suffrage Campaign Committee of New York State has issued a page of "plate matter" for newspapers, entitled "Woman and War." It is furnished free to all newspapers in the State, and contains some illuminating as well as horrifying material. It contains a magnificent appeal from Mrs. Catt, ending with these ringing words: "If courts are better than duels, if votes are better than pitched battles to settle national difficulties, so are international courts and international parliaments better than war. It is votes women must demand if they would abolish the horrors, the waste, the barbarism of war, and usher in the blessings of peace."

THE SUFFRAGE CAMPAIGN.

The seven Western Campaign States are all putting forth tremendous effort, for each is determined to be victorious at the November election. Campaigning in the Far West is exceedingly difficult, for there are few big cities, and the voters are widely scattered over the great plains. This is peculiarly true in North and South Dakota and in the agricultural sections of Nevada and Montana. Of course, a certain amount of work can be done by mail, but individual personal appeal to the voters is far more effective.

As always, the problem of financing a campaign is difficult. Printed matter, postage, speakers, automobiles, and the like, all cost heavily. National headquarters serve as the clearing-house for contributions, which are distributed as promptly and fairly as possible, along with literature, suggestions, and information of all sorts.

A special National Campaign Committee has been appointed, with Mrs. Medill McCormick as chairman. Its goal is to secure 50,000 dollars for the campaign States. The first feature on its programme has been the appointment of a National Self-sacrifice Day, August 15th, on which all Suffragists were requested to give in any and every way they possibly could, in cash, in service, or in old gold and silver articles, which could be melted up and converted into coin. The response to the "melting-pot" appeal has been remarkable. All manner of objects have been sent in, from gold watches and silver umbrella tops to gold tooth fillings and spectacle rims. Many women have given precious keepsakes and gifts, things which involved the real sacrifice of sentiment, and some have even sent wedding rings.

Everywhere the feeling is growing that, if the seven States are won this year, the enfranchisement of all the women in the United States is but a very few years away.

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

WOMAN AND WAR.

By CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

(President International Woman Suffrage Alliance).

Mr. Steyn, President of the Orange Free State at the time of the Boer War, told me on my visit to South Africa that in one year the women on the farms of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State produced enough food and supplies to maintain the army in the field for three years.

This remark is brought back to mind by the appeal of Premier Viviani to the women of France. He called to them to complete the work of gathering the crops left unfinished by the men called to arms.

"The wheat," said he, "stands unreaped, and the time of vintage approaches. I ask you to maintain the life of our fields, to finish this year's harvest, and to prepare for that of the next year."

American tourists flying toward London in their haste to escape from war territory write that on every road in France there were companies of young men to be seen marching to the front, while in every field sobbing women were hard at work doing the work the men had left undone. They needed no appeal from the Premier. French women are already doing what women of all lands have done in war times since the world began—the work of women plus the work of men. With hearts heavy with dread; with none of the inspiration which comes from crowds, from music, from appeals to patriotism, from hero worship, from love of adventure, they bear the burdens as best they may.

Without the work of women in field, factory, and shop where they take up the industrial labour men have laid down; without their production of food for the army and tax money to meet the enormous cost of the war, any nation would come to an end, though its army were composed entirely of Alexanders and Napoleons.

Men who have had the gift to analyse conditions free from preconceived theories have long recognised this fact, but it remained for the tragedy of the Boer War to bring a demonstration clear enough for all to see.

The British established "concentration camps," and into these camps they gathered the women and children from the farms. They thus cut off the source of supply of food and clothes for the army more effectively than any previous invader in the pages of history had been able to do.

The real tragedy, however, was not bringing the war to a speedy end. Benjamin Franklin, that great American philosopher, said, "Wars are not paid for in war time; the bill comes later." When the war was over and Boer casualties were summed up, it was found that 4,000 men had given up their lives in the field, but 20,000 women and children had died in the "concentration camps."

Superficially minded opponents of woman suffrage bring the alleged argument that "women cannot fight." They can fight, and have fought in wars and all down the centuries; but if they go forth to fight, who shall keep the nation going? What is there to fight for? Thank God they do not go to the front often! In the calm, sad moments at home they are learning to understand the wasteful cost of war as men have never done, and some day as one woman the motherhood of the world will refuse longer to give their sons to be shot in support of the vagaries of monarchs or false ideals of national honour. If courts are better than duels, if votes are better than pitched battles to settle national difficulties, so are international courts and international parliaments better than war. It is votes women must demand if they would abolish the horrors, the waste, the barbarism of war, and usher in the blessings of peace.

AMERICAN WOMEN IN EUROPE.

The Resident American Women's Relief Committee was formed, and went to work on Wednesday morning, August 5th, at 10 o'clock. It has worked from 9.30 a.m. until 6.30 p.m. ever since, and in the early days sometimes until 8.30 p.m.

This committee, formed to meet the present emergency, was organised by the Executive Committee of the Society of American Women in London. This society for many years has had for one of its main objects the care of destitute American women and children in England. Realising that its funds would be quite inadequate to meet the present tremendous crisis, it resolved to form a special committee and to solicit contributions for this occasion.

Mrs. Walter Hines Page, wife of the American Ambassador, was honorary president of the society, and is also honorary chairman of this committee.

Mrs. H. C. Hoover was appointed chairman, and it was decided to call it the Resident American Women's Relief Committee. Its object is to help in any way possible American women and children travelling without a man's protection. Mrs. J. W. Jenkins is the secretary-treasurer. Mrs. A. T. Stewart is in charge of the investigation of cases, reporting to the committee rooms in the Savoy Hotel.

Mrs. J. W. Dickson has charge of outside emergency cases, those which are very necessitous and which from illness and other causes are unable to come to the hotel, and in consequence demand unusual experience and resource.

They have had the constant assistance of Mrs. Edgar Rickard, Mrs. John Power Hutchins, Miss Daisy Polk, and Miss Ethel Bagg, and also Mrs. George B. Van Cleve, who are experienced, capable women in charity investigation, and who have attacked their problem in a most systematic manner.

More than a score of voluntary assistants under Mrs. Eddy Agius have also been at work on the preliminary interviewing and in the dispensation of courage and sympathy to thousands, which is by no means the least important work, especially during the first few days of tension.

Of course, the most important necessity was to help well-to-do women to obtain money on their credits, nearly all of which were useless the first few days. Then from 10s. to £2 or £3 was loaned to scores of women to tide them over the time until funds were available or until they could leave England. Many of these temporary loans were, of course, repaid when the banks reopened. After that for a few days we were beset with inquiries as to how and where anyone could obtain money on letters of credit on England and the Continent, or on American bank cheques, and in exchange for Continental gold and paper.

In the many cases when none of these was available, owing usually to the loss of baggage on the Continent, we made arrangements to use the cable facilities shortly established by the Men's American Residents Committee, and obtained their money direct from home for them long before they could get it through the usual cable means.

In all these cases we supplied the applicants with funds for immediate necessities.

Then, of course, there were many cases of absolute destitution, of women who started from home with their entire savings, and had lost all, usually through no fault of their own, on the Continent. Many of these had their return tickets, and even their money, in German steamship companies, which were quite useless. After investigating these cases as fully as circumstances permitted we gave them a return ticket to the United States and living expenses until their steamers sailed. We took their promissory notes for the amounts, so that when circumstances permit they may return the amount.

There have been a few, very few, cases of fraud unearthed by our investigation. But we have been greatly encouraged by the obvious genuineness of the great majority of the applicants.

In conjunction with the work we early established a Lodgings Bureau, under the management of Mrs. T. W. Gaunt, Mrs. Gaunt and her assistants, notably Miss Margaret Yokum, of Tacoma, Washington, herself a refugee from Germany, and Mrs. F. E. Shearer, kept a long list of respectable boarding-houses and hotels of all prices. These were all either personally investigated or passed upon by officials at Scotland Yard, who have been most kind in helping us in every way.

Hundreds were sent to these lodgings, and Mrs. Gaunt's Bureau still maintains a list of some 150 approved places. It was shortly found necessary to meet all incoming trains from the Continent, and as the station authorities found it impossible to apprise us of such arrivals beforehand in the unsettled conditions of the schedules, we found it necessary to have two members of our committee at all stations receiving trains from open ports during the day. There have been some dozens of self-sacrificing ladies giving their time to this work, and what they have accomplished has shown the necessity for it. Incidentally, an American citizen and his wife, living not far from a station, have promised to answer telephone calls from that station at any hour of the night, and to go in person if the case is beyond the resources of the porters or authorities already there.

A number of auxiliary committees and associations have been formed, amongst them a Teachers and College Women's Association, under the chairmanship of Mrs. David Starr Jordan, with Mrs. Frederick Palmer as secretary. It purposes to be benevolent to others, mutually helpful, and intellectually stimulating to its own members. The first meeting was held at the residence of Mrs. Page, wife of the American Ambassador, and the second in Mrs. Hoover's garden. A somewhat similar club or association has been formed for ladies other than the college women. Mrs. Gordon Selfridge is chairman of this committee, and Mrs. Davenport is vice-chairman. Mr. Selfridge, in his characteristically generous manner, replied to our request for a suitable meeting-place, and has given us most pleasant headquarters.

Here the visitor may receive directions for reaching the places of pilgrimage that she has come so far to see. It has seemed a pity that many hundreds of women making this their first and perhaps their only trip abroad should be unable to visit many of the spots long hallowed in their imagination, wherefore Mrs. Selfridge's committee has busily engaged itself in obtaining permission for visiting museums and galleries, etc., and in securing tickets to the Zoological and Botanical Societies' Gardens and similar places (the museums have now all been opened to the public, so this committee has been dissolved). Mrs. Waldorf Astor early gave an invitation to all American refugees to visit Cliveden at any time. Many others have been most generous in their hospitality, and amongst them Lady Salisbury also kindly extended an invitation to Hatfield.

Days spent in these charming spots are real oases to many in a journey that has often thus far been one long desert of weariness, and in some cases of absolute terror.

Among our various sub-committees and departments we are running what may be called an outfitting department. There have been scores of ladies arriving from the Continent with absolutely no luggage, and there were numerous cases, especially in the early days and on Saturday afternoon, when they were very glad to obtain the clean garments that had been given us for distribution. Of course, we had a few cases of destitution, when such clothes were a more than welcome adjunct to very limited wardrobes. But there are not many really poor Americans travelling in Europe. Mrs. Woodruff has been the very efficient head of the outfitting department.

(Report communicated by the R.A.W. Relief Committee.) London, August 25th, 1914.

WOMAN AND WAR.

AN APPEAL TO THE WOMEN OF ALL NATIONS.

The fifth quinquennial meetings of the International Council of Women (which now represents 23 National Councils) were held at the beginning of May in Rome, under the presidency of Lady Aberdeen. The following resolution on the subject of Peace was adopted:—

"That the International Council of Women, protesting vehemently against the odious wrongs of which women are the victims in time of war, contrary to international law, appeals to the next Hague Conference to consider how a more effective international protection of women may be secured, which will prevent the continuance of the horrible violation of womanhood that attends all wars."

That this resolution opens the eyes afresh to the brutality of war is incontestable. The sufferings of women through war and militarism are seldom dwelt upon. Books and treaties dealing with arguments against war almost invariably omit to mention the damage done to one-half of the human race by this remnant of barbarism.

ARE WOMEN NOT GREATER SUFFERERS THAN MEN?

There are several aspects of this question—the physical and mental, the direct and indirect, suffering. These embrace a great host of women. The physical suffering includes starvation, disease, violation, loss of home, poverty, sometimes death, slavery, and imprisonment. For instance, in the civil war between the States of America, General Sherman swept the Southern States bare of food, so that the women and children died of starvation. In the South African war, 4,000 women and 15,000 children died of starvation and disease. These are official figures. In the late Balkan war non-combatants (generally women) were not only starved but massacred, while rapes and mutilations were reported. Outrages upon women are common in all wars; bestial horrors, which are crimes indeed, await the women of a conquered country. The brutality lying dormant in some men is kindled by bloodshed; the ape and tiger, the "tooth and claw," come to the surface. War seems to be a concentration of crimes. Under its standard gather violence, malignity, fraud, rage, perfidy, and lust. It has been said that "the field of battle is a theatre, got up at immense cost, for the exhibition of crime on a grand scale." No wonder is it, then, that in the latest war we read of outrages of Turks upon Bulgarian women, and those of Bulgarians upon Turkish women. It is all the same whether the Cross or the Crescent was uppermost. Cruelty is the child of war, be it raged by Christian or Mohammedan.

MENTAL SUFFERING.

And who can describe adequately the slow torture of fear and suspense, the long agonies of anticipation; the sleepless nights and fevered imagination, the pitiless hours of barren loneliness; the visions of butchered, bleeding bodies? And

who but those who experience it can tell of the blow of bereavement, the broken heart of wife or mother or daughter? What must the mental suffering be in receiving back the sons and husbands, alive indeed, but mutilated or diseased, lifelong cripples, or weakened and unable to work?

We can picture the agonised watching of mothers over starving children, the slow death of the dear ones, their heart-rending cries, or their visible fading from the mother's arms; or the premature births of infants who frequently are neurotic or idiotic, due to ghastly frights and anxieties of mothers in time of war. Their homes burnt, their furniture used for fuel, their crops taken, bedding and clothes stolen, homeless, naked, starved, widows, orphans, childless—such are the victims of war!

INDIRECT SUFFERING.

Tens of thousands of women in all countries are in poverty because of the heavy taxation necessary to maintain armaments. For the cost of one Dreadnought 175,000 children could be fed for a year.

In a recent cartoon called "Armed to the Death" is portrayed a woman crucified on a sword. And are not women crucified by war? How many women are there who can never marry because their potential husbands have been killed off? How many can never become mothers because the potential fathers have been slain; because, also, a great unmarried army is maintained in every country? Then, forsooth! there is an outcry about the birth-rate! More babies must be born! What wisdom it is to kill off the strong young men and then cry out about the birth-rate! But soldiers must be forthcoming for the next war. Therefore, women are censured for refusing to bring into the world children which, in their turn, shall be food for powder.

"Eugenics tell us that the effect of war upon nations is to spoil the breed, by the very simple process of the reversion of selection."

"In war the youngest and strongest of the nation is destroyed, leaving the weaker members to carry on the race."—Dr. Starr Jordan.

Not only by the destruction of men in war, but by the law of "regulation" introduced by Napoleon I., whereby vice has been protected for the sake of unmarried armies, have women suffered. And not alone the degraded has paid the toll, but the health and vitality of countless innocent women and children in Europe and throughout the world have been sapped.

WOMAN BEARS THE BRUNT OF WAR

in a very real sense. She is not responsible for it, for up to the present time she has not been allowed a voice in the affairs of the nations. Man suffers horribly and gives up his life among miseries indescribable, or dies of disease, that Nemesis of war; but he is to a great extent responsible. He possesses the political power to prevent it. True that Governments often declare war without appealing to the people, but no Government would care to rush into war if it were not pretty sure of the temper of its supporters.

As it is, men on the whole like war, and welcome the excitement of a quarrel with another country. Mrs. St. Clair Stobart has lately finely phrased it: "Two sets of men with no grudge or personal animosity towards each other have to kill because the statesmen of their respective countries are such thickheads, so dull of wit, or lacking in imagination, that they can devise no better way of securing justice. The most successful at blowing out another's brains are reckoned to have justice on their side, and the world will accept the decision with applause." Man allows the carnage "according to rules," and exalts the military profession as the highest. To man come the activity and promotion which war brings. Armament firms are run by men greedy of big dividends; the newspapers by men, who exaggerate and distort news to create a sensation to sell papers and thus coin money. Whatever there is of glory, it is for man. The fascinations of war, its pomp and pride of uniforms, gold lace, medals, and pensions, are for men. The language used by militarists, whether they be military or business men, indicates the stimulus they find in a prospective war. Such expressions as "It will be a damned good show"; "Peace is so beastly slow"; "Now we shall get to business," reveal the satisfaction and excitement that they find in hostilities. And those who follow this lead are hypnotised by the war drums into a feeble acquiescence, and the "stolid stupidity" which masquerades as patriotism claps its hands, and is willing to be led anyhow and anywhere. The public seems to be "just a great baby," as Chalmers said long ago.

The delirium of killing, that thrill in the blood which has helped to make the expression "the game of war," is for

man. In such a game, what reck it that "backs are broken in two, arms twisted off, legs smashed like firewood, heads sliced open or crunched into jelly by the iron hoofs of horses, or faces trampled"?

Gigantic armaments, according to man's verdict, are the only surety of safety! Where are the brains that cannot understand that the universal disarmament of nations would be a surer and less costly means of safety from international war?

The Church of God has been, and is, ruled by men who, with exceptions (notably the Society of Friends), for centuries have been dumb in relation to the crime of war. We are now in the 20th century since the Prince of Peace was born. The Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man are talked of, but how few of the clergy of any denomination carry this teaching to the logical conclusion. War should be condemned as immoral from every pulpit.

"No sweeping condemnation can be passed on war," says a clergyman in a recent book, "The Reproach of the Gospel." Thus is the gigantic evil fatally obscured. Thus does the Church strive to glorify "war's red rain"!

THE INDIFFERENCE OF WOMEN

is due to the *laissez faire* of ignorance and irresponsibility. They, with some exceptions, were like "dumb driven cattle." Until they awoke to their lack of education they were accustomed to look for their guidance to their religious teachers. Those failed to guide them into the paths of peace-making. Now they have begun to think for themselves, their outlook is enlarged; their ideals are more cosmopolitan. They demand a freer social activity, as well as a richer inward development. They are awakening to their responsibilities as life preservers as well as life givers. Led by noble women like the Baroness von Suttner on the Continent of Europe, by Julia Ward Howe in the United States, and by Ellen Robinson in England, during the past 30 years, their voices have been heard urging women to wake, to lift up their voices in a "world-wide protest" against the cruelties of war. The world awaits the help of women, but

WOMAN IS NOT YET WIDE AWAKE

to her duties and powers of making Peace. Yet the great movement towards political equality with men is arousing her and preparing her for this urgent work. The time is coming when Ruskin's words to women will be untrue: "You are the people who glorify the fighting man." As the Women's Movement for political emancipation is international in its scope and in its ideals, so the demand of women for a more reasonable and lawful way of settling disputes between nations must come from all lands. Different though women of diverse countries may be in religion, temperament, and language, they are one in having to bear war's burdens of bereavement, poverty, misery.

When women obtain the franchise they will have the power to affect legislation. It is this which explains the strenuous efforts of educated women for equal suffrage. They are convinced that perplexing difficulties of legislation need the mother heart as well as the father heart to solve them! The mothers of mankind alone know the cost of human life! Therefore, they should be to the front in its preservation. The appeal of Julia Ward Howe at the time of the Franco-Prussian War imploring women to awake to their duties of peace-making made small impression. She was a pioneer, and as such "before her time." But her call is being listened to at the present moment. Women are awakening to the irrationality of war, as well as to its horrors! And Suffrage or no Suffrage, women hold a key to the solution of this question.

THE KEY IS THE COMING GENERATION.

The children of to-day are the makers of the destiny of to-morrow. Mothers have the first moulding of their minds. Let mothers, having learnt "the better way than war for the settlement of international disputes," instil into their boys' and girls' minds the teaching against war. Let them explain the fallacies which underlie the present state of things. Teach the difference between true and sham patriotism. Ask the children, "Why make death and pain artificially over and above what naturally exists?" Show them that the ultimate victory is largely dependent on the "pertinacious power of the purse"; that at the present day the only excuse we can make is that "our ancestors did it"; that nowadays war is killing by machinery, not the hand-to-hand conflict of our forefathers; that disasters are common now through the instrumentality of war, such as are specially abhorrent—railway accidents, shipwrecks, explosions of war materials, diabolical catastrophes, which in peace we regard with detestation.

Point out to your children the absurdities of Militarism; how "the battlefield is the stupidest place in the world"—on one side a hospital, giving drugs, putting on bandages, performing operations, and on the other the cannon and bayonet manufacturing fresh wounds!

Teach what Arbitration means by giving an example of how parents arbitrate between their children in quarrels.

Tell your children of the success of International Arbitration to prevent war during the present century; that during the first ten years ninety-six treaties were signed between nations, that between Chile and Argentina being the most complete. To commemorate this the mothers of Buenos Ayres subscribed for a huge bronze figure of Christ 26ft. high, standing on a globe of the world, which is held on a lofty shaft. This is placed on a mountain which marks the boundary line between the two countries. At the base is a tablet inscribed with the words, "Sooner shall these mountains crumble into dust than Argentines and Chileans break the peace to which they have pledged themselves at the feet of Christ the Redeemer." It is said that

THE MORAL VIRTUES PRODUCED BY WAR ARE MANY.

Therefore, war is good. This is one of the fallacies which the mother must combat. If brave and noble and magnanimous men are produced by war, that is no argument. Famines, fires, flood, railway accident bring out these qualities in some men also! Shall we therefore desire and condone such calamities because they produce such men? The heroes of peace are far more than the heroes of war, though they do not wear their medals on their breasts. Our worst enemies are greed, cruelty, corruption, ignorance, injustice, poverty, anarchism. There is plenty of opportunity for heroism for the boys of the future.

But the soldiers are not the delinquents upon whom we animadvert; they are but the tools of politicians, armament makers, and unscrupulous journalists. Another fallacy is that "you can't change human nature." All history gives this fallacy the lie. How about religious persecution, slavery, duelling? Have they not passed away in civilised countries?

WOMEN MUST LEARN.

For it is of vital importance that women should know the many sides of this great question. Let them join a Peace Society and obtain literature dealing with these problems. It can be had very cheaply. Let them contribute to the maintenance of their National Peace Societies. Let them show those noble-hearted men who in every country are striving to bring in a better method that they are anxious to be their comrades and eager to support them. In many ways can woman, even without the Suffrage, strengthen the hands of the Peace party. Women's clubs might be formed for the study of the problems of peace and war, of what is being done, what the Hague Conference has done, how at the last Conference 44 nations met to discuss Arbitration, and how 35 present voted in public in favour of a Treaty. Let her help by rousing public opinion to bring about the third Hague Conference, which may advance the federation of the nations.

SCHOOL PEACE LEAGUES.

What mothers can do, teachers who are the guide of the young may do equally well. They can teach history from the standpoint of Peace, and, instead of that of battles, civil and social progress; also they can lay stress on names of heroes who have saved life instead of destroying it. The teacher can show how the *will* is involved, that there is no inevitableness about war. It is made because people "will it to be." That the savage impersonal hate shown in modern war is indefensible; that the butchery is unmeaning; that to kill off your customers in another country is stupid; that war is barbarism, and means delay of social happiness and progress; and, above all, teach that the poverty of the nations is mainly due to the enormous waste in the childish rivalry in armaments. Sir Max Waechter, who has had long conversations with the Sovereigns and leading statesmen of Europe on this subject, tells that Europe spends on armaments far more than it does on education, sanitation, and social reform combined. More than 1,000,000 people emigrate every year from Europe through economic pressure, which is caused chiefly by the burden of armaments. If the same amount of brains, energy, and half the money were devoted to the development of international law and to making friends between nations, the federation of Europe would be firmly established and armaments would gradually disappear. Money would become more plentiful, salaries and wages would rise. The hundreds of millions of pounds now spent on armaments could be saved and be applied to industrial and social enterprises, and the millions of able-bodied men who do nothing but military drill would become

important factors in producing articles required by mankind. (Let every woman who reads this join the "European Unity League," 39, St. James Street, Piccadilly, London, S.W.)

WOMEN'S APPEAL TO THE CLERGY

must be made plainly and decidedly, with no uncertain sound. Women have the right to do this, for they number two-thirds of Church membership. They are more loyal to the Church than men are. Let them ask for loyalty to this cause in return! The Church has everything to gain and nothing to lose by working hand in hand with the mothers of mankind in this crusade against war. It will indeed be to the Church's lasting damage if women lose faith in their religious teachers. Educated women have no respect for the compromise of religious teachers. They see the fallacies underlying the distinctions drawn between private and public life, between conduct reprehensible from man to man deemed advisable in Governments. They question the practice of excusing wrong in the aggregate, while the same wrong is condemned in the unit, such as the fallacy that the taking of many lives in war is heroic, while the taking of one is criminal.

The Church's services daily echo with the principles of Christ's teaching against hatred, murder, and all uncharitableness in individuals; but in practice, collective hatred, murder, and all uncharitableness win solemn Te Deums in buildings dedicated to the Prince of Peace. The Sermon on the Mount is quoted, discussed, and admired—and then explained away; or the Millennium is made the excuse for inaction. What an anodyne is the Millennium to conscience when war is condemned! Even missionaries who denounce the feuds and battles of the heathen lift up no voice of protest against war being waged between "Christian countries." Let the Church of God take her share in expelling the greatest scourge which still threatens the unity and progress of mankind, and she will retain the allegiance of women. The absence of clergymen at Peace Congresses in Europe is very marked, and often commented on.

THE SYMBOLICAL FIGURE OF PEACE

is a woman. Let the symbolism be translated into fact, for is not woman the foredestined champion of Peace? Emancipated, she must emancipate. She must put her shoulder to the wheels of peace-making, adding her strength to that of good men who are striving for the same end. Then the momentum will be sufficient, and not till then, to crush out "the futile ferocious folly of war" from civilisation.

WOMEN OF THE WORKING CLASSES!

It is your husbands, fathers, brothers, and sons who are the instruments of war! Without them international hostilities would be impossible. Your work of education, of persuasion, is to be mainly in your homes. Thus no one but you can accomplish this reform. Let your hearts grow softer towards suffering and your brains quicker to comprehend. Cease to be furious at small personal wrongs while you disregard boundless public ones.

THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMAN

gave the lead to women of all nations when they passed that second resolution in Rome last May, "which supports warmly the effectual application of the resolutions passed at the Hague Conference for the peaceful settlement of international disputes, and declares its sympathetic desire for the conclusion of treaties through which the Governments pledge themselves in the case of disputes of every kind to enter into negotiations for mediation."

Christianity demands of women this crusade of Peace! Philanthropy demands it! Humanitarianism demands it! Science demands it! Mothers, wives, daughters, sisters, go forward—for *Deus vult!* *Dieu le veut!* God wills it.

FRANCES S. HALLOWES,

President of the Mussoorie Women's Suffrage Society.

Mussoorie, India, July 30th.

Editor's Note: This striking article was written in India before the European war broke out. Subsequent events bring out its value and importance.

FRENCH WOMEN IN WARTIME.

The order for mobilisation in France was read in the market places and posted on all public buildings on Friday evening, July 31st, and Saturday, August 1st. Groups of men and women clustered round and listened to the astounding news, hardly believing the evidence of eyes and ears for the moment. The order was received with a deadly silence more eloquent and more full of feeling than would have seemed possible in gay and laughing France. The air was charged with a suppressed fury that showed an intense realisation that this meant

something inexpressibly grim and terrible—there was no fear, no exhilaration, no excitement, but a dull, deadly calm. Women turned away, still in silence, walked home with husbands, sons, and sweethearts, packed their very few permissible belongings, and sent them forward bravely—in many instances in less than an hour after the call. I did not see a single woman weep, though the tragic silence was more eloquent than any noisy demonstration could have been. Their country needed their men; they obeyed their country's call and sent them forward without protest, though many realised they would probably never see them again. The woman's part is certainly the hardest in such cases.

Two days later came another proclamation or, rather, a declaration couched in glowing terms, expressing the certainty that the women would aid in the salvation of the country by gathering in the harvest, which this year is exceptionally good, and on which the nation must depend for its food supply during the coming stress. To an Englishwoman this appeared an almost impossible task. The military authorities had requisitioned every horse, cart, carriage, and wagon, and though a very few horses were returned they were generally so old as to be useless. No male labour was available. Did these women hesitate? Not a protest did one hear anywhere, but at 4 a.m. the following morning these women—some with tiny children, others old grandmothers bent nearly double, some ladies not used to hard work—were in the fields doing all the work by hand. At 5.30 many of them went to the churches to mass, and then returned to the fields to work till dusk in the broiling heat of an exceptionally hot August. One saw them return at evening in no wise cast down, but still with that look of steady determination; and this will continue until the necessary work is complete, without protest, without comment. It was just their part in the great war.

In the towns the women are taking up all the duties which have been erstwhile performed by the men. Some have already qualified as drivers for trams and buses, and in a few days the service will be restored. Many of the larger stores have reopened, and in the booking offices of the stations, in the newspaper stalls, in the buffets, all the work is done by women. Old dames, bent double with age, drive the sorry horses left behind into the markets to obtain food for outlying districts, take travellers and luggage to stations, etc. During the days of mobilisation, traffic, trade, field work, was at a standstill. The next day saw everything being rapidly restored to order by a nation of splendid women, and shortly all will be normal.

Of course, a number of women are training as nurses to help the Army, but in a country where conscription is the order of the day, there is so much else to do when the men are called up, that comparatively few women are available for this most essential work.

The women's work in France has been taken up with a zest and determination which speaks volumes for the intense mental force that can suppress all personal sorrow and put the weal of the nation first. One felt almost humiliated, and yet withal intensely proud, to realise all that those magnificent women are doing when their hearts must be wrung with secret anxiety for the husbands and sons up at the "front." An English tourist said one day last week, "I shall always in future take off my hat to a Frenchwoman," and this from a man who, a week before, had said "women are only fit to make a fuss in wartime, and really hinder a man from doing his duty."

E. WARD.

American Comments on Women and War.

Whatever effect the present war has upon the doctrine of militarism, it will have an immense influence upon woman's movement for political equality, since woman's "uselessness" in war has always furnished one of the arguments against her right to help rule nations.

Germany affords an extreme example of a nation prepared for war and taxed to the limit for armament. So far the only result of this preparation has been to embroil her in a war against almost the entire world.

Does this not seem to indicate that the more a nation arms itself, the larger will be the coalition that secretly arrays itself against that nation? Had Germany relied for greatness upon her pre-eminence in the arts of peace, could she have suffered any greater menace than the present one?

Women will reap the grainfields of Europe this year. Women will nurse the wounded in a hundred field hospitals. But woman's greatest service in relation to war will be eventually to stop it. When woman comes into her own, the type of statecraft that is based on force will go out. Gun carrying has little relation to safety and justice, either in a nation or an individual.

"It is difficult at times to understand the motives which lead great men to governmental decisions," commented Mrs. Catt in an interview. "On July 28th the British public authorities refused to allow our poster, designed by a well-known poster artist, to be displayed in the underground and railroad stations in London. Its simple statement that in the Colonies of Australia and New Zealand infant mortality had decreased under the influence of woman's vote, while it still continued at the appalling rate of 116 per thousand in the United Kingdom, was apparently dangerous doctrine. The reason given was that 'the sight of skulls sometimes makes people nervous.'"

"Ten days later the British Government voted a billion and a quarter dollars to support a war in which many a field will be sowed with bleaching skulls of 'the best we breed.' So Death reaps with its scythe the babies of the British poor and reaps again a harvest of youths sturdy enough to survive the risks of babyhood. Steadily the Government produces a surplus of 'females'—widows whose husbands fell on British battlefields, sweethearts whose lovers never came home. Then when the British 'female surplus' ask the vote that they may help save the babies and save the nation from the calamities of war, the answer is: 'Men cannot afford to put the ballot in the hands of women, since they are in majority. We do not want a petticoat Government.'"

"It is not the women's fault that they are in majority. It is not the women's fault that they are not married. With a vote they ask the right to remove the causes which have disturbed the equality of the sexes in the population."

First Aid by American Women.

Mrs. W. K. Vanderbilt, who was such a valiant supporter of the Boylan Drug Bill, which makes it an offence in this State to sell morphine or kindred drugs, has turned her large house in Paris into a hospital for the wounded of the French Army, and remains there in charge of it herself. Her action has caused great enthusiasm among other prominent Americans in Paris, who have contributed 9,000 dollars with which to open a hospital in Neuilly, and 24 women, many of them prominent socially, have volunteered for nurse duty.

"Will the Time Never Come?"

The great French actress, Mme. Sarah Bernhardt, who played an heroic part—a real life part—in the siege of Paris, speaks with authority on the horrors of war:

"Ah, the injustice, the infamy of war! Will the much-dreamed-of time never come when . . . the monarch who wants war will be dethroned and imprisoned as a malefactor? Will the time never come when there will be a cosmopolitan council, where . . . the rights of humanity will be discussed and respected? So many men think as I do, so many women talk as I do, and yet nothing is done. And there will still be men who are so learned . . . inventing powder to blow everything up, bombs that will wound twenty or thirty men, guns repeating their deadly task until the bullets fall, spent themselves, after having torn open ten or twelve human breasts."

The Red Cross.

The Last Rag of Civilisation, the Red Cross, is respected by all nations. It has been called the memorial to two women known and loved the world over—Florence Nightingale and Clara Barton. By her heroic work in the Crimea, Florence Nightingale, "The Lady of the Lamp," reduced the death-rate among the soldiers from 60 to 1 per cent.

Clara Barton carried the heroic work on through the Civil War and the Franco-Prussian War. She was instrumental in bringing the United States into the merciful international agreement which respects the neutrality of the Red Cross flag and so mitigated some of the horrors of war. To-day 5,000 fully equipped nurses in the United States are registered ready for field service.

Florence Nightingale, when asked why she believed in woman suffrage, said: "You ask my reason for believing in woman suffrage. It seems to me almost self-evident, an axiom, that every householder and taxpayer ought to have a

voice in the expenditure of the money we pay, including, as this does, interests the most vital to a human being."

Clara Barton was just as decided in her views. In addressing the soldiers she said, "When you were weak and I was strong, I toiled for you. Now you are strong and I am weak. Because of my work for you, I ask your aid. I ask the ballot for myself and my sex. As I stood by you, I pray you stand by me and mine."

Women to March for Peace.

A New York newspaper woman, when someone said, "If only the women could do something to stop this awful war," replied, "They can at least get together and march, bare-headed and in mourning, with muffled drums." And inside of twenty-four hours a Volunteer Committee was hard at work organising the parade. The thought went like wildfire, and women of every possible kind asked to help and asked to join—American women, foreign women, Suffragists, Anti-suffragists, club women, professional women, social workers, teachers, housekeepers, mothers, rich and poor, all animated by the same protest, the same sadness, that men should take life so lightly, that civilisation should, after all the years of constructive work, prove to be so thin a film over barbarity. The parade will probably take place in New York City on August 29th.

Housewives Call Halt on Prices.

The Housewives' League, from its headquarters in New York City, has sent out a call to all members throughout the United States, directing the various groups of women to get together and study food prices and the whole food situation so that the housekeepers may be prepared to protect themselves as consumers.

"Call meetings immediately to investigate foodstuff prices," says the notice. "Investigate from every angle. We must protect consumers against dishonest dealers who are raising prices because of the European situation. Report any instances to the Executive Committee."

A letter has also been sent to President Wilson, asking him to issue a proclamation to the merchants of the country urging them to maintain level prices during the European war, and to refrain from speculation in foodstuffs.

The Housewives' League has 750,000 members, and is one of the largest woman's organisations in this country. Mrs. Julian Heath, the President and Founder of the League, was once an active Anti-suffragist, and made speeches against the ballot for women, but she was converted when she began to try to right wrongs connected with pure food—weights and measures, food prices and storage, etc.—through legislation. She now declares that as women are responsible in the home for the food, they need the direct influence in order to accomplish the good they are after.

The Women's Bugle Call.

A DECLARATION AGAINST WAR.

Forty-five of the great nations of the world attended the second Hague Conference.

These unanimously agreed to favour the employment of mediation, commissions of inquiry, and arbitration in the settlement of disputes after diplomacy had failed.

Seven of these forty-five nations are now in a state of war. Thirty-eight are still neutral. Of the latter the United States and Italy are the only Powers of the first rank.

The United States is the only nation of first rank not involved, as Italy is a member of the Triple Alliance. The United States is, therefore, free to urge nearly forty nations to unite in a joint appeal to the warring nations to cease firing and settle the questions at issue by peaceful methods.

Women of America, it is being demonstrated that decisions of this kind can no longer be left to men alone. The women's point of view is needed.

War is wrong. It is not necessary. No longer bow to it as if it were inevitable.

Go on record this week for world-wide peace. Make your position clear. Write to your Congressmen to bring pressure to bear on the Administration for peace. Though disfranchised, use every means in your power to put an end to laughter and bloodshed.

Call the world to witness, and to-day declare war on war.

MRS. CATT'S VIEW ON WAR.

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt arrived in New York on the Kaiser Wilhelm II. from London, where she had been attend-

ing the board meeting of the International Suffrage Alliance. Mrs. Catt said she felt that if women had had the vote in all the countries now at war the conflict would have been prevented.

"Women would have been conservative," she said, according to the "New York Times." "They have sense, and they know that it may not be possible for one nation to keep the peace while all the others are armed and at war, but internationally they might do it. War falls on the women most heavily, and more so now than ever before. This war should be a good argument for Suffrage. It shows that men, as I have always believed, are as hysterical as women, only they show it in a different way. Women weep and men fight."

Women Protest Against War.

A meeting of prominent women in New York to form a committee of 100 whose purpose is to end the European war was called. It is hoped that all classes of women will take part in a proposed great street parade or open-air meeting, regardless of race, creed, political, or social affiliations.

The parade, with the women dressed in black to show their sympathy for other women suffering through the war, will take place if the mayor, whom it has been impossible thus far for the originators of the idea to see, will give his consent. Otherwise there will be a great public meeting.

An enormous banner, according to the "New York Times," is to be a feature of this parade, which the women will call a "March for Civilisation," and on the banner will be the words in enormous letters: "We Demand a Mobilisation of The Hague Conference."

As foreign flags are not to be flown in the city, the women hope to carry in one cluster those of the countries at war and in another those of the neutral countries, with a big American flag flung to the breeze.

Two hundred letters were sent out to wives of city officers, the heads of every big woman's organisation in the city. The Newport women who have given up social affairs on account of the war will be asked to co-operate. All women interested were asked to be at the meeting.

"This is a movement for actual work," said Mrs. Stanton Blatch. "We intend to do something definite. We don't want red tape. We wish to have a meeting of The Hague Peace Conference called. It can be done, and we want it to be done. If you are bleeding to death you do not consider the means by which you stop the flow of blood. If by any chance The Hague is not available because of the war, the Conference can be held in one of the Scandinavian countries, or it can be held in the United States."

"This war is a great blow to civilisation. We want a Peace Conference that is a perpetual thing—not something that is called from time to time."

"We want to disarm the individual countries, and have an international army and navy. We want to send out word to the women of every organisation, little and big, the world over, and tell them to set an example in economy in all forms, in economy of child life, in sanitation and hygiene, in education, in art, and in science—to combat the awful set-back this war has given us. We do not call this demonstration a protest, but a march for civilisation."

"We want Suffragists and Anti-suffragists in it; the women's trade unions are interested, the settlements, women of all kinds. It has been in the air, and now there will be definite action."

A Woman's Voice.

By Theodosia Garrison in the *Delinicator*.
From the *Woman's Journal*, August 15th, 1914.

O heart! What is it you hear above the noise of a nation,
Above the sound of clamour and shouting
And men making ready for war?
Only a single voice, little more than a broken whisper,
Patient and unprotesting—only the voice of a woman.
Yet I hear it above the sound of guns
And the turmoil of men embarking.

I.

There's no use praying any more; the prayers are done and said;
But daytime going through the house, or night-time in my bed,
They trouble me, the old prayers, still ringing in my head,
The young men from the papers, they brought the word to me.
I'm thinking of their mothers, how glad they ought to be,

Who never said "Good-bye" to them and let them off to sea,
As strong as any man he was, and bold to do and dare,
And why should I be hearing, then, all night above the prayer,
A little lad that's calling me—and wanting me—some-where?

II.

He said what he thought was right:
"Let you be proud," he said,
"That you gave a son to the fight;
'Tis a glory over your head!"
'Tis never a good man's words I'd scorn,
And he said what he thought was best;
But I knew my pride when the lad was born,
And his head was warm on my breast.
"Let you be proud," he said.
'Twas the word that stabbed me through;
Proud—and my one son dead
In a land I never knew!
'Tis the women know when glory's worn
(Though he meant the word for the best);
I knew my pride when the lad was born,
And his head was warm on my breast.
Only a woman's voice—patient and unprotesting,
But I hear it above the sound of guns
And the turmoil of men embarking.

All the above extracts are culled from the *Woman's Journal*.

A MANIFESTO TO WOMEN OF EVERY LAND.

THE "EVERY WOMAN" INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT FOR ARBITRATION AT THE HAGUE.

To the Editor and to Women of Every Land.

Dear Sisters of Every Land,—Whilst our respective soldiers go bravely to the front, and whilst we at home do what we can for the wounded and the distressed, there is something else still more important to do, of which no one seems to think and which is very specially suited also to the soothing and loving influence of woman. It is the *preventing* our beloved soldiers to become wounded! It is to work, and this *internationally*, in the interest of the future peace of Europe. It is whilst the human mind is proving the evils of war that it is best disposed to consider the advisability of peace for the present time and for all time.

To this effect and to *women everywhere* we advise to hold, in every land, in towns and villages and centres, *weekly women's meetings*, which will go on till we have secured peace. Though begun by prayer, they will continue in work, in results, this being the only efficacious, legitimate, and logical way, were only individuals as well as nations willing to understand it! *I shall be pleased to hear of any hall or large room in London to be had weekly for this purpose*, if possible free of charge; and from any well-accredited woman of every land who wishes to join the London Committee and to help the movement in any way.

Whilst being heart and soul with our devoted soldiers at the front, whilst we tend them everywhere, nurse and comfort them, we will then also, in peace and in love, we *women of all nations*, consider matters week by week, call out together, "each to our God" and each to our own Governments, to shorten the *intolerable evil and sin*, and to resort to *arbitration*, now and at all times, it being the only possible means to disentangle the present tangle of Europe, which, far from leading us towards peace, is leading us straight away to further hatred and spirit of revenge, hence to further wars.

War begets war; it has done so from the beginning, and will forever do so. But love and peace and kindness beget love and peace and kindness. We will meet without distinction of party, creed, or nationality—we will do so all over the world. We will do so without "nagging" at any nation, whether ours or any other. They all need all our sympathy and help. We will do so as mothers of humanity—as sisters of the whole human race. We will do so as mothers, sisters, and wives of our beloved ones of all nations who are now being ruthlessly murdered on the battlefields. We will do so as true women, and that is enough! This will forward our cause better than anything else. We will believe and we will know that we *shall* succeed, and we shall thank God and man in anticipation! We women cannot afford to allow this madness of war to go on, neither now nor at any future time; we have had enough of it! And it rests on our honour with posterity that we see to this.—Your Sister of Every Land,

LUCY THOUAMIAN, R. DE V. (MME.).

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