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The Suffragette

Edited by CHRISTABEL PANKHURST

Official Organ of the
Women's Social and Political Union

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FRIDAY, JULY 9, 1915

Price 1d. Weekly (Post Free 1½d.)

WAR SERVICE PROCESSION, JULY 17

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him will be announced to the assembled concourse of women.

War Service Register.

A War Service Register has been opened at Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C., for the convenience of women who wish at once to undertake or to train for war service without waiting for the completion of the proposed national register of men and women. Copies of the Registration Form can be had on application to Lincoln's Inn House.

Needless to say the filling in and signing of this form will in no way affect liability to fill in and sign registration papers issued by the Government.

After the Deputation——!

It is hoped that munition schools for women will, after Mr Lloyd George has seen the deputation, be opened at once as well as munition factories into which women can be drafted as soon as they become proficient. Experience shows that intelligent women can learn some of the necessary processes very quickly and can learn others if a rather longer period of training be allowed.

To Defend our Allies !

A principle that ought to be observed is that the British Government shall give no protection to the rights of German citizens, or to the rights of Germany as a whole, which is not accorded by Germany to the nations of Belgium and France, or to the individual citizens of those two countries. For, be it remembered, the Germans to-day are for the purpose of attacking Belgium and France, using the natural resources of those two countries. They possess and they are using virtually everything belonging to Belgium whether over or under ground. And this as boasted by the Germans themselves is the position with regard to the invaded countries of France.

Women who mean Business.

and of Belgium our Ward. An indulgence for Germany which inflicts an injury not only upon ourselves, but upon Belgium and France, not to speak of our brave and self-sacrificing Allies further East, is a dishonour to ourselves.

The Australian Government having waited in vain for Imperial action to release the spelter which the Germans have succeeded in immobilising for eleven months (this resulting in a tremendous rise in prices and additional loss of life) have it appears decided to act themselves and set the spelter free for use.

German Missionaries in India —Mrs. Besant's Views.

A question in the House of Commons has elicited the statement that there are at present at large in India a number of enemy alien missionaries, mostly Germans, who are at liberty on parole, on condition of good behaviour. If their pledge of good behaviour is no more to be relied upon than the German pledge of good behaviour in the matter of Belgian neutrality, the position is anything but satisfactory.

The best comment upon the matter is perhaps to be found in the words of Mrs. Annie Besant, who writing out of her intimate experience of Indian conditions, said in *New India* of November 25, 1914:

It is worthy of note, that the Government have at last found themselves obliged to arrest some German missionaries at one of the Basel orphanages—which they were urged to subsidise a little time ago. They had been teaching the children that the British were their enemies. It is extraordinary how religious sympathy blinds otherwise intelligent men, despite the overwhelming evidence of German methods. "Your Emperor" and "our Kaiser" are some of the expressions heard from children attending these disloyal schools....

These [missionaries] form peril to which our rulers are apparently blind. They at length begin to recognise it with regard to the Germans with whom the Empire is at war, though they allow a free hand to all German women who continue to spread anti-British feeling among Indian children. But why should India be the dumping-ground for all these alien missionaries who are not subjects of the King-Emperor, but are allowed to mould after their own ideas the plastic brains of the future citizens of the country? This subtle propaganda of anti-British and anti-Indian ideas ought to be stopped.

Mrs. Besant in the *Common Weal* of October 23, 1914, said:

In the Indian Peninsula we have German missionaries, German schoolmasters and German schools wherein the greatness of the German Empire is proclaimed and attempts are made to dazzle the children with its grandeur. All this is allowed to go on with the usual fatuity of Englishmen; and even with the German propaganda unveiled in Europe before their eyes, still continue these centres of mischief to exist.

The Kaiser's Use of German Socialists.

Regarding the short suspension of the Socialist paper *Vorwaerts* which has already resumed publication, the Swiss newspaper the *Gazette de Lausanne* declares the whole

episode to have been a stratagem designed by the German Government to deceive foreign Socialists and adds:

Whoever knows the under-workings of German Socialism and its links with the German Government will have felt no surprise at the suspension of *Vorwaerts* for having published the appeal of Socialist leaders in favour of peace. There was a so-called "suspension" of *Vorwaerts* for an indeterminate time; but in a few days the paper reappeared. The German Government not only knew all about the Socialist manifesto in question, since the manifesto was officially communicated to it at the end of May by those responsible for issuing it; but the Government tolerated or encouraged the manifesto even if it did not actually inspire it.

The *Gazette de Lausanne* says further that the German Government has urged forward the German Socialist leaders in the hope that the Socialists in the countries of the Allies will be deceived by their action and it suspended the official Organ of the Socialist Party merely in order to conceal that it was conniving at the issue of the manifesto.

To this we may add: that the manifesto for publishing which *Vorwaerts* was "suspended" was actually sent to America by a semi-official German news agency conducted by big employers of labour and was sent direct to the German Ambassador at Washington with instructions to issue it to the American Press.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald shows his True Colours!

At last we have it! Mr. J. R. MacDonald as has long been expected by us, has shown that, he in common with his friend Herr Sudekum, the German Socialist who lately went as a direct missionary of the Kaiser to influence the Balkan Socialists in the interests of Germany, is anti-French and pro-German. How otherwise are we to explain his statements made at a recent meeting that "from the moment that France lifted up her head again after the war of 1870, to take her place among the nations of Europe, she was a discontented and self-debased nation." To this Mr. Ramsay MacDonald added the assertion that that is the sort of nation which always creates trouble to her neighbours. If Mr. MacDonald were asked to explain what trouble France has given to her neighbours, he would have difficulty in making a reply!

Germany Waxed and Grew Fat for Evil.

Trouble and anxiety in Europe from the war of 1870, have been due above all to Germany, who after its shameful war upon France in 1870, waxed and grew fat for future evil on the ill-gotten gains in the shape of indemnity and territory wrested from Republican France, against whom the Germans could not show any grievance whatever; especially as Bismarck had deliberately provoked the war of 1870 which, no less than the present war, was really a war of aggression on Germany's part. The disturbance of the relations between the powers of

Europe due to the war of 1870, the crime against Alsace-Lorraine which Germany then committed and Europe allowed, have produced the present war; because they "united" in the midst of Europe and strengthened for aggression a Hohenzollernised and Prussianised Germany whose religion is commercialism reinforced by war.

France the Mother of European Liberty!

For Mr. MacDonald as a professing Socialist to speak of France—the mother of European liberty, the nation whose moral grandeur inspires the admiration not only of her Allies, but of all the neutral nations of the world—as self-debased, puts him outside the pale and condemns him as a fit partner of Kaiser William and Kaiser William's Socialist tools, Sudekum and the rest. Birds of a feather flock together and Mr. J. R. MacDonald, since the war broke out, if not before it, has sufficiently shown of what feather he is!

Some Features of this Issue.

We would draw the special attention of our readers to the very fine declaration of Belgian faith and hope by the Belgian Minister of Justice M. Carton de Wiart. We publish also a statement showing that the French acting on the advice of their Socialist Minister of Munitions have decided to draw no distinction between the man who fights the Germans in the trenches and the man who fights them by his work in the munition factory. Thus the worker in the factory will quite logically be, during the period of war, under the same military discipline as his brother in the trenches.

*"And if unstained that ancient banner
Kept yet its pride of place,
Let none forget how vast the debt
We owe to those who died."*



IN remembrance and honour of those brave men, husbands, sons, and brothers of W.S.P.U. Members, who, in the Great War, have fought and died for our Country, and for Freedom.

WAR SERVICE PROCESSION AND DEPUTATION TO MR. LLOYD GEORGE

Saturday Afternoon, JULY 17.

Form up on the Victoria Embankment at 2.30 p.m., start at 3.30 p.m. promptly.

PROCESSION ROUTE

Victoria Embankment, Bridge Street, Whitehall, Cockspur Street, Pall Mall, St. James's Street, Piccadilly, Park Lane, Oxford Street, Oxford Circus, Regent Street, Piccadilly Circus, Haymarket, Northumberland Avenue, returning to the Embankment.

WANTED!

700 BANNER BEARERS.

300 MARSHALS.

300 PAPER SELLERS.

400 YOUNG WOMEN dressed in White
to help in arranging one of the special decorative features of the procession.

The task of organisation will be facilitated if readers will fill in the form below and post it to the W.S.P.U.

W.S.P.U. WAR SERVICE PROCESSION.

Saturday Afternoon, JULY 17.

- (1) I intend to march in the War Service Procession.
- (2) I will bring with me _____ friends.
- (3) I am willing to volunteer in response to the appeal for procession helpers.
- (4) I enclose a [cheque _____ postal order] for the W.S.P.U. War Service Fund.

Name _____

Address _____

The Suffragette

Official Organ of the Women's Social and Political Union.

PRICE ONE PENNY WEEKLY.

FRIDAY, JULY 9, 1915.

How to Win the War

TO-DAY, seven hundred years after Magna Charta and more than a hundred after the French Revolution, Great Britain, France and Europe generally are threatened by the domination of the Hohenzollerns, the degenerates who in the name of their own pretended divine right seek to make their will the law for Europe and the world.

How are we to deliver ourselves and others from this appalling menace strengthened as it is by the most deadly efficiency and the most complete preparation and organisation for war! Here are some of the things needed to win this war:

A policy of defence and service at home and in the field, sound as a whole and in every one of its parts.

A sound policy cannot be arrived at by means of compromise between many conflicting views. A sound policy cannot be based upon the principle of following the line of least resistance. A sound policy will not emerge as the result of successive surrenders to contradictory criticisms.

A sound policy must be consistent with itself. It must have the qualities of a work of art—nay, a policy in the highest sense is a work of art and is conceived as other works of art are conceived.

Trust the people and defy the cranks; defy also Kuhlmanites and the Kaiser's cats paws. Those publications or persons who for years past accepted the assurances of our enemies at their face value, who gave their faith and trust and even their admiration to the Kaiser, who wanted to leave France in the lurch and Belgium to be invaded, ought now to be on their guard lest they be again deceived. They certainly have no right to expect that their views shall prevail as against the view of the rest of the nation.

Organise the whole people—men and women—for War Service. Decide upon examination of facts, of past events and future probabilities whether compulsory service military and industrial is necessary—not whether it is universally popular—if it is necessary tell the people so and why—and then **institute compulsory national service, military and industrial.** The so-called "voluntary" system has failed. It is true that it has provided evidence of the enthusiasm and determination of the people in this war, but so and still more eloquently has the universal and compulsory military system of France.

The "voluntary" system has failed if only because it has taken away to the war miners and engineers who are needed in the mines and the factories at home.

The "voluntary" system has failed because it has left a vast number of men in positions which could be filled by women, with the result that women in spite of their desire to serve have been comparatively idle, instead of taking their full share in the work of national defence.

The "voluntary" system has failed because it has involved an enormous expenditure in time and money instead of enabling a rapid and relatively costless mobilisation of our military forces.

The "voluntary" system has failed because it has prevented our taking an equal share with France in the fighting line and in the production of munitions of war.

The "voluntary" system has failed because it has put a premium on cowardice.

The "voluntary" system has failed because it has placed upon the individual too heavy a responsibility in the matter of deciding as to his duty.

Tighten the blockade so that neither from neutral countries nor from British overseas dominions nor from these Islands shall Germany and its Allies receive a single thing helpful to them in the prosecution of the war.

We British are not innocent of making war upon our own liberties, upon our own soldiers and upon our loyal and splendid Allies. For all time the world will stand aghast at the manner in which we have allowed traders in this and other countries to supply Germany, not only with foodstuffs, but with material directly useful for war purposes such as linseed oil, copper, lead, coal and last but not least—**cotton!** It has been claimed that we have secured command of the sea and that this is our great contribution to the success of the Allies' cause. But instead of using our sea power to the full for the sake of ourselves and our Allies (who on their part have been making the greater military sacrifices and have suffered the horrors of invasion from which so far we have been free) we have with an appalling complacency allowed the provisioning of the common enemy.

Subordinate the personal interests and the amour propre of the individual to the good of the whole nation.

Perhaps the greatest and most painful test of leadership is the readiness of those in authority to incur reproach and even to do violence to their own feelings by dispensing with the service of persons who because of weakness or some other inadequacy are unsuitable to fill a given position. Leaders must so love their cause and be so filled with a sense of responsibility towards the nation whose interests have been entrusted to their care, that they are ready to wound themselves by wounding their friend. They must be prepared to acquire a reputation for hard-heartedness and be prepared to make a horde of petty enemies, in order to secure not only a *good* result but the *best* result by eliminating from official position not only those who are unfit, but also those who are less fit than some other person to hold any given position.

Henceforward there must be no more of this. If neutral countries do not like the change, let them consider the fate of Belgium and congratulate themselves upon their present immunity from that fate! Let them remember that the victory of the Allies is their only hope of escaping German domination! Holland, Denmark, Scandinavia and the Balkan nations would be doomed if Germany should win.

America stands in a similar position. Her fate, too, depends upon the outcome of this war.

We are fighting for these neutral countries and we need have no compunction in preventing their traders (many of those concerned are Germans or pro-Germans) from continuing to reap rich war profits.

No more compromise with neutrals therefore and this for their sake as well as for our own!

Purify the official organisation of the country of naturalised Germans and of Germans born in England but of German blood.

Purify it too, of any of British blood who may be pro-German or half-hearted in the prosecution of the war.

The events of this war and the facts now available as to what took place before it began, show how unsuitable it was to retain in Government service (why, some were even naturalised for the purpose) Germans who were in Government departments at the outbreak of the war. It was and is, expecting altogether too much that Germans should do their work with the enthusiasm of men of British blood, ardent for the victory of their country and of their country's ideals. We cannot count upon the requisite enthusiasm and determination from men who have German parents or grandparents. There is all the difference in the world between the unselfish devotion of the patriot and the work of the man whose sympathies (even if he is not actually disloyal) are perhaps divided, or perhaps are even fundamentally with Germany.

It would be in accordance with honour and good taste for the men of German birth and descent to release themselves from a false position and to resign their office at this terrible crisis.

Mistakes of commission and of omission have been made during the course of the war that could not have been much worse had there actually been traitors in the camp.

Above all things we must remember that to a nation as to a human organism the greatest danger comes from within and consists in an imperfect power of resistance to onslaughts from without.

This country cannot hope to weather the present storm unless every man and every woman in a position of responsibility is absolutely single-minded and single-hearted and owes an undivided allegiance to our country and our country's cause.

Subordinate the personal interests and the amour propre of the individual to the good of the whole nation.

Perhaps the greatest and most painful test of leadership is the readiness of those in authority to incur reproach and even to do violence to their own feelings by dispensing with the service of persons who because of weakness or some other inadequacy are unsuitable to fill a given position. Leaders must so love their cause and be so filled with a sense of responsibility towards the nation whose interests have been entrusted to their care, that they are ready to wound themselves by wounding their friend. They must be prepared to acquire a reputation for hard-heartedness and be prepared to make a horde of petty enemies, in order to secure not only a *good* result but the *best* result by eliminating from official position not only those who are unfit, but also those who are less fit than some other person to hold any given position.

The country wants to be assured that this principle guides those at the head of our national affairs at the present time.

There can be no victory for our country in this war without sacrifice and there is no sacrifice of personal feeling or personal ambition too great to be made if directly or indirectly it strengthens the forces making for national victory.

CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

JAURÈS ON NATIONAL DEFENCE

"Socialists demand military service for everyone. . . . They wish to be in the Army"

In his book, *La Nouvelle Armée*, the famous Socialist leader, Jaurès, declared his belief in universal military service as applied to all classes of the community and to Socialists and non-Socialists alike.

We give below extracts from M. Jaurès' book. They show what were his views regarding the military training and service of the entire manhood of the nation. They give also the reasons why the workers in general and Socialists in particular are vitally concerned to maintain the safety, freedom and independence of the nation.

A NY pretended indifference of the workers to their country is the worst folly at an epoch when everywhere the people aspire both to national independence and to political liberty, which are the necessary conditions of working-class evolution. . . .

In order that the people can govern themselves democratically, they must exist; they must not be broken up and subjected by a relic of the feudal régime, they must not be crushed by the brutal domination of the foreigner.

Democracy and nationality are one.

Nationality and democracy are not always developed to the same point, but they have always been inseparable. There has never been any democracy, however pacific it might be, which was able to find a basis or to be enduring if it was not guaranteed by national independence.

That this is the German method of to-morrow everything indicates. It is the doctrine every day more firmly and more clearly enunciated by the great General Staff of Berlin.

As to the intentions of the German General Staff there is no possibility of doubt. They would not audaciously have placed their points of departure so near the French frontier if they were not determined to be beforehand with their adversary. It is certain that with their forces already accumulated in Alsace-Lorraine and rapidly increased they would in case of war suddenly take the offensive. . . .

The organisation of national defence and the organisation of international peace are one and the same cause. Everything that France can do to add to her defensive power will increase the chance of peace in the world. All valid citizens from the age of twenty to the age of forty-five years are bound to assist in national defence.

If a nation is really resolved upon a policy of peace and justice, if she has really no other ambition than that of protecting her own life, if her Government, dominated and inspired by her, has left nothing undone to prove to all the citizens and to all the peoples of the earth, the loyalty of its pacific and just resolve, why should this nation, why should this Government, hesitate to make an appeal for the Working-class not to be excluded from the Army

the common safety to the whole of its virile force?

Is it the nation's fault that it is obliged to call to the frontier all citizens, even those who have founded a family and are held back by the delights and duties of home? The nation in defending itself, defends its families, its liberty, its security and its honour.

Then let all answer to the call! It is justice itself which appeals to them. They do not desert their home: they protect it and ennoble it. And as fathers they will have done more for their children in assuring to them a future of liberty and a free country, than by continuing to give them, out of a cowardly tenderness, the precarious protection of the dishonoured head of the family, in a nation enslaved owing to his fault and delivered by him to evil fortune.

The whole Nation an Immense and Vigorous Army

The whole nation an immense and vigorous army in the service of national independence and of peace! There, on the military plane, is the true liberation of France!

If war breaks out to-morrow between France and Germany, what form will it take? Germany will certainly practise the offensive. I mean by that, that she will brusquely invade French territory and that she will try to attack in force the hardly assembled French troops by striking one of those formidable blows which destroy an adversary, or at least leave him so bewildered, so distressed, that he cannot during the remainder of a prolonged struggle recover the full energy of combat and the dash of victory.

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why should this nation, why should this Government, hesitate to make an appeal for the Working-class not to be excluded from the Army

Everywhere, the workers, the Socialists, demand military service for everyone. Just as they do not admit that the middle class shall be free on account of its money from bearing its part in the army, so they will not admit that the working-class shall be excluded from the army. They wish to be in the army. . . .

Those Frenchmen if there are any left, who should say that it is indifferent to them whether they live under Germany or France, under the rule of the pointed helmet, or under a middle-class President, are guilty of a sophistry which by its own absurdity is its own refutation.

To say that the workers being the servants of capitalism, cannot by invasion, by conquest, suffer an accentuation of their servitude is childishness. Capitalist and middle-class domination which is exerted in all countries, is a natural and necessary effect of economic development. Capitalism is not eternal and in creating a proletariat which becomes every day greater and more organised, it prepares itself the force which will replace it. And by increasing the proletarian masses in whom is growing up a new spirit, it renders possible the property revolution which will free mankind.

At no moment is capital pure force of resistance or an unmixed force of reaction. At the same time and by an indivisible action it lowers and it raises, it enslaves and it emancipates, it exploits and it enriches. It is only by material influence and it is not by physical brutality that it is imposed and is maintained.

The truth is that in democratic countries such as the United States, England and France, it would be enough for the mass of the workers to wish it to expropriate the capitalist minority. They would only have to use their legal strength and there is no guardian of capital who could prevent them. They dare not, or rather they do not think of it.

Suppose that a country had only to vote in order to free itself of an invading army weighing upon its territory. If votes could effect its disappearance such an army would disappear like mist at the approach of a flame. Capitalism on the contrary occupies almost without resistance a whole vast field. . . .

"The Country is not a Worn-out Idea"

I have never, for my part, taken seriously paradoxes against the country. The country is not a worn-out idea, it is an idea which develops and grows. I have always been certain that the workers would not, in their hearts, uphold a doctrine of national abdication and servitude.

To revolt against the despotism of kings and against the tyranny of capital and at the same time passively submit to the yoke of conquest and the domination of foreign militarism, would be a contradiction so childish, so miserable, that it would at the first alarm be swept away by all the latent forces of instinct and of reason.

That the workers, whom the conqueror would not deliver from the control of capital, should consent, in addition, to become the payers of tribute to a foreign nation, would be a monstrous thing.

The working-classes, if they refused to defend the independence of the nation, which means the freedom for their own self-development, would never have the strength to overcome capitalism. When the workers had accepted without resistance the yoke of the invader, which would then be added to the yoke of capital, they would never again be able to raise their heads.

WINNING THE RIGHT TO SERVE

Deputation to Mr. Lloyd George

THE GREAT PROCESSION ON JULY 17

Madame Clara Butt's Speech

A GARIBALDIAN VETERAN ON THE GERMAN MENACE.

So large was the crowd that attended the W.S.P.U. Weekly War Service Meeting at the London Pavilion on Thursday July 1 that many hundreds had to be turned away unable to gain admission. The proceedings were opened by the singing of the National Anthem by Madame Clara Butt, the vast audience joining in the rendering of the last verse.

The following is a report of the speeches delivered.

MRS. PANKHURST

THIS great meeting which is assembled here this afternoon meets at a great historical moment in the history of the nation. How women welcome the announcement that at last, after months of waiting, there is to be compiled a National Register for War Service in which women are included, it is impossible for me to express. What is now being done, is what we from women's platforms have advocated since last August and although we lament deeply the wasted months—which were necessary for preparation—we are glad to think that at last what we have advocated is to be done.

But let me deal for a moment with the people who still do not understand why women are to be included in the National Register; people who still think that owing to women's home duties, it is not in the public interest that they should be registered for War Service. Well, one of the urgent reasons why without delay, the services of women should be enlisted in this country is that we are fighting in Germany, a nation organised, fully organised for war and in the organisation of that nation from the very beginning, the services of women have been taken into account.

The Minister of Munitions to receive a Deputation

The Register is to be compiled, but it will be some time before that Register is completed and before the labour of those registered can be utilised and organised. And yet the needs of the nation are very pressing.

I have to announce this afternoon that the Minister of Munitions, Mr. Lloyd George, has been asked to receive a deputation of women eager at once to serve their country by joining

even if need be, to die for their country just like men.

What I have already told you, of what is being done in Germany must convince everyone that, if we are to win this war, we have to organise ourselves as well, at least as well as the Germans.

We are a great nation and there are great possibilities in the nation and we have thank Heaven, a great unused force in the nation—the force of women—and when this force is fully organised we will show the Germans what we as the British people can do. (Applause.)

During the last few days I have had a very wonderful experience, which should on the one hand hearten women to serve and on the other hand convince any men, if there are any such here this afternoon, of the great possibilities there are in this demand of women to be allowed to serve. On Tuesday I was in France and by the kindness of the French Minister of Munitions, M. Thomas, I was enabled to visit works in Paris where women are engaged in making munitions of war. Women there are working in the arsenals and they are working in many of the emergency factories that have been set up since the war began. After an interview with the Minister of Munitions, I visited a large motor-car works which has been converted for war purposes since war broke out.

Employment of Women for Munition-making a Great Success

There I saw women who before war broke out had had no training whatever in the making of munitions, engaged in making shells and fuses. I brought back with me some specimens of their work, work requiring great skill and I was told while I was there that in some parts of France there are women making shells so large and so heavy that it takes two women to lift them. Some of the work seemed to me more suitable for women than for men, because it required the delicacy of touch that women's fingers can best supply.

I was received by the man manager of the works and throughout the whole of my visit I had no conversation with women at all. All the information I got was from the man general manager, or the foreman of the department in which the women worked and the man head of the infirmary to which employees who met with injuries or fell ill were taken. So that what I am going to say to you is entirely free of any feminine bias.

They began by telling me that the employment of women for munition-making was a great success; that although there was a certain amount of opposition in the beginning from some men trade-unionists, that opposition had now entirely disappeared; that there had never been any friction between the men and women working together in the factory. From the beginning everything had gone harmoniously and there had been absolutely no difficulty of any kind in the putting of men and women to work together. They said that the women come to the work with great enthusiasm, determination and devotion.

Well, that is very understandable when I tell

you that in employing the women preference is given to the wives of men at the Front. (Applause.) Those women feel, first of all, that they are helping their men in the most effective way possible by keeping them supplied with the munitions of war.

Mr. Lloyd George has appointed a day on which to receive a deputation of women.

We can get up this procession with the practical certainty that the answer to our plea to be allowed to serve is going to be answered in the affirmative.

In conclusion I want to urge every woman present to help us to make this demonstration a great and overwhelming success. I particularly want the women who have been called the non-producing class, the women of leisure, the middle and upper class women, to take their part in this great effort.

We want to show the nation and to show Germany that the women of every class in our great nation are prepared to enlist like their sons and their brothers in the great work, so that as an organised nation, men and women alike on a war footing, we may show our determination to the world to win this war for civilisation and all that women hold dear. (Applause.)

MADAME CLARA BUTT

Madame CLARA BUTT (Mrs. Kennerley Rumford):

We all know that it is a very grave and serious thing that is facing us. I was in France last week and I could not help seeing what a difference that bit of water makes to us here. When you are once over that bit of water things look different. It makes us feel too secure, I think.

Over there you hear the men talking and you know what they think and you see that they are wondering what we are up to. The men have all been splendid.

When I was going over on the boat it was crowded with "Tommies" so cheerful with their jokes and when I came outside from my cabin and saw their faces they looked all very happy and very cheerful. But there were pathetic little incidents which showed what was really in their hearts and minds, though they were going over willingly to fight for us. When we arrived on the other side, a very important man with a megaphone gave directions where the men were to go. One man was leaning over the side of the vessel and was looking very sad and when the man was saying to the men, "Go here and go there," the man who was leaning over the side said "I am going back to Scotland and I am telling you." He knew he could not go back, he knew he had to go and fight; but that was what his heart was saying.

Then I went to the infirmary and asked the question, "Do women break down oftener than men?" The answer was "No, not so often."

If we could take all those antiquated people who think about women—well, you know what some of them think about women, only having had experience of women who have never been called upon to do any practical work—if we could take all those people and show them what is going on across the Channel, we should get rid of all the pettinesses which are objectionable in time of peace, but are intolerable in time of war.

These things are known to Mr. Lloyd George. He knows what the women are doing on the Continent. He is in constant touch with the French Minister of Munitions and so we may augur the very best from the fact that

know that bravery is sexless and that woman had been worrying over her husband and what might have happened to him. That has been our portion.

The days for men to work and women to weep are over. I could not help thinking of the old picture in which the woman buckles on the man's sword. That buckling on the sword is very nice and very pretty, but if the sword had no edge to it there would not be much point in it, would there? It would not be much use. To-day, if we let our men go on without having the stuff to fight with, what is the use of it? And that is what we are facing now. We are all ready to die for our country if necessary.

"A man is only fit to live when he feels ready to die"

As I said, courage and bravery are not peculiar to men alone. Who was it that said that man is only fit to live when he feels ready to die? We know that is true. Who said that knew what he was speaking of.

It is a very, very big question and I do hope this Women's Movement is going to be a great success; opportunity means success and we have got the opportunity, so success will follow. My heart goes out to every woman. My message is a message of love to this great sisterhood. I hope with Mrs. Pankhurst that all will come true—all that we wish of this great movement. (Applause.)

CAVALIERE LUIGI RICCI

Cavaliere Luigi Ricci (Hon. Secretary of the Dante Society and one of the Garibaldi veterans):

Ladies and Gentlemen, ten months ago we had a meeting at the Queen's Hall. It was to induce the Italian Government to join the Allies. At that time we were hoping that this might be and to-day our words have come true. We have been listened to and to-day Italy, although the last to join the Allies, is not the least. (Applause.)

I am sure that the Italian Army will keep up its old traditions and fight against the Austrians and the Germans as Italy used to do for so many years. (Applause.) Like everybody else they will have a tough job of it, but I have not the least doubt as to the result. We may not see the result so soon as we could wish, but we are as assured of the ultimate victory of the Allies as that the sun will rise to-morrow. (Applause.)

In the war of 1866 I had the honour of serving under Garibaldi on the very fields where to-day the Italian Army is fighting. I remember at Bezzecca, where actually the Italian troops are to-day, where we fought against the

(Continued on page 206.)

A NATION'S SACRIFICE AND FAITH

By M. CARTON DE WIART, the Belgian Minister of Justice

A Speech delivered to Belgian Exiles in London

YES, our nation is dispersed; yes, it is undergoing infinite suffering. And yet it has never lived in the heart of its children and in the universal conscience with a life more intense, more united, more radiant and more noble.

But you know where this dispersed nation ceases to be dispersed and is united. . . . It is in our battle-line, it is in the midst of our army in that serene and pure atmosphere of valour and faith that envelops our soldiers, in spite of the fogs of the Yser and the asphyxiating gases let loose by "Kultur" at bay.

It is there that we must go in order to have a true sense of the situation; in order to strengthen our own will and fortify our sacred union for war and for liberation. It is there that we must go constantly to find new food for that beneficent and wise optimism which is more and more an essential factor of victory.

What a contrast between that smiling English country through which I travelled yesterday and that region of the Yser where are all our thoughts; which Danté if he had known its actual state would no doubt have chosen as one of the regions of his hell.

Belgium a Year Ago

Yet that also—that region of the Yser—was less than a year ago one of the most peaceful and happy countries under God's sun. It was a country of rich pastures, seamed by canals and strewn with towns and villages. Here and there low white farms with their red roofs showed out against the greenness. Rows of great poplars that did not bend before the wind from the sea, marked the course of the great roads. Square towers, rustic clock towers, beautiful belfries worked like lace recalled the ancient religious, corporate, communal artistic traditions that have remained dear to this mediæval and industrious Flemish race. On the Western horizon was the gracious garland of the Dunes, behind which lay hidden charming watering-places.

To-day, even in this season when the soul of the earth breathes flowers everywhere, imagine a bare and sinister plain on which rain bombs, shrapnel and shells. The soil is cut up by wheels and broken by projectiles and soaked in blood. Here and there the inundations have left great sheets of water from which emerge ruined farms and in which float débris of all kinds and sometimes dead bodies. And on this soil for two hundred and fifty days and two hundred and fifty nights without interruption or respite, men fight, destroy each other, kill each other.

It is there upon that bit of sacred ground, to which we cling with all our will to live and all our certainty of victory. It is there that we must think of our little Belgian Army whose gaps are every day filled by new recruits.

What a will to stand firm, an indomitable resolve transmitted like a torch from the hand of the dying to the hand of the survivor in order to continue the course towards victory! What an ardour in the eyes of these heroes, when they call up the vision of their devastated village and the thought of their parents who are perhaps awaiting them there—for what has become of them there behind the firing-line and under the yoke of the enemy? . . .

It is thus that to-day appears to us Belgium fighting for her life. Separated from her by

without complaint because they are without reproach.

For what is intolerable, is the sentiment of having committed an unjust or vile action and of persevering in it. On the other hand there is I know not what bitter ecstasy for those who suffer, for those whose families are decimated or dispersed, whose homes are pillaged or burnt because they oppose to the most cruel brutalities of the enemy the calm resistance of justice, because they will not permit lies to call themselves truth, nor force to legitimise offences committed against the moral liberties of the human race.

Justice is greater than Force. That is the great lesson that little Belgium gives to-day to the world—the lesson which, if we wish it, will assure to us not only in history, but in the society of nations, an immortal prestige. If we wish it—that is to say, if we know how to remain worthy of ourselves and to profit by our trials.

When Germany realised the indignation provoked in every honest conscience by the violation of Belgian neutrality which she had sworn to protect, she set about to discover palliatives or excuses for what was not only a crime, but was also a mistake. So, according to the word of Carl Spitteler, the illustrious poet of Zurich, after the blow in order to appear white did Cain blacken Abel. One of the fathers of German culture, Frederick II., said: "Whatever I do I shall find a pedestal to justify me." William II. has found ninety-three pedestals. They have signed even if they did not draw up that truly "Kolossal" document, the "manifesto of the intellectuals."

The Immoral Abasement into which Germany has Fallen

Since then, with an obstinacy which nothing disconcerts, the agents of German propaganda have multiplied lies and calumnies against us. Nothing better gives the measure of the immoral abasement into which Germany has fallen, than the fury with which, having hurled herself upon Belgium and beaten it to the earth, she is now desperately defaming Belgium. Listen to what Dr. Dernburg, formerly one of the Ministers of Germany, said in a letter addressed to his German-American compatriots of Portland: "As regards the conquest of Belgium paid for by German blood, it cannot be restored so long as that country is under the political control of England."

The conquest of Belgium, paid for by German blood! How are we to understand such a phrase except as the shameless proposition or the sinister ratiocine of professional cut-throat?

It is a necessary patriotic task to show in opposition to this flood of impurity, all the beauty, all the simplicity of the international rôle of Belgium who has been faithful to honour and has sacrificed herself for honour.

We shall also usefully employ the hours of exile, by thinking of to-morrow, of preparing the restoration of our country notably as regards its economic well-being; by the study of formulas and treaties of commerce which might best be substituted for the famous clause that Bismarck imposed upon us at Frankfort and has often hindered the exportation of our products.

Here and there arise voices which speak of peace, and in many of them it is easy for a practised ear to recognise *German accent*. It is not at the moment when the burglar is about to be ejected from the house in which he has perpetrated his crime that it is appropriate to speak of peace! The agents of peace in such a case are policemen; that is to say, they are the good soldiers of the Allied Armies!

If each of us truly does what he can, the time is near when we shall see overthrown as it deserves, that power without scruple, whom Lord Curzon has severely but justly described as the mad dog of Europe.

Then only, according to the words of the Holy Book, will the steel of the sword serve to forge ploughshares and sickles for the harvesters. Then only will humanity be free to pursue the course of its destiny in the healthy atmosphere of justice!

GERMAN CONTEMPT FOR WOMEN

Slave and Servant of the Soldier

ONE of the reasons why German men are so wanting in refinement of character is due to the fact that when a boy is five years old his mother begins to look to him as her lord and master. You will find her making excuses to him if the dinner is late; his sisters must wait on him; he gets the best room in the house, while his mother and sisters are often content with the worst.

He shows the roughest of manners at table and is not corrected, because he is lord. He grows up vulgar and pampered and shows very little consideration for the female members of his family. For he is one day to be a soldier. A woman cannot be a soldier and therefore she does not count.

Fit only for a Woman

You notice this even in the daily conversation of Germans. If you are with a German, in Switzerland, let us say, on a fine day, he will tell you that the weather or the scenery is *herrlich* (manly), but if he wants to express his disgust for the badly kept state of his room in the hotel he will say that it is *weiblich* (fit only for a woman). In some parts of Germany I have heard them speak of bad weather as *Weibliches Wetter* (weather fit only for one's wife to be out).

Drink and Dress

Many and many a time at cafés and beer-halls (and it must be remembered that the Germans are very fond of taking their meals outside of the home), I have seen family parties where portions were ordered only for the men and the women were content with the leavings. Very often the wife must be content with a few short drinks of beer (*Schlücke*, they call them) from her consort's mug. On the whole, the women are never dressed as well as the men; and though the German officer is very particular about his tailor, you will find that his sister and mother must be content to call in a dressmaker who works from house to house at about three shillings a day.

Held in Dishonour

The meaning of these little things would never strike the casual observer; he would be inclined to look upon them just as curiosities of national custom; but they are far more. They arise from a philosophy of life and you will find the German give full vent to that philosophy when you begin to pry into the reasons of things. For instance, if you speak of a lady in Germany and you call her *Meine Freundin* (my friend), the German will immediately draw conclusions, for the German cannot understand how an honourable friendship may exist between a man and a woman. This is no exaggeration, as anybody with even a smattering of the German language must know. There you have the core of the German question, the secret of that poisonous influence which has entered into the soul of the nation. It is the driving force behind this terrible German onslaught against humanity.—From *T.P.'s Journal of Great Deeds*.

"Vive la France, Quand Même"

A Frenchwoman the wife of a soldier learned that her husband's regiment was in the neighbourhood of Paris. She took her baby and went out to give him a pleasant surprise. She asked for the adjutant of her husband's company. "Can I see my husband?" she said, giving her name. The officer stammered and grew pale. "Madame," he said, "have courage. Your husband fell nobly at my side. We all loved him." The wife stood for a moment without moving. Then, with a noble gesture that was pure Greek and pure heroism, she raised her baby above her head and cried, "Vive la France, quand même." Then she turned and walked firmly away back to her widowed home.—From *T.P.'s Journal of Great Deeds*.

"I can claim no merit in enduring my fate with stoicism. I see nothing in my patience save an application of the physical law that every being adapts itself to the conditions of life imposed upon it by circumstances.

"I have been imprisoned for 240 days. Captivity has become my normal state. The sufferings I endured in the first few weeks after my arrest grow less and less.

"I remember having once read that, three hundred years ago, the Duc de Croix having been assassinated, the wretch convicted of the crime was incarcerated in the prison of Vilverde. He was kept in irons for thirty-two years, at the end of which period his innocence was admitted and his immediate liberation ordered. But he asked to be allowed to stay in prison, which soon was generously accorded to him by the Government.

"Who can say that some day, during a sitting of the Communal Council at Brussels, I may not regret the silent retreat of Glatz!"

THIS is the truly magnificent letter written by Burgomaster Max of Brussels from the fortress of Glatz, where he has been imprisoned by the Germans, who found him a hindrance to the tyrannous and oppressive dealing with his Belgian compatriots. The letter is magnificent because of its selfless and gallant spirit—it is sad as well as great, because its humour is of the kind that springs only in noble hearts from great pain, that although it is mixed with indomitable hope and faith, it still is nevertheless great pain!

Burgomaster Max's Meeting with the German Army

We give below an account of Burgomaster Max's meeting with the German Army of occupation when it entered Brussels. The account is written by the Belgian author Jean-François Fonson and is reproduced in translation and with acknowledgements from *les Annales*.

Max—our Max, as we call him—had gone that morning along the Louvain road, beyond the gate of the town. From there one can see the surrounding country and the long road planted with old poplars that leads to the cemetery. . . .

The square was thronged with German soldiers, with Uhlans, with the Death's Head Hussars prancing about in the joy of triumph. They invaded the inns and took the pork-butchers by storm, while others occupied the barracks of our Carabiniers, whose great red brick mass rose up in the resplendent sun of a hot summer day.

A few minutes earlier the General Staff of the German Army of occupation had installed itself in the building. Women, children, unemployed men whom the war had robbed of their livelihood, had ventured out of their homes and with their eyes staring wide as if they were living in a nightmare, they looked at the soldiery who the very evening before had burnt Louvain and had shot hundreds of civilians, old men, priests, sisters of mercy, mothers and their babies at the breast. There rose up from the town the raucous murmur of this band of Germans, with their hard and barbarous language, interrupted every now and then by orders shouted out in a guttural voice by the "Oberleutnants," with their waists drawn in like those of certain women of Berlin. At times they sang

with a dragging rhythm one of their songs of victory—*Deutschland über Alles*, or *Die Wacht am Rhein*; sinister melodies, funeral hymns, to the sounds of which they seem to bury their glory far more than they exalt it.

All at once there is a stirring in the crowd. On the side of the road coming from the gate of Louvain, in a slowly advancing motor-car, someone is standing erect and waving a white flag. He is wearing a long black coat and a tall black hat, under which his young-looking face, framed with light hair, assumes a grave aspect, a sad dignity.

It is the Burgomaster. It is he; it is Max. Never had his paleness seemed to me so pale. He maintains an impassive air in the midst of all this crowd of people, who look at him with eyes full of grateful affection. One feels that all those hearts go out to him. Everyone speaks in a low voice as though they were in church. No one dares to cry out his gratitude to the first magistrate of the town and yet all in this tragic moment feel the greatness of the sacrifice that he is about to make. A heavy silence weighs upon the people and even the Germans understand that something great and terrible is happening.

The Defender of their Dignity and their Rights

The motor-car stops. All the men uncover their heads; Max bows low to his fellow-citizens. With a superhuman effort of will, he checks the tears that one divines are trembling on his lashes. His handsome, honest face, with its eyes that are eloquent of his infinite goodness, is at this moment the sad image of our common grief. An old man standing quite near me, weeps like a little child, and further away a woman of the people, a magnificent creature, in her working clothes, kisses her hand to him in whom the people put all their confidence as the defender of their dignity and their rights.

An officer of Uhlans advances, clicks his heels together and salutes. The burgomaster, without speaking a word, then passes under the porch into the barracks and begins to tread his Calvary. . . .

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THE FRANCO-BRITISH PEOPLE *—continued

By JEAN FINOT

WAR IN COMMON

THE fraternality of arms has caused the disappearance of the last shadows of the misunderstandings and the jealousies of the past. Once the war had begun, France and Great Britain had the agreeable surprise of finding that on either side of the Channel there existed the same nobility of feeling, the same dignity of aspirations, the same respect for right and justice. . . .

In this fraternal collaboration which every day confirms, reciprocal affection and admiration steadily increase. . . . The two countries admire to the same point, the courage, the chivalrous spirit and the humanitarian way of regarding the necessities and duties of war shown by the other.

Of the heroism of the French we know. But how could we in France fail to marvel at the acts of heroism committed by the English? . . . Their courage, their presence of mind, their endurance, their contempt for danger and for death, make them heroes in the most noble sense of the word.

Returning to their own country they will doubtless exalt the virtues of their French comrades, but they may be assured beforehand that for long years, if not for centuries, France will find in the memory of their courage and of their charm that they leave behind them, manifold reasons for loving the heroes of the United Kingdom. . . .

The individual deeds of British heroism and chivalry have a strange family resemblance to those accomplished by the French. Here is one more proof that the human ideal which warms and directs our heart expresses itself in fact in analogous deeds. . . .

One might say of the British soldier, as Ernest Lavisse said of the French soldier: "Their heroism is embellished by smiling French grace and their volunteers are the equals of glorious old warriors."

Posterity will think with delight of an incident of this war, greatly to the honour of the two countries. The sobriety and reticence of the French communiqués which contrasted so admirably with the rhodomontades and the lies of the Germans and the Austrians had in the end the effect of misleading public opinion in the United Kingdom. The British General Staff gave the first signal of alarm at this and was followed with unanimity by the British Press. With a chivalrous enthusiasm and an incomparable sentiment of justice, the veil was raised which had concealed the merits of the French. This discourse pronounced by Lord Kitchener in the House of Lords was followed by innumerable articles and studies in which generous justice was rendered to the French Army and its Generals. The *Observer* summed up very well the British state of mind by saying: "the French have done nine-tenths of the work and it is the power of France which will assure the defeat of Germany."

THE FRANCO-BRITISH PEOPLE—continued

ward assumes the task of initiator of peace and the healthy progress of the world.

The two peoples, French and British, have everything to gain and nothing to lose by thus immersing themselves anew in the common influences which have fashioned their respective souls. By strengthening the beneficial ties which unite them, they will form an *ensemble* of interests and strength which will enable them to save Europe from the dangers which menace it and to guarantee to humanity a future of peaceful evolution.

It is necessary to work in this sense, on both sides of the Channel and to renew in the mutual consciousness of the two peoples, the ineradicable associations and the reciprocal services which have united them throughout the course of history. This union in the name of humanity and for the protection of its future will become a guarantee to the whole world without being a menace to any. Thanks to such union Europe will see itself at last delivered from the painful nightmare of future war and from any possible relapse into the pedantic barbarism of the Germans and by consequence the armed peace which ruins and dishonours it. . . .

There is but one France in arms—everywhere there are none but soldiers. The normal and benevolent evolution of Europe and that of all humanity, will be promoted thereby, as well as the happiness and prosperity of France and Great Britain. . . .

(Continued in next column.)

* Chapters reprinted by permission from the recently-published book, *Civilists Contre Allemands. La Grande Croisade*.

INDUSTRIAL CONSCRIPTION

The same duty and discipline for all Frenchmen

THE French Minister of Munitions, M. Albert Thomas, who is, as is well known, a Socialist, interviewed by *Le Matin*, has made a statement of interest to employers, workmen and the public generally in Great Britain. He said:

"Our victory is to be had at the price of our own determined effort."

Let us therefore calm our impatience and work with all our heart, with all our head, with all our muscle.

The new form that the war has taken shows us the direction in which we must turn our effort. After the battle of the Marne we knew that it is necessary considerably to increase our munitions. We have done it. In these last months, experience on the battlefield has taught us that we must make ten times more munitions than we were making before. We are doing it!

The direction of the artillery has become a complete organisation which I hope will be equal to its task and worthy of the confidence we ask the country to give us.

I have been obliged to break the old *cadres* and to make three new ones.

First of all I have a technical service composed at present of three very capable officers who have returned from the front.

Many enlightened men are wondering uneasily whether in the multitude of inventions which are coming to light every day there is not one which would bring us deliverance and yet runs the risk of passing unnoticed. For my part I do not believe that any single invention can secure victory. I know also that we must be on our guard against eccentrics. Nevertheless, I want to lighten the task of the

THE FRANCO-BRITISH PEOPLE—continued

ward assumes the task of initiator of peace and the healthy progress of the world.

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There is but one France in arms—everywhere there are none but soldiers. The normal and benevolent evolution of Europe and that of all humanity, will be promoted thereby, as well as the happiness and prosperity of France and Great Britain. . . .

THE END.

eminent committee of learned men who have been called together to make a final pronouncement on inventions submitted to us. To make a preliminary examination of these inventions will be the work of the new technical department.

The second department is the department of industrial management. Its object is to collect and co-ordinate all the offers of manufacturers, to supervise the making or the utilisation of equipment, to help to develop the great manufacturing concerns and to group the smaller ones. At the head of this service I have placed a man who used to be a workman, but has risen by his intelligence and his energy to the highest position of industrial management. He will work side by side with the engineers of the Polytechnic and members of the Government. This department has a great future before it.

We have already more than a thousand *dossiers* concerning the employers who have made offers to us. Moreover, we think of calling very soon for the compulsory declaration of all machinery useful for our purpose. This census of machinery will render necessary a definite redistribution of work.

Industrial Conscription

In the third place I have created a department of labour. There was already in existence a bureau under the direction of a commandant, at which industrial questions were considered and we shall enlarge it and we shall confide to it the task of recalling workers from the front and controlling their work in the factory.

Telegrams from the Minister of War have simplified the formalities and already several thousands of workers have returned from the front.

In order to facilitate the work, this new department of national defence, general reorganisation has been necessary. Where munition making is concerned, a new system of controlling the workers is to be created. Orders to this effect are ready to be issued. Inspectors of work will be mobilised, who will have the grade of officers of administration. By their side we shall place wounded officers who are convalescent, who will give to this administrative work the necessary stimulus and spirit.

It is a question of constituting a veritable industrial army and of founding it on a solid basis. There will be no more delays in turning out work.

Passing from the front to the factory the workers will not cease to be soldiers; they will have changed their task and that is all. We want the country to be thoroughly penetrated by this truth that **there can be no different treatment as between Frenchmen. They are all soldiers.**

With a full sense of the responsibility of my position, I urge this wise and generous nation not to let itself be affected by any false sentiment at an hour so grave. It is for the nation to say that, if some men have died at the front, the rest should be ready if need be to die in the factories. There have been cases in which that has happened.

There is but one France in arms—everywhere there are none but soldiers.

The interviewer concludes by saying that M. Thomas in his work as Munition Minister is inspired by the thought that the workers in the factories are behind and at one with the soldiers in the trenches.

AMERICAN VERSUS GERMAN INTERESTS

By CHRISTABEL PANKHURST

THE Germans, as we said last week, if given an inch will take an ell. And sure enough they are trying to do it! Just because the British Government has,

where the question of blockading Germany is concerned, shown a leniency which has amazed friends, foes and neutrals, German interests in America are urging the United States Government to claim that German goods awaiting export to America, shall be allowed free passage by the Allied fleets. They are, in short, urging that there shall be for Germany business as usual, in spite of the war that Germany has let loose upon the world!

Such a thing as business as usual for the enemy was not allowed by Lincoln at the time of the American Civil War.

Business as usual, such as the Germans claim for themselves, is not possible to Belgium, devastated by the German Armies.

Business as usual between Germany and America, where either exports or imports are concerned, would not only be an injustice to the Allies—it would be a deadly blow to the interests of America.

The Military and Naval forces of the Allies stand between the two Americas and a German attack. Therefore the United States Government, by sending cotton to Germany, or by trying to protect the German export trade, injures not only Belgium, not only Britain and her Allies, but also America, North and South.

What the Monroe Doctrine Signifies

The Monroe Doctrine has the effect of creating between the United States on the one hand and South America on the other, a relationship which is analogous to the relation existing between Great Britain and Belgium. For the Monroe Doctrine proclaims in effect that the United States will make war on any Power which seeks to destroy the independence of South America or of any part of South America. The Monroe Doctrine is thus an invitation to the peoples of South America to rely for defence upon the Military and Naval might and aid of the United States.

It is a fact, and a fact admitted freely by the people of the United States, that the Monroe Doctrine has as its support and sanction, not only the armed force of the United States but also the British Navy.

We have never heard that the people of the United States are prepared voluntarily to abandon the Doctrine of Monroe; and even if they were—as they are not—they have no right suddenly to abandon the South American States, which have for years lived and grown in confidence in the Monroe Doctrine and all it implies in the way of Military and Naval protection accorded by the United States.

The Germans have long resented the Monroe Doctrine and characterised it as an impertinence. Indeed, one of the divers reasons why their hatred and violent enmity are directed against Great Britain is that Great Britain and her Fleet stand between them and the Monroe Doctrine, whose destruction they desire as worse than any scrap of paper!

In arguing that America's interests demand the victory of the Allies and forbid interference

with the British Naval policy in this war, we say only what wise Americans say themselves.

Mr. Charles Francis Adams, the son of C. S. Adams, American Ambassador to Great Britain during the Civil War and the direct descendant of two Presidents of the United States, said, just before his death in March this year:

America is with the Allies, not only because of the virtue of their cause and the iniquity of the proceedings of Germany in Europe, but also because we in America are not altogether devoid of common sense; we can see a thing when it hits us between the eyes. The present case was in point. The Monroe Doctrine loomed a menace.

And he added:

I am strongly of the opinion that the struggle can have but one result if Great Britain retains its naval supremacy. It is only a question of time when Germany, shut up within its own limits and throttled by a blockade, will get black in the face and drop from inaction.

Business as usual, such as the Germans claim for themselves, is not possible to Belgium, devastated by the German Armies.

Business as usual between Germany and America, where either exports or imports are concerned, would not only be an injustice to the Allies—it would be another proof added to many that if the United States, for the sake of German-American interests, or even for any minor American interests, should so act so as to hinder or prevent the victory of the Allies, such action would be suicidal from the American point of view.

These are emphatically not the ideas held by the British people respecting the Monroe Doctrine and South America, but the words quoted were written under obvious German inspiration. They show that the Germans regard the British Navy as the first line of American defence. They are a sign that just as the Germans now want the United States to help them to destroy Great Britain, so the Germans have wished to induce Great Britain to desert and betray the United States and South America. The words in question are but another proof added to many that if the United States, for the sake of German-American interests, or even for any minor American interests, should so act so as to hinder or prevent the victory of the Allies, such action would be suicidal from the American point of view.

America in the Same Position To-day as Great Britain in 1870

The resemblance between the position of the United States to-day and the position of Great Britain in the Franco-German war of 1870 is most remarkable. Because Britain in 1870 remained neutral, Great Britain to-day is engaged in a life and death struggle with Germany, the Power which waxed and grew fat and strong for aggression at the expense of the French nation. But the rulers of Great Britain in those days, with a fatal blindness, with a fatal unwise, refrained from battle, and looked on while France was felled to the earth—this although the men who steered Republican France through that hour of tragedy warned them that the fate of Great Britain, no less than the fate of France, was at stake.

To-day President Wilson and his Government stand, as it were, in the shoes of the Gladstones, the Grenvilles and the rest of them, of forty years ago.

The responsibility of keeping out of this war is great enough; for they do not know that American neutrality of to-day does not spell the defeat of America by Germany to-morrow.

They do not know that by being neutral they are not sealing the fate of the Allies and therefore of their own nation. We of the Allied nations know by our own faith and by our own strength that we shall conquer; but President Wilson does not know it. And he and American people have perhaps no right to count upon it.

But it is not America's neutrality we discuss to-day. Time will show and posterity will judge whether that neutrality is justified or not. We discuss the blockade of Germany and one thing is certain: it is that the United States by hindering the defence of the Allies, either by sending cotton to Germany or by protesting against British action at sea, will work, not only for the destruction of European freedom, but also for the destruction of freedom of the American continent.

WINNING THE RIGHT TO SERVE

(Continued from page 201.)

Austrians, we were winning, we were almost at the gates of the town of Trieste when our fighting was stopped by the armistice and we could not go any further.

Poor old Garibaldi had no share in making the armistice. He was ordered to stop us and we had to go home without going any further. There was a loss of 1500. Very little compared to what we are losing now; but in those times, out of 15,000, 1500 fell at Bezzecchia.

In the war of 1870 I again met the Germans. I had known them before. I knew what they were like. I was with the Italians called up by Rochefort, who has gone now. I was in the 200th Battalion. I had to do my work and had a very hard time of it. We had to contend not only with the Germans, but also with the seasons. The cold was so intense at Christmas I remember, that we could not cut the trenches in the ground, so hard was it frozen.

The sentries at night, if they were fools enough not to keep walking, if they stopped and went to sleep, did not wake. In the morning we found them frozen.

The World against Germany—
Germany against the World

After the peace patched up with the Prussians—because we always call them the Prussians, we never call them the Germans—after the peace patched up at Versailles, I came straight to England where I have been ever since, a happy man.

Now you see what losses this war entails on every nation, on all of us of whatever nation. It is the world against Germany—Germany against the world. There is no other choice; no place for any neutral. (Great applause.) How can there be a neutral when people are slaughtered, killed, outraged; everybody else but the Germans. They want to be above us. They want to make slaves of us. They think themselves so superior to us that they confer an honour upon us if they will accept us as their servants, to work for them, slave for them and to give whatever we have valuable, or precious, or loved by us, to them. That is the aim of the Germans; the domination of the whole world, because they think themselves superior to us. They have tried all these years.

The English have been too gentlemanly for the Germans. You cannot be gentlemanly with a wild beast. (Applause.) If you meet a tiger you shoot it. You don't go and shake hands with it and say "Let us be friends." These are the terms.

They work by what they call peaceful penetration. They have tried to seize the best places even in London; to seize the most profitable commerce all over the world. Would you believe that we London taxpayers for the last fifteen years have been paying £10,000 a year contribution from the London County Council to the University of London? What has happened to this £10,000? £6,000 of it was spent in paying a salary of £600 a year to ten German professors for German research, for the study

of the German language, to the advantage of the Germans.

And the London taxpayer has been paying it and is paying it to-day, because the London County Council is paying £10,000 to the University of London, which is expended like that. Some of the Germans are still at the University and taking the £6,000. The others are fighting against us and this £600, paid to each professor, is put by against their return. What do you call that? That is the University of London! Is it not a shame?

We will all put our shoulders to the wheel. Though I am an old man and very unable to fight I have enrolled myself in the "Devil's Own" of the Inns of Court Reserve. I want to have a last shot before I die. (Applause.) For the only way in which we can win the war and secure freedom is by shooting them.

After the Collection had
been taken

Mrs. PANKHURST said:

I have been thinking of a nurse who came back from Paris with me yesterday. She had been three months on the French line. She volunteered last year for war service. She put her name on the Labour Exchange and waited to be called up and at last, impatient, she volunteered for the French Red Cross and was accepted as a nurse—she had been trained already. She was coming back to England to recover her nerve and strength before going back again. I wish you could have heard what she had to say about the splendid bravery of the French soldiers; as it happened, she had not seen any English soldiers. She had been nursing men who had been burned by petroleum and told me of their heroic endurance of the intolerable pain. They could not help each other; each man was alight and could only put it out by rolling on the ground. She said it was enough to break the nerve of the most courageous. She said "I should like to take those people in England who don't understand, to the Front and put them in the trenches." And talking about some of those who had been bargaining about their services, she said that they had the excuse that they did not understand. If they did understand then they ought to be made to endure what those soldiers are enduring and what they have to go through, what many soldiers have to go through because they are short of the means to protect themselves against these terrible things. That is the dreadful part; if there were more of them they would not have to go through so many sufferings.

My last word to you, no matter what you are or who you are, whether you are trained or not, whether rich or poor women, is register with us at once for war service and join our procession, so as to prove to all the world your will to work. Let us not waste a moment in equipping our men and sending them out ready. It is a fight for our institutions; a fight to maintain all that those whom we honour and revere have in the past suffered to gain.

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GERMANY'S BAD INFLUENCE

Germany the Foe of Personal and of National Freedom

A WAR-BOOK small in size, but full of matter, is "Germany and Eastern Europe," by Lewis B. Namier.*

The first part of the book deals with the German influence on Russia and summarises the facts which, well-known as they are to the Socialist Party of Germany, are a proof of the falsity of that Party's declaration that it cooperates with the Kaiser in this war because of its opposition to "Russian despotism"!

The Russian Bureaucracy, of which the German Socialists complain, is, as we have often pointed out in these pages and as Mr. Namier points out in his book, **an institution made in Germany**.

Another important fact emphasised in this book is that

The partition of Poland was not the work of Slavonic statesmen. It was opposed by Muscovite statesmen like Chancellor Bezborodko, who would have preferred not to take an inch of Polish territory rather than to partition a Slavonic country with German States. But Catherine II., née Princess of Anhalt-Zerbst, could not have been expected to share similar scruples.

Nor was Russian autocracy, as we have known it, of Slavonic creation. A deep gulf lies between the mystic, semi-religious Tsardom of Moscow and the bureaucratic machinery at St. Petersburg, staffed by foreign place-hunters.

The true Russian never loved his hired German masters, who ruled the country without any real feeling for its needs or proper understanding of its spirit.

As illustrating the predominant position which until now the Germans have held in Russia, Mr. Namier says:

The lists of Russian officers in the war of 1812-14 contain the list of 617 Germans. About 1870, eighty per cent. of the officers of superior rank in the Russian Army were of German extraction. The percentage of generals of German extraction serving in the Japanese war was also very high.

Another observation by the author, worthy of serious attention, is this:

The names of the most notorious organisers of repression during the recent revolution in Russia are prevalently German. To name but a few of them; Herr von Plehve, Baron von Nolken, Klingenberg, Kleigels, Neidhardt, Seyn, etc. Even the cruelty of a Tartar does not approach that of a German. The German beats the Mongol in being dispassionate, systematic and scientific.

In almost every Jewish pogrom in Russia the moving spirit has been a person of German extraction.

The "system" of pogroms as an antidote to revolutionary movements was first invented by Plehve in 1892, after the murder of Tsar Alexander II. Plehve then held at Warsaw the office of Oberpolizeimester. The first pogrom of recent date, that of Kishineff, was enacted under Governor von Raaben. On the other hand, there had hardly been a single leader in any of the Dumas bearing a German name.

This serious question Mr. Namier asks:

"Will the German dominion in Russia be now definitely broken by the victorious Slavonic movement and by the advent of a freer era? Or will the Germans arise again and return to their old position of power as soon as the storm is passed?"

He adds: "Be that as it may, it is certain that no true freedom can be expected for Russia until they are swept away, together

with that mischievous influence which Berlin has for a century and a half exerted in the Russian capital."

Bismarck, we are reminded, was not anywhere so much at home outside Prussia as at St. Petersburg; though he was careful not to let the connecting links become too visible, as any such demonstration might easily have led to some reaction of Slavonic anti-German feeling among the native Russians.

Tsar Alexander II., Bismarck relates in his "Reflections and Reminiscences," thought so well of him that he asked him whether he was inclined to enter the Russian service. But though Bismarck declined this invitation, he did not cease to exercise a great influence upon Russian affairs.

Thus during the years preceding the outbreak of the Polish Revolution of 1863, Bismarck did his best to oppose the policy of those Slavonic statesmen in Russia who wished for the solution of the Polish problem by way of concession to the Poles.

The author goes on to relate how, in February 1863, soon after the outbreak of the Polish Revolution, Bismarck concluded a treaty with Russia concerning the common measures to be pursued for the suppression of the Revolution. This treaty, he held, had a diplomatic rather than a military significance, for "it stood for the victory in the Russian Cabinet of Prussian over Polish policy."

The Russian Constitutionalists favoured the Poles, said Bismarck, because "liberal concessions if granted to the Poles could not be withheld from the Russians."

Many men dying in the Austrian lines pray with their last breath for the victory of the Allies.

It is an outrage against humanity that these people should be compelled to fight for a cause which is not only in no way their own, but is even hateful to them. The Austro-Hungarian monarchy must cease to exist!

The Austro-Hungarian Government has committed an outrage on the nationalities inhabiting its land. Austria-Hungary has swelled the tide of German aggression and has almost doubled its force. Its mere existence has raised the hopes of German Imperialism and widely extended the sphere of German influence. The Austro-Hungarian monarchy must therefore cease to exist. German influence has to be limited to German lands.

Mr. Namier's summing-up is this: "The elimination of German influence from Eastern Europe forms an indispensable preliminary of free development in those regions and its accomplishment is equally necessary for the safety and security of Western Europe and of the British Empire."

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