

"The Suffragette," May 21, 1915.

Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper.

# The Suffragette

Edited by Christabel Pankhurst

Official Organ of the  
Women's Social and Political Union

No. 102—Vol. IV.

FRIDAY, MAY 21, 1915.

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## KEEPING THE FLAG FLYING.



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By Arthur Rackham.

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Review of the Week.

The Children's Interests above all.

The Duke of Devonshire and others, have issued a letter to the press under the heading “Unmarried Mothers”—in which they question “whether the principle of punishing the offences of mothers by neglecting and injuring their offending children, can be reconciled with the dictates of humanity and the teachings of Christ.”

The principle upheld by Queen Victoria's Jubilee Institute on behalf of which organisation the letter is issued is they say, that “the welfare and the efficient rearing of the children of the irregular union is the predominant consideration and must overrule every scruple as to undeserved benefits which may incidentally accrue to the mothers.”

The well-being of these children, they continue, deprived as they are, through no fault of their own, of the normal protection and advantages of parenthood, is a trust imposed on all organisations having the welfare of the community at heart.

A Pioneer Work.

It is for the same reason that the W. S. P. U. proposes the adoption of a number of the children in question. Those who realise the appalling prospect of many an illegitimate child, especially of the illegitimate girl and how such a girl may through want of due protection, fall into a life of degradation later on and thus become a source of incalculable social evil, rejoice that the W. S. P. U. is about to take part in initiating a system of dealing with such children; a system which eventually will without doubt, be adopted by the State.

The subject is to be fully discussed by Mrs Pankhurst at the meeting in the Palladium on Thursday afternoon, June the 3rd.

Mrs Pankhurst will gladly answer questions at the meeting, as well as receive offers of financial support for the babies' home.

Application for tickets should be made at once. An order form for the convenience of our readers will be found on page 96.

Mlle. Dorziap the famous French actress will recite the “Marsellaise” and will be accompanied at the Piano by Mr Isidore de Lara.

Humiliation.

“As to the profoundest humiliation inflicted upon those who have rendered inevitable this monstrous slaughter, it would be hailed by the entire world as an act of justice.”

This is the answer made by the leader of the Swedish Socialist Party, Mr H. J. Branting, in a speech made by him at the Labour demonstration at Stockholm on the 1st of May, to the Germans cry that they must not be “humiliated” by the peace terms made at the end of the war. Mr Branting holds the Austro-Germans guilty of premeditating and causing the war and says further—

“It is evident we could not, in the middle of this horrible carnage cry ‘make peace no matter at what price, in order that the slaughter shall cease immediately.’ For then in the case of a premature peace, the factors which brought about the war, would perhaps continue to exist and we should have gained only a truce, bearing within it the germ of new catastrophes and new slaughter; on the contrary all our efforts ought to tend to insure that peace shall be concluded in such a way, that the present horrors shall be the last war.”

We recommend these words to the notice of certain persons in our own country.

The Country Roused.

The Kaiser cannot be entirely pleased by the effect of the sinking of the Lusitania because this has dissipated the last British illusions and the country as a whole sees that the war is a thing of grim and bitter earnest and that we are face to face with an enemy that will stop at nothing. The newspapers' condemnation of the sinking of the Lusitania is an accurate reflection of public feeling. The Daily Chronicle says “this destruction of over 1500 men, women and children is a massacre whose scale and whose cold premeditation taken together renders it almost unique since the massacre of St Bartholomew” and further says:—

“A more drastic surgery will be needed for the cancer of German militarism than any wise prophet could have predicted last August; for even our Prussophobes had not then any conception of the extent to which that cancer had grown.”

Since the sinking of the Lusitania, has come the report on atrocities committed upon the people (especially the women) of Belgium and the invaded provinces of France. From this report British women may learn the meaning of a German invasion!

Germans in this Country.

The decision to intern Germans and Austrians eligible for military service and repatriate the rest, has not been made too soon, if we are to judge by the boast of the Berlin Lokal Anzeiger which impudently says:—

“Yes, sweet English cousins, we admit that London still teems with German spies, but there is nothing now left for them to spy out, thanks to our excellent and exhaustive system.”

“Some of them, too, were Englishmen, who loved their country so well that a £50 note was sufficient to induce them to betray it.”

With regard to Germans naturalised as British subjects, it should be remembered that in the eyes of the German Government they remain German still. One day before the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia, namely on July 22nd, the Kaiser gave his assent to a measure making it clear that the German policy is to maintain the relationship with Germans who become naturalised in other countries, which existed before naturalisation took place.

Two Minds with but a Single Thought.

“The insane abandonment of Great Britain's real independence and her consequent entanglement in the web of Continental political complications, will yet recoil on England, as the greatest curse that could ever have befallen her and of which the present war is but the precursor.”

This is not an extract from a pamphlet published by the Union of Democratic Control, though it expresses the same ideas in closely similar terms as those expressed by the U.D.C. No, the extract is taken from a German Newspaper, the Hamburger Fremdenblatt. Remarkable is it not—this identity between German thought and the thought of the leaders of the Union of Democratic Control!

We can quite understand why the Germans are infuriated by the strong protective Alliance which Great Britain has formed with other Powers. But why any British subject, or any friend of freedom should harp on the same string as the Germans is a mystery indeed!

A Pro-German Intrigue in Russia.

Some time ago, there was in Russia an agitation for a premature peace, as the Russian Liberals call it. The agitation was promoted by reactionaries, who drew up a memorandum pointing out that a complete victory of Russia would lead to the triumph of the Liberal movement in Russia, against which these reactionaries had been struggling for years.

The Conservatives and the Bureaucracy, the memorandum pointed out, must take steps to avert this danger and the Liberals were accused of using the war for their political ambitions. The authors of the memorandum sought peace with Germany.

The intrigue in question was brought to the light of day; such exposure being recognised as the true cure for this and every other intrigue.

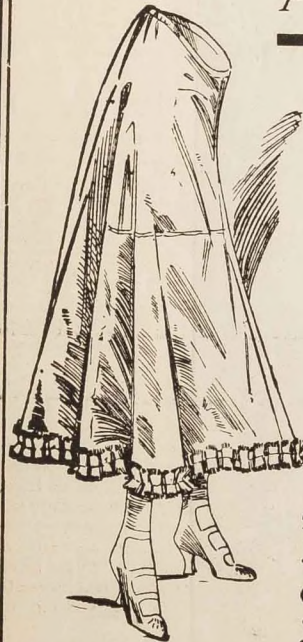
It is easy to see why Russian reactionaries and Bureaucrats should desire peace with Germany, because as we know the influence of Germany in Russia, has always been the worst enemy of Russian freedom.

A Call to Duty.

Mr J. Ramsay MacDonald, until lately the leader of the Labour Party and pledged throughout the whole course of his political life to work for the uplifting of the more unfortunate members of the community, could do better instead of writing false and garbled history and instead of seeking to whitewash German aggression and blacken his own country's reputation, to devote his energies to ensuring the proper treatment of women workers engaged upon Government contracts. It is the business of Mr Ramsay MacDonald who was elected for such purposes as this, to investigate the charges of the sweating of women engaged in making clothing for the troops and to take such action in Parliament as may be necessary to ensure that they shall be paid a living wage. What doubles the injury of his neglect to do this from the beginning of the war until now, is the fact that for the past nine years he has been one of the chief obstacles to the enfranchisement of women, who if they had the vote would have been able to defend their own industrial interests without depending upon the intervention of Mr J. R. MacDonald.

Considering that tens of thousands of women have volunteered for war service and have not yet been called upon to serve, cannot Mr MacDonald use his influence, as a Labour Member of Parliament to ensure that those women who are engaged in munition factories are not employed for needlessly long hours?

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### A Protest from South America.

It is well known that the Germans intend should they be victorious in this war, to establish their power in South America. Some of their apologists in Great Britain and other countries seem to think it legitimate for Germany to seek new scope for her Prussian conception of government and life in South America and at the expense of the South Americans.

How criminally unjust it would be for Germany to be allowed to carry into effect her South American ambition is illustrated by the letter written by a South American, Mr A. J. Azevedo do Amaral and published in a recent issue of the *Daily Chronicle* in which he says:—

"We are Latins in South America and we look upon England as the source of political liberty and civil rights, which continues in the modern world the Roman tradition so dear to Latin minds. From England and France we have received culture, political example and financial support and advice. We have bought Germany's wares, but of German culture, German ideas and German outlook on life we have assimilated nothing. Our future is bound up with the destiny of the great powers of Western Europe."

Mr Azevedo do Amaral protests against the suggestion that the Germans are predominantly strong in influence and in numbers in South America. Such statements, he says can only serve, "to foster the policy of subtle intriguing which Germany is now strenuously pursuing in South America." The fact that the people of both hemispheres and of the whole world are united in resisting an increase in the already great power and influence of a nation whose policy, methods and ideals, are abhorrent to the rest of humanity. The world is too old to be brought under a new tyranny.

This is no mere quarrel between Great Britain and her Allies on the one hand and Germany and her Allies on the other. All the nations of the earth—even those still neutral—are united against Germany and Austria and Turkey, whom she has succeeded in harnessing to her car.

### The Rights of Passengers and Crew.

One public man in the United States taking a view different from that generally held is reported to have said:—

"We cannot forget that the *Lusitania* was a British ship flying the British flag; the passengers went aboard the belligerent ship with the full knowledge of the risk, after an official warning by the German Government."

That is not so according to International Law. Belligerents are required by International Law, to bring a captured enemy merchant ship before a prize court and they may not sink such a vessel except in case of urgent necessity. Before sinking the vessel, the passengers and crew must first be removed, together with all documents essential in elucidating the matter of the ship's destruction, in the prize court.

The Germans have violated International Law as well as the elementary dictates of humanity, by refusing not only to be responsible for removing passengers and crew from the *Lusitania*, but by denying them even a moment's notice before torpedoing the ship and thus making it impossible for them to escape in the ship's lifeboats.

### British Men! Take Warning.

In a leading article in the *Times* on "Feminine Wisdom," occur the following passages:—

"German women, unluckily, admire their men too much; perhaps they even believe that they are right and take their philosophy seriously. At any rate, the male German mind works untroubled by female scepticism. There is no woman to take the German professor and make him look at facts under his

nose. His wife only cooks his dinner for him and she will even listen respectfully when he tells her about the theory of cooking.

"Hence German thought is purely masculine, unenriched and undirected by female criticism; it is therefore barrenly and obstinately pedantic. It has been said that every man of genius has something of the other sex in him. . . .

"It may be that the German madness is all the result of the subservience of German women and the male contempt for their intelligence. . . .

"It is a mark of the barbarian to be affronted by the diversities of nature; to him a woman and a foreigner are both wrong because they are unlike himself. The foreigner he kills if he can, the woman he enslaves. Thus he is free from criticism and can make theories and ritual out of his instincts, as much as he likes. That is what the Germans have done. Their thought and their life are barrenly masculine.

Let the men of Great Britain take warning by what the Germans are and have become and let them avoid the same mistake. Let them give votes to women and thus show that they have abjured once and for all the madly masculine extravagant conceit that has done so much to bring Germany to the position of a self-made outcast among nations.

Let British men be thankful that British women and the Suffragettes especially, have avoided the subservience of the German women!

### Meetings in London Parks.

The W. S. P. U. is to hold a series of recruiting meetings in the London parks, at which General Flora Drummond will be the chief speaker. The first meeting of the series takes place next Sunday afternoon, May 23rd, at 3 o'clock, in Hyde Park near the Reformer's Tree and on every Sunday afternoon thereafter, a Hyde Park meeting will be held. This campaign will recall the work of some years ago, when the General was to be heard Sunday after Sunday in Hyde Park.

"You will be wrong if you regret my coming, for I am very glad and proud to have got to the front. It is not the length of existence that counts, but what is achieved during that existence, however short."—*The late Lieutenant W. G. C. Gladstone, in a letter to his mother.*



**IN remembrance and in 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.**

## The German Atrocities.

*The "Manchester Guardian" in an editorial says:—*

### German Outrage in Belgium.

The Committee appointed to examine the evidence of outrages by the German armies in Belgium has issued its report. Of the accounts of atrocities which it contains it is enough to say that there is none of the most appalling and revolting stories that have come from Belgium since the invasion that is not corroborated or paralleled in this official publication. "The Commission are fully convinced that German Army Headquarters deliberately decided upon a policy of terrorisation, which was carried out by the wholesale shooting of non-combatants on any excuse or none, and by widespread destruction of private property. This example from above had its inevitable and dreadful sequel in demoralising the individual soldier, and the German advance left behind it a trail of murder, rape, arson, and pillage, often in incredibly revolting forms. This is the considered judgment of one of the most level-headed bodies of men ever got together in this country. It is based on hundreds of depositions taken from Belgian civilians and from British and Belgian soldiers. The Commission bring their task with a feeling that the worst could not conceivably be true. They took pains to cross-examine the witnesses rigorously, to verify and test the evidence, and to discard any that savoured of hysteria. They have made no general indictment that is not supported by scores of witnesses from widely separated places who were without knowledge of each other's evidence; and they are able to substantiate this testimony with passages from the diaries found on the bodies of dead Germans. The result is a document which even to a campaigner hardened to warfare among savages would read like a hideous nightmare. It should be in the hands of every eligible man who still wonders where his duty lies.

*The London Correspondent of the "Manchester Guardian" says:—*

### The Anti-German Riots.

The rioting against Germans in England is too widespread and too consistently done to be considered as the result of any agitation or organisation. It was clearly, at least in the beginning, a spontaneous outburst of the indignation felt everywhere in every seam of society by the appalling crime of the sinking of the *Lusitania*. It is impossible to go about London without seeing how amazed, as well as furious, the people feel at the deed. But to translate their anger into action something more was required, and that something in many cases was provided by the Germans themselves. Nothing has impressed me so much about the divergence of the German type of civilisation from that of the rest of Europe as the attitude shown by Germans, who seemed of an ordinary humane type of citizen, in their absolute inability to understand why there should be any particular indignation about the sinking of the *Lusitania*. Again, one must say here that this applies to the younger men. I have heard the sincerest expressions of indignation and pity from Germans of the old type, whose humane ideas generally belong to our own civilisation. But just as in the Stock Exchange we had a small group who insist on speaking German and behaving almost like conquerors, so in the poorer parts of the town we have Germans who insist loudly on the virtues and triumphs of their Fatherland. The German butcher who was fined early in the war for shouting in the streets that the Kaiser would eat his Christmas dinner at Buckingham Palace has a true brother in the German who provoked a disturbance yesterday by saying that a German soldier was worth five British.

# OUR PRESENT DUTY.

By GENERAL DRUMMOND.

## A Speech delivered in the Town Hall, Blackburn.

We, as a fighting force of women, feel that we have the right to ask men to fight for freedom.

We are going not to stop at home and weep but to stay at home and work, while you do the fighting.

I cannot conceive how it is that there are to-day men of military age who can calmly sit and read about the atrocities that are being committed and then do nothing.

There are some of you who say there would be no difference if we were under German rule. Then why don't you take a ticket for Berlin and go there! It certainly is not for you to remain in the midst of your British brothers here and try to permeate them with your own feeling of discontent, and your own preference for Germany. Those of you who do that in industrial and other circles are nothing more nor less than a catspaw of the Kaiser.

### "Do you realise what it would mean?"

Do you realise what it would mean if it were possible for the Germans to win? It would mean that the voice of the people would be nil. We who have fought for a voice in the government of our own country know only too well that in Germany there is no militant women's movement for freedom.

There are many excuses offered by certain men for not joining the colours, and to-night I want to answer these excuses.

One excuse is:—

"I don't think men are needed at the front. One Cabinet Minister says they are and another says they are not. We get different opinions from one and another, therefore we cannot make up our minds, because we don't know whether men are really needed."

To the man who says that, I say—"Do you watch the front line of battle in the papers? Have you noticed that since October that line has moved very little?"

Is it not sufficient for you to know that it is the lack of men that keeps the line in position so long? And don't you realise, if you are in touch with any of the soldiers who come and go, that the one thing every soldier says to you is "we must have more men." They say "All we want is numbers."

### The Industrial Class Suffering in France.

Then there is the excuse that there is so much to be done on this side. Now we know that there are men carrying on business which is absolutely necessary for the war. To them I do not speak to-night. Their conscience is secure because they are doing their bit at home. But in the north of France the factories are in the hands of the Germans and so are the mines. Is it nothing to you who talk about the "great industrial brotherhood" that the men of your own class in Belgium and parts of France are not able to carry on their own industries? Well, I think it ought to be something to you of the working classes, because it is your own class which is suffering in Belgium and France.

Some men say—"I am not in favour of war, therefore I cannot join in this one." I

did not think we had so many "Tolstoyans" in our midst!

I don't believe there is one man amongst you who if he were struck first on one cheek and then on the other would turn either cheek a second time to the aggressor.

But because all this is not happening in this country, not in Blackburn—it does not matter to some of you.

And yet it is really nothing to you who are Lancashire people, born of forefathers and foremothers who died for freedom, that the enemy is still in Belgium?

### Lancashire and the American Civil War.

When we look back into history and read of the American Civil War we find that Lancashire people starved rather than take cotton from across the water and thus uphold slavery in America. It depended on Lancashire in those days whether that question of slavery was settled or not. You are the descendants of the people who were prepared to die by starvation rather than give in and keep other human beings enslaved. Are you not as ready to make sacrifices for human liberty?

Another excuse is "Don't listen to all these stories of atrocities, you cannot believe what is in the papers, and the reports from commissions that sit, on atrocities." Let us agree for a minute to leave it at that and simply take recent events in the war, the events that need no proof by commissions and inquiries. Take the use of foul gases in the trenches, is that not an atrocity sufficient to move the people of this country to realise the seriousness of affairs? What does it mean? It means that the enemy is prepared to stoop to any despicable game so long as he can kill the human beings who are opposed to him.

What is the proper answer to the use of these gases? The proper answer is an overwhelming number of men on the British side.

### An Enemy who deliberately destroys Non-Combatants.

Then there is the latest disaster which has befallen this country and America—the sinking of the *Lusitania*. Has that not touched the hearts of British men! What does it mean? It means that you are fighting an enemy who deliberately wishes to destroy non-combatants. The enemy knew full well that the *Lusitania* did not carry guns and that she was not equipped for attack on, or defence against the enemy.

You should be ready to fight if only to help Serbia. Those of you who claim to be democrats should be pleased to know that Serbia is perhaps the most democratic country in the world. There are no extremes of riches and poverty there, and always side by side as in our own new army you can see men of all classes fighting as equals. Now if there is anything I hope British people are ready and proud to do it is to stand by small nations who have been persecuted. That is one of the great reasons why those

who call themselves democrats should be in the fighting line.

Then there is Russia. Certain democrats tell us men ought not to go and help to fight in the Army because we have done a wrong thing in entering into an alliance with Russia. I am glad to say that exiles and agitators of Russia, like ourselves have buried the hatchet and have gone back to Russia to fight to take the Prussian heel off the neck of the Russians and their freedom, because Prussia has always worked to prevent the political liberty of the Russian people.

Russia by having the courage to prohibit vodka has actually set an example. Russia has had more courage so far as the drink question is concerned than our own country.

### "We ought to be prepared to make every Sacrifice."

When we ask men to give up their lives for the country, I think it is very little to ask the people at home to give up drink. We ought to be prepared to make every sacrifice so that this country of ours shall be saved.

Then there is the question of Belgium. Many of us here, I hope, have spent our lives in fighting for the oppressed. Do you not think it is sufficient reason why you men should join the fighting forces that Belgium started fighting against such great odds and held her own so long and so gloriously? We owe a debt to Belgium which we shall never be able to pay and we must, women as well as men, help all we can by fighting for that little nation.

But though the war started in August we have not yet driven the enemy out of Belgium. Is it not a sufficient proof that men are needed? If you join the ranks to-night you cannot be ready for fighting next week.

### "Your Government will do that which you make it do."

Some men say, "What has the Country done for me?" If you say that, I shall answer, it is your own fault, because you have had the vote long enough. If the Country has done nothing for you it is an admission of your own inability to manage your own affairs, is it not? It is time we women had a hand in governing the country, I can see! Your Government will do for you what you make it do and if it does not, do that it is your fault.

You have a Member of Parliament here Mr Philip Snowden, to whom you pay £400 a year and when he arrives home from America and is asked by the Press for his opinion of the War, he says he doesn't know, he has not made up his mind. You do not pay us Suffragettes and you say we know too much. Yet when you elect and pay a Member of Parliament it is about time he knew his own mind. (Prolonged applause.)

A union has been formed known as the Union of Democratic Control. Ye Gods!

Continued on page 91.

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REGENT ST. & PICCADILLY, LONDON, W.

## The Suffragette

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

PRICE ONE PENNY WEEKLY.  
FRIDAY, May 21, 1915.

## Keeping the Flag Flying.

Some few misguided persons, professing to speak as Suffragists, have criticised the action of the W.S.P.U. with regard to the War saying that they are keeping the flag flying while the W.S.P.U. is not.

"We keep the flag flying," they say. What flag?

There is one flag supremely dear to the true Suffragist and that is the flag of liberty.

It is a flag ages old, washed in tears, drenched in blood, glorified by heroism, sanctified by the love and hope of those who have passed it from hand to hand through the centuries, to us of the present day.

Upon that flag are written many names for that which is one and the same cause—the cause of liberty.

The battle of liberty though never finally lost, is it would seem, never finally won.

Therefore the price of liberty is not only eternal vigilance; it is also eternal conflict waged either on the physical plane, or on the moral plane or on both. In the everlasting battle between night and day, evil and good, tyranny and freedom, the stress is sometimes at one point in the battle line and sometimes at another. Therefore it is that the flag of freedom always one and always the same, borne by freedom's champions is to be seen flying sometimes at one point and sometimes at another.

Not only is the flag always the same, but the cause it symbolises is always the same, the cause of liberty, of human freedom. To talk as some do of votes for women as a cause apart, to speak of working under present circumstances "for this one cause" alone, is to renounce the cause of liberty itself.

Before the present war broke out—in time of peace—votes for women was by far the most vital and important and urgent aspect of the cause of liberty. Therefore concentration upon it was a duty. We may add that if votes had been given to women years ago this country would as a result have been morally and materially stronger to resist the enemy than it is to-day. After this war has put an end to the danger of an attack from outside upon our national freedom and independence, then liberty one and eternal will again stand forth in the guise of votes for women.

Keep the flag flying forsooth!

Who raised anew the flag of freedom ten years ago? The W.S.P.U.

Who retraced upon it in new and shining letters, the words "Votes for Women" which had grown too dim for some eyes to read? The W.S.P.U.

Who saw women's need of the vote and who cried out that need from the house-tops and from prison cells—at a time when certain persons now so absorbed "in this one cause" that they cannot see beyond the end of their own nose and cannot see the danger threatening from foreign attack, were anti-Suffragists, or apathetic Suffragists, or given up to feeble, futile effort? It was the W.S.P.U.

Who challenged public opinion; who incurred ridicule, hostility, imprisonment for the sake of votes for women, when others still gave that cause lip service only? The W.S.P.U.

Who went forward when others who had marched with them for a time stopped at the half-way house. Yes! who despite the harsher penalties and keener suffering still marched forward towards the ultimate goal? The W.S.P.U.

Who will, when the right time comes and if the vote is still withheld from women, take to deeds not words and suffer the consequences? The W.S.P.U.!!

When the W.S.P.U. speaks it also acts. When it lays a definite and formal demand before the Government for the instant concession of the vote, it fights if that demand is not conceded. To do otherwise is to chatter words and fritter away power.

The fact is that many to whom the

W.S.P.U. has taught all they know of votes for women and more than they could learn, have never really grasped the principles underlying the W.S.P.U. policy and action. Therefore they simply repeat, parrot-like, "votes for women! this one cause, votes for women! this one cause!"

Prattling in the midst of tragedy, they forget that the crucial fight for human liberty, including women's share of it, is not being fought to-day (as it was yesterday, or perhaps will be to-morrow) in London. It is being fought in Belgium—in Belgium where the German armies are trampling liberty into the blood-soaked Belgian soil.

Suppose this war lost by the Allies, suppose Germany triumphant even to the point of keeping Belgium! How could British women have and use their votes contentedly, while the women and the men of Belgium who have suffered for our sake more than their own, were breaking their heart in subjection and beating their wings against the bars of the Prussian cage!

And what would votes for British women be worth if the British Parliament were elected and British laws were passed and British taxes levied, and British policy framed under the menace of German guns—as they would be if Germany had its way when this war ends?

Political liberty has been stamped out in Germany. The Kings of Prussia and the Emperors of Germany have resisted the growth of political freedom in the neighbouring land of Russia. Germany even before acquiring that dominance over Europe, which is the German object in the present war, has interfered or sought to interfere in the governments of Italy, France, and other countries.

Does anyone in their sane senses imagine that a conquering Germany having gained the power to dominate these Islands, would be indifferent to our political system, to our legislation, to our fiscal arrangements, to our conduct of foreign affairs? That is putting it mildly!

If British women are to win a vote worth having, if British men are to keep a vote worth having, Germany must be defeated in this war. Every thought, every word, every deed of ours that can help to that end, it is our duty to offer in the service of our country and our country's freedom.

As women we hold ourselves entitled to a place in the British Constitution. The position at this moment is that the British Constitution itself is menaced by the violence of a power across the water.

The preservation of that national inheritance of political liberty in which we hope to share is the first necessity in this hour of danger.

When Europe is free from the menace of that hard and cruel and relentless Prussian despotism which is the greatest of all dangers to women, then once more the vote, the vote and nothing but the vote until we get it.

And who will then pay the price if price has still to be paid for that victory? Why, the W.S.P.U.—and everybody knows it!

CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

## YOU SHALL VOTE, CITOYENNES!

### A Tribute to the Women of France.

Under the heading "The Woman of France" and over the signature of M. Emile Bergerat, *Le Figaro* publishes an article in which appear the following words:—

The question of feminism is solved. The French woman of 1915 will have liberated her sex and this time without striking a blow and by the simple exercise of her womanly virtues. Eve has taken the arm of Adam and marches forward with him, the golden apple of the tree of knowledge in her hand, along the alleys of the biblical garden.

During the course of a conflict between races without precedent in the darkest annals of human history, the French woman will have fulfilled all the social functions in which she claimed equality with men and she has shown that she is not only worthy, but able to exercise this equality.

Certainly in the land of Corneille there was no room for doubt of her mental and moral resistance to tragic trials. Her force of soul is the theme of all our poets. Our mothers, daughters, sisters, wives, have as always stood firm before decimation of our racial family. Sad priestesses of noble love, their eyes have devoured their tears. But never yet had one seen them, suddenly surprised in their homes by the Archangel of Death, who sets his mark upon palace and cottage alike, replace with so great a stoicism the warriors whom the *patrie* takes from them and fulfil the tasks of their menfolk.

### "To the Woman of France we owe the Miracle."

It is wonderful! If nothing of our laws, of our customs, of our vital institutions, of our economic mechanism, of our very soil, has ceased to function during the deluge of blood in which, for almost three hundred days Europe has been submerged, it is to the woman of France that we owe the miracle. Carrying her little ones upon her back, she has continued the work of the country.

This time, I tell you, they can no longer haggle about her liberation. It is conquered. I defy the most sullen Lycurgus and the most sceptical of Solons to grudge her her liberty. Silence, misogynous legislators!

I know nothing more remarkable in the upheaval of things in which we live, than that public letter by Madame Juliette Adam, in which in the name of all our valiant women, she refused to associate them with the efforts of International pacifists, ludicrously assembled at The Hague for the purpose of planting the olive branch of Minerva between the belligerents of sacred Right and those of infamous Force.

Perhaps there are in other countries, gifted women capable of writing such a letter and making their bereavement heroic by so fine a recognition of its service to the nation, but certain it is that the letter is written in French ink and that no German Madame de Stael, if pan-Germanic culture produces any, has yet signed a page of such high patriotism.

Well! it is settled; You shall vote, Citoyennes.

### The Citoyenne arm in arm with the Citizen.

Only yesterday, in Denmark, or rather in what remains of Denmark, the ladies of Copenhagen received the right of the suffrage as an Easter egg. Happy women of Denmark! They at any rate

have not had to win it so hardily as our women. But in what do they deserve it more, and by what stronger title do they hold it, than our nurses of the sick and wounded, our women who have subscribed, knitted and stitched in the national Cause; our women who have at a minute's notice assumed official duties, who have managed our business concerns, tended the vines, worked in the fields and done I know not what, each and every one of them warriors in that army of love which for nine months has formed the crew of the social vessel and has steered it through the tempest.

In truth a new order, unforeseen by Plato and at which Aristophanes could no longer laugh, has just been born in the Republic.

As soon as peace brings back the joyous days of national sovereignty, it is by men and women together that we must celebrate our voting day. We shall see the *citoyenne* arm in arm with the *citoyen* deposit her voting paper and express her will concerning the business of the State which she has learned ably and well, in the time of the *Taubes* and the German scourge. . . .

## VERDI'S PROPHECY.

### WORDS FROM BEYOND THE GRAVE.

During the time preceding their entrance into the war, Italians have been reading again the letter written by the great Verdi—forty-five years ago at the time of the Franco-Prussian War.

The misfortunes of France in the autumn of the terrible war, brought as Verdi said, desolation to his heart. "We know very well," said he, "what people said of the French and their alleged frivolity, but after all," he continued, "France has given to the modern world liberty and civility. If France falls have no illusions! We shall see fall also our own liberty and our own civility."

The letter goes on to say:—

"There are in Italy learned men and politicians who vaunt the knowledge and science and even—God forgive them—the art of the Germans. Now in the veins of these Germans, runs the blood of the Goths. They are people of unlimited conceit, hard, intolerant, despising everything which is not Germanic and of a rapacity which has no limit. Men of head, but lacking heart, a strong but uncivilised race."

### What a Type of Missionary.

"The King of Prussia (afterwards the German Emperor) has always upon his lips, the words God and Providence, with whose aid he presumes to destroy the best part of Europe. He believes himself predestined to reform the morals and chastise the vices of the modern world. What a type of missionary! Attila of old, another missionary of the same sort, stopped short before the majesty of the capital of the ancient world, but this one would like to bombard the capital of the modern world."

It is true that Pismarek announced the intention of sparing Paris, but this did not reassure Verdi and indeed only excited his apprehension.

"Why?" he said, "I do not know. Perhaps because there does not exist any other capital so beautiful and perhaps because mankind will never succeed in building another like it. But

if they cannot take Paris, the barbarians would gladly demolish Paris. Poor Paris, that I saw last April so beautiful, so splendid.

"I should have liked on the part of Italy a more generous policy, which would have paid a debt of gratitude. A hundred thousand Italians could perhaps save France. In any case, I should have preferred an alliance with the French even defeated, to this inertia which will one day bring us into contempt."

"A European war we cannot avoid. Then we shall be devoured. That war will not come to-morrow, but it will surely come. A pretext is quickly found! Perhaps Rome... the Mediterranean... And then there is not the Adriatic, that these people have already proclaimed to be a German sea! . . ."

### France works for the Liberty of the World.

Commenting upon this letter, M. André Beaunier, writing in *Le Figaro* says:—"This is what Verdi wrote in the month of December 1870. Was he mistaken? One knows and one sees that he was not. And the regrets that he expressed and the advice that he gave, assume henceforth a mysterious and poignant truth."

"While Germany incessantly worries the neutral countries and multiplies with regard to them the insolence of her threats and the vain seduction of her promises, France with dignity observes another attitude. She does not provoke them and she does not beg for their help. She shows by indisputable facts, that she does not work solely for herself but also for the liberty of the world.

"It is for neutrals to decide their own course and as it is liberty that is at stake, one cannot put pressure upon anybody. According as the workers are more or less numerous the work will last more or less long. France and her Allies have made their provision of patience; their endurance is beyond doubt. Italy will come when she wishes and she will be welcome, but we do not call her."

"But who incites her no longer to remain inert? One of her most glorious sons, a musician and one may say a poet. . . . Yet this poet saw with exactitude the reality of his time. His letter is evidence of that. And he saw also the reality to come, for events form a chain, such that holding one of its ends, one puts in movement all the rest."

### "It is for Italy to answer."

"A poet! But it is an error to think that poetry and truth are distinct and separate; the one belonging to dreams and the other the sole mistress of life and of history.

"There is more truth in poetry, than in a narrow positivism and the honour of nations counts among their real interests."

"These gains that the very wily Prince von Bismarck dangles before the eyes of Italy, are they worth the duties which Verdi calls upon his country not to forget? It is for Italy to answer that. But notice that where a simple duty is concerned one can never be a dupe. Where a diplomat from Berlin is concerned, I think one can be so."

"However it may be this great voice from beyond the grave, has a magnificent influence there in Italy. The circumstances are not at all in France what they were in the month of November 1870. They are entirely opposite in character."

But the genius of Verdi, overleaping forty-five years, has admonished, or at least warned the generation, whose problems he foresaw."

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THE GERMANS EXCOMMUNICATE JOAN OF ARC.

A Chivalrous Warrior.

GERMANY'S GRIEVANCE AGAINST THE MAID.

The Temps writes :—
“The German Bishop of Strasburg had formed the project of excommunicating the Abbé Wetterlé; even in Rome they thought that was going a little too far. The Bishop of Metz has found a better plan and it has not so far been announced that he has been recalled to a sense of what is fitting. It is against Joan of Arc that he has fulminated his decree of excommunication. He has ordered the clergy to remove from all the churches in his diocese the statues of the blessed Joan of Arc. For Joan of Arc has been beatified as we know and by that title she figures officially in the Catholic liturgy. Consequently it is against a culte decreed and patronised by the Church, that this Bishop, by his own authority rebels. Doubtless he will also cross out of his calendar, Saint Louis, Saint Vincent and all the other French Saints. . . .

“This excess of furor teutonicus.”

“It is needless to add that this excess of furor teutonicus leaves us entirely cold. The glory of Joan of Arc was even before her beatification, part of our national inheritance. But Bishop Benzler of Metz cannot any more than could the Bishop Cauchon of Beauvais one of those who judged her and condemned her to death, diminish that glory; rather he augments it.

“In an excellent article, full of tact and nobility, the London Times explained the other day that the elevation and moral beauty of Joan have conquered all humanity. But the Germans have put themselves outside humanity.

“Our English contemporary published a fine appreciation of this upright, tender and pure nature, which in a sombre and cruel age, showed itself always gentle and compassionate towards prisoners and had even for enemies a soul moved by pity.

“Evidently her French patriotism constitutes the least of the grievances of contemporary Germany against Joan of Arc. It is her chivalrous conception of war, whose contrast with that of the Barbarians' conception of war is too strong not to exasperate them as the most terrible stigma.

The Rage of the Pirates against the Maid.

“Whatever the sophists may say, as for example, that contributor of the Osservatore Romano, who in an article on the sinking of the Lusitania, deplors the ‘character of modern warfare,’ there are even in these days, very different ways of making war. The rage of the pirates, these crafty Teutons, against the Maid is a confession. Her innocent statue seems to them the symbol of the conscience of the civilised nations, who unanimously and without distinction of creed or race, condemn them and consign them to the malediction of history. It is curious to notice, that Pan-German fanaticism overwhelms all religious feeling in this nation, so that a Roman Catholic Prelate can take upon himself to disobey the decrees of the Vatican, who have included Joan of Arc among the elect.

Prussianism in Paradise.

GERMAN MILITARY OCCUPATION OF HEAVEN!

THE ABBÉ WETTERLÉ'S COMMENT.

The Abbé Wetterlé, himself a native of Alsace, commenting upon the order of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Metz, a German, that the statue of Joan of Arc shall be removed from all churches in his diocese, says in La France de Demain, that there is every reason to believe that the Bishop's order is really the order of the German military authorities and has been dictated by them.

He continues :—

“The Germans are by nature given to annexation. Their ‘learned men’ have already proved to us that Michael Angelo and Napoleon owed their genius to the Germanic blood which flowed in their veins. Behold them now establishing a military occupation of heaven!

“It is forbidden to place upon the altars saints who are not descended in a direct line from the Visigoths and the Alamanni.

Joan of Arc and Prussian Incendiaries.

“Joan of Arc however, ought to have found grace in their eyes, since if we are to believe the genealogists of the other side of the Rhine, she also had Teutonic ancestors. . . . It is true this descent of the Maid of Lorraine was ill-established, and that there is cause to believe to-day that she who secured the consecration of the king of France in the cathedral of Rheims would have driven out of France, not this time the soldiers of King George, but the pillagers and incendiaries of the Emperor William.

“It is not generally known that the laico-religious excommunication which has just fallen upon Joan of Arc has precedents in Alsace-Lorraine. The breviary and the missal of the Diocese of Strasburg formerly contained the offices of many French saints. . . .

“There was an office whose prescribed orison began with these words: ‘Respice, Domine super Francorum imperium.’ Well, some years ago the Germans took umbrage at these two French devotions and the Bishop of Strasburg had to begin by forbidding to his clergy the recitation of the prayer for France.

“Since the 1st of January of this year all the French saints have disappeared from the diocese. The Paradise of the people of Alsace-Lorraine has thus been expurgated.

Her Expulsion only Temporary.

“Joan of Arc finds herself in good company; she follows into exile Saint Dagobert, Saint Clotilde and Saint Louis.

“I have some reason to suppose that her expulsion is only temporary and that soon she will, with the kings and queens of France make a triumphant return to the churches of our reconquered provinces.

“The public culte of the heroine of patriotism is forbidden for the moment. The people of the annexed provinces will address ardent prayers all the more to the valiant Maid of Lorraine, in

order that she may intercede with God for their early deliverance.

“It is, all the same, interesting to notice the ridiculous excesses into which Pan-Germanism leads the subjects of William II.

“If to-morrow, war breaks out between Germany and Italy, we shall see without doubt the docile prelates of the blonde Germany expelled from Heaven by order of the German generals, Saint Francis and Saint Catherine of Sienna, without counting all the Popes who have been natives of Italy.

The Teutons the first to carry their Quarrels into Paradise.

“Until the present day this original idea had never entered the head of any people. The Teutons are the first to carry their quarrels into Paradise.

“Certainly one needs to have the mentality of the Hun, to wish to render even heaven uninhabitable and to put into operation there the practices of the Prussian police.

“Happily, the God of Armies does not obey the orders of the Teuton General Staff, even when those orders are transmitted to him by bishops.

“Before the cathedral of Rheims, the statue of Joan the liberator of our territory, stands proudly. The German's exploding shells have not even grazed this touching and comforting symbol of our hopes.

“That is enough for the present hour. All the churches of re-conquered Strasburg and Metz will raise new monuments to the Maid and no Prussian General will ever again order their removal.”

The Mission of Joan of Arc.

By MAURICE BARRÉS.

Translated with acknowledgments to the “Echo de Paris,” de l’Académie Française

In the month of May, we turn towards Joan of Arc in order to meditate upon her teaching as heroine and saint, upon her genius and her sacrifice.

But Joan of Arc does more than group around her the French people; her virtue shines out beyond our national borders.

“What!” some have said to me, “you speak of Joan of Arc while the English are in France, do you want to offend them?”

Those who spoke thus, little realised the seriousness, the uprightness, of modern England. . . . Since then facts and words have come to support me.

Go to the square in Rouen, to the wall upon which is written the tragic inscription: “Here Joan was burnt.” Since the English have been in that region, they have kept there constantly flowers tied with a scarf in the British colours.

Joan's desire to defend Christianity.

The great heart of Joan, was not content to re-establish fraternity among the French people upon a soil rid of the invaders. Her whole thought, too little known, was, once France should be delivered and peace made, to ride forth with the English themselves in defence of Christianity. She wrote to them :—

“If you do justice to the king of France,

Joan of Arc and the War.

By M. EMILE HINGELIN.

The month of May is the month of Joan of Arc. Hovering over the towers of Orleans which to-day commemorate its deliverance, the dove of the redemptress seems to fly from steeple to steeple as far as Metz and Strasburg. One likes to remember that on the day of the battle of the Marne, that is to say on the day the invaders were driven back and the face of the world was changed, our army had as its password Joan of Arc.

The Living Standard of the Patrie.

What did Joan of Arc bring to the service of France? Her courage, her faith in the justice of her cause, her will to conquer—in a word victory! Before she came, how many humiliating defeats, how many strongholds abandoned without a strong enough fight! She was the living standard of the patrie.

In the letter she dictated to King Henry of England, the Regent, the three leaders who directed the Siege of Orleans, there are words of a singular force :—

“Duke of Bedford, the Maid calls upon you not to fling yourself to destruction. If you do wisely you will be able to come with her to where the French will do the finest deed that has ever been done for Christianity. Answer! Will you make peace in the city of Orleans?”

It was Joan's dream to lead Christian armies to Jerusalem, in order to triumph over the Turks, who were the terror of Europe. To-day her dream is realised!

In the year of grace 1915, French and English are fighting against the Turks. Joan of Arc protects the crusade of Right.

Her letter is the development of the few lines that she dictated earlier to the Doctors of Poitiers for the English leaders. In the same spirit she answered her judges at Rouen: “I demanded peace; if peace were refused I was ready to fight.”

Joan of Arc's anger at Acts of Pillage.

She forbade to the soldiers under her orders, not only pillage, but the smallest thefts. When in order to live, they were obliged to have recourse to marauding, she would not eat a mouthful. When, one day near Troyes, she had accepted a little meat and a Scotchman jokingly insinuated that it was a piece of stolen veal; she was seized with great anger and wept.

She distrusted everything which had the colour of superstition. Before Orleans on the 7th of May when she was wounded by a spear which was driven in half a foot between her right shoulder and her breast, she sent away the soldiers who according to custom, wished to use a traditional formula in order to stop the flow of blood.

Her martyred body! Her lungs were wounded by a spear between the breast and shoulder, her foot was crushed in a trap, her thigh pierced by an arrow. Her long and furious rides on horseback shook, bruised, strained bone and muscle; her forehead was marked with a deep red furrow by her heavy helmet.

It was a mixture of motives long meditated and impulses obscure even to herself that urged her forward and upheld her in the rude passage from dream to action.

The road from Domremy is the old Roman

you will be able to come in his company to where the French will do the finest deed that any have done for Christianity.”

She declared herself destined to defend with the English, Christian civilisation.

“To destroy the English domination,” said Christine de Pisane, “is the least of the deeds in store for her. The greater exploit that shall be hers, is to keep alive faith.” And the instinct of Joan of Arc's contemporaries revealed to them the fullness of this mission when in one of the prayers that they recited at the Mass for the captive maid, they prayed to God, “Grant us that we may see accomplished after this war that Thou hast prescribed to her in one and the same mission.”

Does it not seem to you, that to-day the entire mission of Joan is about to be accomplished? The union of the French people is complete; their deliverance is being wrought and the Virgin of Lorraine desires to realise with us the generous dream of an eternal France.

Manifested the Spirit of Woman.

While Germany gives itself up to an inhuman and anti-Christian conception of which Nietzsche is the most recent prophet, behold the inheritors of the ancient civilization formed by the law of love and of justice; by the law which has always preached the limitation and the softening of the rights of force, have their strength and freely seal their cordial Alliance by a spontaneous homage to her who in a dark and pitiless age, manifested the spirit of woman, tenderness and goodness united with firmness.

Do not let us force matters; let all that is true, realise itself in its own good time. The flower will unfold, provided one lets the sun and light feed it.

I believe that in face of the frightful culture and the hideous excesses of Germany a universal spirit will continue to manifest itself over which may well preside the holy figure of the Virgin of Lorraine.

Many times it has been said to me, “You point out to us the great characteristics of the Germanic tribes, brutalised, pedantic, disciplined by soldiers and professors, who call upon them to rally round the altar of Thor in the forests of Arminius in order to lead them to the conquest of the world, along a road already strewn with colossal monuments artistic, philosophical, military and economic, the two faults, Hegelianism, Marxism, Wagnerism, the doctrines of its great General Staff and of Nietzsche. And we, the French people, what rôle have we, what national mission?”

Study Joan of Arc; meditate upon her life, her death, her charming animation, her chivalry, her mysterious genius, her sacrifice. This young girl, kin to Racine and to Pascal, more pure than they, near kin to Saint Louis and to Saint Vincent de Paul and sister of all our soldiers dead for the patrie, tells you what is our destiny in the past and in the future.

The proper use of Power is to Defend the Weak.

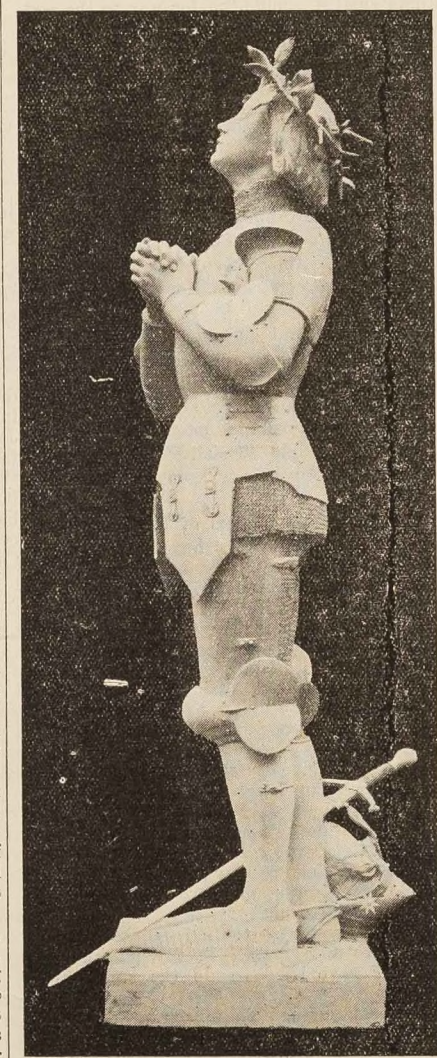
We are the people who by all its great men has said . . . that the proper use of power is to protect the weak.

True to their method of annexing everything, the Germans had for a long time cast their eye upon Joan of Arc. It is not that they know how to love her or even understand her. Her French quality necessarily escapes them, but standing before her, as they might stand before a work of art, they saw her influence upon the spirit of mankind and decided to appropriate the advantage of it. How? But

it is very simple—by Germanising her. With this object they brought their heavy artillery into operation. Last March the Berliner Tageblatt published a learned article, if I may call it so, in which the following words occur :—

“The French who invoke the memory of their national heroine, hardly suspect that Joan of Arc, as for the matter of that Garibaldi, was not of the blood of Lorraine, but of good German blood” . . .

This folly was not new; one had already heard it. It had made those people laugh, who retain



JOAN OF ARC.

the faculty of being amused by the grotesque, even if mixed with the odious. Germans themselves felt the stupidity of their thesis and brusquely they changed their method.

The Cologne Gazette announces that the Bishop of Metz, Mgr. Benzler has given to his clergy the order to remove from all the churches in his diocese, the statues of Joan of Arc.

Well done! Re-established by our French care, they will be all the more precious to us. . .

The thought [of Joan of Arc] at this hour unites all the French people and all the defenders of humanity against Germanism, whose furious rage revolts the world.

## The Germans Excommunicate Joan of Arc.

Continued from page 89.

road from Langres to Verdun. The door of Jeanne opened upon this road; many travellers passed along it. A messenger drinking a glass of wine, a waggoner getting his horse shod, a beggar holding out his hand for alms, could in the space of a minute fill the village with keen national feeling.

### "She knew that a Woman can be a Redeemer."

Joan therefore possessed in her faithful memory, a large treasure of evidence and information. The great road was her great history lesson. At the fireside people talked in her hearing as they talk to-day, alas! of villages burnt to ashes, men exterminated for having defended a mother or a daughter, of poor people without a country wandering without, in the country itself; in a word of the great pity there was for the kingdom of France.

And all these things penetrated the soul of this little girl with pale cheeks and lowered eyes. On the other hand, she had heard tell of heroines who had virtue enough to save a people, and drive back an invasion. She knew little of their history, but she knew their names well enough and she knew that a woman can be a redeemer.

"A woman lost France, a virgin from the Marches of Lorraine will save France," declared an old prophecy that she said over to herself.

The answers of Joan to her judges, have the sound and the flash of a rapier thrust. The charming, the brave French woman!

"You declare yourself leader in war. What pride that is!"

"Oh! my pride was simply to see my country delivered."

"And your witchcraft?"

"My witchcraft! I said to my soldiers, 'Enter there!' and I entered myself at the head of them."

Does not this answer shine out like a gentle and luminous beacon! From that height one sees all the heroism of our soldiers and their chief.

In this month of May, when everything that they love is in danger, let the women of France, re-read the history of Joan of Arc.

Daughter of Lorraine, Madonna of the proud heart, you are the Virgin Mother of the patrie. I kiss the hem of your robe; you remain the great example to humanity. You were pitiful, you had faith, you loved, you willed. Therefore you triumphed.

## JOAN OF ARC'S DAY.

W. S. P. U. TRIBUTE.

On Joan of Arc's Day, Sunday, May 16th, flowers were placed by Miss Christabel Pankhurst at the foot of the Joan of Arc statue in the Rue de Rivoli. White lilies for France and red roses for Britain were tied with violet ribbon and this with the green of the leaves, introduced the colours of the W. S. P. U. To the flowers was attached a card bearing an inscription as follows:—

"From the Women's Social and Political Union of Great Britain.

A token of honour and reverence for Joan of Arc, the ideal woman, the perfect patriot, and the heroic militant—and a sign of devotion to the Franco-British Alliance, which was foreseen and desired by Joan of Arc and now exists as part of that greater Alliance, upon whose coming triumph in the present war, the freedom of humanity depends."

## TO VANQUISH GERMAN CÆSARISM.

The Belgian Socialist Leader Answers a German Attack.

A German Socialist leader, Scheidemann having written in the *Vorwärts*, the German Socialist paper, an article criticising a speech made by the Socialist leader, Emile Vandervelde. M. Vandervelde contributed to *L'Humanité* an open letter in reply, passages from which we take the following:—

"You are surprised that I, Socialist, Pacifist, Internationalist, should be for war to the end [la guerre jusqu'au bout]. That is not the expression which I used, but if it means a war until William II. is vanquished, as in the way that Napoleon III. was, the expression faithfully represents my thoughts.

"Yet my attitude makes a very painful impression on you; you say and you add 'Because Vandervelde is not only a member of the Belgian Government, but the President of the Committee of the Socialist International. Do you believe then Scheidemann, that I am on that account condemned for ever to remain impassive?'"

"With the moral support of your vote in favour of the war credits, the armies of the Kaiser have contrary to all law and right violated Belgian neutrality. They have invaded, devastated, martyred my poor country. Our Maisons du Peuple (Socialist headquarters) at Tamines, at Auvclais, at Louvain, have been burnt down.

"Our Socialist members of Parliament and municipal representatives have, like others, been taken as hostages. Thousands of workers driven out from their homes, have had to take the road to exile.

"Our soldiers poisoned by asphyxiating gas, vomit blood and die after atrocious suffering, in the hospitals of Flanders.

"If my wife had returned from the United States fifteen days later, she would have perished, treacherously assassinated in the *Lusitania*."

"All that I love suffers. All that I detest tries by force to overwhelm us. And when I side with those who fight, with those who suffer, with those who die, in this war which is for us Belgians, by your own admission, a war of legitimate defence; my attitude makes a painful impression upon you. What am I to think of your attitude?"

"You say you wish to find excuses for me. Try even to put yourself in my place! For months I have tried to do the same thing for you.

"You ask me—'Why preach war to the end; why reject the advances of your German comrades, why will you not work with us towards reconciliation, in order that a war as short as possible may be succeeded by a durable peace?'"

"Why not! Because it is not with German Social Democracy that we have to do, but with the Kaiser and his armies.

"Oh, I do not doubt and I will not doubt, that if it were a question of arriving at an understanding with you German Socialists, such understanding in spite of our wrongs, would not be impossible.

"But who does not see that if peace were to be made at the present time, it would not be the Socialists of Germany or of Austria which would determine its conditions!"

"As long as Belgium and Poland are occupied by the German Army, as long as France is

invaded, as long as German Cæsarism has not been deprived of all power to do harm, peace would mean as Guesde (the French Socialist) has said, 'the most dangerous of truces' and I will add, the most crying injustice.

"Some time ago some American pacifists asked one of the most respected men of the United States, the former President of the University of Harvard, Professor Charles Elliot, to pray with them for peace. Elliot replied:—

"I could not conceive a worse catastrophe for humanity, than peace in Europe at the present time. Those who pray for it, assume a heavy responsibility. If peace were made to-day Germany would be in possession of Belgium an aggressive militarism would be victorious. It would be the triumph of those who have committed the greatest crimes that a nation can commit—the violation of the faith of treaties and the sanctity of contracts.

"That, Scheidemann, is what impartial judges think, who love peace, but do not want peace without justice.

"How could we think otherwise, we, the victims? We have been unjustly attacked, we fight desperately for our liberty and our national existence and to do that is our right.

"It is not only our right, it is our duty and a sacred duty. We shall fulfil it to the end.

"Perhaps, Schiedemann, I shall see you some day at the headquarters of the International, in our Maison du Peuple, where Haase and Jaurès signed together our supreme appeal in favour of peace; but for that, it will be necessary that your soldiers do not forbid us entrance to it, that Belgium be free, that reparation shall have been accorded to her and that by the coalition of all the forces of Europe, German Cæsarism shall have been vanquished."

E. VANDERVELDE.

### SPECIAL NOTICE.

Amongst the articles appearing in our next issue will be the following:—

England and Italy. A Letter from Garibaldi.

What the Kaiser said. By Christabel Pankhurst.

A Message from Annie Kenney.

A further Article on the Union of Democratic Control.

An order form for THE SUFFRAGETTE will be found on page 95 of this issue.

### FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE'S BIRTHDAY.

Amongst the many wreaths placed at the foot of the recently erected statue of Florence Nightingale, was one from the Women's Social and Political Union, bearing the words, "Fight on and God will give the victory."

## FRANCO-BRITISH PEOPLE.

By JEAN FINOT.

### What Britain owes to France—continued.

Following in the wake of William the Conqueror and his armies, other Frenchmen landed in the Islands. Incomparable organisers, they quickly succeeded in curing the evils suffered by the country as the result of so many fratricidal wars. Later on they created a union of the divided people, endowed the country with a political centralisation, and waked to life the national consciousness.

The Saxons, we are told by the old Latin chronicler William de Malmesbury, drank to their heart's content and day and night spent their revenues in feasting, whilst they contented themselves with wretched dwellings. On the contrary the French and the Normans were delicate in their eating and careful in their clothing to the point of refinement. Thus it was under French influence and because of the French that the English people came to realise its civilising mission, its greatness and its nationality.

#### Harmony Reigned Supreme.

Apt for the task, the French revolutionised everything. Before the death of King John, the French succeeded in founding more than 550 schools. In order to appreciate at its true worth, the political tact of William and his followers, let us recall with what delicacy and with what depth of thought, rare at that epoch, they included in the calendar on the same footing Celtic Saints and Anglo-Saxon Saints. Wishing to bring about harmony between the Anglo-Saxons with their Odin and the Celts who proudly based their origin on the ruins of Troy, they accepted both these two glorious ancestors. Yes, they taught, that the country owes its illustrious origin to Odin, but the illustrious Odin was descended in his turn from Brutus of Troy!

Harmony reigned supreme where for centuries there had been nothing but quarrels or mortal hatreds.

In order to illustrate more fully the merits of France and the greatness of her services, it is enough to compare the situation of England before and after the Battle of Hastings.

In the tenth century English soil was constantly the theatre of one invasion after another. The Danes, the Celts, the Saxons, in a word all the peoples of the North repeatedly made their appearance there. The Saxon natives were obliged to escape into the forest and live there in order to escape the cruelty of a foreign master.

For fifty years in succession, the Danes ruled with an unlimited power.

#### The Early Anglo-Saxons.

When the good Saxon king, Edward the Confessor succeeded at last in reconquering the throne of his ancestors, he found himself at the mercy of wild and perverse Saxon barons who, under his very eyes committed innumerable and unnameable crimes.

The king, who had been brought up in Normandy and had in consequence more delicate feelings, suffered because of this state of things, but he saw before him no alternative, save to submit with resignation.

According to a contemporary chronicler, the Anglo-Saxons were entirely uncultivated at that time. One very rarely met a man who knew how to read or write. "They devoured all their revenue at table, in little, wretched houses. Their arms were covered with gold bracelets, their skin was adorned by painting and coloured markings. Their gluttony and their passion for drinking were positively animal."

Speaking of the conquerors, a Saxon writer goes into ecstasies about their benevolence, "For they give to foreigners as much honour as to their compatriots and they do not disdain to contract marriage with their Saxon subjects" (*De gestis regum anglorum* III.) . . .

The Saxons themselves did not regard with an unfavourable eye, the accession of Prince William of Normandy to the throne. But Harold, one of the Barons of King Edward, succeeded in getting himself designated as the heir to the throne. William appealed against this to the Pope, who pronounced in favour of the Norman prince; a favourable judgment was sent to him with a hair of Saint Peter and a standard which the Pope had blessed.

#### The Prestige of William the Conqueror.

The invasion of William thus took on the character of a holy crusade. Was it not a question of making the judgment of Rome prevail? We lay stress upon this point, because in defence of the sacred cause, the French gathered from all points of the country. According to the historians, the Normans were in a minority because in their apprehension concerning the result of the struggle, they preferred to stand aloof. On the other hand, there were large numbers of Bretons in the camp of William. Having gone to Normandy with their prince Conan to fight against William, they joined his army after the unfortunate end of their leader.

The conquest completed, William was the most perfect of princes. Some years afterwards, an organisation solid as that of Charlemagne, replaced the Anglo-Saxon anarchy. A strong and respected royalty thus came into existence seconded by a disciplined Church.

The prestige of William was so great that, according to a Saxon chronicler, he would have conquered Ireland simply by the strength of his courage and without having the smallest recourse to arms, if heaven had given to him two more years of life. He established justice and created the first elements of a regular army. Numbers of castles were built throughout the country, private property was declared inviolable and internal peace reigned, where before there had been only bloodshed and disorder.

It is true that the Conquest, as in the case of every display of brute force, caused many calamities and unhappinesses in the Anglo-Saxon land. Good is never absolute and its triumph often demands grievous sacrifices. It is enough however to compare with these results of the invasion of William, to understand its beneficent and decisive importance, in the formation of the Anglo-Saxon State and genius.

#### French Civilisation Established itself in England.

French civilisation from across the channel, established itself finally in England. It manifested itself in every form; in song, in historical chronicles, in romances of chivalry.

The conquerors did not wish, however, in any way to wound national susceptibilities. Their sympathy, due to their common origin, inclined then, it is true, chiefly to the side of the Bretons (Celts), whom they helped to revive the love songs of Tristan and Isolt, the adventures of the fairy Morgana, of Lancelot and Guinevere and of Percival; those divine legends which were to inspire the music and the literature of our own day, but they did not forget at the same time, the meagre Anglo-Saxon heritage and adopted their legends of Horn and Havelock and the poem of Beowulf.

To be continued.

## OUR PRESENT DUTY.

Continued from page 85.

And we women have been fighting for a share of democratic control for years, and every man who has formed this society and done what he could to keep us out of democratic control by opposing us or obstructing us or trying to get us on to the wrong political track. When we were fighting for our freedom we asked Mr Ramsay MacDonald and Mr Snowden and other men if they would vote against the Government so as to turn it out or to compel it to give us Votes. They said no, it was not convenient. The best way for these men to put the ideal of democratic control into practice is to join the fighting forces in France. Oh, yes! some of them are of military age and can go.

#### Socialists and the Franco-Prussian War.

I would say the same of the I.L.P. They tell us that socialists must stand for peace. What did we find in the Franco-Prussian war? I will give you an example. An appeal was made by the socialists of France to the socialists of Germany in favour of peace. The French socialists wrote to the German people, "In the name of peace do not listen to the hired or servile voices which seek to deceive you as to the real spirit of France" and affirming that a war between France and Germany would be a fratricidal war. What were the thoughts and aims of Karl Marx, the German socialist leader at that time? He was a traitor to his French comrades. He wrote:

"If the Prussians are victorious, the centralisation of the power of the State will be useful to the centralisation of the German working class. The preponderance of Germany, moreover, will transport the centre of gravity of the European working class movement from France to Germany."

The German socialist party of to-day is as bad as Karl Marx and is playing the same game. What was the Kaiser's intention? He thought Belgium would just open her doors and let them walk through. It was his intention to come through Belgium, on to Paris and then to England. He started with this intention last August when many of us were at that time very ill after our fight. No wonder we ask you to fight against the war lords of Germany so that we shall be able here to have the will of the people prevail, the will of women as well as men. If the Kaiser comes here and has his way, we shan't have any power and you won't have any either.

#### No talk of Peace.

When talking of peace at any price it is an insult to our brave sons, who have given their lives for freedom. As you know we dissociated ourselves from the women who wanted to go to The Hague to talk peace. We do not intend to talk about peace until the enemy is out of Belgium. Besides, you cannot trust the Germany of to-day. Whatever terms you might make now with Germany would be broken. We have our experience of that. That is the keynote—the enemy is not to be trusted. If you men begin talking about peace now you will not get peace from the women, we are not going to allow you to do it.

Every man of you who is of military age should remember the fight against his and my freedom, the freedom of us all.

# THE GERMANS IN ENGLAND

## What an Invasion would mean.

The following examples showing what an invasion of England will mean if the German dream of accomplishing it is reached are taken from the report of the Committee of enquiry into German Atrocities. The Committee consists of Lord Bryce as Chairman and others who are anything but extremists. Lord Bryce had particularly wished not to exaggerate the case against the Germans.

The Committee report that "horror, lust and pillage have prevailed over many parts of Belgium on a scale unparalleled in any war between civilised nations during the last three centuries." The crimes committed by the German invaders, in some cases ordered by the highest German military authority, in some cases ordered by the German officers on the spot, in some cases committed on the responsibility of the German rank and file, include the following:—

The mutilation of women in a hideous fashion. The breasts of women were slashed and their legs were cut off. Babies were bayoneted (numerous cases). One baby of three was nailed to a door by its hands and feet. Another baby was pinned to the ground by a German lance. Pregnant women were bayoneted. Old men of eighty were murdered. Priests were tortured and murdered. Machine-guns were turned upon crowds of civilians, women and children. Whole families were buried alive. Non-combatants (women and children) were forced into filthy horse-trucks, and were kept in these trucks for days. They were deprived of food, and were not allowed to leave the trucks for any purpose whatever. Hands were cut off some victims. In some cases women were slaughtered after violation.

From the very first women were not safe. At Liège women and children were chased about the streets by soldiers. A witness gives a story, very circumstantial in its details, of how women were publicly raped in the market place of the city, five young German officers assisting.

German soldiers drove a woman up into a loft and two of them raped her. She was eight and a-half months gone in pregnancy. The child was born the following day.

A father and mother were shot, and a daughter of twenty-two was outraged and died of the violence done to her.

At Andenne on the Meuse there was a massacre of 400 people. Eight men belonging to one family were murdered. Another man was placed close to a machine gun, which was fired through him. His wife brought his body home on a wheel-barrow. The Germans broke into her house and ransacked it, and piled up all the eatables in a heap on the floor and relieved themselves upon it. . . . A few days later the Germans celebrated a fête nocturne in the square. Hot wine looted in the town, was drunk, and the women were compelled to give three cheers, for the Kaiser and to sing "Deutschland über Alles."

There were frequent outrages in the country round Namur. A soldier at Marchevet saw Germans enter a farm in which there was a wounded man. They pushed him into a shed and put straw inside. The Germans set fire to the straw, and the farm was soon on fire—the granary immediately. When the smoke began all the Germans came out. One of them was riding one of the farm horses with one of the farmer's daughters in front of him. He had his left arm round her. She was crying and her hair was all down. I do not know what became of her. . . . The farmer and his family and the wounded men must have all been burned.

A witness at Charleroi saw the Germans putting straw into the cellars of houses which had been burnt the day before, but in the cellars of which there were still living people, and setting the straw on fire.

A woman tells how

At Marchiennes au Pont, on August 22, a young girl of 17 was killed by the Germans in a field behind the house in which she lived. I saw the body two days afterwards. . . . The body was quite naked, and the breast cut and covered with blood. . . . I was told that the girl, mistaking Germans for English, cried, "Vive l'Angleterre!" She was dragged from the house into the field, outraged, and killed.

A workman "saw one woman lying in the street who had been cut in two with a bayonet. . . . I saw another soldier dragging a woman along the street by the hair. I also saw a soldier carrying a man's head on the end of his bayonet." An educated woman describes the mutilation of a little girl six years old. Many of the people hid in cellars, but the soldiers shot down through the gratings.

The witness in Malines saw a German soldier cut a woman's breasts off after he had murdered her, and saw many other dead bodies of women in the streets. A married woman saw a drunken soldier drive his bayonet into the stomach of a child two years old and carry it away on his bayonet, "he and his comrades still singing."

Some gross outrages were committed at Tremeloo and Westpelaer. A business man told the following story:—

My house was burned, and my sister and mother-in-law said that they went into a little place near the stable and while they were getting ready for a little meal four German soldiers arrived. . . . At midnight the four soldiers returned, and after two of them had searched the stable to see if any men were there, the four soldiers violated my mother-in-law and my sister-in-law. They held a revolver at the two women before violating them.

In Hofstade many corpses were seen in houses and in the streets. A young man had his wrists cut. A boy of five or six had his hands nearly severed. Women and children had been bayoneted. A young woman had had her breasts cut off. Some were holding their hands together as if in the attitude of supplication. A girl complained that she had been violated by several soldiers for two hours, in full daylight and in view of villagers.

When the Belgian troops reached Werchter six persons were found dead in a house. The people there said that the family was shot because one of the girls would not give herself up to the Germans, and the family helped her.

In the present war (say the Committee), and this is the gravest charge against the German Army—the evidence shows that the killing of non-combatants was carried out to an extent for which no previous war between nations claiming to be civilized furnishes any precedent. That this killing was done as part of a deliberate plan is clear from the facts.

"I am merely executing orders, and I should be shot if I did not execute them," said an officer to a witness at Louvain. At Brussels another officer says:—"I have not done one-hundredth part of what we have been ordered to do by the High German military authorities.

Even sober and highly-placed officers were not always disposed to place a high value on child life. Thus a General, wishing to be conducted to the Town Hall at Lebbeke, remarked in French to his guide, who was accompanied by a small boy. "If you do not show me the right way I will shoot you and your boy."

Take, for example, this story by an English non-commissioned officer:—

During the retirement of the Germans after the Marne about September 16th or 17th I was on patrol duty in charge of five privates. . . . We were searching a village for a patrol of Uhlans at 3.30 p.m.; we found them in a house; about ten got outside, but we did not let them get to their horses and we killed them all. I searched the house; everything was in disorder. Oh the floor in the corner near the fireplace I saw two women and two children, the ages of the former apparently about 30 and 25. One was dead, the one I judged to be the elder. Her left arm had been cut off just below the elbow. The floor was covered with blood; I think she had bled to death; I felt her other pulse at once. . . . The younger woman was just alive but quite unconscious. Her right leg had been cut off above the knee. . . . There were two little children, a boy about four or five, and a girl of about six or seven. The boy's left hand was cut off at the wrist and the girl's right hand at the same place. They were both quite dead.

There is a considerable body of evidence with reference to the practice of the Germans of using civilians and sometimes military prisoners as screens from behind which they could fire upon the Belgian troops in the hope that the Belgians would not return the fire for fear of killing and wounding their own fellow-countrymen. "Setting aside doubtful cases," says the Report, "there remains evidence which satisfies us that on so many occasions as to justify its being described as a practice the German soldiers, under the eyes and by the direction of their officers, were guilty of this act."

There is frequent mention of certain hideous forms of mutilation, such as the cutting of hands; other cases suggest a perverted form of sexual instinct.

# BERNARD SHAW ANSWERED.

By CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

Written for the "New York Times" and included in the "New York Times History of the War." Re-published here in response to many requests.

His reputation for perversity and contrariety is fully maintained by George Bernard Shaw in the ineptly-named article, "Common Sense About the War." At home in Britain we all know that it is Mr Shaw's habit to oppose where he might be expected to support and *vice versa*. For example, should he speak at a prohibition meeting he would most likely extol strong drink, or if asked to defend the sale of liquor declare dramatically for prohibition.

He sees himself as the critic of everything and everybody—the one and only man who knows what to do and how to do it.

Mr Shaw charges his compatriots with intellectual laziness, but they are not so lazy as to leave him to do their thinking for them. That he sometimes—and oftener in the past than now—says illuminating things is true, but firm reliance cannot be placed upon his freakish mental processes, exemplified in his writings about the war. He has played with effect the part of jester to the British public, but, when as now, his jests are empty of the kernel of good sense, the matter gets beyond a joke.

The truth is that in face of this great and tragic reality of war the men of mere words, the literary theorists, are in danger of missing their way. Certainly women of deeds are more likely to see things aright than are men of words and it is as a woman of deeds that I, a Suffragette, make answer to my irresponsible compatriot, Mr Bernard Shaw. And yet not a compatriot, for Mr Shaw disclaims those feelings of loyalty and enthusiasm for the national cause that fill the mass of us who live under the British flag!

### Mr Shaw and Home Rule.

"Until Home Rule emerges from its present suspended animation," says Mr Shaw, "I shall retain my Irish capacity for criticising England with something of the detachment of a foreigner." Now these words are not a little surprising, because Mr Shaw's interest in the Home Rule cause has hitherto been of a most restrained and well-nigh secret character and any one who imagines that Mr Shaw is a strenuous campaigner for Home Rule is greatly mistaken. If in the years preceding the war the Home Rule cause had depended upon Mr Shaw's activities, it would have been in a bad way. It is now, when a foreign enemy menaces our nation, as a whole, that Mr Shaw manifests this enhanced interest in Home Rule.

The Suffragettes, who have fought and suffered for their cause as no living man reformer in the British Isles has fought and suffered for his, have during the present crisis subordinated their claim to the urgent claims of national honour and safety. So Mr Shaw, whose campaigning is done generally in the armchair and never in any place more dangerous than the rostrum, ought surely to refrain from his frivolous, inconsistent, destructive and unprofitable criticism of our country.

As for the question of lynching, Mr Shaw is, the American public may be assured, in no danger whatever of being lynched. He is in far more danger of having the Iron Cross conferred upon him by the Kaiser in recognition of his attempt to supplement the activities of the official German Press Bureau. But if he were a German subject, writing on certain points of German policy as he does upon certain points of British policy, his fate can well be imagined. The only retribution that will come upon this man, who exploits the freedom of speech and pen that England gives him, is that his words lose now and henceforth the weight they used to have. Oh, the conceit of the man, who, in this dark hour, when the English are dying on

the battlefield, writes of "taking the conceit out of England," by a stroke of his inconsequent pen!

### Admits England's Cause is Just.

But with all his will to "take the conceit" out of this England, so fiercely menaced, her sons killed, her daughters widowed—yet needing, so he thinks, his castigation into the bargain—the critic is constrained to admit that our country is playing the part of "the responsible policeman of the West," and that "for England to have refrained from hurling herself into the fray, horse, foot and artillery, was impossible from every point of view." Then why preface these statements by a series of attacks upon the country which is admitted to be justly fighting in a just cause?

The sole importance of Mr Shaw's criticism comes from this. He unwarrantably endorses statements made by Germany in her attempt to put the Allies in the wrong. Because he is known to the German people by his dramatic work, extracts from his article will be circulated among them as an expression of the views of a representative British citizen. And how are the Germans to know that this is false, deprived as they are of news of what is happening in the outside world and ignorant as they must be of his real lack of influence at this serious time.

That their traffic in mere words disables some literary men from comprehending facts is shown by Mr Shaw's play upon the word "Junkerism." He points to the dictionary definition of the word instead of to the fact it represents and by this verbal juggling tries to convince his readers that the military autocracy that dominates and misdirects Germany has its counterpart and equal in Great Britain. Whereas, the conditions in the two countries are wholly different and it is this very difference that Germany has regarded as one of the signs of British inferiority.

Mr Shaw's suggestion that the British are posing as "Injured Innocence," and as "Mild Gazelles" is neither funny nor true. We are simply a people defending ourselves, resisting conquest and military despotism and fighting for the ideal of freedom and self-government. When our country is no longer in danger, we Suffragettes, if it be still necessary, are prepared to fight on and wage our Civil War that we may win freedom and self-government for women as well as men. But, in the meantime, we support the men—yes, and even the Government do we in a sense support—in fighting the common enemy who menaces the freedom of men and women alike.

### Facts Belie Him.

Mr Shaw would seem to hold Britain responsible for German militarism, but the facts he cites are against him there. "I am old enough," says he, "to remember the beginnings of the anti-German phase of military propaganda in England. The Franco-Prussian war of 1870-1871 left England very much taken aback. Up to that date nobody was much afraid of Prussia—suddenly Prussia beat France right down in the dust." Precisely! It was this war on France, deliberately engineered by Bismarck and it was the defeat and despoilment of France that fed Germany's militarism and encouraged Germany to make those plans of military aggression which, after long and deliberate preparation, are being carried into effect in the present war. Germany's plans of military aggression have compelled other countries to prepare, however inadequately, to defend themselves.

Mr Shaw gives support to the Germans' con-

tention that they are not the aggressors but are menaced by Russia. Yet he does not explain why, if that is so, Germany took French gold and territory in 1870 and has since continued to alienate France; nor why Germany has chosen Britain as her enemy of enemies to be supplanted and surpassed in power.

If Germany is simply on the defensive against Russia and has no desire to attack and cripple France and Britain, then why has she antagonized these countries and driven one after the other into a Russian alliance?

When he affects to criticise Germany for not having "entrusted the security of her western frontier to the public opinion of Western Europe and to America and fought Russia if attacked, with her rear not otherwise defended," Mr Shaw burks the fact that Germany's object is to seize Belgium and to make it part of the German Empire, also to seize at least the northern coast of France and to make this seizure the means of dominating Britain.

### Mr Shaw fails to convince America.

Indeed, the point at which German ambition for conquest ceases would be hard to fix. And yet Mr Shaw pictures for us an injured-innocent, mild-gazelle Germany on the defensive! Quite in this picture is his assertion that "the ultimatum to Serbia was the escapade of a dotard," whereas, everybody knows that the ultimatum was dictated at Berlin. It is plain as a pikestaff that in order to bring on the Great War of conquest for which her rulers thought The Day had arrived, Germany dictated the issue and terms of the ultimatum to Serbia and then urged Austria to refuse any compromise and arbitration which might have averted war.

Mr Shaw has assumed the impossible task of trying to blind the American public to these and other facts that prove Germany to be the aggressor in this war, but he will fail in his attempt at whitewashing German policy because it is one of the characteristics of the American people that they have a strong feeling for reality and that no twisting and combining of words can prevent them from getting at the facts beneath.

Bernhardi's writings are generally believed to be an inspiration and in part a statement of German policy. But Mr Shaw differs. In trying to prove that Bernhardism has nothing to do with the case, he maintains that Germany has neglected the Bernhardi programme and says:

"He warned Germany to make an alliance with Italy, Austria, Turkey and America before undertaking the subjugation of France, then of England."

Mr Shaw then asserts that Germany disregarded this advice and allowed herself to be caught between Russia and a Franco-British combination with no ally save Austria. But here again facts are against him. For Germany has followed with marvellous precision the line drawn by Bernhardi.

She is actually fighting in partnership with Austria. She allied herself with Italy—though Italy has refused to fight with her in this present war of aggression. Germany has also bent Turkey to her purpose, and has dragged the Turks into the war. An alliance with America! Well, to have gained the help of America in crushing France and crippling England and ravaging and conquering Belgium was quite beyond the power of German diplomacy and intrigue! Still, Germany's attempts to win at least America's moral support in this war are vigorous, if unsuccessful.

The remainder of this article will appear in a future issue.

# "WE WERE A NATION."

## Freedom and Independence for Bohemia.

We are glad to transmit to our readers the appeal for the restoration of Bohemia's national freedom and independence, made at a recent meeting held by the London Czech Committee.

The Chairman, Mr E. SULLY, said:—"On behalf of the London Czech Committee, it is my privilege and pleasure to welcome you here this evening. The object of this gathering—and I hope of many more to follow—is to interest the British people in Bohemia, its wonderful history, its lovable people and above all the ardent desire of the Bohemians for absolute freedom from Austro-Germany.

Our friends believe that now is the psychological moment to press their claim upon conscience of this country. To-day in Bohemia a state of civil, military and ecclesiastical oppression exists which makes propagandism absolutely impossible and so our Czech friends must, perforce, organize their forces to victory on foreign soil.

### A Soul-Searing Martyrdom.

Bohemia from the 5th century was a kingdom, till independence was lost in 1620 at the Battle of the White Mountain. Bohemia, with its few million inhabitants, had waged war for civil and religious liberty for thirty years against the material and spiritual forces of Austria-Hungary and Germany and only succumbed, after thirty years' war, to immeasurably superior forces.

In 1600 Bohemia was the European centre of intellectual and spiritual progress. For three hundred years the beautiful land of the Czechs has suffered a soul-searing martyrdom at the hands of the Germans: murder, torture, confiscation of literature, and schools closed down. The partial use of the Bohemian tongue was only permitted in 1830; serfdom was abolished in 1848, and not until 1867 were the peasants allowed to emigrate.

The Czechs, I take it, feel as we should feel to-day in England if the Armada had been successful and these islands had been Spanish isles for over three hundred years. The Bohemians in London are arranging a mass meeting in July next, to celebrate the anniversary of their great martyr John Hus, when great things are hoped for in focussing attention, or public opinion, upon Bohemia. Russia and England and France, I think, must do common justice to Bohemia and her claim when the Allies, as they will, dictate peace terms to Germany and Austria-Hungary.

### Bohemia's Unconquerable Courage.

Bohemia has wandered for more than three centuries in the wilderness and still has kept the flame of the spirit alight. Such unconquerable courage I think compels not only our respectful admiration, but demands what is infinitely more, our practical help. It would be a political blunder, I believe, of the greatest magnitude if the Allies did not give freedom to Bohemia. It would sow the seeds for a future war which would only take a very little time to come about. Mr Francis Prochazka, a very important member of the Bohemian community in London, is at present in America, stirring up his brother-Czechs in the States. His ability and his patriotism should prove of very great assistance just now. The English are hard to stir up. They remind me of Mark Twain's horse which you may perhaps remember had to

have a fire lighted under him every morning before he would start. But when they do start they are something terrific.

As regards Russia, our great ally, it was my privilege to live in Russia for some years and no one ever lives in Russia without loving the people. But some English people are afraid of Russia—I do not know why. I think it is prejudice. The Russians are deeply religious, and being so they are capable of very high sentiment and sacrifice in contradistinction to the cold, mathematical callousness of the Prussian Germany of to-day.

### "Before Austria we were a Nation, and will be when Austria is not."

A great Czech historian said: "Before Austria we were a nation, and will be when Austria is not," and I think that his prophecy is very near coming true. Before I shuffle off this mortal coil there are two great desires in my heart. One is to go to Russia, to see the new Russia, the non-vodka Russia, the wonderful, the spiritual Russia; the other, to revisit Bohemia, a free Bohemia, an independent Bohemia, a Bohemia with peace flowing through the land like a river, Bohemia once more taking its place in the Council Chamber of a purified Europe."

Mr H. CERNIG (*President of the London Czech Committee*): "We Czechs are one of those small nations who expect liberation through the victory of the Allies. But we shall not be the smallest, when we have joined hands with our natural brothers, the Slovaks and when the lands of the Bohemian Crown, are restored to their original limits.

For centuries we have been struggling against Austria for our freedom, for our independence. Austria, contrary to all her promises and legal obligations, was trying to absorb our nationality into her Germanizing centralisation. After the wars of 1856 and 1859, so disastrous for Austria, the Hungarians coming into power utilised the weakness of Austria and brought forth their brutal Imperialism.

### An Independent Bohemia, a Strong Barrier.

At the conclusion of the victorious campaign against France in 1870, the Magyars as well as the Austrian Germans became the blind tools of Berlin. They are actually the advance guard on the way to Constantinople and Bagdad.

To this great German Imperialism and expansion towards the East, an independent Bohemia, a State with nearly 13,000,000 of inhabitants, will be a strong barrier. In independent Bohemia will rely on independent Poland in the North and we even hope that we shall be able to join hands with the heroic nation of the Serbo Croats in the South.

From the bottom of our hearts we are praying for the victory of the Allied forces, because we desire the freedom and independence of all the small and oppressed nations. We as Slavs are striving with all our might for independence and also for the independence of the other Austrian Slavs.

Unfortunately, we in our present position as a nation have no power of disposal of our army and therefore we are greatly indebted to our fighting brothers, the Serbians and the Russians. The great Russian nation raised her mighty arm to defend the liberties of little Serbia, just as the noble English nation is bleeding in the fields of Flanders and France defending the independence of Belgium.

We believe in the final victory of Justice, we believe that the victory of the Allies will prove the purification of Europe, and that this terrible

war will in the end produce a better, truer and a more lasting civilization. As Czechs we cannot forget that this year 1915 is the five hundredth anniversary of our great and illustrious reformer and Christian martyr, John Hus. For many years we have been making preparations for this festival in Bohemia, but under the dreadful conditions of the present time, instead of a national festival, there will prevail a melancholy tranquility. The Czechs, in accepting the teaching of John Hus, were the first people to break asunder the spiritual fetters of Roman-Catholicism in Europe. It is well to remember that John Hus and his disciples were the spiritual followers of the great Englishman, John Wycliff. And just as this intellectual affinity of the Czechs and English in the past helped to the freedom of human consciousness, so may the efforts of the Czech people on the one hand and the English people on the other—whose representatives meet here to-day—assist in the future the great uplifting movement that surely must result from this, the greatest and most sanguinary war this world of ours has ever witnessed.

### "They cannot break the Czech Nation."

Mr F. C. WYN:—"The position of the component lands of Austria Hungary, their mutual and individual relations and developments, have for a long period been misunderstood, but since the beginning of the war, the veil that has hidden the interior of the Dual Empire is being lifted little by little. The Austrian Government, which identified itself with the German ambitions, tried to give the whole of Austria the outward appearance of a German-speaking Monarchy and tried to hide the fact that 60 per cent. of its inhabitants are of the Slavonic race, particularly in the lands of the Bohemian Crown, namely Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, where their number increases to 82 per cent. of the population. On many occasions the nationalism of the Czechs came into conflict with the interests of their Hapsburg rulers. These Austrian interests, so closely associated with Germanising ideals, are strongly opposed to all the Czech aspirations, as these mean the end of the Hapsburg domination and with it, the final defeat of the hope of making Bohemia a part of greater Germany. They cannot break the Czech nation, in spite of having poured into the galls the flower of its manhood. The collapse of Austria is already sufficiently complete to make its reconstruction at the close of the war very doubtful, for every defeat that the Dual Monarchy is forced to face means, not only material loss but spiritual defeat and a weakening of their moral forces.

### The Slavs refuse to fight for a Cause essentially German.

I can loudly proclaim that the Slavs have already surrendered in hundreds of thousands to their Russian and Serbian brethren, because they will not fight for a cause that is essentially German and Magyar and there is some good ground in the common talk that the Serbian victory is due to the wholesale surrender of the Czech regiments.

Both Czechs and Slovaks have had enough of it. They are looking forward to their independence, which is not only their historical right, but an economical and national necessity. Austria, bereft of Galicia and the Bukovina would be more hostile to the Czechs than the old Austria and ready to ally herself still closer with Germanism in every attempt to revive her old dreams. If all the Slavs were liberated

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# "WE WERE A NATION."

Continued.

save the Czechs and the Slovaks, the latter would be delivered to plunder and exploitation by Germanism and Magyarism.

Therefore, the Czechs and Slovaks must receive their own Slavonic organization. A nation which has given to Slavdom and humanity men like John Hus, Comenius and Chelchitsky deserve the right of independence, while the unprecedented progress made by the Czechs in letters, in painting, in sculpture, music, education, trade and industry is sufficient guarantee of the rank that the Czechs will take amongst the large and small European countries. If the future independent lands of the Bohemian Crown can claim their own vitality as to economical and political soundness, we Czechs who best know our country and people can safely say that the history of our land is sufficient guarantee of its stable existence and ever-growing progress.

### Bohemia's Industries.

In the history of humanity and civilisation, the University of Prague was one of the first sources in Europe of science and mental development.

With regard to industry, Bohemia is the leading country for labour, engineering, textile industry, the manufacture of glass and porcelain, chemistry, the production of sugar, and it is the leading country not only in the Dual Empire but in Central Europe. The products of the textile woollen industry are of world fame. The cloth and textile factories in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia with its manufacturing centres of Liberec, Humpolec, Troppau, and so on, employ no less than 280,000 workmen in this industry alone. As to the production of sugar, Great Britain used to import four-fifths of the refined sugar for home consumption from Bohemia. Then another pure Czech product—unfortunately very often taken for German, but of which probably most of you have heard—is Pilsen beer, which is in all probability the best known product of Bohemia. And Prague ham could be found before the war on the bill of fare of any restaurant which cared for its reputation.

Dense woods and forests cover one-third of the surface of Bohemia. All the fields and plains are highly cultivated. The chief crops are: wheat, rye, barley, oats, flax, hops, fruit and beet. As to minerals, the soil of Bohemia yields black coal, iron ore, lignite, silver and even gold, antimony, zinc, tin, graphite and lead. Then again pitchblends is only found in Bohemia at the mines of Jachimov, and provides almost the whole world with radium. The natural springs of Karlsbad, Marienbad, Franzenbad, Mattoni, Teplice and Bilin are of world fame. We are proud to think that the late King Edward VII. derived great benefit from the curative waters of the Bohemian town of Marienbad, which in grateful memory of his visits was the first town on the Continent to erect a statue of this immortal monarch.

### "Bohemia will rise Unshaken."

The two fundamental principles of the coming peace in Europe are Justice and Stability. We Czechs have always been true to Slavism and recognising that, the Slav world remains true to us. In this lies our force.

Therefore I say Bohemia will rise unshaken, unbroken, and rejuvenated from the European catastrophe, and on the ruins of the Austro-Hungarian nation, the Czech nation will breathe free again.

The Rev. HUGH CHAPMAN, a Belgian soldier, Dr GOLDBERG, a Russian, Mrs CEIL CHAPMAN and Mr STEPHEN GRAHAM, also spoke.

# W.S.P.U. ACTIVITIES.

### Great Women's Patriotic Meeting.

A great Patriotic Meeting will be held at the London Palladium, Argyll Street (very kindly lent for the occasion by the management), on Thursday afternoon, June 3rd, at 2.30 p.m. Mrs Pankhurst will explain the W.S.P.U. scheme to deal with the question of the nation's babies.

Mlle. Dorziap, the famous French actress, has kindly consented to recite the Marseillaise. She will be accompanied at the piano by Mr Isidore de Lara.

The prices of seats will be as follows:—Boxes, £1, 1s., 15s. 6d., 10s. 6d.; Fauteuils, 2s. 6d.; Orchestra Stalls, 2s.; Stalls, 1s. 6d. (numbered and reserved); Grand Circle, 2s. 6d. and 2s. (numbered and reserved); Upper Circle, 1s. (unreserved).

Subscription and Ticket Order Forms appear on page 96 of this issue and readers are asked to send these with P.O. or cheque to Lincoln's Inn House.

Offers of help to advertise this meeting will be welcomed and names should be sent to Mrs Dickens, Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

### Mrs Pankhurst Addresses Crowded Audience.

Mrs Pankhurst spoke on May 14th at the Grand Theatre of Varieties, Clapham, where she was introduced by the Mayor and was presented with bouquets by two small children, one dressed as a Girl Guide and the other as a Red Cross Nurse. A collection was taken for the War Babies Scheme.

On Thursday, May 20th, Mrs Pankhurst will give two separate addresses in Hull, at the Picture House, Porter Street and at the Monica Picture Theatre, Newlands Avenue.

On Friday, May 21st, she will speak at the Hippodrome, New Row, Rotherhithe, S.E., and on Tuesday, May 25th, at the People's Palace, Mile End Road, E.

On each of these occasions a special collection will be taken for the Babies Fund, and members who can help in this way are asked to write to Miss Isabel Cay at Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C. SUFFRAGETTE sellers will also be welcomed and should send in their names to Miss Kennedy at the same address.

### Great Open-Air Recruiting Campaign.

General Flora Drummond will address a series of Open-Air Recruiting Meetings in the parks and commons in and around London. The first of these meetings will be held in Hyde Park on Sunday next, May 23rd, at 3 p.m. Miss Olive Bartels will be in charge of this campaign and offers of help should be sent to her at Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

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