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The Suffragette

Edited by Christabel Pankhurst

Official Organ of the
Women's Social and Political Union

No. 103—Vol. IV.

FRIDAY, MAY 28, 1915.

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The Suffragette

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Review of the Week.

Lady Mackworth to speak at the Palladium Meeting on June 3rd.

We are glad to be able to announce that Lady Mackworth who so narrowly escaped from drowning when the *Lusitania* was torpedoed, will speak at the great meeting at the Palladium on Thursday afternoon, June 3rd. Lady Mackworth's friends as well as members of the general public, will appreciate this opportunity of hearing what she has to say and of welcoming her and expressing their joy that she was saved.

Lord Kitchener's Great Achievements.

From the first we have had an unbounded admiration for the devotion and patriotism with which Lord Kitchener assumed the responsibilities that are his in connection with the war. The task that confronted him when he was called to the War Office was literally a superhuman one. Unpreparedness was face to face with a preparedness, the fruit of a generation of steady working and waiting on the part of the enemy.

Among civilians, those who have had personal experience, of political and above all of militant organisation are especially qualified to understand what Lord Kitchener's great achievements at the War Office really mean. Knowing that each visible detail of success means an infinity of unseen work, we realise to some extent—what the nation's debt to the man who stepped into the breach at the very darkest hour in our history and made victory sure. If there have been weaknesses, they are, it seems to us, inseparably connected with omissions and commissions dating from before the war and for which the whole manhood of the country is responsible, inseparably connected too with still existing weaknesses for which again the male civilian population, (politicians and ordinary citizens included) is primarily responsible.

The laws of life in time of war are firstly no destructive criticism and lastly loyalty, loyalty and again loyalty.

A Generous Response.

The generous subscriptions that have been made in response to Mrs Pankhurst's appeal include one of £1000 for the babies' home.

Many other subscriptions and letters of sympathetic approval of the scheme for adopting the unprotected children of unmarried mothers, have been received from social workers, doctors, and others whose opportunities of observation have given them special authority to speak on such a matter.

To the appeal for the financial support needed to increase the circulation and influence of THE SUFFRAGETTE, there has also been a most encouraging response. As an example of the many friendly and approving letters which Mrs Pankhurst has received on the subject of the paper, we print on page 100 a letter from Sir G. W. Kekewich, K.C.B., ex-secretary to the Board of Education and late M.P. for Exeter.

As stated in a previous issue of THE SUFFRAGETTE, subscriptions and promises of subscriptions already received and those made at the meeting, will be announced from the platform at the Palladium on June 3rd.

Our New Ally.

Germany and Austria tried by means of desperate intrigue, shameless bribery and appalling threats, to prevent Italy from taking part in the war on the side of the Allies.

But the King, the Statesmen and the people of Italy, women as well as men, have united in a supreme effort to conquer their own internal freedom from German and Austrian influence and to conquer the freedom and independence of those of their compatriots who are still under alien rule.

Italy has denounced the unnatural Alliance with the German and Austrian Empires, into which Bismarck manoeuvred her many years ago and has determined to make war upon tyranny in the name of her own freedom and that of the rest of Europe.

The Value of Italian Aid.

Italy now takes her natural place as an Ally of the other two great democratic powers of Western Europe (democratic in the sense that their ideals, traditions and political machinery are democratic, so that women's citizenship is there to be won, whereas in Germany political despotism and anti-suffragism for men as well as women have their chief stronghold).

There is great joy among all lovers of freedom that Italy has broken through the Austro-German entanglement and has resolved to play her true and inevitable part in the world.

Italy's refusal at the beginning of the war to fight with Austria and Germany against the Allies was an act of nobility; her entrance into the war is more magnificent still. It is not simply her military and naval aid that are valued. The aid that Italy gives has a spiritual value and her co-operation raises the warfare of the Allies to a still higher moral plane.

The America of Washington and Lincoln.

An American newspaper, the *New York Tribune*, commenting upon British political rearrangement and general settling down in earnest to the war, has said: "it is a return to the England of Pitt."

It seems likely that we on our part may soon have before our eyes the spectacle of an America that has returned to the days of Washington and of Lincoln—an America engaged in the third war fought in United States history for national honour and for human liberty. Certainly the issues in the two great wars of the American past were not more serious than the present issue, which is whether a nation itself governed by a scientific and modernised and therefore more terrible despotism shall impose its dreaded

and hated domination upon the rest of the world.

We know not yet whether warfare between the United States and Germany can be averted, but if it is not and the United States enters into this war for civilisation, the American people will be able to fight with a clear conscience, knowing that they have done all they honourably can to avoid a conflict and that they have drawn their sword in a just cause.

An Act of Homage to Belgium.

An admirable suggestion has been made, that when the time comes to hold the Conference which will proclaim the terms of peace, this Conference shall meet in Brussels, the capital of the wronged and gallant Belgium. The Belgian Minister of Justice, M. Carton de Wiart, referring to this suggestion in a speech he made the other day, said:—

"We should not decline such an honour in which we should see a delicate homage rendered to Belgium who has shown the price that she attaches to faith sworn between the nations."

"It seems certain that an essential part of this Conference will be to assure the future of the nations against the incessant peril of an Empire which has made war its principal industry and whose diseased pride claimed to subject the world to its law."

There will indeed be a magnificent quality of justice in the decision to hold the Conference in Belgium. To hold it at The Hague would under the circumstances arouse sombre and disquieting associations of broken faith and violated conventions. And certainly the Conference could not, under any circumstances, be held in the Peace Palace of Mr Carnegie, who is the devoted admirer and partisan of Kaiser William. But apart from any question of Mr Carnegie's views, it would be grossly inappropriate that momentous issues affecting the life and fate of nations, should be decided in a building associated with a private individual.

Are the Hungarians our Friends?

It is argued by and on behalf of Hungarians living in this country, that they may safely be left in possession of full liberty instead of being interned, since neither they nor their compatriots in Hungary are to be classed with the Germans as regards the present war. Hungarians have always been popular in this country and moreover there certainly seems to be good reason to believe that the Hungarian idea of what is honourably permissible to a Hungarian living in this country during the war, differs very largely from the ideas on the subject which Germans are expected by their Government to entertain and which many of them actually do entertain. But if the Hungarians differ in feeling from their German associates in this war, how strange and how grievous a thing it is that the Hungarians as a people have consented to act as the tool of German policy and to fight against those with whom they say they have no quarrel of their own and with whom they would prefer to be at peace!

Why do you Fight against us?

The attitude of the Hungarian people towards the war weakens still further the moral position of the Germans, but it raises a very serious question concerning the honour and the safety of the Hungarian people themselves. Italy has pointed the way to Hungary and has set the example. When will Hungary, despite the greater difficulties of her position, follow where Italy has led?

The British people are only too glad if it is possible to refrain from dealing with the Hungarians in this country in time of war in the manner necessary where German subjects are concerned. For it as regards the policy of the Hungarian people as a whole there is only this to be said to them: Since you claim to be at heart for us why do you take up arms against us?

This war places the Hungarian people at the parting of the ways. It is for them a problem to which there is not more than one dignified and honourable solution!

They knew "Months before"!

Now what have our pro-Germans of the U.D.C. to say! Echoing their mentors in Germany, they have been talking to us of the assassination of Sarejevo, which the rest of us suspect was due to the work of *agents provocateurs* playing the game of the enemies of Serbia in order to trump up a case against her. But now comes a new proof to add to many others that the war was resolved upon by Austria and Germany long before the assassination took place. The new proof is this:—

Princess Lichnowsky, whose husband was until the outbreak of war, German Ambassador in London, has just stated, as we are informed by the *Budapesti Hirlap*, that she and her husband "knew before the assassination of Sarejevo—some months before—that war would break out between Austria and Russia."

Let us hope that after this we shall hear no more nonsense about the "assassination" and Russia's order for mobilisation being causes of the war.

A Common-sense Peace Policy.

There are many who by this time have reached the same conclusion as that expressed by Sir George Reid, High Commissioner for the Commonwealth of Australia in the following words:—

"Last year I was rather a prominent member of the Anglo-German Friendship Society. I was such a lover of peace that I used to lay hands on any other peace Societies that I could find. I am still a lover of peace, but I swear that the only peace Society that I will join now is one bound by a solemn oath to give the peace-breaker such a lesson that it will endure to the third and fourth generation of those who repay chivalry with murder."

Maeterlinck on Treaties.

The same order of ideas was expressed by M. Maeterlinck at the Annual Conference of the British Constitutional Association. He said:—

"If aggression has taken Belgium by surprise we owe it to the treaty; when we awoke from our belief in the treaty it was too late. The German army was at our gate and we were given twelve hours to answer the ultimatum. That is our experience of International Law and war.

"Principles are laid down in treaties, but I look in vain for penalties upon those people who do not follow them. Precious lives have been lost by thousands and thousands; priceless monuments destroyed everywhere, Belgium ravaged, trade and industry ruined. The Hague Convention is silent on this point. If the Peace Conference is resumed the first indispensable part will be that all the signatures to the Convention shall be jointly and severally responsible for ensuring the observance of the treaty and shall bind themselves to intervene at once, even by the force of arms to stop the evil doers; otherwise let us adopt the German principles that *might is right*."

South America's opinion of the Germans.

Last week we published the statement of a South American, that South America repudiates the German ideal of life and Government. Testimony to the same effect is provided by a letter that has appeared in the *Hamburg Nachrichten*. The writer of the letter, a German, says:—

"All Germans in Brazil know that the Brazilians dislike us because our nature is so different from theirs and because we do not merely place our confidence in God and the State, but act up to the proverb 'God helps those that help themselves.' Because we thrive by pursuing this method we excite envy, and in the heart of the Brazilians envy soon turns to hatred."

That is the German way of expressing the

matter, but it is a pretty sure indication to those who can read between the lines of what Brazilian opinion really is. Dr Dernburg, wishing to leave the United States, since he and the German Government have made the place too hot to hold him, desires to go to Cuba; but it appears that Cuba has objected.

Their own Postage Stamps!

Writing in sarcastic vein, the *Weekly Review De Amsterdamer*, says:—

"Neutral countries are uncertain as to the fate that a victorious Germany would decree for them. We have received from Sweden information from an authorised source which deserves to be published by reason of its reassuring character. We know that Sweden, believing herself menaced by Russia, leaned to the side of Germany.

"Professor Ostwald and the German Minister Reichenau did their best to reinforce this sentiment. The campaign of the Professor failed, as the result of his exaggeration. Reichenau himself was obliged to quit his post. When he undertook the task of propagating the idea of a leading European State under German hegemony, he met with a lively opposition. To this opposition the Minister found no other response than this:—'*We should permit you to have your own postage stamps!*' One might believe this to be a joke, but our correspondent assured us that it was said in the most serious manner. Now we know it; that is all the liberty that will be left to us under German hegemony. It is very reassuring!"

A German Medical Opinion.

Perhaps nothing more significant and more eloquent of the modern German spirit has yet come to light than the following extract from Germany's leading medical newspaper, the *Deutsche Medizinische Wochenschrift*:—

"A little of the old Spartan spirit infused into certain sections of the war machine would not be amiss at a time like the present. The demands on hospital accommodation are incredibly heavy, even where it concerns our own wounded. It seems regrettable that some of this so sorely needed accommodation should be wasted on the enemy. The question therefore arises whether it would not be advisable if men found in a particularly dirty and neglected condition, or those who are suffering from very serious illness should not be simply abandoned to their fate on the battlefield."

The point of view thus expressed is the very negation of the essential spirit of the doctor.



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.

Approval of W.S.P.U. War Service.

Letter from Sir G. W. Kekewich, K.C.B., Ex-Secretary of Board of Education, and late M.P. for Exeter.

MADAM,
I have much pleasure in sending the enclosed donation for the Women's Work for National Service, and for your Circulation Fund.

In my opinion, the work of the women of this country in connection with the war has placed their cause in a more commanding position than ever before.

They have risen to the exigencies of the situation equally with the men, and my admiration for their work and their example is great.

I should like to mention to you one instance of what I mean. I have, during the Winter and Spring, constantly had the opportunity of taking stock of the racing crowd at Waterloo, going to meetings at Hurst Park, Kempton Park, Sandown, etc.

This always largely composed of idle young civilians, loafers and slackers, who ought to be in the army, and who would profit enormously by army discipline and training.

But, although in former years, numbers of women could be seen going to the Winter Steeplechases, dressed in costly furs and the newest winter fashions, it was the rarest thing possible to see a decent woman in the whole crowd. Sometimes I saw not one, though I waited a considerable time.

Moreover, the comfort of our splendid soldiers and their excellent health, is in no small measure the result of women's work.

I may perhaps be permitted to also express admiration of the line you take as regards illegitimate children, whom, for no fault of their own, have always suffered from the contumely which has arisen from false religion and puritanical convention. I of course agree that we should encourage marriage, and it seems to me that the first thing to be done is to assimilate our laws to that of (I believe) all, or nearly all, other countries and legitimatise every child whose parents marry after their birth.

The present seems an opportune moment for the change.

But in any case the removal of the so-called stigma which rests on the illegitimate child is a work, not only of mercy, but of justice.—Yours faithfully,
G. W. KEKEWICH.
FELTHAM, MIDDLESEX.

A TRIBUTE TO "THE SUFFRAGETTE."

"Some lady in St Leonards has sent me a copy of the re-issued SUFFRAGETTE. It contains very little about suffrage but a great deal about the war, and it is the most illuminating journal I have seen for a long time. A good many writers have tried to put Dr Lyttelton in his place: with qualified success, for in the vain belief that he is a born publicist with a mission, second only in divine sanction to that of the Kaiser, to teach England her duty, he has blossomed as a pamphleteer. Miss Christabel Pankhurst trounces him in superb style, riddles his arguments with the precision of a mitrail-leuse, and tears his logic to tatters. It is a masterpiece of criticism and it sets forth in exalted language the true mission of English women and men.

England's duty? Dr Lyttelton has not learnt the A. B. C. of it, but it shines luminous in the pages of THE SUFFRAGETTE. Absolute unity, the putting aside of all personal claims, the surrender of all individual desires, the subordination of everything that tends to retard the fulfilment of a holy purpose. Dr Lyttelton does not understand; he never will, and there are many others, men and women, who do not understand."—From the *Hastings Observer*.

War Service for Everybody!

THE free magnificent gift of life and treasure made by the People of the British Dominions over-seas proves the true and lasting greatness of the British Empire.

Those who have tried to serve the Empire in time of peace must all the more serve it in time of war.

We have been told and we must all agree, that in order to win a complete victory in this war and thereby free ourselves and the world from the danger now threatening us, it is necessary that "THE UNITED KINGDOM SHALL PUT FORTH ITS FULL STRENGTH TO THE LAST OUNCE."

This means that EVERY MAN AND EVERY WOMAN MUST RENDER THE COUNTRY WAR SERVICE IN SOME FORM OR OTHER.

MEN are needed to answer the call for 300,000 recruits for the Army.

WOMEN are needed to replace men in ordinary professional, business and industrial work; they are needed for the special war tasks of equipping and feeding the Army, making munitions of war and so forth. They are needed to grapple with Social Problems and especially those which owe their existence to war conditions.

A GREAT PATRIOTIC MEETING

TO CONSIDER

Universal War Service for Men and Women

Will be held at

THE LONDON PALLADIUM,
At 2.30 p.m. on Thursday, June 3rd.

THE SPEAKERS WILL BE

LADY MACKWORTH,

(A Passenger on the "Lusitania," who narrowly escaped with her life when the ship was torpedoed).

MISS ANNIE KENNEY.

THE "MARSEILLAISE" WILL BE RECITED BY

Mlle. DORZIAT,

ACCOMPANIED AT THE PIANOFORTE BY Mr ISIDORE DE LARA.

Mrs PANKHURST will be in the Chair.

A Fund will be raised for the Special Work of the
W.S.P.U. in time of War.

Tickets of Admission are as follows—

BOXES £1 1/-, 15/6, 10/6; FAUTEUILS, 2/6; ORCHESTRA STALLS, 2/-; STALLS, 1/6 (Numbered and Reserved); GRAND CIRCLE, 2/6 and 2/- (Numbered and Reserved); UPPER CIRCLE, 1/- (Unreserved) and can be obtained on application at LINCOLN'S INN HOUSE, KINGSWAY, W.C., or at the PALLADIUM on the afternoon of the Meeting.

The Suffragette

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

PRICE ONE PENNY WEEKLY.
FRIDAY, May 28, 1915.

Universal National Service.

It has always been a hard thing for women of British birth to see men of alien origin, even if such men were perfectly loyal to their adopted country, securing the full rights and privileges of British citizenship at the price of complying with certain regulations and paying a five pound note, while they, as British women, were permanently and unconditionally denied these rights and privileges.

Then what a wound it is to our pride as women, to our dignity and our honour as British citizens at heart and by birth if not by law, to know that alien enemies, not only according to legal form, but enemies in opinion and feeling have by naturalisation ever since war between this country and Germany broke out, been permitted to become British subjects.

The women who have worked, fought, suffered for enfranchisement know as perhaps few men know, how precious and how grand a thing British citizenship is. They believe that British citizenship is fouled and degraded when it is conferred upon a man who has no moral right or claim to this high honour.

Naturalisation was effected in one such case, we are told, for the sake of credit in the city of London. That our credit, upon which depends so largely our national safety and independence, should be at the mercy of men belonging to another country, a country which has long been a prospective enemy and now actually is an enemy, is a very terrible thing.

Could nothing be done, can nothing be done, will nothing be done to prevent such an appalling state of affairs. Women have a right to ask that question, because, as the example of Belgium shows us, it is women upon whom falls the heaviest burden of war when a country's defences are broken down and it is ravaged by the invader.

Women have been kept out of business life, financial life, political life. Their sphere has been so narrowed that they are to-day helplessly at the mercy of their men folk, who have a virtual monopoly of commercial, financial and industrial experience and a monopoly of political power. Thus, while women suffer if the country grows weak, they have not the power to keep it strong.

Another point. Men belonging to the enemy country have been naturalised since the war broke out, not only for reasons appertaining to our credit, but also because as it is said, the services of some of them were indispensable to certain Government departments. Are there not enough British people to fill the ranks of our Government service? If the available supply of British men is exhausted, there are innumerable British women whose service is at the service of the State.

Yet while the Government service in its higher branches has been stubbornly closed to British women, subjects of a foreign power which is now our enemy and has been for a long time past our prospective enemy, have been admitted into the very innermost recesses of our Governmental organisation, have been made part of the most delicate and intimate machinery of the State.

We ask not merely, is this fair to women, but is it fair to the nation?

It is for the men of each political party who have successively been responsible for managing the national affairs to answer that question.

To men of alien birth have been given honours, places in the Privy Council, titles, public positions of all sorts which have been rigorously denied to the Florence Nightingales of our land, women not only of British birth, but of proven and magnificent loyalty.

Again, it is not only the politicians who are concerned in all this. The responsibility falls upon the manhood of our country as a whole. It is men in general who have allowed the country to become dangerously dependent upon Germany in finance, commerce, industry and politics.

This is no question of mere trade competition or conflict of material interests. It is a question of remaining true to ourselves as a nation, as a people. It is a question of defending our citizenship from adulteration by ourselves, who do not understand our political ideals and do not sympathise without ideals of civilisation, whose thought is how they may break down the British Empire and establish Germanism upon its ruins.

Great Britain has never been wanting in a sense of hospitality towards people of foreign nations and we believe she never will be so as regards those who, while remembering that they are their hosts, do not forget also that they are our guests and as such debarred in honour from abusing our hospitality. Yet if we are to preserve our national individuality and it is only by so doing that we can perform our duty and play the part allotted to us by destiny in the world of nations, then we must not cheapen British citizenship as we do when we too heedlessly confer it upon outsiders.

Our policy in this matter of naturalisation must take into account hard facts, such as the law signed by the German Emperor on July 22nd, 1914, which provides that Germans living in a foreign country and becoming naturalised there, shall not lose their German nationality, except as a consequence of some definite act on the part of the individual concerned, showing clearly that he desires to sever his connection with Germany.

And mark this! In order also to provide for cases where a foreign nationality is acquired solely with a view to meeting business requirements, it is laid down that a German shall not lose his German nationality if, before acquiring the foreign nationality, he obtains the permission of the home authorities to retain his German nationality.

Provision is thus made to enable German subjects to commit bigamy in the national sense, to enable the German who apparently becomes a British subject to remain a German subject at heart and in fact, while at the same time he acquires the rights, the privileges, the power of a British citizen, which rights, privileges and power he can actually use to the injury of his "adopted" country.

Much has been said of late years of the interdependence of nations in matters of commerce and finance. But such inter-dependence must not be of the kind that involves independence for one nation and dependence for the other. Men versed in these matters are telling us now that we have become dangerously dependent upon Germany in certain matters vital to our national strength and freedom. For example, we are weak and dependent in the matter of dyes; so that important industries can be crippled by a hostile act on the part of a foreign power.

A member of Parliament lately called attention to the shortage of optical glass, which is essential for the supply of prismatic binoculars, periscopes, range-finders and other optical instruments urgently needed by our naval and military forces, this shortage being due to the fact that before the war, this country was almost entirely dependent on Germany for the supply of optical glass.

The inroads that have been made by Germany upon our financial independence are illustrated by the above-mentioned naturalisation of an enemy alien, hastily effected after war broke out "for the sake of credit in the city of London!" We are now told that the Germans in London had pre-arranged matters in view of the war and that the city will lose millions upon millions of pounds because German Banks and branches of German Banks and German financiers generally who were established in London had, with foreknowledge of the war, been making such plans as would give the Kaiser and Germany a financial advantage and put this country at a disadvantage, when the war broke out.

The *Financial News* has spoken of the Director of a well-known financial institution in London being summoned to Germany a month before the outbreak of the war and receiving his instructions as to what steps he was to take. These, it is said, included the remittance of at least twenty million pounds to the Kaiser's Government. The behest was, it seems, duly fulfilled!

Now all this is very grave, not so much because of what has happened, though that is bad enough, but because of what may happen in future unless the people of this country, men and women, pull themselves together and determine that weaknesses shall be cast away and that we as a nation shall show forth in all the greatness of Elizabethan days and in the added greatness to be expected of those who have learnt the lessons of the intervening centuries.

Men have lately recalled the fact that in time gone by Germany had secured upon the finance, the commerce, the industry of these islands, a grip which had become dangerous to our national life and dignity. These same delvers into history are reminding us that it was Queen Elizabeth who freed the country from the German grip. It took a woman to do it after all!

Yes! and it needs women as well as men to make the country free now and in the future.

The women of the nation are standing at attention, some waiting (since training and organisation have not been their portion hitherto) to be trained and organised and others already equipped for national service and awaiting only the call to action. They know that Britain needs the aid of all her sons and daughters if she is to pass unscathed through the trials of war and if she is to be strong to meet the future.

CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

ITALY AND FREEDOM.

By VICTOR HUGO.

We give with few excisions and with the addition of only two words namely, "William II."
Victor Hugo's eulogy of Garibaldi delivered on 18th June 1860. It might well have been framed in honour of the Italy of to-day and in reference to the Great War.

Here is the truth!
The truth is that at this hour it is not permitted to anybody to be indifferent to the great things which are being accomplished.

The truth is that for this august work of universal deliverance, there are needed the effort of every one, the co-operation of every one, the helping hand of every one.

The truth is that not an ear must be closed, that not a heart must be still, that when there arises the cry of the peoples, this cry must find an echo in the entrails of us all.

The truth is that he who has but one soul, must give it to the liberators. It is that he who has but one stone, must hurl it at the tyrants.

Let some act, let others speak—let all work! Yes, all to the task! The wind of the spirit is blowing.

Let the public encouragement of heroes be the joy of our souls! Let the multitude glow as a fiery furnace with enthusiasm! Let those who do not fight with the sword, fight with the idea! Let not a single intelligence remain neutral, nor any mind remain idle!

Let those in the fighting line feel that they are loved and upheld!
Let there be watch-fires upon the mountains of Italy and a light upon all the summits of Europe!

It comes from God, the trembling of this Italy above which one sees flaming to-day, Patriotism, Faith, Liberty, Heroism. . . .

Oh how beautiful is a people when its hour comes! What an admirable thing this stirring, this uprising, this forgetfulness of low and petty interests! How admirable it is that these women urge their husbands forward and fight themselves; that the mothers cry to their sons; Go!—that there is this joy in flying to arms, in breathing and in being; that there is this cry raised by all; that there is this immense light on the horizon!

There is no more thought of getting rich, of gold, of the stomach, of pleasure. The people feel shame and pride. They stand erect. The proud carriage of their head provokes the tyrants. Barbarisms disappear; despotisms crumble; conscience overthrows slavery, the austere Minerva rises up in the sunlight, with lance in hand.

The graves open. There is a call from tomb to tomb: Arise! this is more than Life, it is Apotheosis.

Ah! there is a divine beating of the heart and the heroes vanquished of old, are comforted and the eyes of proscribed philosophers are filled with tears when that which was humbled becomes indignant, when that which was fallen arises, when splendours that were eclipsed reappear, charming and redoubtable, when Stamboul becomes once more Byzantium, when Setiniah becomes once more Athens, when Rome becomes once again Rome!

All, whoever we may be, let us clap hands for Italy! Let us glorify her, this land of great births! *Alma parens*. It is in nations such as Italy that certain abstract dogmas are made real and visible. They are virgin in honour and mothers in progress.

Imagine this splendid vision—Italy free! free! Tell me, do you see it, this vision which to-morrow will be a reality!
Finished is all that was false. Lies, ashes, darkness have vanished. Italy exists. Italy is Italy.

Where there was a geographical term there is now a nation. Where there was a corpse, there is now a soul. Where there was a spectre there is now an Archangel—the immense Archangel of the people, Liberty, standing erect with wings outspread.

Italy the great dead one has awakened. See her, she arises and smiles on the human race! She says to Greece: I am thy daughter. She says to France: I am thy mother.

She has round her, her poets, her orators, her artists, her philosophers—all those counselors of humanity, all those fathers, conscripts of the universal intelligence, all those members of the Senate of the centuries—and on her right and her left hand are those two terrible great men Dante and Michael Angelo. . . .

What a triumph! What an advent! What a marvellous phenomenon is this unity, traversing with a single flash that magnificent diversity of sister towns, Milan, Turin, Genoa, Florence, Bologna, Pisa, Sienna, Verona, Parma, Palermo, Messina, Naples, Venice, Rome!

Italy is erect; Italy marches forward; *patuit dea*; she shines out; she communicates to the progress of the whole world, the grand and joyous fever proper to her genius. And Europe is electrified by this prodigious resplendence. There is no less ecstasy in the eye of the people, no less sublime reverberation in their mind, no less admiration, no less joyfulness, no less enthusiasm for this new light upon the earth, than there would be for a new star in the heavens.

If we would understand what is in preparation as well as that which is already being accomplished, let us not forget this, that Garibaldi the man of yesterday, the man of to-morrow, is also the man of to-day. . . . In the eyes of all who know how to understand the inevitable meanderings of progress, that winds its way towards its end and the avatar of the idea which transforms itself to re-appear, this day continues past days of liberation.

Great are the liberators. Let the grateful acclamations of the people follow their fortunes. Yesterday there were tears, to-day Hosannas. Providence has these restorations of equilibrium.

O my brothers in humanity, it is the hour of joy and unity. Let us put aside all shadow of exclusion, all political dissensions, so small at this moment! At this holy hour in which our eyes are fixed uniquely upon this sacred work, upon this solemn end, upon this vast aurora, the nations freed; let us mingle all our souls in the formidable cry, worthy of humanity and of heaven, *Vive la Liberté!* . . .

Let Europe be illuminated! Yes, let the civilisation of the ancient continent, which has abolished superstition through Voltaire, slavery through Wilberforce, the scaffold through Beccaria, let this elder civilisation with its henceforth inextinguishable rays shine anew and let it set above mankind its old watch-light made up of the three great flames; France, England and Italy!

Again a word! What is the result of this splendid epic? What emerges from it all? A moral law, an august law; and that law is this:

Force does not exist.
No, force is not. There is only right.
There are only principles. There are only

justice and truth. There are only the peoples. There are only souls, those forces of the ideal. There is only conscience here below—and Providence on high.

What is force? What is the sword? Who then, among those who think, are afraid of the sword? It is not we, the free people of France, it is not you the free people of England! Conscience right lifts the head high. Force and the sword are nothingness. The sword is only a hideous gleam in the darkness, a tragic and swiftly passing phantom.

Right is the eternal light. Right is the permanence of truth in the soul. Right is God living in man.

And thence it comes that where there is right, there also is the certainty of triumph. One man who has right on his side, is legion. A single sword that has right with it, has the power of lightning. Who speaks of right, speaks of victory.

Obstacles there are none—no, none. There is no veto upon the will of the future. . . . The dying past fights in vain; the sword melts away in smoke. Those beings called Lanza, Landi, Aquila are ghosts.

At this hour [William II.] thinks perhaps that he still exists. He is mistaken. I declare this to him—that he is a shadow. . . . He may think to take refuge in atrocities, but it is all over with him. He has reigned. . . .

There is only right I tell you. Ah! let those everywhere who suffer be consoled; let those enchained, take courage. . . . Yes, upon the four winds of the horizon comes hope. . . . Chains are made of links. Let one link be broken and the chain falls. To that is due the solidarity of despotisms. . . . But I repeat, it is finished.

O! how beautiful is the force of things! There is something superhuman in deliverance. Liberty is a divine abyss which draws us; the irresistible is in the depths of revolution.

Progress is none other than a phenomenon of gravitation. Who then can prevent it? Once the impulse is given, the indomitable begins.

O! despots. I defy you to stop the stones that fall, to stem the torrent, to stay the avalanche, to arrest the march of Italy, to arrest 89, to arrest the world precipitated by God into the light.

Mme. SARAH BERNHARDT AND THE KAISER.

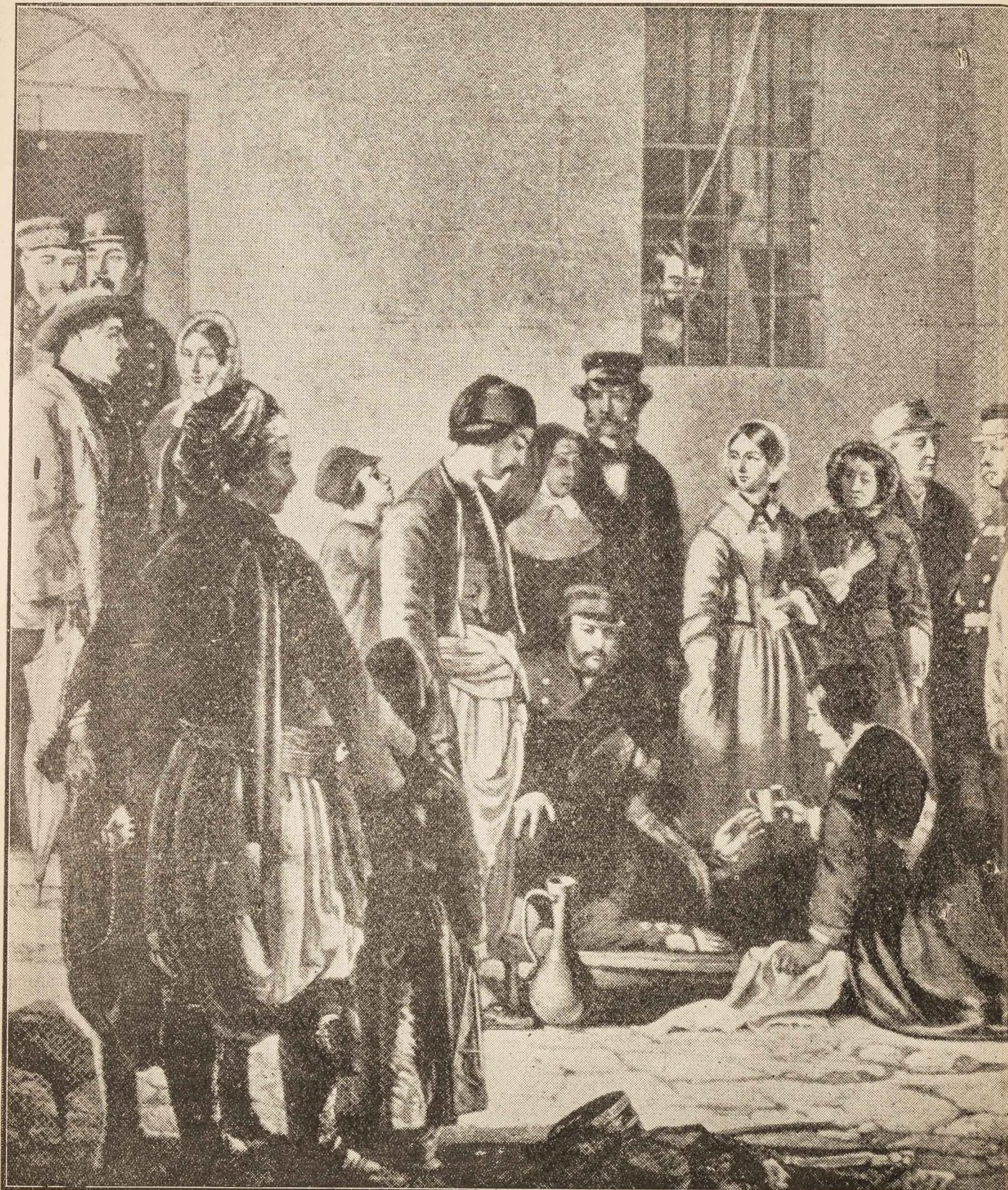
Mme. Sarah Bernhardt has just disclosed the reason why she has always refused to perform in Berlin.

The famous actress, in a talk with a correspondent of "Kinematograph Weekly," expressed her horror at the *Lusitania* outrage, and added:

"I am not at all surprised at their doings. I saw the Germans operating in 1870-71, and shall never forget their atrocities. I never would go to Germany. Once I consented to play at Vienna. I was offered fabulous prices to go to Berlin, but I always refused.

"I will tell you what happened some years ago. I was approached by a German diplomat, a persona grata in Paris, who asked me why I did not go to Berlin. He assured me that I would have a most cordial and enthusiastic reception. He also told me that the Kaiser would consider it a special favour to greet me at the Berlin Court Theatre. That is the very reason I refuse to go there. I answered, and the diplomat never approached me again."

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE AT SCUTARI, 1854.



Florence Nightingale receiving the Sick and Wounded at the Barracks Hospital in Scutari after the Battle of Inkermann in 1854. From a picture belonging to the Scottish Branch of the British Red Cross Society.



The Bosphorus and Stamboul are seen in the distance. The figure of Florence Nightingale is that immediately beneath the window.

ANOTHER WRONG-HEADED "DEMOCRAT!"

By CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

Those who remember the affair of the Manhood Suffrage Bill realise that Mr H. N. Brailsford has a talent for taking the wrong political turning and for taking it at the expense of the cause which is or might be supposed to be his own.

This fatal talent, he in common with the other leaders of the Union of "Democratic" Control, is now displaying, at the expense of his country and the cause of civilisation.

Mr Brailsford and his associates seem to resent the charge made against them that they are pro-German. Then why do they establish that charge by the words they themselves speak and write in their discussion of the war?

Mr Brailsford while admitting that here and there on this, that and the other point Germany acted wrongly or unwisely, devotes himself in the main to apologising for Germany and attacking the Allies.

Consider to begin with, what he has to say concerning Germany's breach of Belgian neutrality! He has repeated the German libel, concerning written records of "secret" conversations between British military representatives and the Belgian Staff "found" by the Germans when they captured Antwerp and he refrains from stating that the contents of these documents had from the first been *faithfully and honourably reported by the King of the Belgians to the German Emperor* and so were not unknown to Germany as Mr Brailsford and his German friends have pretended. But suppose they had been unknown to Germany, would not the conversations still have been entirely justified, considering that as we now know and as Mr Brailsford says he knew long before the war, Germany was determined to violate Belgian neutrality.

Germany intended to annex Belgium.

Mr Brailsford apparently thinks that Belgium would have been well advised not to resist German invasion of her territory, for he says:—

"We should not have thought them cowardly or undignified if they had bowed with a protest, to overwhelming force and passively watched a wrong which they could not prevent."

He forgets, as a perusal of Cardinal Mercier's letter would have reminded him, not only that Belgium was pledged by treaty to resist the invasion of her territory whether by Germany or by any other power, but that a still higher consideration prompted her resistance—namely that if the German armies were permitted to march unresisted through Belgian territory, she would thereby have been the accomplice of Germany in the hostile attack made upon France and ultimately to be made upon this country.

Moreover, Belgium's freedom and independence would have been still more gravely compromised had she made only a passive resistance to invasion partly because the Allies, who are her only hope of salvation, would have been weakened and partly because her position would not have been morally so strong as it is. For although the German invasion was by a false pretence stated to be a temporary expedient only, Germany had from the beginning intended to annex Belgium to the German Empire whether she resisted invasion, or whether she did not. Is Mr Brailsford still so blind as not to realise that?

While he protests that Germany ought not to have invaded Belgium, his references to the treaty guaranteeing Belgian neutrality, are certainly peculiar and almost recall to mind the German Chancellor's contemptuous expression "a scrap of paper."

Here are some quotations:—

"The German's object was not to conquer or annex Belgium." . . . "They only wanted to walk over the Belgian roads and they were prepared to pay well for any inconvenience they might cause on the way, as fox hunters do when they ride over a farmer's fields." . . . "Were we so strictly bound by treaty that we were compelled by respect for our own plighted word, to take this action?" [of declaring war upon Germany]. . . .

"This treaty is in short a historical curiosity." . . . "Here was an almost obsolete and forgotten treaty."

Mr Brailsford Quite Wrong.

Mr Brailsford argues that the Government ought long ago to have said publicly that they took the Belgian treaty seriously and argues further that, "it was a sort of ambush" laid against Germany. He alleges that the omission to make at some past time which he does not specify, a public statement that we should fight for Belgium if she were invaded, was "not straight dealing with Germany," as:—

"We knew that her strategists were preparing for a possible march through Belgium. . . . They were doing this apparently without the faintest suspicion that to attack Belgium, was to attack us. . . . A [British] peace Minister would have acted otherwise; he would have cleared up the doubt about that meaningless treaty of 1839."

Mr Brailsford is, of course, quite wrong in speaking of the treaty as "obsolete" or "meaningless" or "forgotten," for as Sir Edward Cook reminded us not long ago, even Germany itself has repeatedly during the last few years definitely acknowledged the treaty's existence and binding force. In 1907, when the North Sea agreement was being discussed, which agreement was to guarantee the *status quo* with regard to territory bordering on the North Sea, Germany claimed that Belgium should not be a party to this agreement because the *status quo*, so far as Belgium was concerned, was guaranteed by the separate and earlier treaty, guaranteeing her neutrality.

At the time of the Morocco crisis in 1911, when as it seemed, a European War might possibly occur, the Belgian Foreign Minister asked the Chancellor of the German Empire for an assurance, which was given, that Germany had no intention of violating Belgium's neutrality.

Two years afterwards in 1913, the German Foreign Secretary said, that the neutrality of Belgium had been guaranteed by International Convention, which Germany was *determined to respect*. This very same assurance was made to Belgium on the 31st of last July, *immediately before the treaty was violated by the German armies' invasion of Belgian soil*; which invasion the German Chancellor admitted was a wrong and a violation of International Law.

In spite of the obvious purpose of Germany to destroy British power, in spite of the German avowal that Great Britain is the chief, the real

enemy, Mr Brailsford is emphatic in saying, that for the Germans this is primarily a Russo-German war.

It is a good thing for our country, for Europe, for civilisation, that Sir Edward Grey and the British Government as a whole were not at the critical moment so easily deceived as Mr Brailsford. For he has swallowed whole the German story made especially for the purpose of deluding and keeping Great Britain neutral (Great Britain, who is the ultimate and chief object of German attack!) until her Allies who are fighting for her and with her had first been crushed in battle. If the German plot had succeeded then the final reckoning with ourselves, long ago foretold by Treitschke, could after the defeat of our Allies, have been accomplished with ease, the Germans think.

Mr Brailsford himself gives the case away by saying that the Germans wished to avoid "a universal war." Of course they did. It might have been possible to defeat the Allies one at a time, whereas it is impossible to defeat them all at once.

German contempt for Russia.

Mr Brailsford speaks of Germany's "fear of Russia" as a cause of the war. War with Russia was desired by the Germans, partly because they wished to force the renewal of commercial treaties which are disadvantageous to Russia and advantageous to themselves. Does Mr Brailsford not know this?

The Germans, far from being afraid of Russia, had a contempt for her as a military force—a contempt which only the stern events of the last few months have done anything to shake. Even now they think they could have defeated Russia and France together, had not the British Army and Navy come to the rescue.

The war is represented by Mr Brailsford as a struggle solely for "the Empire of the East." It is still more a struggle on the part of Germany for the Empire of the West—for the Empire of the world!

But suppose for a moment and for the sake of argument, we view the war as Mr Brailsford does, as a conflict between the Germans and the Slavs for the mastery of the Balkans. For the Germans and their culture Mr Brailsford has a preference, which even this war seems to have left untouched. In entertaining this preference he follows Bismarck, who characterised the Slavs as a feminine people, while the Germans he regarded as a masculine people. Hardly a compliment this to the male sex all over the world, in view of recent manifestations of the German spirit!

"The Balkans for the Balkan Peoples."

Now if it were really a question as to whether Germany or Russia should be dominant in the Balkans, the reasons why third parties should wish to see Germany predominant are certainly not obvious. But why should not Mr Brailsford remember that the true principle is "the Balkans for the Balkan peoples"! Serbia, for example, will if her and our hopes are realised, be an important nation, when at the end of this war all the people of her race are united under one flag.

Continued on page 108.

From Miss ANNIE KENNEY.

To the Readers of "The Suffragette."

I should like to add my word to the appeal recently made by Mrs Pankhurst on behalf of *The Suffragette*.

Most readers of *The Suffragette* will admit that the policy of the paper is one of loyalty to our brave soldiers who have fought and thousands of them died, on the field of battle to protect us from the fate that has befallen gallant Belgium, of loyalty also to the women who have given husbands and sons for the sake of the country and the principles for which the country stands.

A spirit of no compromise, a spirit unconquerable where liberty is at stake rings out its note on every page of *The Suffragette*. The lesson it teaches is that to show one's loyalty to a cause or to a country, one must labour and serve.

Talk is injurious unless it is for the object of stimulating the imagination and of rousing that enthusiasm which is expressed in active service. Talk that leads to pessimism and inaction is reactionary and leads to degeneracy of thought and emotion.

The Suffragette makes the public realise that they must not dwell on the failures of the past, but must work in the present and strive for a better future.

We, as a nation, have many faults and failings; we have also good qualities and virtues. One is proud to belong to a country whose high prestige and great tradition have spread all over the world.

We hear that Bohemia looks to us as the defender of small nations. We hear that Serbia and the other Kingdoms of the Balkans look to us as a people who value freedom, not only for ourselves but for others. We hear that Belgium never doubted our word and trusted us to go to her aid if she were attacked. We are regarded as lovers of and fighters for freedom, ready to help in the fight for liberty.

I think *The Suffragette* is showing that the faith and trust that small nations put in us as British people is a high honour and must be justified. *The Suffragette* is striving to make us all worthy of this faith and trust, and teaching us how best to respond to the appeal that other nations are making to us to help them so that they as well as we may be free from the iron law of Prussia.

I sincerely believe that *The Suffragette* is in certain directions doing more than any other paper or review at the present time to awaken and cultivate a good feeling that will be lasting between all the nations who love the right.

It is also creating an intelligent interest in the small nations who are fighting to keep their freedom.

Articles from writers belonging to other countries, broaden our outlook and make us realise more than ever before that it is indeed a worthy struggle that is being waged at the present time.

The paper is fearless in exposing not only the intrigues of German agents, but also the intrigues of those in our midst, who posing as reformers are trying to sow dissent and dissatisfaction where unity is needed, to breed distrust where trust is necessary, to spread pessimism where

optimism is essential for victory, who try to dishearten those who are so nobly and magnificently protecting and defending us and our country, from the dangers and the most inhuman atrocities that have ravaged Belgium and the Belgian people.

In the columns of the paper one finds where national issues are at stake, a fine sensitive touch which is yet free from the slightest tinge of sentimentality. This is a rare quality.

Before the war broke out, our country like other countries was suffering from the idle talk of philosophic doubters and sentimental cynics, products that should be labelled either "*Made in Germany*" or "*Influenced by Germany*." These doubters and cynics who have no faith in humanity are a hindrance to true progress and reform.

The Suffragette inspires courage, confidence and strength, and is sure that victory will be the outcome of the war.

Like Mazzini it teaches that there are such things as duties to one's country as well as rights. It teaches that destructive criticism is evil.

It is making us realise that should Hohenzollern tyranny prevail, social, industrial and educational and political liberty and the prospect of still greater liberty will recede and be only as a tale that is told of what used to be.

The Suffragette is making us realise that the defeat of the Allies would mean defeat for all we hold dear and that the fight that has been fought by our forebears—the long battle for civil and political liberty—would have to be begun all over again.

Let every one, man and woman, forget for the time being our own internal family difficulties and let us unite as British people and fight to the death to protect our country from the foreign invader.

Let us follow the noble example set by those who are responsible for the policy of our Union and forget our own troubles and become absorbed in the great world-wide war and the life-and-death struggle that has in its awful grip so many of our men and so many women as well as men in the countries of our Allies!

Help to spread the paper and in this way you will be encouraging and cultivating right ideas and help to unite all the people in defence of the Mother country and in defence of the common cause.

To the people who believe that this war is a war waged against the satanic, ambitious, materialistic powers of Germany and Austria, I say: Support the paper by reading it yourselves and seeing that your friends read it each week and support it by subscribing to the fund for maintaining it and increasing its circulation and influence.

ANNIE KENNEY.

Another Wrong-headed "Democrat!"

Continued from page 106.

But Mr Brailsford would seem to have a positive racial hatred of the Serbs. He speaks of Serbia as "a half-civilised Kingdom with backward culture and oriental morals." This is wilfully to ignore that Serbia is one of the most democratic countries in Europe (he professes to be a Democrat) and that great hopes of the future of the Serbs are entertained by all unprejudiced people who know them. *It is wickedly to ignore the fact that Serbia was for four hundred years under the domination of the Turks* and that her people by a miracle of constancy and heroism not only resisted the process of orientalising by their oriental rulers, but at the end of four centuries of subjection, inspired by the example of the French Revolution, rose up and reconquered their national freedom.

This freedom they now desire to make finally secure and to share with their kindred beyond the present borders of their State.

How much civilisation Mr Brailsford and the U.D.C. would retain had they and their forebears been ruled by the Turks for four centuries, we do not know, but as they have proved themselves so susceptible to a certain other foreign influence, it is fairly safe to suppose that they would have succumbed irrevocably to orientalism and have become more Turkish than the Turks

The Rights of the Slavic Peoples.

In referring to the causes of the war, Mr Brailsford shows himself to be positively shocked by the proposal that Slav subjects of the Austrian Empire shall be detached from that Empire and form part of a separate and independent State. Why a Democrat should feel this tenderness and solicitude for the Empire of the Hapsburgs—that ramshackle affair tied together with worn-out dynastic string—who can tell? He is apparently an advocate of "Trialism," according to which Austria, Hungary and a third group made up of Slavs would be united under the Hapsburg Dynasty, (or perhaps before long under the Hohenzollern Dynasty!)

But on the same principle one could argue that the Italians, instead of forming a separate Kingdom, ought to form a part of this same patchwork Empire. The Slavic peoples have a right as good as the indefeasible right of the Italians to a free and independent national existence.

We know that Mr Brailsford thinks—he says so—that "unqualified nationalism," as he expresses it, is an "anarchic principle." He seems willing to see certain peoples kept or brought under the detested rule of the Hapsburgs, or even worse, the iron tyranny still more detested, of the Hohenzollerns.

Now one lesson of the present war has surely been this: that when the stronger Powers fall out, small independent nations can compel a respect for themselves, because their smaller force may yet be great enough to decide the issue of victory or defeat for their big neighbours. If Germany had realised the moral and material might of small nations, the fate of Belgium would perhaps have been different. The lesson now stands on record for future warning.

Also, this war teaches that whereas the people of a small independent nation are in times of European conflict wholly, or to a large extent master of their fate, those peoples who are under alien rule are in war time, overwhelmed by the misfortune of being compelled to take up arms and fight for a cause which is none of theirs, against those to whom they are united, it may be, by ties of blood and of common sympathy and ideals.

THOUGHTS FROM ITALY.

GARIBALDI TO ENGLAND.

AN ITALIAN WOMAN'S LETTER.

During the crisis preceding Italy's entrance into the war on the side of the Allies and against Austria and Germany, and while Germany was desperately intriguing with a certain political element to prevent Italy from going to war, an Italian woman living in Venice wrote as follows to a friend in another country:—

"It is long since I wrote to you, for I have had no courage to write; the horrible things that they tried to plot in the dark against my dear and magnificent country made me despair. 'You know, do you not, how I hate war? Yet for months I have wished for war as a necessary and predestined solution. Honour, that clear and beautiful Latin word, seems to me to have a real countenance.

"I am exasperated by the Brigands who would rob us of this shining treasure. And on the other hand, I have been charmed and consoled to see how healthy and of what pure metal is the soul of our people, how it resounds, how its sensibility rebels against the shame that they have tried to make us drink.

"What will happen? It is two o'clock, perhaps at three o'clock we shall have civil war. If so, I shall be in it.

Be sure of this: we will not let ourselves be degraded by the act of one man, by an act of brigandage; we will not be held back. We revolt against it.

All the thinking people in the country are seething with indignation and are in revolution, determined to use any violence rather than be kept out of the war.

"There is not a single person for whom I have any respect who does not share this feeling.

"And yet it is horrible to wish war. For myself above all, as a woman, as a Socialist, as a Venetian—Venice! my divine Venice! We know that two Zeppelins are held in readiness at Pola to bombard Venice. There is not another Saint Mark in the world."

FROM THE ITALIAN PRESS— TYPICAL EXTRACTS.

We have freed ourselves from the heavy tutelage of Germany; from the repugnant society of the Austrians. Let us become ourselves! Upon this point also the healthy and upright diplomacy of the people has conquered.

We shall fight at the side of the French, the Belgians, the Serbs, the English, the Russians. By our intervention, we shall close the circle of iron and fire, drawn around the Empires responsible for the European conflagration. We shall shorten the duration of the war. WE SHALL CONQUER.

We shall conquer because the people wish us to conquer in this war which is the people's war. The enthusiasm of these last days is a happy augury and a guarantee of victory.

Italy regains to-day her confident and vigilant calm. She is ready for the great event of to-morrow. We have reconquered our internal freedom, we shall very soon conquer freedom on our frontiers. We have dispersed the enemies within the State and now we shall put to flight those of the exterior.

Italian bayonets, to your steel is confided the destiny of Italy and that of the peoples of Europe.

The *Secolo* says: To the call of history Italy bravely responds. She understands all the greatness of the sacrifice, but for the sake of her liberty and for the liberty of others she does not refuse to accomplish it.

WOMEN'S MILITANT PROTEST.

At Trieste, which is to be freed from the Austrian yoke as the result of the war, there has been a great protest demonstration of women, which took place after the men from 18 to 50 years of age had been called away to serve in the Austrian army and to fight against the Italian armies and the cause of Italy whose triumph they desire.

The women went in a great crowd to the Governor's Palace, the windows of which they broke, crying: "Death to the Emperor Francis Joseph!"

The police charged the women with the bayonet and it was reported afterwards that forty-seven women were killed and more than three hundred wounded.

THE HYMN OF THE GREAT ITALY.

The Italian composer, Mario Costa lately wrote to the poet D'Annunzio, the following letter:—

"We are sure that our King will triumph over everything and that long before the end of the month he will put himself at the head of his great army for civilisation, for humanity, for Italy. I am too old, they will not have me; but I have three brothers under the colours—two Colonels and a captain, three brave fellows who await with impatience the order to march.

I want to compose the hymn of the Great Italy. Send me I pray you, some simple and great words like your discourse at Rome, a masterpiece and I promise to write simple music which will be sung by all Italy. It will be my Swan Song."

"THE DESPOTS OF EUROPE ARE AGAINST YOU."

The following letter from Garibaldi to the English reformer and Member of Parliament Joseph Cowen is of especial interest at the present day when as Garibaldi foresaw might be the case England and Italy are allies fighting side by side in a common cause.

Ship "Commonwealth,"
Tynemouth,
April 18th, 1854.

DEAR MR COWEN,

The generous manifestation of sympathy with which I have been honoured by you and your fellow-citizens is of itself more than sufficient to recompense a life of the greatest merit.

Born and educated as I have been in the cause of humanity my heart is entirely devoted to liberty, universal liberty—national and worldwide *ora sempre* (now and for ever).

England is a great and powerful nation, independent of auxiliary aid, foremost in human progress, enemy of despotism, the only safe refuge of the exile, friend of the oppressed; but if ever England, your native country, should be so circumstanced as to require the help of an ally, cursed be that Italian who would not step forward with me in her defence.

Your Government has given the autocrat a check and the Austrians a lesson. The despots of Europe are against you in consequence. Should England at any time in a just cause need my arm, I am ready to unsheathe in her defence the noble and splendid sword received at your hands.

Be the interpreter of my gratitude to your good and generous countrymen. I regret, deeply regret, to leave without again grasping hands with you.

Farewell, my dear friend, but not adieu. Make room for me in your heart.—Yours always and everywhere
G. GARIBALDI.

THE FRANCO-BRITISH PEOPLE.*

An Account of the relationship, the common history, the reciprocal indebtedness, the spiritual affinity and the joint mission of the British and French peoples.

By JEAN FINOT.

WHAT ENGLAND OWES TO FRANCE

—Continued.

ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE UNDER FRENCH INFLUENCE.

French language and thought thus took root in England. French became the language *par excellence*, not only of the Government and the governors, but also of all those who by any reason whatsoever, were raised above the masses of the people. These last in their turn, wishing to resemble those above them, began to speak French.

The Anglo-Saxon language gave way before the new order of things and disappeared. How was it to hold its own, since not only did people avoid speaking it, but they were almost ashamed of writing it.

Side by side with the new English stock of French origin, who spoke French only, the Anglo-Saxon writers themselves took to writing in French and so, until the end of the 14th century, we find hardly a trace of Anglo-Saxon literature.

The laws themselves were written and promulgated in French until the reign of Henry VIII. Not content with absorbing French culture, which filtered through all the pores of public and intellectual life across the Channel, the Anglo-Saxons went to the University of Paris to complete their studies. Even in the 14th century they were more numerous there than the students of other countries.

What above all facilitated the triumph of the French language is the fact, to-day incontestable, of its penetration into England some time before the Conquest.

Edward the Confessor and the French Language.

According to the chronicles of Ingulphus (11th century), the French language was already predominant at the court of Edward the Confessor, who after having spent many years in Normandy, brought back the taste for and the usage of French. His passion for France had taken him even further. He sent for a number of Normans, who came to England and upon whom he conferred the highest dignities. The French language then became fashionable and all the nobles Ingulphus tells us, used it in order to distinguish themselves from the rest of the people.

The fostering plant of France thus drove its roots deeper and deeper into the English soil, whose composition it changed, whose fertility it brought to the highest point. Thenceforward everything that grew there was to contain a bit of France. All the manifestations of life were to be impregnated by it—its political constitution as its poetry, its romances as its philosophy, its science as well as its art. But its immersion in French culture did not mean the destruction of the culture belonging to the country. As a protective layer thickly covering it, French culture permitted the other culture to grow imperceptibly under its shelter. When, grown and ripened, this last native culture finally lived by its own strength, then far from eliminating its ancient benefactor, it kept it in its house and tried to appropriate for ever the treasure of its instruction and its ideas.

Thus as Anglo-Saxon language and literature evolved, they borrowed more and more the principles of French prosody, the words of the

* The second of a series of articles, of which the first appeared in our issue of 14th May.

French vocabulary and the polished and refined ideas of culture of the French. These renewed and embellished the rude language of the Anglo-Saxons, making it richer and richer and more and more harmonious.

Anglo-Saxon literature of the fourteenth century comprises almost nothing apart from translations of romances of French chivalry. Even in the fifteenth century many poets wrote the first half of their verse in English and the second in French.

The native writers ennobled their sentiment by contact with the Gallic's masterpieces and learnt to fly like young birds under the benevolent eyes of their elders. And into these translations, French words enter sometimes in their primitive grace, impossible to translate into the native language and sometimes Anglicised, but retaining all the same the delightful perfume of their origin.

The Glory of the Gallic Tongue.

The number of these words is so considerable that the celebrated etymological dictionary of Skeat shows that in the English language there are twice as many words of French (and Latin) origin, as there are of Germanic origin.

Hume, in his history of England, also states that the greater part of the English language, its most beautiful elements come from the French. In other words, the English language grafted upon the French language, spreads involuntarily through the world, the glory of the Gallic tongue.

The necessity of coming to terms with the French language compelled the Anglo-Saxon language to simplify itself. Thanks to that simplification it became the easiest and most accessible language in the world. On the other hand the habit of borrowing early contracted upon a large scale, gave to the new language a rare elasticity and a prodigious faculty of enrichment.

Its grammar as well as its syntax were reduced to their most simple form. Says Jusserand: "By reason of this reciprocal influence, they renounced arbitrary gender, all that was male was masculine, all that was female was feminine, everything else was neuter. The declension of adjectives, weak or strong disappeared and auxiliaries introduced into the conjugation of verbs made them less clumsy and more clear."

When one considers prosody, one sees with what discernment those first English writers worked who, as did Chaucer, contributed so greatly to its emancipation. One might say that they had their eyes always fixed upon the qualities of French prose and verse. Anglo-Saxon verse had the same number of accentuated syllables; French verse, the same number of unaccented and analogous sounds in rhyme.

The new English prosody, being able to draw upon the two sources from which poetry flowed, borrowed the characteristic properties of both and thus it placed at the disposition of future poets, French rhyme and Anglo-Saxon accentuation.

Under the influence of the French language and by the absorption of its richness, the language of Shakespeare and of Byron gained not only a rigorous precision, but also as a consequence of the imposing richness of its vocabulary, an incomparable beauty of expression.

While its prosody became more and more subtle, its vocabulary in growing showed itself to be the richest and at the same time the most manageable.

English poets and writers had thus contracted from the origin of their language and their literature, a permanent debt, a debt all the more unforgettable that it is incessantly recalled to their memory by every phrase they write, every word they hear and every page bequeathed to them by their great writers.

THE INTER-PENETRATION OF THE TWO SOULS.

But the influence of the French who came over with William the Conqueror, is not limited to this. So complete an inter-penetration of the soul of the two peoples inevitably left its impress. National peculiarities were smoothed away, thought became more similar. English and French, apart from the influence of the surroundings and historic events which were to shape them from without, tended instinctively towards a union of perfect harmony.

From the facts cited above, it is seen that the first and most important Anglo-French *rapprochement*, even though inaugurated in the brutal form of a conquest, had the most happy consequences for the future of England. To this England owed her national consciousness, her language her prosody and even the fundamental bases of her future civilisation.

England owes to this *rapprochement* with France, apart from more manifest advantages, a debt of gratitude not so easy to discern and yet not less important. We may notice as an example, the indirect influence that the army of the conquerors exerted upon the civic independence of the English people and as a consequence upon the constitution and liberty of English citizens.

To be continued.

"The War of Deliverance."

A Letter from Anatole France.

The *Clarion* publishes the following:—
Anatole France was born in Paris in 1844. He is a member of the French Academy and a Officer of the Legion of Honour. He is also the author of "Le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard," "La Rotisserie de la Reine Pédauque," "L'Île des Penglois," "Le Procureur de Judée," "Les Dieux ont Soif," etc. He is an exquisite poet, the most delicate of critics, the greatest living authority on philological and religious erudition, and the most delicious master of irony since Voltaire. He is, of course, a Socialist and anti-Militarist.

LA BECHELERIE,
ST-CYR-SUR-LOIRE,
INDRE-&-LOIRE.

DEAR COLLEAGUE.—I have said it very emphatically from the beginning of the war, and I can only repeat it: the Allies owe it to the whole of Europe, and they owe it to themselves, to prosecute this war of deliverance to the complete strangling of the Pan-German aspirations which have disturbed Europe for forty years. At the price of the most cruel sacrifices they must destroy the military power of Germany and of German-Austria to its very roots. The disarmament of the Germanics concerns the peace of the world, which is so dear to our hearts. We must bequeath to our children a Europe delivered from the Teuton menace. No peace, no truce, until the enemy of the human race is overthrown!

I shake hands cordially and as a good ally.
ANATOLE FRANCE.

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.

And with what quotable matter Mr Shaw provides the German rulers for the further deluding of their subjects when he writes of the German people being "stirred to their depths by the apparent treachery and duplicity of the attack made upon them in their extremest peril from France and Russia," when he writes of the Kaiser doing "all a Kaiser could do without unbearable ignominy to induce the British not to fight him and give him fair play with Russia," and when he writes of "taking the Kaiser at a disadvantage." As though we ought meekly to have agreed to the Kaiser's plan of defeating France and using her defeat as a bridge to England and a means of conquering England! Uncommon nonsense about the war—so we must rename Mr Shaw's production!

And what is all this that flows from the pen of Mr Shaw about Belgium and "obsolete treaties," "rights of way," "necessities that know no international law," "circumstances that alter treaties"? Made in Germany such statements are and yet even the Imperial German Chancellor is not so contemptuous as Bernard Shaw is of Belgium's charter of existence, the treaty now violated by Germany.

That is a treaty that cannot become obsolete until the powers who made it release Belgium from the restrictions and obligations which the treaty imposes. Germany pleads guilty in this matter of the violation of Belgian neutrality, though Mr Shaw attempts to show her innocent, for the German Chancellor has said: "This is an infraction of international law—we are compelled to overrule the legitimate protests of the Luxembourg and Belgian Governments. We shall repair the wrong we are doing as soon as our military aims have been achieved." And again the Chancellor said the invasion of Belgium "is contrary to the law of nations." To Mr Bernard Shaw's peculiar sense of international morality such dealing is not, however, repugnant.

No "Right of Way" in Belgium.

In his letter to President Wilson Mr Shaw, either wilfully or ignorantly, seeks to confuse the neutrality of a neutralised State such as Belgium and the neutrality of an ordinary State such as Italy, and he pretends that violation of the first sort of neutrality creates a situation in no way different from that created by the violation of the second and normal sort of neutrality. I would refer Mr Shaw to "The Case for Belgium" issued by the Belgian delegates to the United States, wherein they point out that "the peculiarity about Belgian neutrality is that it has been imposed upon her by the Powers as the one condition upon which they recognised her national existence."

The consequence of this is that whereas Italy and the United States and other powers having a similar status can, subject to the risk of attack from an affronted belligerent, please themselves whether or not they condone a violation of their neutrality, Belgium and the other neutralised States cannot condone such violation, but must either resist all breaches of their neutrality or surrender their right to existence. And further, a neutralised State, putting faith in the treaty that guarantees its existence and its neutrality, refrains naturally from that preparation for war which would be deemed necessary in the absence of such a treaty.

There is no such thing as the "right of way" through neutralised Belgium which Mr Shaw claims on behalf of belligerent Germany. Far from exercising a right of way, Germany has violently committed a trespass, offering a German promise, a mere "scrap of paper," as reparation. "A right of way," argues Bernard

Shaw, "is not a right of conquest"; but the truth is that in passing through Belgium Germany assumed dominion over Belgium, which dominion she has since formally asserted, and is seeking forcibly to maintain.

A New Shavian Theory.

No comprehension does Mr Shaw display of the hurt to the Belgians' sense of honour involved in Germany's use of their territory for purposes hostile to their friendly neighbour, France. To be forced into injuring a friend is an outrage, indeed, and Mr Shaw surely knows too much of matters military to be unaware that to permit a right of way to one combatant amounts to making an attack upon the other, and that Germany, by the very fact of crossing Belgian soil, was forcing Belgium to be the enemy of France. Only by their great heroism were the Belgians able to escape this infamy that had been planned for them.

To be conquered does not really matter! There we have another Shavian theory. How grateful would the would-be world-ruling Kaiser feel to Mr Shaw were he to succeed in inoculating the peoples of Europe and of America with that theory! So would the task of putting the peoples under the German yoke (otherwise known as German culture) be made easier—and cheaper. But the spirit of national freedom, which is as precious to humanity as is the spirit of individual freedom, cannot be driven out by words any more than it can be driven out by blows. The most unlettered Belgian soldier, fighting for a truth that is at the very heart and depth of all things true, puts the mere wordmonger to shame. That Great Britain does not fight only for Belgium is certainly a fact, though Belgium's plight alone would have been enough to bring us into the conflict. We fight also for France, because she is wrongfully attacked, and because she is by her civilisation and culture one of the world's treasures. We fight for the all-sufficient reason of self-defence.

The Case for Britain.

There is the case for Britain and despite his special pleading for Germany, Mr Shaw can show no flaw in it. He does say, however, that the British Government, instead of first seeking a mild way of preserving peace, ought to have said point blank to Germany: "If you attack France we shall attack you." I also think that such a declaration would have been a right one. To me and to many others the thought that our country might stand by and watch inactively an attack upon France was intolerable. Great was our relief when this apprehension was removed by the British Government's declaration of war. Why did not the British Government say to Germany before the war cloud burst that Britain would fight to defend France, and why did the Government delay so long in declaring war? Mr Shaw does not give the reason, but I will give it.

It was that the Government feared the opposition to our entering into the war would come from a Radico-Socialist literary clique in London, from a section of the Liberal press, and from certain Liberal and Labour politicians who had been deceived by German professors and other missionaries of the Kaiser into thinking the German peril did not exist. When Belgium was invaded most of these misguided ones were unable to cling any longer to their "keep out of it" policy and then the Government felt free to act. Yet the Government need not have waited, because with the facts before them the people as a whole would perfectly have understood the necessity of fighting even had Belgium not been invaded.

Henceforward the general public must be kept informed of what is happening in the international world. Foreign politics must be conducted with greater publicity. There, at least, Bernard Shaw is right, but this is a reform which he and his fellow-men have failed to effect, whereas women, had they been voters, would have demanded and secured it long ago.

Now, although undue diplomatic secrecy, always wrong, will be especially wrong when the terms of peace come to be made, sentimentality will certainly be more mischievous still. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that Bernard Shaw's writings on the war are intended as an appeal to sentimentality—an appeal that Germany at the close of the war shall have treatment which, by being more than just to her, would be less than just to the countries whom she has attacked and would mean a recurrence of this appalling war in after years.

Before the war specious words were used to cloak the German policy of aggression which has plunged the world in horror and is martyring peoples. In view of the coming victory of the Allies, the same tactics will be adopted by the German militarists, and it behoves Bernard Shaw to beware lest even without intent he serve as their tool. Men such as he who believe that while they can never be in the wrong, their country can never be in the right, are just the men who are in danger of stumbling at this time.

The first part of this article appeared in our last issue.



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"WAKE UP!"

Mrs Pankhurst at Hull.

STIRRING INDICTMENT OF GERMANS.

Mrs Pankhurst made a number of recruiting speeches in Hull last week. On each occasion there were crowded and enthusiastic audiences and the following account of Mrs Pankhurst's speech at the Picture Playhouse, Hull, appeared in the *Eastern Morning News*:—

Mrs Pankhurst spoke at the Picture Playhouse at Hull on May 20th, where the great film, "Wake Up!" is being shown. There was a crowded audience.

Mrs Pankhurst, referring to the film, said some of the pictures filled them with feelings of pride at the doings of our brave soldiers, and others with feelings of horror.

We knew to-day that there was a country in Europe which was trying to impose its ideas of civilisation on the world and whose soldiers did deeds before which those depicted on the film paled into insignificance.

The Vileness of the Germans.

Those deeds were done not merely by a few men brutalised by drink and who were punished afterwards; but they were organised and were done by officers carrying out instructions. She hoped every man in the audience who had not made up his mind about the war would read the report of the Commission of which Lord Bryce was chairman and come to a speedy decision.

A cheap edition of the report of Lord Bryce's Commission would shortly be published by the Government and every man who read it would want to put everything aside and take part in the war, not only to avenge the wrongs done to innocent people of Belgium, but to protect the women of his own country from having such horrors done to them. There were things in the report which in ordinary times would have been unprintable. It was an insult to compare the brutes who had done these things with human beings. (Applause.)

What were we going to do? It was of no use expressing indignation at meetings. There must be something more than that.

A Demand for Martial Law.

Mrs Pankhurst said she hoped the Government, as they would know it in a few days, representing all political parties (there was no longer party government), would declare martial law and mobilise the whole country, men and women.

Like other women, she was ready and willing to take orders as to what she ought to do. When they knew what was wanted of them they would do it. (Applause.) They must all put all other considerations aside and volunteer as one man and one woman to do whatever the nation demanded of them.

Mrs Pankhurst said she hoped to visit Hull in the near future and address the members of her own sex. She hoped by that time they would know what was needed, so that they would be able to recruit like men for war service at home.

A Hint to Employers.

She hoped that even in the course of the next few days employers of labour would set their men free to serve, if they were of age to serve and that the work at home would be done by women.

A collection was taken, and Mrs Pankhurst explained that the proceeds would be in aid of a home for illegitimate children. The question of war babies had been exaggerated, but there were always illegitimate children to be cared for, and a home was being established by the Women's Social and Political Union.

W.S.P.U. ACTIVITIES.

GREAT PATRIOTIC MEETING.

As already announced, a great Patriotic Meeting will be held at the London Palladium, Argyll Street, W., (very kindly lent by the Management), on Thursday, June 3rd, at 2.30 p.m., when speeches will be delivered by Lady Mackworth (who narrowly escaped from drowning when the *Lusitania* was torpedoed) and Miss Annie Kenney. The chair will be taken by Mrs Pankhurst.

Mlle. Dorziat has kindly promised to recite the "Marseillaise," and 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 112 of this issue and readers are asked to send these with P.O. or cheque to Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, London, W.C.

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'S ENGAGEMENTS.

Mrs Pankhurst has accepted an invitation from the local recruiting authorities in Hull to address a mass meeting of women in the City Hall, Hull, on Friday, May 28th, when the Lord Lieutenant of the county will be in the chair.

Mrs Pankhurst spoke at the Hippodrome, Rotherhithe, S.E., on May 21st, when there was a successful and crowded meeting.

HYDE PARK MEETINGS.

General Flora Drummond addressed a large and interested audience on Sunday afternoon, May 23rd, in Hyde Park. This meeting is the first of a series which the W.S.P.U. is holding in order to urge a response to Lord Kitchener's appeal for Army recruits and General Drummond will speak each Sunday in Hyde Park (near the Reformer's Tree). On Sunday next the chair will be taken by Miss Phyllis Ayrton.

A WAR MEETING AT BRADFORD.

General Flora Drummond was the chief speaker at a Great War Meeting held in the Kursaal, Bradford, on Thursday, May 25th, under the auspices of the W.S.P.U. The Lord Mayor of Bradford occupied the chair and there was a crowded and appreciative audience.

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT.

The Article by Miss Christabel Pankhurst on "What the Kaiser said" is unavoidably held over until our next issue.

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