

"The Suffragette," July 2, 1915.

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# The Suffragette

Edited by Christabel Pankhurst

Official Organ of the  
Women's Social and Political Union

No. 108—Vol. IV.

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1d.



"I regard this Prussian Eagle with apprehension and while others vaunt his daring glances towards the sun, I look the more attentively at his claws.

I could not trust this Prussia, this tall, pietistic hero in gaiters, this braggart with the capacious maw carrying a corporal's staff, which he first dips in holy water before bringing it down on one's head.

I had great misgivings about this medley of beer, deceit and Brandenburg sand.

Repulsive, deeply repulsive to me, was ever this Prussia, this pedantic, hypocritical, sanctimonious Prussia—this Tartuffe among the nations.

Prussia has made use of its most thunderous demagogues to preach to the world that all Germany ought to be Prussian—Hegel himself has been obliged to demonstrate the advantages of servility."

By Heinrich Heine, written in 1832.

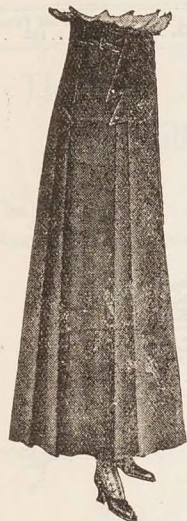


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## Review of the Week.

### Women's Demand to Serve.

WHILE a number of men, employers and workers have caused dangerous delays in the equipment of our soldiers and the supply of munitions, women make one demand—and that is to serve. They need no urging, no explanation, no persuasion to bring them to the point of national service.

When the seven days of experiment are over what is to happen? Even if men come up to the fullest expectations in the matter of enrolling themselves as munition workers, there will still be the question of more recruits for the army, there will still be the question, of turning out more and still more of those munitions of which we can, as the French War Minister has said, never have enough. Because of all this and much more, national service is essential.

The adjourned debate on the Munitions Bill, (we go to press at present too early to comment upon it) may bring forth the announcement of war service for women. Mrs Pankhurst whose speech is fully reported elsewhere, has once more protested that the women as well as all the men of the nation ought to be fully organised for war service and has offered W.S.P.U help in the matter of organising women.

### How to Win or Lose. 15

This war will be lost or won by British women. In other words, the industrial employment of women is the only means of securing men enough for our fighting forces and enough munitions for their use in the field. Read this from the neutral correspondent of the Times who has just returned from Germany:

Forty per cent of the workers engaged in the manufacture of high explosives, of shells and in the packing of cartridges are women. They form 15 per cent. of the "hands" occupied in the making of harness, saddles, bridles and other leather goods used for military purposes; 50 per cent. of the makers of tents, shelters, haversacks and other equipment; 33 per cent of the workers in pharmaceutical industries; 15 per cent. of the surgical instrument makers; and 20 per cent. of the field-glass producers. Seventy-five per cent.

of all the employees in the tinned meat and conserve factories working exclusively on Army contracts are women; a similar number are engaged in textile mills providing the clothing for the soldiers; as are 70 per cent. of the tobacco workers.

### Asking for Defeat!

Mr Lloyd George truly says "that victory or defeat in this war depends upon the supply of the munitions which the rival countries can produce." Yet while 40 per cent. of Germany's high explosives and shells, not to speak of other munitions, are made by women, we, despite all the cry for more labour, are employing only a handful of women comparatively in such work. Is not this simply asking for defeat? The idea that women are incapable of doing the work in question is ludicrous and is disproved by the experience of France and Germany.

### Women fully Equal to the Work!

What did Mr Lloyd George himself say! He said:

"In France a vast amount of work in the way of turning out shells and especially the delicate work of fuse-making is done by female labour."

Mr Lloyd George further said that shell-making is not highly-skilled work and there is nothing in shell-making that a fairly intelligent man cannot learn in a very short time. Then why have not British women been for months past taught and allowed to do the work that French and German women have been. Are British women going to be taught and allowed to do this work now? If not, why not?

### Universal Obligatory Service.

"What is it you want us to do?" That, says Mr Lloyd George, is what he is asked on every hand. It appears that opposition to "compulsion," as it is called, does not come from doers so much as from mere talkers and it does not come from working men so much as from certain of their self-constituted spokesmen, who have never as it happens done any industrial work in their life and have nothing in common with them so far as can be seen. No German could be more "down" on universal obligatory war service for Great Britain than is Mr J. A. Pease, ex-Minister for education, who led the feeble attack on the system in the House of Commons the other day. What special title has he to tell Mr Lloyd George what the working man wants?

### Mr Lloyd George on Universal Service.

No one has stated more clearly than Mr Lloyd George has done the principles underlying national obligatory service. When introducing the Munitions Bill, he said:

I am bound at the outset to say that if we cannot by voluntary means get the labour which is essential to the success of this country in a war upon which its life depends, we must use, as the ultimate resort, the means which every State has at its command to save its life. You have got to save the life of Britain. We talk about the State as if it were something apart from the workman. The workman is the State. He is a living ingredient in it. Do not separate him and say "There is the State." He is the State. And after all it is manhood suffrage such as you have in France and in Italy which has decreed those powers.

### Captain Guest's Declaration of Faith.

One who has seen for himself and therefore knows, in the person of Captain Frederick Guest, a Liberal M.P., made a moving and convincing speech on the Munitions Bill in which he declared for universal national service. Here are

some sentences from his speech, sentences that should be noticed and remembered!

To me it seems that the nation still fails to grasp the meaning, size and significance of the War which is now going on.

How long can the spasmodic and unorganised efforts (made in the past and still in contemplation) stand the strain of war? Are the burdens equally and fairly distributed? . . .

We are bound, our duty to our Allies binds us, to organise our nation to the very limits of our power.

Without home organisation or national service for all we shall not get to the bottom of our problems.

I was opposed as strongly as any man in the party to which I belong to any form of national service before the War, but during the War I have seen sufficient to make me satisfied that there is no other system at present which will stand the test which is being applied to our Army. I think that before this War is over we shall want men in large numbers and munitions in large quantities.

What is the real opposition to national service? As it is democratic in essence, . . . my question is, have the men ever really been asked whether they do not think it would be to the advantage of all parties concerned if this national system of service were introduced.

### A Question for Pacifists.

Captain Guest made this significant answer to the pacifists:

I am told that there is a small anti-war party in the country. I wonder if that small knot or party imagines that if things go against us and we do not win there will still remain a civilised British community in which they can air their views and in which they can carry on their ordinary daily lives.

Let every man realise that there can only be one peace and that is a peace which the Allies dictate to our opponents.

I do not believe that our opponents have any intention of making peace with us. If they win, then in my humble opinion and from the experience I have had and from what I have heard, they mean to destroy the race they fear most.

The Report of the Commission over which Lord Bryce presided is I can assure you, a mild affair compared with the hidden truths which were more difficult to prove and that is the way they treated a comparatively harmless and somewhat helpless people.

Surely it is wise of us to insure against every risk and in spite of our political prejudices of the past to accept the most rigorous proposals for national defence as an insurance if they were nothing else.

If those conditions seem onerous, what would they be compared with the conditions of defeat?

### The Labour Exchanges.

We notice that the Labour Exchanges are not being utilised for the purpose of registering workmen who respond to Mr Lloyd George's appeal. We are very glad of this, for the Labour Exchanges, according to reports that reach us from women who register there, are anything but satisfactory for war service purposes, perhaps because they were established for the everyday purposes of peace. By the way, we have always thought the name Labour Exchange an unfortunate one, because it suggests that only manual workers can use the Exchanges.

The country wants no more soothing syrup. It wants the truth, however cruel it may be. Mr John Hodge, M.P., a trade union leader, has protested against the absence from certain newspapers of facts which would give working men a knowledge of the gravity of the situation and of the sufferings of their comrades in the trenches. If, as Mr Lloyd George says, the Germans know it all, it is essential that the British public shall know as much.



### Beware of the Kaiser's Socialists!

A manifesto signed by three German Socialists, Bernstein, Haase and Kautsky, has appeared in the German press, in the *Leipziger Volkszeitung*. The manifesto expresses a desire for peace and invites Socialists in other countries to work for a peace based on compromise, involving no "conquest" on either side.

Hitherto such manifestos have been for the most part anonymous; but the fact that the present manifesto is signed makes no practical difference, because the Socialist majority repudiate it and even if it were not so, the Socialist party as a whole comes to heel when the Kaiser cracks the whip!

The German Government allowed the holding of peace demonstrations by the German Socialists on the eve of the war. As one of the Belgian Socialist leaders points out, in a statement to be found on page 187 of this issue, these demonstrations had the sole result of "giving birth to hopes of peace amongst the European democracies until the moment of the declaration of war, during which period, preparing its aggression, the German Empire methodically pursued the mobilisation of its formidable army."

### The Kaiser pulling the Strings.

The fact is that the Social Democratic Party of the German Socialist Party as a whole, as well as the more advanced among them, exert no influence whatever upon German policy, but are merely allowed to blow off steam and thereby help the Kaiser to hoodwink the rest of Europe.

As Germany's defeat comes nearer, we shall witness a great increase of German Socialist activity in the cause of "peace" and probably the majority and not merely as at present a small minority of the Socialists will be involved.

But the Kaiser will be pulling the strings, just as he has pulled them ever since the war and before it!

### Let them prove their Sincerity!

We again refer our readers to page 187, where they will find facts admitted by the German Socialists in proof of their treachery.

Liebknicht (who of course has not the least power to influence German policy), when he visited Belgium after the German invasion had taken place, though he expressed himself deeply distressed by what he had seen, yet was "faltering" in his utterance upon the subject. He did not even speak out in condemnation of the atrocities which have revolted the conscience of the whole civilised world, but said that Belgium was entirely under the influence of the priests and it was notorious in Germany that the latter had organised the resistance by forming and arming bands of free shooters!

German Socialists cannot make even a beginning of the task of convincing the world that they have either the power or the desire to ensure a just peace at the conclusion of this war, unless they show the spirit of the French in 1870 and refuse to be ruled by the Kaiser, who is apparently insane and is certainly the most dangerous man who ever sat on any throne—by his character and policy a menace to human liberty greater by far than Napoleon, whom we defeated and sent to exile a hundred years ago.

### They who have Starved the Belgians!

As an excuse for the assassination of the *Lusitania* passengers, the Germans have argued that such assassination is legitimate in view of the fact that the Allies are trying to starve them out. Who, save the Germans, would have the effrontery to use such an argument in view of their treatment of the Belgians whose country has been ravaged and their food supplies taken from them, so that they would have starved to death

but for the help of Americans and other neutrals and of the people of the Allied nations! The Germans have applied these starvation tactics to Belgium, although Belgium by the common consent of the civilised world and by the admission of the German Chancellor, is absolutely guiltless. Even if a free passage through Belgium had been allowed to the German troops with the result that the Allies must in self-defence have fought the Germans on Belgian soil, is it not obvious that the Belgians would, in spite of their passive attitude, have suffered infinitely more than the German people are suffering?

But the real point is that the Germans, if they are reduced to starvation, will have brought this upon themselves by allowing their Kaiser to launch this criminal war upon Europe, by helping him to wage it.

### A German Admission of Guilt.

To illustrate the appalling hypocrisy of the Germans' whine that they are in danger of starvation, we may quote the statement of the German medical newspaper, the *Münchener Medizinische Wochenblatt*, that in starving Belgium there are "women even with four or five children and girls who from pure necessity for half a piece of bread offer themselves to the German soldiers." However false this terrible statement may be (it is presumably a cloak to their practice of violating women), the fact that a German medical journal makes it, constitutes an admission of the Germans' methods of starvation, which entirely precludes them from complaining of anything the Allies may do to put an end to the German peril to Europe.

### Women and the War Loan.

Much of the strength of a nation in war-time is due to the financial support of women. This is specially the case in countries where universal military service is the rule, because when the man of the family is away at the war, it depends chiefly upon the woman at home to decide as to the disposition of the family means.

Considering that in our own country the women of the working-class are generally speaking the chancellors of the family exchequer and that in most cases it is they who make themselves responsible for saving out of the family income, we believe that there is everything to be gained by making a direct appeal to them to subscribe to the War Loan.

### A Fallen People.

The Hungarian newspapers are complaining bitterly of the increase in the price of food-stuffs. The *Magyar Hirnap* says:

We are asked to sacrifice all our blood and our property and yet they cannot give us the daily bread we need. The municipal authorities are doing all they can to assure the harvest of wheat, but the public have no confidence in their efforts, because it is known that the only object of the Government is to feed Austria and Germany with Hungarian harvests.

It is difficult, however, to feel an exaggerated sympathy for the Hungarians, who have aided and abetted Germany and Austria in devastating Belgium and Poland and starving the peoples of those lands. As soon as the Hungarians begin to feel a little of the suffering to which they have condemned others, they begin to raise loud cries of complaint. The conduct of the Hungarians has roused the indignation of the whole civilised world. The Hungarians had once a noble reputation, but now they share the evil reputation of their partners in crime.

### Bribery. Who are the Recipients!

A little while ago Signor Salandra, the Italian Premier, referred with indignation to Prince von Bulow's tactics of bribery pursued on behalf of Germany among Italian politicians and others,

with a view to preventing Italy from joining in the war.

The Germans are behaving in the same scandalous manner in Greece; and the *Paris*, the organ of M. Venezelos, the Greek statesman, and other newspapers, have drawn attention to the conduct of Baron von Schenck, the German agent at Athens who is engaged in the attempt to bribe and corrupt the politicians and the newspapers of Greece.

The same methods of bribery and corruption have been and are pursued by Germany in our own country; and once more we put the question, Who has had this money and who is getting it now?

Sincere and upright people should be wary how they associate with persons responsible for promoting propaganda which is either openly pro-German or disguisedly so. They should remember that just as the Devil quotes Scripture for his own purposes, so the Kaiser through his agents, seeks to delude the rest of the world by mouthing certain principles which it is his fixed policy to defy.

## Mr Lloyd George, please notice!

Writing in the *Figaro* on woman's work, M. Gabriel Hanotaux, member of the French Academy says:

"In the post-offices, in the banks, women are seen leaning over their work and assiduously putting pen to paper. Everywhere the click-clack of the typewriter seizes our attention and the stenographer keeps it company.

"Slowly the work of women is being substituted for the work of men. There is nothing else for it; it is a simple necessity. Workmen are rare and much competed for and the most urgent works are held in suspense.

"And then the lightness of hand and finesse that are necessary qualities in a number of Parisian industries cannot easily be re-learned by the older men, who have for years lost the habit of them.

"Why should we not see women hairdressers, women watchmakers, women house-painters—I need not speak of the infinite number of business undertakings in which women can, when they wish, succeed as well as and better than the men.

"Women are valiant, industrious, attentive; they do not spare themselves any trouble. But we must encourage them and direct them in the new phase of our common existence in which they are called necessarily to take the place of the men who are at the front. If it were a question only of a very short war, as we had thought, we should have accommodated ourselves to the position. But behold the months accumulate and soon a year will have passed. We must therefore provide not only for the present day, but for to-morrow.

"The wives of the men at the front receive for themselves and their children a legitimate allowance. But many of them would like nothing better than to supplement by their work this allowance which hardly exceeds the strictest necessity. And then not all women receive an allowance. They also need to earn their living. In a number of occupations hitherto reserved to women, unemployment is severely felt.

"We must think of it; indeed we are thinking of it already. To organise courses of instruction and apprenticeship, to prepare for the future well-trained work-women and employees, is one of the best ways of assuring the prompt economic and social recovery of France in the days of her military victory.

# AMERICA AND OURSELVES.

By CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

The new American cotton crop is due for shipment in September and the public have a right to know if the Government intend to allow any of this to go to our enemies. Mr Lloyd George stated on Wednesday that Germany and Austria were making 250,000 shells a day. This figure enables us to calculate the amount of cotton used by the enemy. It cannot be less than a 1000 tons a day. It has taken the Government ten months to realise the amount of cotton used by the Germans.—Mr W. S. HOPKINS, Secretary of the British Conference of Chemists and Engineers.

THIS war has many theatres and in reckoning them up we must include not only Flanders, the Dardanelles and so forth, but also the *United States!*

There the Germans are fighting fiercely against us. The question is whether we are putting up a strong enough defence!

One must have been in the United States to know how fiercely the Germans are fighting us. The chief battlefield is Washington but there are subsidiary battlefields everywhere. American as distinct from German-American newspapers and American, as distinct from German-American business-men who expressed sympathy for the Allies at the outset of the war were threatened with business injury by the German-American forces. These threats when ignored often did not materialise but in many cases and especially in certain parts of the country they have proved effectual and this explains much of the "neutrality" that exists among some sections in America.

### "A Powerful pro-German Lobby."

Washington, however, is the chief battlefield as we have said. As a prominent American has reminded us, there is "a powerful pro-German lobby, well-organised and abundantly supplied with money, actively working in Washington to secure either Congressional or Executive action which, while perhaps nominally aimed at England, would in reality benefit Germany."

The existence and the activity of a huge German-American party in the United States is of course notorious. And it has its influence upon the action of the United States Government!

And is it generally realised that the Kaiser has a "representative" in the United States Federal Reserve Board in the person of Mr Paul Warburg? Mr Warburg is a naturalised American who has been decorated by the Kaiser and is a connection by marriage of Mr Jacob Schiff, the German-American and avowedly pro-German financier!

It is true that the United States Government has stood firm in the refusal to violate its own neutrality by placing an embargo on the export of munitions of war.

But owing no doubt to that predilection for compromise which is shared by many political persons in our own country, the United States Government has yielded to German-American pressure on other points. Can we be surprised at that when our own Government has been so

lenient in dealing with German interests since war broke out?

In any case the fact remains that the concessions we have made and are making to "American" interests, are often if not always made to German-American interest—which is to say German interests!

From genuine Americans as distinct from German-Americans we have had plenty of encouragement to be firm and to use our sea power to the full in cutting off German supplies and in bringing the war to an end.

In a direct message to the British public, Mr George Harvey, president of the great American publishing firm of Harper Brothers and editor of *The North American Review* told us distinctly that so far as American public opinion is concerned we could make cotton contraband!

But of course besides doing that we must also prevent cotton grown in Egypt and India from reaching the enemy. For such cotton has reached the enemy!

### The Supply of Cotton to Germany.

From the United States have come two letters written by American readers of THE SUFFRAGETTE.

The first says:

If you will look up the trade in Egyptian cotton of Austria, Germany, Switzerland and Italy during the year 1913 and during 1914, you will find that Switzerland and Italy took in 1914 a surplus amount of cotton corresponding to the decreased amount taken by Austria and Germany. Thus England, in order to keep her hold on Egypt, allowed Italy and Switzerland to take for Austrian and German account all the Egyptian cotton needed in Austria and Germany. You will hardly expect the people of the United States to see England let Egypt sell cotton to Italy and Switzerland for German account and not allow the Southern states to sell Holland and Sweden American cotton for German and Austrian account. This is a case where equality is equity.

The second letter says:

As I understand the matter, cotton has, like wool and other textile materials, never been made contraband of war and is not included in the list of contraband materials specified by treaties hitherto.

But since it has now become the principal material for the manufacture of explosives, it is clearly within the right and duty of England and the Allies to prevent its export to Germany and it is surprising that they have not already done so.

I do not wonder that the Germans smile at your allowing them to procure the cotton.

### Risking the very Life of the Nation.

Scientific opinion is that by allowing cotton to reach Germany, we have prolonged the war, involved the country in a huge additional debt, sacrificed thousands and thousands of lives and risked the very life of the nation.

Two reasons have been given for this policy.

The first was:

Cotton was of little importance in the manufacture of explosives.

Germany had plenty of cotton.

Germany could use cotton rags.

This gravely mistaken idea was originated and spread by German intriguers who have

managed to deceive us, not only, as Mr Lloyd George tells us they did, before the war on the question of their aggressive policy as a whole, but also since the war, in regard to such a question as cotton and their need of it.

In this connection take, in addition to the testimony of our scientists, this bit of information and advice from a neutral who, writing in the *Daily Mail*, says:

But your chief chance of punishing Germany is to stop cotton. I do not believe that Germany is yet short of cotton. I think a shortage is beginning in indiarubber, but I believe that the Army will have enough even for a very long war. What Germany cannot get otherwise, if you stop it, is enough cotton. I found out the feeling about that in a score of ways. Ammunition-making in Germany is such a common industry that almost everyone knows something about it. One has only got to mention the word *Baumwolle* (cotton) to see a shadow of anxiety pass over the face of anybody connected with the ammunition industry. On the other hand, they have been getting it in immense quantities since the war began. The German habit of thinking ahead and storing up things has never been more plainly shown than in this cotton business. They have plenty, but they are using plenty.

Take my advice as a neutral friend and stop them getting any more.

The papers tell us of statements made by the Government as to steps now being taken to deprive Germany of cotton, but as the Order in Council issued on March 11th did not prevent huge quantities of cotton from subsequently reaching Germany, the public is still desperately uneasy.

The latest concessions to "American" interests in respect of trade in commodities in general are not reassuring and mean that we are not deriving the full benefit of our sea power, while Germany not only fully uses and indeed abuses her power on land, but also abuses what power she has under the sea!

### We are Fighting for America and Americans know it.

It is true that by permitting exports to Germany from the British Isles and from India and Egypt we have weakened our case for resisting appeals based on "American" interests, but now, better late than never, is the time for strength and no compromise in all directions.

We are fighting for America as well as for ourselves and Americans know it. The Germans know it too and that is one reason why they are using their power in America to weaken us in the name of "American interests!"

If Great Britain were conquered or even weakened then America would be open to German attack and the Monroe Doctrine and all it means would go!

The American Admiral Mahan knew that and said it when the war broke out. Unhappily he has since died and cannot renew his warning!

THEREFORE WHEN PRESIDENT WILSON HELPS TO SUPPLY GERMANY BY PROTECTING IN THE NAME OF AMERICAN INTERESTS AGAINST BRITISH ACTION, HE, AS WELL AS COMPROMISERS IN OUR OWN LAND, IS COMMITTING NATIONAL SUICIDE AND HELPING TO DESTROY THE LIBERTY AND CIVILISATION OF THE WORLD.





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FRIDAY, July 2, 1915.

## The Broken German Spell.

Germany had undoubtedly been preparing. Until she was ready she was on the best of terms with everybody. We thought that at last the era of peace and goodwill had dawned. At that moment she was forging and hiding up immense accumulations of war stores to take her neighbours unawares and murder them in their sleep.

IN these words did Mr Lloyd George announce that Germany had until the war tricked himself and his colleagues of the late Government.

Alas! to be tricked by Germany is a tradition with British Statesmen.

And these are the results as set forth by Sir Edward Grey:

We know now that the German Government prepared for war as only people who plan can prepare and this is the fourth time within living memory that Prussia has made war in Europe. In the Schleswig-Holstein war, in the war against Austria in 1866, in the war against France in 1870 as we now know from all the documents that have been revealed, it was Prussia who planned and prepared the war. The same thing has happened again. We are determined that it shall be the last time that war shall be made in this way.

The guilelessness of the British male has indeed brought desolation to Europe by permitting to thrive and prosper the treacherous, robber, more politely called militaristic, State of Prussia.

Not that the Prussian character and intention were ever much of a mystery after all!

A hundred years ago, the Prussians were our Allies and little to our liking did we find them because of their wanton cruelty and unchivalrous methods of warfare. The Prussians it was who wished the destruction as well as the defeat of France, but the Russian Alexander I. and the British Wellington forbade it. Would to heaven, as a French writer lately said, that Great Britain and Russia, the Allies of to-day and of a hundred years ago had in 1870 championed the cause of France as they did in 1815 and as they are doing in 1915! We should as a result have been spared the present war.

Writing on *The Congress of Vienna and the Treatise of 1815*, Count d'Angeberg said:

For the Prussian Monarchy any pretext is good. It is altogether devoid of scruples. . . . Even at this moment its agents and partisans are agitating Germany, depicting France as being again ready to invade it, pretending that Prussia alone is capable of defending it and asking it to hand itself over to her for its very preservation. She would have liked to have Belgium. She wants everything between the present frontiers of France, the Meuse and the Rhine. She wants Luxembourg. . . .

As for the Prussian War on Denmark in 1864, it was then that Great Britain, by deserting the cause of small nations, by deciding for peace at any price, instead of for the defence of Denmark, sowed the seed of the present terrible war.

And how pained and surprised were our British statesmen when Prussia having mutilated Denmark then turned and rent Austria! They were always finding Bismarck out—just a little too late—and then being taken in again!

So obstinately credulous were they in this regard that they did not even smell a rat when France unaccountably declared war upon Prussia—in accordance with Bismarck's pre-arranged scheme to fight and break France. It is true that the Ems dispatch fraud had not been revealed at that time, but was it not the business of Statesmen and Diplomats to be rather more penetrative and subtle than to take Bismarckian politics at their face value!

When the Emperor was deposed and the French Republic constituted, then it was proved beyond all doubt that the Germans were fighting a war of aggression and not of defence. For Republican France was willing, nay earnestly desired, to make immediate peace on condition of the withdrawal of the Germans from French soil. The Republic offered to make due compensation for the ex-Emperor's fault by paying an indemnity, but the German aggressors were not appeased by that. A shrewd well-wisher, an Austrian, the Comte de Beust, advised the French as follows:

"You make yourselves out too rich. You

\* A Diplomat's Memoir of 1870.—Frederic Reitlinger. Chatto & Windus.

repeat to Bismarck: "Money, as much money as you like, but no provinces." These are bad tactics! You do not know your enemy. He will take both your money and your provinces!

Then at the latest should the British Government have intervened to help the French to drive the invader out. A missioner from France Mr Frederic Reitlinger, in a book just published in an English translation, tells how he came to London, to ask for help in averting the theft by the Germans of the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. He received sympathy but nothing more. To Lord Granville, at that time our Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Reitlinger addressed these prophetic words:

"You do not want to make war now, but perhaps you may be forced to make it later."

He added:

You may be forced to make war later and then you will be isolated and alone because you have abandoned France your old friend and natural ally in the hour of danger. Think of the future! France has a future; she will recover from this war and she will be stronger, greater and more powerful because she has given proof of her wonderful vitality and energy in adversity. . . . If you abandon us now you may be forced to take up arms and have need of an ally.

Though we abandoned France then—and we are paying now for our cowardice and unwisdom—we did not, thank God, abandon her in this war. We have the honour of fighting at her side for our life, for her life—for civilisation.

At last the Prussian, the Bismarckian, the Hohenzollern spell that has been upon our country for more than half-a-century is broken!

How strong and how evil in its result that spell was! It was not broken even when Bismarck just after he had defeated France told our Ambassador at Berlin that his policy was the supremacy of Germany in Europe and of the German race in the world! It was not broken though German envy and hatred of this country have really been no great secret to those going much to Germany.

Even the Germans' request (disclosed in Mr Asquith's Cardiff speech) that we should give them a free hand to conquer and dominate Europe did not break the spell.

Nor was it broken by the warning, given to France by the King of the Belgians in November 1913 and doubtless transmitted to us, that the Kaiser regarded war with France as "inevitable and near" and counted upon a German victory!

But at last and just in time came the awakening and the nation is as Sir Edward Grey expresses it "determined that it shall be the last time that war shall be made in this way."

The Germans by intrigue, where and when violence fails, will try still to achieve their purpose. They will try—they are trying in our own country and in neutral countries—to hamper and weaken us in the prosecution of the war. We must resist this intrigue.

As to the future! We have our warning in the Kaiser's letter, in which he says: "If peace does not give us a complete result, it will at least serve as a preparation for the future. What cannot be achieved to-day, can be achieved to-morrow."

In other words, if the victorious Allies should to-day give the Germans one single inch, they would to-morrow take an ell.

Their "Empire" is born of treachery and founded on the dead bodies of their European neighbours; German "unity" is sealed in the innocent blood of other peoples.

As Mr Lloyd George has most truly said: One of the pillars of good government is the security that evil-doing shall be punished and this is equally true of international government.

CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

# THE FRANCO-BRITISH PEOPLE\*—continued.

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

By JEAN FINOT.

## What France owes to England—continued.

### THE PARALLEL EVOLUTION OF THE FRENCH AND BRITISH PEOPLE.

THE rhythm of the historic evolution of France and England offer striking analogies. Their intellectual development often suggests that of twin sisters under the influence of a common predestination.

Both of these twin nations move in cadence to the same preoccupations of thought and feeling. "The march of their progress," says Buckle (*History of English Civilisation*) "is so identical that the relation between Montaigne and Descartes is exactly the same as that existing between Hooker and Chillingworth, account being taken of the difference of epoch and the difference of opinion."

Just as the fame of Hooker gave Chillingworth to England, so that of Montaigne awakened to life the thought of Descartes.

The most salient facts of the reciprocal history to be found in their annals display a similarity which is quite startling.

The French Froude has its counterpart in the English Civil War. On both sides of the Channel powerful personalities intervene to restrain Richelieu and Elizabeth.

### The Advent of the Free Press.

In both countries there comes into existence an element unknown until then—the free Press. There is a passionate and violent war between the friends of progress and those of reaction, between tradition and innovation, between the modern thought which begins to appear on the horizon and the thought of the past, obstinate and difficult to overcome in its long established power. On both sides of the Channel behind religion lurks the mysterious goddess of civil liberty, who is destined to provoke fratricidal war and plunge the world in bloodshed during centuries.

The parallel march of events, beginning with Louis XIV. in France and Charles II. in England, strikes every impartial observer. England, it is true, precedes France, who retarded in her movement follows painfully in the footsteps of her travelling companion. But retarded progress does not mean arrested progress. All at once, towards the end of the eighteenth century, France makes up for lost years by superhuman energy and arrives finally at the Declaration of the Rights of man and of citizenship. Both countries have drawn their weapons from a sort of common arsenal.

Descartes by his *Method* and the exaltation of the individual thought, teaches England that the proof of the existence of God and of all privileges is to be found within ourselves and not outside ourselves. Freedom of conscience has its indestructible root in the postulate coming from France: "I think, therefore I am."

Many in England worked under the inspiration of this French truth as well as that of the *Essays* of Montaigne, or of *Traité de la Sagesse* of Charron.

The English appropriated French ideas just as France in 1789 was inspired by the epic of Cromwell. And what did it matter that England gained the lead! England had worked merely for her own benefit and therefore arrived more quickly at her aim. France arrived later at her Revolution, but she worked for the benefit of all humanity.

### THE TACIT SOLIDARITY OF THE PRESENT DAY.

#### Great Britain is the best French Colony.

The phenomenon of the historic solidarity of Great Britain and France is still more evident at the present day. The fraternity of the two peoples has found expression in modern times almost exclusively in their commercial relations. . . .

\* Previous instalments appeared in the issues of May 14th, 21st, 28th, June 4th, 11th, 18th, 25th.

Thus we find that, simply by reason of this instinctive fraternity of interests, which links the two nations together, they form as it were, two reciprocal colonies. Great Britain deserves the name of the richest and most important of the French Colonies. Indeed, France is so bound up with Great Britain, that the disappearance of the economic power of that country would inflict incalculable losses upon her.

In order to realise the extent of this life and death union of the two nations, it is enough to glance at their economic relations. The concrete and palpable facts of this fraternity of interests simply accentuate the abstract conclusions drawn from the community of their ideas and their common striving for the triumph of beauty and the ideal.

All the French Colonies put together, including Algiers, Tunis, as well as those scattered over the four quarters of the world, do not represent to France more than thirty to forty per cent. of the trade she does with Great Britain. Apart from this figure, so colossal in itself, the English spend in France every year very large sums.

### The Economic Relations of the Two Neighbours.

It is estimated that the money which the English spend in Paris or at their favourite French health resorts amounts to about 500 millions of francs, which has to be added to the sum spent in merchandise. We thus obtain the formidable sum of about eighteen hundred millions of francs which Great Britain pays every year to France.

Investigating the special character of the products bought by Great Britain, one might be tempted to believe in a sort of harmonious predestination creating the economic relations of the two neighbours. France sells to Great Britain those products chiefly which it would be difficult to sell elsewhere. These include vegetables, wine, fruit, brandy, etc., of the value of more than 230 millions of francs every year. The French agriculturists who receive this sum would indeed be in a difficulty if they found themselves obliged to seek another market for their products.

Great Britain profits equally. She finds in her immediate neighbourhood a country which completes or corrects her climatic defects and enables her to find at her gates products which would be totally lacking, or would have to be sent far at great cost to distant countries. Also she buys from France to the value of millions of francs articles due to the ingenuity of the City of Paris and products which are due to the special aptitude of the French peasant (those of the farm-yard, etc.) just as she also buys from us more than a half a billion francs worth of merchandise produced by the people of our industrial towns (silks, woollen goods, the creations of our great dressmakers, boots and shoes, china, gloves, etc.).

Great Britain, while buying much in France, is in no way injured thereby as regards the interests of her own industry.

To comprehend the bearing of this argument, it is enough to analyse certain American sales and above all the German sales, in the English market. One sees that they are much less helpful to English prosperity and that they strike a blow at branches of industries which are the most living and indispensable to that prosperity; steel, machinery, iron, etc. The success of German exportation is in the majority of cases the death of analogous British enterprises. In proportion as they advance British industries succumb under the impetuosity of this assault.

### A Tendency to Harmonise.

When in her turn France sets to work to examine the character of the merchandise with which Great Britain furnishes her, she arrives at the same satisfactory conclusion. On either side of the Channel there is not so much a rivalry for supremacy

in the market as a tendency to harmonise the economic effort of the two countries for their common welfare.

That is to say, Great Britain sells to France chiefly those specific products in which not only is the most considerable profit to be made, but of which the total goes almost entirely to enrich her national production.

Just as in the political domain, the increase of enemy forces across the frontier becomes extremely dangerous to national security, so the incessant and extravagant augmentation of exportation coming from the same centre begins in the long run to engender justified apprehension. . . .

The lessons to be drawn from all this show in the clearest way the stability and the beneficent necessity of Franco-British relations.

### "Franco-British Sympathy has marched on."

How is it, in the presence of this solidarity of interests due to the community of origin, of culture, of services rendered and to be rendered, that a sort of distrust used to envenom their reciprocal relations? The reason is that international relations do not always answer to the needs and natural inclinations of the nations, thus united. Diplomacy often directs our public life into wrong channels. The nations, abused by all sorts of fishers in troubled waters, often go—just as in the case of individuals—against their own interests. Like blind men on the high-road, the nations feel their way towards the future and sometimes fall into the hands of ill-disposed people, who turn them aside from their true object. And yet the lapses in Franco-British sympathy that have occurred in the history of the two nations have not prevented this sympathy from operating. Just as the soldier, tired and sleepy after a long battle, continues to go forward with his eyes almost closed, so Franco-British sympathy has marched on with a sure step towards the great end hidden in the clouds.

This mutual attraction, which unites the two nations, has held its own in spite of diplomatic fictions and even the furies of war. "After thirty years of battle," said the English sociologist, Charles Pearson, "the soldiers of Wellington and of Soult ended by having for each other feelings of sympathy and cordial respect."

It must not be forgotten that in all times there has existed in France a pro-English party, seeking an intimate *rapprochement* between the two nations. Let us recall the fact that the best and the most perspicacious of the politicians of the Third Republic including Thiers and Gambetta, never ceased to see in a Franco-British union the salvation of the two nations, as well as that of peace and liberty.

The same has been true on the British side of the Channel, where all the men who have incarnated the spirit and the true patriotism of Great Britain have given evidence of their love for France.

Gibbon, who visited Paris during the Seven Years War, stated that "a ray of glory illuminates every Englishman there," for it was always supposed that as an Englishman he was born a patriot and a philosopher.

In the *Encyclopaedic Journal* of the time, 1760-1765, we find innumerable proofs that even during the war against England and after the conclusion of the peace which cost France her finest colonies, the French continued to cherish the most friendly sentiment towards the English.

One month after the conclusion of peace Favart put on the stage in Paris a play in which amid the applause of the public he exalted Franco-English union: "Courage and honour draw together the two countries and their people, equal in virtue and in light."

To be continued.



# WE WILL NOT SEE FREEDOM SACRIFICED!

A Speech delivered by Mrs Pankhurst at the London Polytechnic on Thursday, 24th June.

## IF ONLY WE HAD SOME STATESMAN —!

### Universal Service Again Demanded.

#### Mrs PANKHURST PROTESTS AGAINST DELAY.

A PREVIOUS speaker has told us of the heroic patriotism and the heroic devotion to the ideal of freedom shown by the Czech people who desire the resurrection of Bohemia. Listening to that speech I thought how strange it is that you often find more devotion to freedom and more patriotism and willingness to sacrifice among those who know from their own experience the horrors of subjection. What we have heard appeals to women because we have had taste enough of subjection to be able to sympathise with the aspirations of the Czech people and to feel as they feel that it is worth sacrificing life itself, to know that life is a small thing to give in order to gain liberty—not only nominal liberty but liberty in all its essence. Great ideals of liberty are being fought for in this war and not being merely talked for. The rights of nationalities, of great ideals of civilisation are I say really being fought for in this tremendous war in which we are engaged.

The object of the women responsible for this meeting is to keep before the nation what they feel to be the real need for us all here in Great Britain; the object we should be determined to attain if this war is to be won and if the ideals of which we have been thinking this afternoon are to be preserved.

It is often said that women have more courage than men, more moral courage and I believe it is true and I also believe that the moral courage which women have is very much needed at the present moment. (Applause.) Well, we are going here this afternoon, to repeat what we have already said at other meetings, that the greatest need in our country to-day, if we are to play our proper part in this great conflict, is that the nation as a whole shall be organised for national service. (Applause.) (Interruption from someone at the back.)

Here is our Votes for Women friend again. (Laughter.) I wish she would show the adaptability of her sex and would realise that Votes for Women and all that Votes for Women means—which is a very much bigger thing than the

Vote itself—is at stake in this country. (Loud Applause.) And that what we are asking for and working for and longing for is to preserve those institutions which would admit of women having the Vote. If we lose this war then—and don't let us make any mistake about it—not only is the possibility of women voting going to disappear, but votes for men will be a thing of the past. There will be no such thing in this country.

Having dealt with the interruption, I want to turn to what I was saying. It has been said that we are on the eve of being organised as a nation for war purposes. Well, we all hoped and believed it until we read our papers this morning. We hope it still, but we realise that what we wanted to hear from Mr Lloyd George has not yet been said. He knows more than we know and those associated with him know more than we know about why he did not lay before us in his speech, a plan for organising the whole nation, women as well as men and putting it on a war footing. We have not reached that point.

Well, there is another week of delay, but speaking as a woman—with some men in the audience—I would like to tell them that women are eating their hearts out with desire to see their services utilised in this national emergency. It is not a question with us of war bonuses; it is not a question of red tape, which has to be slowly untied. With us it is not a question of these things; but we realise that if this war is to be won, the whole energy of the nation, the whole intelligence of the nation and the whole capacity of the nation will have to be utilised in order to win it.

And that is not the opinion of women alone; the Prime Minister said it weeks ago; Mr Lloyd George has said it. But what is the outcome of all they have said? A week is to be spent and perhaps a million of money is to be spent on getting a comparatively small number of men trade unionists into line on this question.

Because it is unmistakable, it is obvious to everybody, that certain interests have to be conciliated; certain people have to be persuaded

before the Minister of Munitions can really set to work to organise the nation.

And it is as well that women should say what they have to say of these things from the women's point of view, because ever since the war broke out the speakers of the W.S.P.U. have been urging that a system of national organisation should be set up; that women should be treated as a reserve force in the nation and ought to have gone through a system of national training which would have enabled them to replace the men who were called upon for war service, in order that the work of the nation might go on.

But what do we find? An unorganised nation; millions of capable women, particularly the women of the middle classes, who have been longing and burning to do work for their country. How is it that men can be so blind as not to see that the fire of patriotism burns in the hearts of women quite as strongly as it does in the hearts of men.

#### Women only wish to be allowed to serve.

There is far greater power of sacrifice among women than among men. They do not look for place or reward; they only wish to be allowed to serve. Is it not a strange thing that you have men who have been civilised for generations, who really, whether they realise it or not, are the rulers of this country, who are not rousing themselves to a sense of the situation and are only trying to strike a bargain while the country is in danger.

It is the women who are not recognised and have never had any kind of training in national responsibility, who are not thinking of their own interests, who are realising the danger and are only chafing impatiently because they feel that the danger is all the greater because their services are not being used as they ought to be.

Imagine what women are thinking, when they find that in Germany half a million women to-day are engaged in making ammunition—while 70,000 odd women who registered themselves at Easter at one single invitation of the Board of Trade, are only being utilised to the number of 2,000 for national service. Well, it is very difficult indeed for women to restrain their impatience and it is only because they realise how serious the situation is that their impatience is not being made more manifest than at present.

#### We are not taking our Fair Share.

And to come back to the general question of national service; of the organisation, the full organisation of the whole country, I want to say this, as one who has been looking on at the war. I want to have the courage to say this afternoon deliberately, that we are not taking our fair share in this colossal struggle, from any point of view.

There are too many people in this country still thinking that we are only helping our Allies to win a war which is primarily theirs. Ladies and gentlemen, that is not the case. It is our war as much as it is their war and when

we look at the sacrifices that our Allies are making, we are compelled to admit that we are not doing what we ought, are not taking our full share. And we shall not do it until the whole country is put upon a war footing, as these other nations are and everyone is called upon to take his and her part in the struggle.

Compare the part played by Great Britain with that of France. The danger at this present moment—a very much bigger danger than many of us realise—is that the German forces will break through the long line in Belgium and in France and make their way to the coast. What are we doing as compared with our Allies in that matter? We are responsible for about thirty miles of that vast line and the great French nation is responsible for five hundred miles. And what right have we to expect the French army to do more than ours, when every man and every woman and every child in the French nation is called upon to take part in the struggle.

Speaking as one of the British public I believe that all we want is to be told what is expected of us and we shall be prepared to do it. I have described before and I shall never be tired of repeating my experience at the outbreak of the war in France; the French nation mobilised and martial war was declared at the outset. Everybody knew what the war meant and that the time of peace had ended and that the war had begun and that the whole life of everybody was different from what it had been.

We did not do that and yet we needed it far more than France, because in those countries where they have compulsory service, every one knows, every man knows that he will be expected as part of his ordinary life, as part of his citizenship, to prepare himself to defend his country if the need arises. And so when war breaks out in any of these countries, it is brought home to him, brought home to every man, woman and child in the country that in time of war exceptional services are needed. So that if martial law was from the moral point of view very desirable and necessary in France, it was ten times more needed here, where we have not been brought up with that idea at all.

#### We shall do our Duty.

At the very beginning of the war we needed something to be done to bring the situation home to us. It has not been done yet and my only fear is that it has been left so late, that one cannot help feeling that if this struggle is to be prolonged much longer, it will come at a time when we are very much weaker and unprepared for it.

We shall go on and do what we realise to be our duty as women; go on asking that these things shall be done which are necessary if we are to maintain our place in the world as an Empire and if we are to maintain our prestige with other countries.

Well, we cannot say—and it is no answer to some people's claim that if we organise ourselves as a practical sensible people we are Prussianising ourselves—we cannot say that France is not as democratic a country as ours and that the ideals of freedom do not flourish in France, because every man is expected to serve his country and every woman also is expected to serve it in time of need. We cannot say that the ideals of freedom do not exist in France and that the people do not enjoy liberty equal to ours. They care for it just as much as we do. Certainly they are not less patriotic than

we are. I have never known such patriotism as one meets with in France. I think it was partly the sight of French patriotism when war broke out, that made me realise more than I had ever done before how deeply I loved my native land and it sent me home to serve it as far as I was allowed to serve it. (Applause.)

Now Ladies and Gentlemen, what I am saying this afternoon is not in unkind criticism of my native land. It is really because of my burning desire to make it plain to the only people who can deal with the situation, that we are ready as a nation to be organised and to do our part. I expect I am the biggest rebel in this meeting and I am one of the biggest rebels in the country. I am one of those people who at the right time and in the proper place, am prepared to fight for certain ideals of freedom and liberty and would be willing to give my life for them; and although an individual life is a very small thing in itself, it is a very big thing to the person who happens to have that life as a personal possession. It is the best and the dearest and the most important thing to each one of us, our life, what we do with it and what becomes of it and if you are prepared to give your life for a thing and for an ideal, that is the biggest thing you can give, and the most important thing.

#### Men and Women waiting for a Strong Lead.

Well if that is so, if a rebel like myself realises that in time of war you are living in different circumstances from times of peace and that in a time of war, for the sake of the common good, we must all be ready and willing to sacrifice our own personal ideals in view of the common danger—I am perfectly certain that what this country is waiting for, what the men and women of this country are waiting for is a strong lead. And we are hoping and praying and longing that the Coalition Government which has taken the place of Party Government, is going to give us that strong lead; is going to have courage to do the necessary thing; is going to organise this nation as a whole, to play that part in the war which it is our duty to play if we are to maintain our position and be the important Power that we have always been.

For the sake of our Allies too we have to do our fair share and to bring home to every man and woman, the fact that it is a time when all of us have to make our sacrifices.

Think of the Serbians; how they fought their first war to free themselves from the oppression of the Turk. An old Serbian lady said to me one of the most pathetic things I have ever heard: "We felt that so long as we were subject to Turkey we could not civilise ourselves and so we fought that first war to win the right to make an advance in civilisation."

I think that in doing that the Serbians showed themselves more civilised than many people who have always enjoyed the blessings of liberty and do not value them.

#### The Cost of Liberty to the Serbian Nation.

What have their struggles for liberty cost the Serbian nation? It has cost them the lives of the most promising members of their race. It has cost them all their possessions. It has cost them everything that it could cost a nation and yet they are going on with their fight.

How far we in Great Britain still are from those sacrifices. How many sacrifices have

we made as yet? We are only at the very beginning.

Because I believe, Ladies and Gentlemen, that unless we find some way to organise the whole force of the nation and bring it into operation very quickly, this war is going to drag on and drag on and cost us sacrifices we have not thought of as yet.

Oh for those past ten months that we have wasted! If only we had some Statesman who having the courage to forget votes and forget elections had made the splendid appeal to us at the very outset of the war! Why did they not trust the nation enough and tell them the truth? Why did they not forget their places in Parliament and come out and say "We are at the beginning of the greatest struggle that humanity has ever known. We are going to tell you what you have to do and we expect you to obey our orders." I know we should have obeyed them.

If we Suffragettes who had the greatest quarrel with the Government of any section of the community, can forget our grievances and be prepared to follow and do anything that we can do, surely men can rise to the same height in view of the national danger.

#### "We offer ourselves."

Ladies and gentlemen, it is not too late if those who are in authority over us will only do it now. We are to wait a week to see what response is going to be made by the skilled workmen of the country to the appeal of the Minister of Munitions.

We are unskilled but we offer ourselves. We are prepared to organise the women of this country for them if they like. We are prepared to hold great organising meetings all over the country and enlist women for war service if they will only set us free to do it. We here and now this afternoon, offer our services to the Government, to recruit and enlist the women of the country for war service, whether that war service is the making of munitions, or whether that war service is the replacing of skilled men who have been called upon, so that the business of the country may go on, because during the absence of these skilled men our export trade will suffer, manufacturing industries will suffer. And that need not happen for very long even now, if even at the eleventh hour the Government will rise to the occasion and bring in to the national machine those willing services of women which they have been longing to render ever since war broke out.

#### "We do mean to serve the Country."

Instead of making speeches, we should all be at work, doing useful work; we should be winning this war. I appeal to men, because you have always claimed that you were the business-like people; that you knew how things ought to be done; that in some mysterious way nature had endowed you with power and with skill. Women are looking on and they don't quite like what they are seeing. (Applause.)

And don't press us too hard; and don't lead us to want to start an agitation again—for what purpose? To be allowed to serve our country. That is what it means, because we do mean to serve the country. We know we are needed. We can help; we know we ought to be utilised.

We know we are going to lose this war unless we employ women as well as men on War Service and we do not mean to see the freedom that our forefathers have fought for, sacrificed, blindly sacrificed for want of our help.



# GERMANY'S ASPIRATION.

England to be another Belgium.

To be Invaded and Occupied by German Armies.

We think it right to present to the notice of such of our readers as may not have seen it the following account of his investigations, in Germany made by a neutral contributor to the Times. We have printed some especially striking paragraphs in black type.

By a Neutral Observer.

AN officer of the German General Staff, animadverting upon the advantages derived by the Allies from the supplies of munitions furnished by neutrals, said to me: "The matter is simple. We must defeat the Russians—not merely drive them back so that they can recover and come on again, but defeat them *à fond*. We must drive them back into the heart of Little Russia in the south, free Bessarabia and offer it to Rumania for immediate occupation in order to keep peace with the Balkans and push on if possible, even as far as Odessa. In the north the Baltic Provinces will easily be cleared. Pro-German sympathies in Sweden will save us from danger in that quarter. Then we shall be free to turn our attention to the west and to undertake the invasion of England.

Calais in the hands of Germany is a key to world power" is a main article of the German creed. Imperialists believe that Calais must be secured if a lasting peace is to be attained. It is part of their programme to include in the territory to be annexed not only Belgium, not merely Calais and Boulogne, but to extend the western boundary of the Empire as far west as Berck-Plage, an old Flemish (i.e., "German") fishing village and seaside resort some 15 miles southwest of Boulogne. With the frontiers of the new Germany extended to this point, they believe that Germany—no longer bottled up in the North Sea and compelled to dip her colours to England—will have fulfilled her mission and secured for herself "a place in the sun."

This is the serious conviction of many Germans. Unless the Allies' offensive in the west develops a driving power not hitherto revealed and a powerful check is inflicted on German arms in the near future, it would appear probable that the German General Staff will endeavour to carry out its original plan and make a vigorous thrust towards Calais and England.

England as El Dorado.

It is important to understand what "England," divested of the much-advertised feelings of "hatred," means to the intelligent German to-day. To the Germans, England has been from time immemorial the one country where they have carried on their work of peaceful penetration and by slow stages, gained control of the business world. When, in the past, this control became threatening or irksome they have been driven out. A German pointed out to me that, by a curious coincidence, it was on August 4, 1598, that the German merchants of the Hanseatic towns were expelled from England for commercial reasons and that on August 4, 1914, the present war was declared by England—as Germans pretend, for similar causes.

A German banker, quoting from statistics, declared that more than half "the City" was German, that the list of Germans acclimatised in England includes many of the most important personages in all branches of modern activity. This testifies to the attraction of England for the German people.

At the outbreak of the war there were 38,000 male German subjects in Great Britain engaged

in various branches of commerce and industry. In London alone there were 60 German clubs, 11 German churches, several German schools and hospitals, a number of German journals and a German theatre. Great Britain was regarded as a sort of commercial and industrial "El Dorado" which attracted many of Germany's most competent and efficient men.

Germans with whom I spoke seemed to realise that the fruits of this labour have been irretrievably lost. This is to them a matter of deep regret. One German timidly inquired, "Do you think Germans will be welcome in England after the war?" To the German who has never been abroad, England appears not merely the great commercial competitor of Germany, but a country of fabulous wealth. Everywhere I heard the remark in reference to the vast expenditure caused by the war, "Oh! England can pay." Germans believe that it is England alone who will be in a position to pay the expenses of the war; and every German holds that England must pay them. France and Russia, Italy, Turkey—nay, Germany herself—will be rendered almost bankrupt by the war.

England alone will be able to stand the strain. So England will be compelled to pay. And the Germans are already busy calculating the probable indemnity. Germany received from France 21 times the total cost of the campaign of 1870-71. Reckoning on this basis, Germany, Austria-Hungary and Turkey should receive 75 milliards of marks (£3,750,000,000), but it is probable that this total will be doubled before the end of the war. The principle of Bismarck, that the defeated enemy must be "bled white" in order to prevent him from giving trouble in the future, is to be enforced. Every German believes that a huge war indemnity will be paid by England. As it will not be possible to pay off so large a sum in a year or two, it is evident that the invasion and occupation of England are essential to secure payment. England is the chief enemy, because she is held to be the richest and best able to pay for the war.

Ideas such as this are current in all parts of Germany. I heard them expounded at the "Stammtische," in restaurants in Hamburg, Leipzig and other German cities. Though the war has lasted longer than was anticipated, every German is prepared to see it through to the end, no matter how great the sacrifice; and the invasion of England is the essential feature of the next German campaign. It is the conviction of the Germans that, should a landing in England once be made, the unopposed conquest of the southern counties would follow. As a German stated with much seriousness, "When William the Conqueror came over from Normandy it never occurred to the inhabitants of London to offer any resistance; and this will be the case to-day." In the German opinion, troops untrained in actual modern warfare, volunteers who have never been in action, could not offer serious resistance to a small army of veteran troops.

Calais as a Base.

The Germans believe that by using Calais as a base they can, with their new guns, having a range of over 26 miles, sweep the Channel clear of hostile ships and not merely destroy Dover, but cover a landing of their troops. This is to be carried out in small aluminium boats—held in readiness for the purpose—which could easily be transported overland. Submarines would ensure further protection if needed. Germans are confident that the confusion resulting from an air raid, carried out on a stupendous scale by

all available German aircraft, will permit the rapid advance of the landing force on London.

In view of the nature of present military operations and the greater difficulties that have been overcome by the fighting forces in other theatres of war, the German plan cannot be dismissed as outside the realm of possibility or even probability. "Calais is the key to German world-power" and it is reasonable to suppose that the Germans, believing this, will when the occasion presents itself, endeavour to wrest this key from England. The importance of the task entrusted to the British troops holding the line not more than 30 miles east of Calais would seem to be at least as well understood in Germany as in England.

## TALKS WITH GERMANS.

The following extracts by a neutral are taken from the Paris edition of the *Daily Mail* of June 27th.

IT is a common mistake to suppose that the German peoples are blood relations of the inhabitants of the British Islands. Contrary to popular belief, it is a fact vouched for by leading ethnologists that the Prussians are in no way related to the English. The Saxons and many other German tribes are, of course, partly of your stock. The real Prussians are not; and the Prussians are the dominating factor in the German-Austrian-Hungarian-Turkish combination. England will never understand the Prussians and the Prussians cannot understand England.

Brought up from childhood in an atmosphere of admiration for the superiority of British institutions and especially to believe that your system of Parliamentary Government is a model to the world, I confess that my present visit to England has made me doubt the value of Parliaments in waging war. Everything in England seems to require such an immense amount of discussion—doubtless a good thing when you have time to spare, but time in this war is not, in my opinion, for you but against you. You are the enemy that Germany really fears and is obviously pressing forward to attack you before you are ready. While you are talking about munitions she is making them. So far as the war is concerned, the German Parliament is regarded by the German war-makers as of no account. English people often ask me: "What are the German Socialists doing? Will not they stop the war?" Well, most of the German Socialists are fighting in the war. Some of the most active Socialists are Jews and though good citizens, are not, therefore, typical Germans. "Our Socialists," said a Berlin magnate to me many months ago, "are useful because they humbug the English and do us no harm."

German Cunning Underrated.

We fear that you underrate the cunning of the foe. We fear that you do not realise that he is always plotting mechanical and chemical surprises for you.

The Germans are not only an aggressive people; they are also a people who prepare minutely everything in advance.

As a neutral I can tell you what they have done in my own country. There is but a remote chance of our being entangled in the war, yet they have bought newspapers, bribed politicians, made arrangements for stirring up strikes and other troubles, flooded the country with spies and continually dinned into the ears of a nation reluctant to believe it that it is better to be on the German side since that will be the winning side. They tell us that at the end of the conflict victorious Germany will have no mercy on those who have sat on the fence.

# THOSE GERMAN SOCIALISTS!

AS BAD AS THE KAISER.

GERMAN SOCIALISTS' TREACHERY.

Our readers have heard before of the visit paid by two German Socialist leaders to the Belgian headquarters in Brussels with a view to persuading the Belgian Socialists to desert the national cause and to offer no further resistance to the German armies.

We now give a fuller account of this historic and notorious interview. It shows that the German Socialists have been guilty before and since the war of odious deceit and treachery and that they share their Kaiser's guilt.

They have aided and abetted him in his treacherous diplomacy and in his violation of Belgian neutrality and in his violent attack on Europe.

Here is a full account of the interview in question.

AT the beginning of the war the Belgian Socialists who had remained at the Socialist Headquarters at Brussels, were visited by the German Socialists Noske and Doctor Koster.

In the course of the conversation, Noske defended the action of the German Socialists in voting the war credits. To the Belgian Socialists who complained of the violation of Belgian territory, Dr Koster replied with an assurance quite disconcerting. After citing the pretended Franco-Belgian agreement, he added: "But in any case what has happened is your own fault. You had only to let us pass. You would have been largely recompensed by our Government and we should have brought you in addition universal suffrage, laws for the protection of women and children, general insurance and many other laws which in spite of all your force, you have not been able to win for yourselves."

And this man, one of the Prussian Socialists who cannot win an extension of the franchise for themselves and are burdened by the three class electoral system, added:

"Moreover, everybody has known for years past that in case of a Franco-German war, our armies must pass through Belgium."

"Indeed!" answered the Belgian Socialists. "So when your Socialist Deputies questioned your Government in the Reichstag as to their intentions with regard to Belgium in case of a Franco-German war, it was a farce they were acting. And when you came to the International Socialist Congresses and discussed with us and voted resolutions affirming the necessity that small States should defend their independence and the integrity of their territory, that was a farce too!"

"We see now that the honour of a nation and respect for its independence and liberties and international treaties have all along had no value in the eyes of German Socialists."

"The honour of a nation," replied Koster—"that is a bourgeois idea with which Socialists have nothing to do. As to international treaties, they cannot hold in time of war! All historic materialism tells us that the development of the working classes is intimately bound up with the

development and the economic prosperity of the nation and therefore the German Socialists must be on the side of their Government, which is at this moment defending the very existence of the country against the attacks of England, France and Russian despotism."

"And so it is to defend the German workers that you have violated our neutrality and you have begun by massacring the Belgian workers?" The German replied: "You dare to tell us that you put respect for your neutrality above the life of a hundred thousand men? We know that in passing by the Vosges to enter France, we should have had to sacrifice a hundred thousand more men than by passing through Belgium. There could be no doubt as to our choice."

The Belgian reply to this was: "According to your reasoning, we ought to have stood aside to let you pass, without counting that England and France would have held us—and rightly so—to strict account for this."

In Belgium everybody is unanimous in putting honour above immediate material interests. Between our honour and the defence of our liberties on the one hand and the life of a hundred thousand men on the other, we do not hesitate an instant; and we take up the ancient device of our communions: **Better to die of our own free will, than to lose the liberty of our country.**"

Dr Koster thought this declaration so extraordinary and unheard of that he called to his colleague to come and hear it made over again; which led one of the Belgian Socialists to say: "All that there is in common between you as Germans and ourselves as Belgians, is the possession of a stomach, but while we have also a heart, you Germans seem to have only a mark of interrogation!"

In answer to the German Socialists' declaration that Germany is only defending itself against the attack of England, France and Russia, the Belgians pointed out to them that this had not been the contention of German Socialist journalists until the eve of war. Up to the last day they had argued that it was their own Government which was defeating the evidently peaceful efforts of London and Paris and making it impossible for Russia to follow up the pacific suggestions made to her.

"That is quite true," coolly admitted the German Socialists; "but when we talked like that we knew it was not true. We did it by way of political tactics, in order to press against the Government."

## A WARNING!

BELGIAN SOCIALIST LEADER'S BRILLIANT STATEMENT OF A GREAT DANGER.

M. Royer, one of the most able of the Belgian Socialist leaders, writes in *L'Indépendance Belge* as follows:

Efforts have been made recently for a meeting in Holland of the International Socialist Bureau for the purpose of discussing the suitability of a convocation of an International Socialist Congress.

From what other brains than those of conscious or unconscious pro-Germans could such a project have sprung? How could it be hoped to bring together, with the object of reaching a common proposition, the executioners and the

brothers of the victims, the accomplices of the most monstrous crime that has ever been committed and the soldiers of honour and right?

Who is the Belgian or the Frenchman who could shake hands with a Scheidemann or a Heine, a Sudekum or a Legien? It is true that there are Karl Liebknecht and his friends. But nothing up to the present moment permits us to believe that their group is very numerous. Apart from certain declarations of Rosa Luxembourg and Franz Mehring, I know no statement of any German Socialists since the war broke out which has not apparently been inspired in some way by the arrogant point of view of our enemies. It is, therefore, necessary that we should have no illusions as to the strength of mind German people possess to save themselves from German jingoism, nor on the aid that the defenders of the liberties of nations can expect from them.

Such an illusion can only be profitable to the two Central Empires, in encouraging in the countries allied against them a pacifist propaganda which will at least have the effect of depriving the civil population of all energy and of diminishing in a certain measure the production of arms and other munitions of war.

That doubtless explains the anonymous manifestoes which have escaped the German censor and which reached us from time to time.

Even though these manifestoes are discussed in the German Press, let us take care to put no confidence in them and let us not forget that the pacifist demonstrations which took place throughout Germany on the 28th of July 1914 were obligingly permitted and even encouraged by the Kaiser's Government, having no other result than to give birth to hopes of peace amongst the European democracies until the moment of the declaration of war, during which period, preparing its aggression, the German Empire methodically pursued the mobilisation of its formidable army.

With these things in our minds, Belgian Socialists who are at present in England learnt with pained astonishment that the Labour Party had accepted the invitation from Holland and that two British Delegates would go there.

## NO COMPROMISE

"While a single German soldier remains on Belgian or French soil we will not listen to any talk of peace."

M. Emile Vandervelde, one of the Belgian Socialist leaders, lately made the following statement:

How is it that those who suggest a meeting between the Socialists of the belligerent countries to exchange views and take concerted actions to end the war fail to understand that this course is morally impossible under present conditions. If after what has happened the Belgian and French Socialists consented to meet, to exchange views and to take concerted action with those who in Germany have voted for the war credits, who have given a free hand to the Imperial German Government; who have given to the slaughter of Belgium, the complicity of their silence; these French and Belgian Socialists would simply betray the cause for which so many heroes have died.

Let all those in neutral countries and elsewhere who hold a contrary opinion, pardon us for saying once and for all, that as long as there remains one single German soldier in the territories of violated Belgium and invaded France,

Continued on page 191.



# ITALY AT WAR.

## A MESSAGE TO THE PEOPLE.

This letter addressed by an Italian legislator, the ex-Minister Nitti, to his constituents is interesting to us, the people of a nation also at war.

**I**N this great moment in the history of our country the representatives of the nation should turn with lively confidence to their electors. Every Italian will do his duty; but the duty must be done with enthusiasm, with the firm confidence that to-day will decide our destiny, the life of our people.

### The Violation of Every Right.

There can be no one in Italy to-day who is not animated by the same feeling: whoever discusses the past, under whatever title, whoever creates a cause of dissension, is doing anti-patriotic work.

I am morally certain that before declaring war the Government was convinced that peace was not fitting, nor useful, nor perhaps possible for long. We must feel now that we are engaged in a war of defence. In these ten months of war, all laws of right have been violated. Neutral and unarmed people have been invaded; unfortified towns have been bombarded; trading ships have been destroyed out of pure malice, with the destruction of thousands of lives of unarmed peaceful citizens. For more than a century, such odious and abominable sights have been unknown. War had hardly been declared before Austria-Hungary tried to imitate Germany's example in attacking undefended towns. European war began with Austria's ultimatum to Serbia, the terms of which recalled the odious document that Austria sent to Piedmont. War has been prosecuted with every form of atrocity; devastated Belgium will be the greatest shame of our century and the Belgian King its pride.

We could not, as desired by Germany and Austria, take part in their work of violence. Our treaty of alliance did not bind us to that; the dignity of a free and democratic country could never have consented to take part in such inhuman work. We maintained a strict neutrality as long as it was possible. But the methods of war pursued by Germany and Austria-Hungary, their contempt for treaties, the wave of hatred towards us made it impossible for us to remain neutral any longer.

### Of what Value would the Concessions have been?

Even if Austria-Hungary driven by Germany had made territorial concessions to us, sufficient to satisfy, at least in part, our national hopes, what value would such territorial concessions, made with bad will, have in the day of peril? That which is given without good will and without principle is taken back without scruple. After the great war, we should, in case of a German-Austro-Hungarian victory, be in a state of humiliating vassalage and in case of the Allies being victorious we should be looked upon with distrust. In either case, we should have no vestige of security for the future.

This war to-day is for us a war of defence—defence of our territory, of our children, of our destiny. Germany's treatment of Belgium makes offence defence for us; to declare war at the most fitting moment means to prevent it at a less fitting time.

War means always sacrifice on the part of the whole people and we must be prepared for every trial. It is not true that Italy intervened at the moment when the decision is at hand. Our honour and our dignity would never have permitted such a course.

We know that the great conflict is not just about to end; that our participation may demand sacrifices, we have therefore no illusions. It is the work of patriotism not to be silent but to tell the whole truth. If the war be short, we may be thankful that our intervention lessened the horrors of the great conflict; if it be long, we share the honour of having, with our forces, helped to save Europe the humiliation of a Teutonic servitude which means the spirit of barbarism applied with scientific method.

Our peasants scattered over the whole earth have day by day defied the unknown, with the true instinct that leads to salvation. We alone have been able to learn by comparison with other peoples what a difference it makes, even in the fortunes of individuals, to belong to a great country or to a weak and negligible country.

Have we not seen the magnificent sight of our emigrants returning of their own free will from distant lands to share the honour of serving their country and sacrifice themselves for her? All the inhuman principles that sought through long malicious propaganda to destroy the culture of our nation fell at one blow before the breath of enthusiasm. But, my friends, our enthusiasm must not be only a quick flaming up, but must also be the slow tenacious fire of the smouldering oak.

Mobilisation was effected rapidly: because before the mobilisation of the military forces there had been a mobilisation of conscience. Ten months of war have been, even for the most deluded, a terrible experience: now everyone feels that there is no place in the world for the weak and submissive.

From the depths of my soul, I wish to give you, my electors and friends, some advice.

### Six Counsels to the People.

(1.) The first and greatest virtue in this hour is OBEEDIENCE. The Government is composed of men who have the confidence of King and Parliament. They all feel their responsibility. Each one of us, therefore, will take up the place assigned to him without discussion. No one is in a position to criticise the arrangements. Whatever may be the duration of the war, the Government ought to be able to count not only on our outward, but also on our inward obedience. We must accept without complaint many acts and precautions; any criticism may be unjust and hurtful: we must only obey.

(2.) He who does not go to the front must help to keep the calm of ordinary life: must attend to everyday work, must if possible, intensify production.

Those who go to the front are fulfilling a noble work; but everyone who remains in the workshops, in the fields, in business, is fulfilling an equally noble work.

The tradition of the volunteer was a necessity when it was a question of rising against absolute government that went against the national conscience. To-day, Italy has no need of volunteers, for all the calls she makes are in response to the Great Voice of her people.

The more humble the post assigned to us, the more honourable it is to accept it. It may be of use for noted men to give a salutary example of personal self-sacrifice in humble offices. But it is of the utmost importance that the life of the country should, as far as possible, proceed in a calm, well-ordered manner. Agricultural labours, industrial works, commerce, must be carried on in the best possible way. To work and produce more is to-day not only an economic interest but a patriotic work. War could not go on for long if everyone joined in agitation and economic life became paralysed.

He who helps in the work of production is not to be pitied, he is also helping us to victory.

(3.) Do not withdraw your deposits from institutions and banks in which you have had confidence; do not sell State shares without necessity. Fear is a bad adviser and will lead you to do bad business. The unexampled announcement of the great war last August sowed panic, many people hastily withdrew their deposits, first class houses with excellent credit were tormented by their clients.

### The Highest of all Riches—Liberty.

(4.) Save with care; but take care not to drown enterprise by excessive saving. If it is necessary to reduce as much as possible the consumption of all wares likely to fail and which would have to be bought abroad at high prices, it is not necessary to reduce expenses excessively. Normal life should not be changed unless it is unavoidable. Certainly, no wise or honest man could, in a time like the present, wish to procure articles of luxury from foreign countries—that would be unworthy. But it would be ridiculous to deprive oneself of the cinematograph for example and to shut oneself up to lead a monastic life. If it be wrong to waste goods that may be needed and if every form of luxury—above all anything procured outside Italy, be culpable, it is almost equally wrong to paralyse the economic life by reducing unnecessarily all the consumption. We must not augment artificially the causes of unemployment by withdrawing deposits, selling shares, depriving ourselves of everything. Courage gives serenity and faith brings success.

(5.) Give your financial help in the largest possible degree and above all give all your personal work to the families of the combatants. Do not ask the State, the Municipality or public works to do what you can do yourself. Their machinery is heavy and difficult to move. It is easier for individual enterprise to help. If every well-to-do family would undertake to provide for the poor family of a breadwinner who has been called to the Colours, the problem would be solved to a great extent. I know this solution is simple, but it would be the most effective. War is an immense forced expropriation which gives life and riches. The rich are the privileged and should therefore be most ready to give. There is much that cannot be regulated by decrees or laws but by sentiment. Do not ask for unnecessary precautions. In the collection of rents, of taxes and the payment of goods, the sense of humanity should prevail. It is not the moment for the employed to demand augmented salaries, to demand them now is a criminal act. They, too, should be prepared if necessary to sacrifice everything. But neither is it the moment for employees to insist on their rights. Every strike is culpable and anti-patriotic.

### Distrust the Voices of Discord.

Having confidence in the Government, distrust the voices of discord. Beware above all of "well-informed" people! They are mostly rogues who know nothing and want to be important. What is officially published is the truth for us, individual fantasy serves no useful end at this time. All suggestive news put in circulation at present is false. For example, it is false to maintain that there is danger in leaving deposits in banks because they may be changed into a forced loan. If that occurs, it must be provided for by loans and taxes, but the Government knows what to choose and how to help us.

### No Blessings greater than Independence and Liberty.

I have tried to give you the counsels which I hope correspond to your wishes.

There is no greater blessing than Independence: there are no riches worth Liberty. In this tremendous conflict between the peoples of the world we are in the fight for Liberty and Independence.

Helped by the remembrance of the time of our servitude, reunited round our King, who in his austere virtue and simple goodness is a model to us all of courage and abnegation and exalted by the certainty of the brilliant destiny awaiting us, we march onwards in the name of Italy.

# THE TRAGIC DELUSION.\*

## A Commentary on the Result of Norman Angellism.

By CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

Continued from last week.

**T**HE theories of Mr Norman Angell are based upon materialistic individualism and are an appeal to personal egotism and to class selfishness.

Here and there an attempt is made to cover the true nature of his theories in a haze of idealism, but the attempt quite ridiculously fails.

And glaringly plain does it appear in the light of present war events that Mr Norman Angell's propaganda was conducted with or without intention in the service of Germany and German aggression.

The whole "reasoning" of his book, *The Great Illusion*, was directed towards creating in the minds of the British people, the delusion that the German peril, the German storm-cloud that has now broken over our heads, did not exist.

In previous articles we have dealt with several of the bricks that went to the building of the delusion.

### An attack on the Patriotism of the British People.

We will now speak of the attack upon the patriotism of the British people made by Mr Angell through his book.

Loyalty and devotion to one's country might seem superfluous, if the British people could be persuaded to accept the view which he expresses in the following words:

Only to a very small and rapidly diminishing extent can a State be regarded as a homogeneous whole, having the same sort of responsibility that we attach to a person. . . . In a thousand respects association cuts across State boundaries, which are purely conventional and render the biological division of mankind into independent and warring States a scientific ineptitude. . . . Just as in material things community of interest and relationship cut clear across State boundaries, so inevitably will the psychic community of interest come so to do.

According to the view and the spirit, underlying these words, the Belgians when they rose up to defend their national freedom and their national honour, were defending a "scientific ineptitude." That is in effect what the pan-Germanising German Socialists said when dressed in the uniform of the Kaiser army, they called at the Socialist headquarters in Brussels and tried to persuade the Socialists of Belgium, to desert their countrymen and countrywomen and their nation and connive with the Kaiser and his invading hordes of German Socialists and others.

This theory, that patriotism and love of country are scientifically inept and out of date, is a theory made in Germany—for exportation only and not for home consumption!

For neither Mr Norman Angell, nor his friend the Kaiser, nor his friends the German people,

\* Previous instalments appeared in the issues of June 11th, 18th, and 25th.

including the German Socialists, believe that the rapacious German Empire, is an ineptitude or a superstition. No, the cry that all the Germans raise is "Deutschland ueber alles," and because the patriotism of the people of other countries constitutes a barrier against the increase of German power and the enlargement of German territory, they try through the medium of agents or dupes, to persuade the people of these other countries that their patriotism is a superstition and their country nothing but a scientific ineptitude and therefore not worth defending against German attack.

And notice that, although he impliedly contradicts Mazzini's noble assertion that while individuals are the citizens of the nations, the nations are the citizens of humanity, Mr Norman Angell is wholly possessed by the idea of Germany as a "person!" He writes of Germany asking this and Germany thinking that and of our expecting "her" to do this.

### Totally lacking in Spiritual Vision.

Yes, while Mr Angell himself seems to be quite lacking in the ordinary person's feeling of patriotism—in that sense he is literally "not all there"—he gives evidence of a keen and a sympathetic understanding of the German people's patriotic sentiment for Germany. This, although he is totally lacking in the spiritual vision which would enable him to see England, as for example a French soldier sees his country when, with his dying breath, he cries "Vive la France;" or as a Frenchwoman sees it when, hearing of the death of her husband in battle, she says in the midst of her weeping, "Vive la France, quand même."

His country does not exist for Mr Angell as it exists for a man such as the poet Rupert Brooke, or for a man such as that English officer who wrote only a few hours before he received mortal wounds: "It is what we would all like to do—die for England."

To Mr Angell, Shakespeare's England is a vain nothingness. Thus are the poets, the very eyes of mankind, flouted by blind pigmies full of undigested German "facts"!

In the attempt to persuade the people of this country of the unimportance of the nation in the scheme of life, Mr Norman Angell in his book dilates upon the community of interests which he maintains cuts across national borders and unites the corresponding classes in the various countries. He said that, "the British Tory will be more concerned with what Mr Lloyd George's budget can do, than with what the Germans can do."

As a matter of fact, it so happens that British Tories of all classes in the past showed themselves more pre-occupied with the German danger than

did anybody else. And at the present time innumerable British Tories as well as those of other political parties, are quietly renouncing everything, perhaps a rich inheritance, perhaps well-paid industrial work, perhaps a big professional income and are going out to die for the country, or, it may be, to be so maimed that life can give them little personal satisfaction in the future.

### A special bid for the British Working Man.

Then came a special bid for the British working man, who was asked to "realise that what stands in the way of his securing for social expenditure the enormous sums that now go to armaments is mainly a lack of co-operation between himself and the democrats of a hostile nation, who are in a like case."

We know that such appeals had their effect in a section of the British working men in the days before the war. We know that the Democrats, the Socialists, of Germany the "hostile nation" in question, met in conference with Socialists and Trades Unionists of other lands and tried to influence them to make no fight for their country in the event of war. We know that the German Socialists, have voted the war credits in the Reichstag, are fighting in the German Army, or acting as navvies for the German army, have visited Belgium in the hope of undermining Belgian resistance; have been to Italy and the Balkan States as representatives of the Kaiser with a view to keeping those countries neutral in the face of the German attack on Europe. We know also that the German Socialists have tried and are still trying, largely through the instrumentality of certain men—British by birth but not of heart—to weaken this country's resistance to Germany. And we know furthermore that this action on the part of the German Socialists is traditional with them and that Karl Marx at the time of the Franco-Prussian war, attempted to persuade the Socialists and Trades Unionists of France, not to defend their country against the invading Germans, nor to defend the newly-created French Republic against the Hohenzollern despotism!

Take this quotation from Mr Norman Angell:

Never at any stage of the world's development has there existed as to-day, the machinery for embodying the interests and class ideas and ideals which cut across frontiers. It is not generally understood how many of our activities have become international. Two great forces have become internationalised—Capital on the one hand, Labour and Socialism on the other.

We shall have more to say on that subject in the next issue.

To be continued.



## UNDER GERMAN RULE.

### A Suffragette in Brussels.

A W. S. P. U. member who has since managed to leave Brussels, writes as follows of her observations of German rule in that city:—

DEAR MISS PANKHURST,

I write to tell you of a few of my experiences in Brussels and of things I can guarantee to be true. Perhaps you may find something out of it which would interest readers of THE SUFFRAGETTE.

It is better if my name does not appear, as the Germans read all the English papers and if they saw my name are quite capable of imprisoning — and —, who are still in Brussels. Few who have not breathed the atmosphere of terror, can understand how necessary it is to be careful.

It amazes me that there still exist some women who do not realise one quarter of the suffering inflicted by the Germans. I can only tell of six months' personal experience in Brussels, which is nothing compared with what happens in the smaller towns and villages. In Brussels the Germans dare not commit like atrocities, because the people of neutral countries are there to watch.

I have seen many refugees of all classes arriving, often half-dressed and sometimes with children in nightgowns. One woman whom I pitied very much seemed inconsolable. Her daughter was missing from the village where she lived and the mother knew, as perhaps only Belgian and French mothers know, what had happened. The poor woman had not even the comfort of knowing her daughter was dead.

The mayor of a little village near Namur told me he saw a young boy cycling by, when the Uhlans arrived. They searched him, but in spite of the fact that he was too young to fight and was carrying nothing, the brutes tortured him for personal pleasure. They cut out his eyes, tore off his hair in patches and dragged him the length of the village by his legs. The game was not finished, however, for they let him go, ordering him to run for his life. He gave one stagger, but was shot.

The same mayor's brother is a doctor and has attended little children whose hands had been cut off by German soldiers.

In a village where I have been, a poor old deaf woman was walking along the road, when some passing soldiers called out to her to stand aside. Although she did not hear their command they shot her dead.

Some drunken soldiers went to the chateau of some friends of a Belgian lady I know and called in loud voices for food. The owner was alone with his wife and son, whom he hid in the cellar, while he explained that they themselves were starving, the German troops having taken all. The son hearing threats left the cellar, but when the soldiers saw him appear, they shot both father and son.

Even we in Brussels were little

better than prisoners, for we could neither write nor receive letters nor newspapers. Once I saw a poor man collecting letters to smuggle through. He probably knew the risk, but he was hungry and wanted work. Unluckily, a German governess saw him and identified him to two spies and with a sinking in my heart I saw him led away. I inquired, but never heard his fate, though I know he left four little motherless children behind. The Germans consider the carrying of personal letters even from one village to another, as an offence deserving of death. The soldiers always carry loaded guns and I have heard of many accidents through carelessness. While out walking one day I heard the report of a gun and the noise of broken glass and I found that the victim of carelessness was a girl who is now maimed for life.

Hundreds of persons who have committed trifling offences such as making a remark on a German poster have been imprisoned. I know a case of a mere boy being imprisoned for making fun of a placard. By imprisoning persons for a day, or two days, the Germans hope to intimidate the population into sub-

put down in their report that nothing is proved and that the owner himself does not know.

I think THE SUFFRAGETTE splendid and your warning against such ignoble persons as form the Union of Democratic Control, a charity to the thousands of brave people whose blood and tears are still flowing on Belgian soil.

Yours sincerely,

### GERMANY'S METHODS OF INTRIGUE.

The *Genlewoman* quotes the following from a letter from Mrs Pankhurst:

In Mrs Pankhurst's Study—"By means of intrigue, by the spreading of falsehoods and specious arguments of various kinds, by inducing the men and women to raise this cry of peace at any price, Germany will make repeated assaults upon public opinion in the hope of securing peace on terms which would be dangerous to this country and to Europe."

### WEEKLY WAR SERVICE MEETING.

The weekly W. S. P. U. War Service Meeting was held at the London Polytechnic on Thursday last when the speakers were Mr C. E. Wyn (Hon. Secretary of the London Czech Committee) and Miss Annie Kenney. Mrs Pankhurst was in the chair and a full report of her speech will be found on pages 184-185 of this issue.

### MEETINGS ADDRESSED BY MRS PANKHURST.

Mrs Pankhurst spoke at the Electric Theatre, Barking, on June 23rd when the chair was taken by Alderman W. P. Griggs, supported by Sir John Bethell, M.P. The hall was so crowded that Mrs Pankhurst had to address an overflow meeting from the steps of the theatre where a huge crowd assembled to listen to her speech.

On Friday June 25th Mrs Pankhurst spoke at a concert held at the Athenaeum, Camden Road, organised in aid of the W. S. P. U. scheme for dealing with the problem of the illegitimate child.

## Universal and Obligatory War Service for Men and Women.

### The Women's Social and Political Union

Has arranged to hold a

## WAR SERVICE MEETING

At the

### LONDON PAVILION, Piccadilly Circus, W.

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Every Thursday Afternoon from 3 to 5, until the end of July.

The next Meeting will be held on Thursday, July 8, at 3 p.m.

Speakers:

**M. EMILE CAMMAERTS,**

(The distinguished Belgian Poet),

**Mrs PANKHURST and Miss ANNIE KENNEY.**

jection, so the city is flooded with spies. I was looking in a shop window one day with a friend and talking as one does in Brussels, under our breath, when we suddenly turned round and saw a German listening to our conversation.

Every week things become worse and restrictions become greater. The inhabitants hardly dare breathe and live in a continual state of apprehension. It is a living death.

The Germans make up false reports in numberless ways; for example they bring a terrified landlord of burnt houses before them and cross-question him as to the destruction of his property. Naturally he does not know all the details of the burning, as it was the tenant who witnessed the burning, but when he says he was not there and that they must ask the tenant, the officials silence him and

### REMEMBER THIS!

The *Western Daily Press* in an editorial says:

There is, we believe, increasing eagerness everywhere to help and it is a pleasure to quote the stirring words of Miss Christabel Pankhurst in THE SUFFRAGETTE this week: "Remember this! Already half a million German women are making munitions, intended for the destruction of Europe's freedom. Are British women, who love their country, who adore liberty, to break their hearts in idleness instead of being allowed to get to work, to work!" With this spirit animating men and women alike, there should be no more stories of losses at the front through lack of means to crush the enemy's artillery and the opportunity of doing something will be welcomed by hundreds of thousands of men who are above military age.

### W. S. P. U. OPEN-AIR CAMPAIGN.

General Flora Drummond addressed a large crowd in Hyde Park on Sunday last and spoke at Clapham and later at Tower Hill on Friday, June 25th.

The following Meetings have been arranged for the coming week:

**Friday, July 2nd:** Tower Hill at 12.30. Speaker, Mrs Dacre Fox.

**Sunday, July 4th:** Hyde Park at 3.30. Speaker, General Drummond.

**Regent's Park, 12.30.** Speaker, Mrs Dacre Fox.

**Wednesday, July 7th:** Peckham Rye, at 7.30. Speaker, General Drummond.

**Friday, July 9th:** Clapham, at 8 p.m. Speaker, General Drummond.

Workers are wanted to assist with these meetings. Will those willing to help kindly communicate at once with Miss Cay at Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

## THOSE GERMAN SOCIALISTS!

Continued from page 187.

we shall, when they come to speak to us of peace or common action in view of peace, close our ears.

We wish before everything to live as nations, a life that is worth living. When this result has been achieved and only then, common action may become possible with those who like ourselves desire peace—not a hasty and precarious peace, but a durable peace, because it is founded on principle.

It is as a matter of fact, no longer possible, to limit the problem to Belgium and the departments of the North of France. Italy has intervened; the Balkan peoples will perhaps intervene to-morrow. Owing to the deeds of our aggressors, the question of nationalities, from the Vosges to the Dardanelles, is before us to-day for settlement.

Under these conditions, a return to the *status quo ante bellum* is impossible. We cannot refrain from asking what would happen if Poland, if Alsace-Lorraine and also the Rumanian, Serbian, Italian, Bulgarian and Greek populations should continue to be under the subjection of the Hapsburgs or the Kaiser? . . .

It will be interesting to know whether on these diverse questions that have to be settled, any of the Socialists of Germany and Austria adopt the same principles as we do and above all, whether they accept the logical consequences and the practical application of these principles. Of two things it must be one; either they must agree to abandon the principles which have always been up to now the principles of the International Socialist movement, or else they must attempt to maintain as regards the Central Monarchies the *regime of the status quo*, a *regime* entirely contrary to the rights of nationalities. In that case, their repudiation of the right of conquest and of the right of force is only a vague formula.

But if on the contrary, they are in accord with us in wishing that in the Europe of to-morrow there shall be no more unredeemed populations; they can no longer be in the same camp as the Hohenzollerns, the Hapsburgs and the Turks. They must be with them or against them. If to the unhappiness of the world the Germanic Alliance should triumph, there would be an end of liberty and democracy. . . .

## IS IT FAIR?

### IF THE BELGIANS—WHY NOT THE BRITISH!

A correspondent writes to *The Times* as follows:—

Yesterday I was called in to act as interpreter by the village constable, who, armed with papers and proclamations, was trying to persuade three Belgians to obey a recent order of their Government calling all men between 18 and 25 years of age to the colours.

My task was to make these men understand that if they did not obey the order they would be arrested by the police.

They appeared to resent this and asked what right had the British Government to enforce a Belgian law—a question which I was unable to answer.

They further objected that two or three millions of Britons of military age were pursuing business and pleasure as usual; and they did not think it fair that a few thousand Belgian refugees should be forced to go and fight for a

cause which is as vital to Britain as it is to Belgium, unless a corresponding obligation were placed upon our young men.

So I showed them a leading article in one of the evening papers protesting against compulsory military service in this country on the ground that we as a democratic people must never consent to the "Germanisation of our institutions." This phrase—translated to the best of my ability—seemed to impress the Belgians.

After a little thought, however, one of them asked me what it meant. I explained that compulsory military service was supposed by us to be a peculiarly German institution, which other nations had foolishly copied; that it was contrary to our principles to copy anything from any other nation—particularly Germany; and that we as a free people preferred to leave it to a man's conscience to dictate whether he should serve his country in her hour of need or not.

The Belgians thereupon pointed out that they did not have universal military service in their country before the war and that the situation must be very grave to have induced their Government to make it compulsory now. They could not understand why the British Government did not make a similar law, as a few extra thousand Belgians could not possibly affect the issue, whereas a few extra million Britons would most certainly do so.

I answered that that might well be true; but that as the leading politicians in this country had always opposed compulsory military service and had persuaded the people that it was un-English and unnecessary, they could not advocate it now, as that would be an admission of error and might conceivably harm their future political careers.

As this reason did not appear to carry conviction and I was anxious to save these men from the consequences of their obstinacy, I tried another line of argument. I pointed out that every Frenchman, every Russian, every Italian and every Serbian accepted military service as an honourable and necessary obligation; that this was the only country in Europe that confided the guardianship of its integrity to such of its citizens as chose voluntarily to undertake that duty; and that if the manhood of their Continental Allies were to refuse to fight for the common cause until Great Britain adopted compulsory military service, it would be quite impossible to carry the war to a victorious conclusion.

This settled the matter; the papers were signed and the young and lusty constable departed with the confidential remark that "some of these Belgians (*sic*) gave a rare lot of trouble."

On my way home I reflected with satisfaction on the ease with which the Government of our great Empire can obtain recruits for the Belgian Army and wondered whether it would not be possible to apply similar pressure to others of our guests. There must be still a few Serbians and Montenegrins in England who, for one reason or another, have been able to avoid the sacrifice which we expect from our Allies and we are certainly entitled to demand that the Government should ruthlessly arrest these defaulters and return them to their respective armies. There are plenty of able-bodied young Britons who would join in the hunt and thus "do their bit" for their country.

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## THE GERMAN SPY.

### A PROPHETIC WARNING.

IN 1871, after the close of the Franco-German War and the departure of the German armies from Paris, a French writer, Paul de Saint-Victor, wrote of the Germans:

"Let us still learn their obscure and inextricable language, behind which in the past, knowing our ignorance, they hid their plans of hatred and their projects of ravage, as they hide their hordes in the depths of the woods. . . .

But for the rest let us mark out between them and us an inviolable frontier. Let us remain as French in spirit, in ideas and customs as we are at heart. It is in embracing our natal earth and letting ourselves be penetrated by its sap, that we shall recover our forces and keep off the barbarous giant who has conquered us.

Paris had before the war been conquered by Germany. Germany exploited the Bourse, encumbered our commerce, usurped our business and our industries. From the boot-making to the banking, the plan was made and the conquest methodical.

These guests to whom we were so hospitable accomplished their "mission." They sapped and they mined. The spy came down upon us and he corresponded with his master. To-day we know how accurate was the information he sent!

The German colony of Paris rallied the army of Prussia. The banker who had been living "famillionaire" in our midst, had laid the foundation of the extermination and ruin that was brought upon us. The German student aimed a Krupp cannon against the University on whose benches he had been wont to sit and study. The German doctor directed a monster mortar against the scientific museum whose collections and archives he had taken advantage of.

Tannhäuser, if he had been there, would have tried to destroy with bombs the opera-house in which his music had been played.

THIS TERRIBLE LESSON WILL NOT BE LOST UPON US!!

And the French writer, Henri Lavedan, who recalls these words to the memory of the French public of to-day, says: "Alas, the lesson was lost. Shall it be lost in future!"

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