

The Suffragette

Edited by Christabel Pankhurst

Official Organ of the Women's Social and Political Union

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Rheims Cathedral—September 1914.

**That which the Fire and Sword of the Germans
can never destroy.**

Reproduction of a Cartoon
circulated in France.

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Review of the Week.

The Love of Country.

What self-respect and dignity, are to the individual, the patriotism of its members is to the Nation. This paper, *The Suffragette*, has always sought to rouse women to a sense of their personal dignity and importance, and of their rights as individuals, and so quite naturally and logically, in the present national crisis, our appeal is to the patriotism of women. In militant women, the love of country is necessarily strong. The supreme reason why we have fought for the vote is that we might obtain the power to help in making British civilization, an even finer contribution to the civilization of the world than it has been in the past.

"Our Country is our Temple."

We Suffragettes are no believers in that sham internationalism which is really disloyalty and anti-nationalism. With Mazzini we believe that "our country is the token of the mission which God has given us to fulfil to humanity." Our country, as Mazzini expressed it, is our temple, and he who seeks by force to destroy it, is our enemy, and we must resist him, having as our warrant and justification for such resistance the example of Christ, who drove out the money-changers from the temple, with a whip of small cords.

Some Few Ungrateful Children.

There are those who say in the voice of the tempter, "What has your country done for you? Has it not even treated you harshly?" and again, "Has nothing wrong ever been done in the name of Britain?" To all this we answer, "If, during the centuries of history here have been people who, through bad judgment or intention, have smirched the good name of our beautiful country, the great mother of us all, that cannot weaken our love for her, nor make us forgetful of our debt and duty to her. It is simply a reason why we should strive unceasingly to be ourselves more deserving of the privileges, and more equal to the responsibilities that British citizenship carries with it. The world knows our country's worth, even though some few ungrateful children of hers may not know it."

German Hatred.

Some persons are obsessed by the idea, that the Germans will hate us after this war is over. German hatred, past, present, or future, cannot be allowed to make us swerve from the path of duty. There is for individuals and for nations a hatred which is an honour. Besides, the important question for the Germans will be, not their hatred of us, but how they are to regain the world's respect and esteem, which they have wholly lost as the result of the war. As for Great Britain, those who have been abroad since the outbreak of the war have learnt that because of her share in the war, she never has stood higher in the respect and affection of the world, than she stands now. Let us not lose this affection, and this respect. The way to lose them would be (as some wrongheaded people seem to wish) to betray our Allies by indulging in cowardly self-righteousness, in the form of compromise with Germany, at the expense of the rest of the world.

A separate peace with Austria, on any terms inconsistent with the national rights and aspirations of the peoples who are looking to win freedom through the Great War, would also be shameful.

Liberty and the Rights of Small Nations.

We have a duty, not only to our Allies, but to the neutral nations, who are counting upon us to guarantee them against the fate that has befallen Belgium and Serbia. They trust us no less than do our Allies, to be loyal to the very end to the cause of small nations, and to the cause of liberty. Certain neutral nations would be already in the field fighting by our side, it seems, but for German influence, which, by working upon their ruling families, and making itself felt in other ways, has so far prevented the war which their wisest and noblest people desire.

On pages 9, 10, & 11 of this issue will be found articles and news indicating the state of opinion in neutral countries, and showing in what spirit our Allies are fighting. Let us all be worthy of them and faithful to our common cause.

The Duty of fighting the Kaiser.

Before the war we militants fought the British Government for the sake of liberty, and after the war, if it should still be necessary, we are prepared and determined to fight them again. If we have been and shall be right in so doing, then it is a thousand times more our duty to fight the Kaiser and his army: to fight Germany which, by the Kaiser, and the Prussian system, has been made into the greatest menace to liberty that the world knows to-day. It is a mistake to suppose that all the fighting can be left to our army and navy. The war is waged by thought as well as by deeds, and we non-combatants must reinforce by our thoughts the fighters in the trenches and on the seas.

Stand firm! The Civilian's Task.

We have all heard of the soldier at the front who, discussing the situation with his comrades in the trenches, expressed the conviction that the victory of the Allies is assured, provided the civilians stand firm. There is wisdom in his words! In so far as victory depends upon the ability, the heroism of our fighting forces, all is indeed well. It is the duty of us civilians to stand firm, and not to barter away in negotiation and by reason of false sentimentality (which would be really cruelty to other nations, and treachery to the cause of liberty) the victory won for us by those who have paid the price for it in suffering and in death.

To the soldier falls the duty of facing shot and shell, and repelling the armed forces of the enemy. To the civilian falls the task of overcoming the intrigue of the enemy.

Secret, Unofficial "Diplomacy."

A tyrant defeated on the plane of physical force, always resorts to underground and indirect methods—in a word, to intrigue. As we have pointed out above, it is the civilians who are mainly responsible for national defence against this form of attack. From past experience, we may gain some idea of what to expect in the future. To begin with, there is the secret, unofficial "diplomacy" referred to in our leading article. Appeals to that sentimentality which is always Satan's opportunity will be made, and must have their answers, including that of "Remember Belgium!" We shall be asked to pity the German people. To that our answer must be "The German people's best friends are the Allied armies, who are going thoroughly to defeat the German people's worst enemies, namely, the Kaiser and the Prussian system."

Wire-pulling the British Press.

Secret Unofficial "Diplomacy" has in the past taken various forms; thus there was Councillor Kuhlmann, of the German Embassy in London, who, as the London correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* related the other day, made it his business to "work" the British press in the interests of German Kultur, and cultivated a large acquaintance among the journalists of London and of the country as a whole. To the last moment he was seeking to use the British press to promote the German policy of keeping Britain neutral. It was Bismarck who reduced newspaper intrigue to a fine art, and Councillor Kuhlmann certainly appears to be a true Bismarckian! He is now, we learn, in Holland, as near as the exigencies of war permit him to get to London, the scene of his past exploits! It is said, and we rejoice to hear it, that foreign newspaper correspondents in Holland have made a hostile demonstration against this man in order to mark their indignation at his efforts to debase the profession of journalism, in the promotion of Kultur.

Financiers, Professors, and "Internationalists."

The German "international" financiers who have a footing in all countries and notably in our own, have done their share of the secret "diplomacy" which was to clear the way for the conquering hosts of the Kaiser by keeping the British army from the path. The German professors also had an important part to play, namely, that of persuading our learned men of the supremacy of Germany in their particular sphere, and of the peaceful intentions of their imperial master. The doctrines of "internationalism" have been sedulously preached by Germans of all sorts and degrees, who most of them seem to think that internationalism properly understood means Germany over all things and over everybody, and a readiness on the part of other peoples to submit to German conquest rather than resist it by armed force.

The Kaiser's Part.

A discussion of this matter would be incomplete without a reference to the personal activity of the Kaiser himself. It is a well known fact that he has received and conversed with numbers of British subjects, most of whom must have realised at the time that it was not so much for the sheer pleasure of such intercourse the Kaiser sought them out, as for the purpose of making a certain impression upon their minds, and of exercising a certain influence upon their actions. But a minority of them seem still to allow the remembrance of the Kaiserly condescension and affability to blind them to the truth concerning the Kaiser's motives, his present conduct and his aspirations for the future.

The Suffragette

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

PRICE ONE PENNY—EVERY THURSDAY.
FRIDAY, April 16, 1915.

We will not be Prussianised.

Until the beginning of the war, the people of this country had been living in a fool's paradise. We were, in fact, thoroughly duped by Germany. When we thought that no danger threatened from that quarter, we were entirely mistaken. Those who still, in spite of present-day knowledge, refuse to admit that their former trust in Germany was misplaced, are a public danger, or would be so, if their words were allowed in any way to influence the nation's policy.

It is perhaps small wonder that, until the war actually came, the general public did not see the danger of it. To begin with, nobody wanted war, and the wish that there should not be war, was father to the thought that there would be peace. The public unconsciousness of danger was, moreover, encouraged by prominent men politicians. Women's attention was given to the question, the fundamental one for men in time of peace, of winning political rights, and pending the acquisition of those rights, even the militants to some extent observe the old custom of more or less leaving to men the consideration of questions of national defence and foreign policy.

But never again will militant women, even for a moment, withdraw their attention from such matters. Above all, they will oppose that secret and unofficial diplomacy, as the result of which the Germans claim to have had assurances from persons of more or less political importance in this country, that Great Britain would stand aside and not attempt to repel Germany's attack upon her neighbours. In other words, the Germans, although they have failed to obtain from the British Government the pledge of a free hand to dominate Europe, nevertheless believed that they had influenced so many of the Government's supporters, that when war came, the

Government would be unable to move, and Britain would consequently remain neutral.

At this point we may recall the fact that for, international purposes, no distinction can be drawn between the rulers of Germany and the people of Germany. For as Gladstone said, "It is impossible to absolve a people from plenary responsibility to another people for the acts of its government." The French people in 1870 did not wish to be responsible for the acts of their ruler, nor did they wish their country to suffer for his faults. They therefore dethroned Napoleon III., and set up a new form of government. Unless the German people follow their example, they share the guilt of the Kaiser and his ministers where this criminal war against Europe is concerned.

The German people must choose between their Hohenzollern Emperors and Prussianism on the one hand, and the trust of the world on the other.

We hear it said that it is impossible to impose a new form of government on Germany from without, though this was done a hundred years ago in the case of France. But if it is only the German people themselves who can set their constitutional affairs in order, then let them do it, or take the consequences!

So long as a nation's form of government affects only its own subjects, there is much to be said in favour of the doctrine that other nations shall not interfere, for a precedent for outside interference might be used as an excuse for interference with systems of government supposed to be too free and too enlightened. The Hohenzollerns, however, are more than a national evil; they are an international evil, with their intrigues, their wars and threats of wars, and their attempts to annex or to dictate the policy of other nations—all these practices having the one supreme object of enabling them to dominate the world.

If the German people continue to be so governed as to constitute a menace to the rest of the world, then the least that we other nations can do in self-protection is to constantly be on our guard, and to stand

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united in our own defence. The Alliance that is saving Europe from Hohenzollern and Prussian domination will be maintained, and probably will be strengthened by the addition of other members.

The outcry that is being raised against the system of Alliances is simply the measure of the Kaiser's wrath at finding his German Austrian-Turkish Alliance incapable of defeating the nations arrayed against him. The audacity of the German and pro-German attacks upon the French-Russian-British Alliance is obvious, when we remember that the German system of Alliance (formerly including Italy as well as Austria), was the first in the field. The much discussed, but not always carefully examined plan for a concert of Europe, with an International Council to regulate European affairs, is utterly impracticable and dangerous, so long as the German point of view remains what it is. We have our warning. Professor Ostwald puts the thing in a nutshell by saying that there must be a Federation of Europe, with the Kaiser as President as its head! Precisely! By guile where force has failed, by "peaceful" manipulation when war has ended in defeat, the Kaiser aspires, should he be Kaiser still, to impose the Prussian system on the world.

During this war, and after it, let this be our watchword:—We will not be Prussianised, either by violence or intrigue, or any means whatever! We know too well what Prussianism has done to destroy the soul of Germany, and to kill the spirit of liberty in the German people!

As for Suffragettes, their whole fight has been against that evil which is disavowed and discredited in their own country, even though it lingers on in its long death-struggle, but which in a grosser form is glorified and enthroned and more alive than ever in Prussia.

The women's cause is one and the same cause as that of the Belgians, and as that of all the peoples who, whether they are actually fighting or not, are looking to this war to lift the fear of Prussia from their hearts.

CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

AMERICA and the PEACE TERMS

By CHRISTABEL PANKHURST

America is for the Allies! Dr Dernburg, the Crown Prince, the Kaiser, these and many others have tried to win American approval of the German case, but the harder they try, the more they fail.

Americans have not based their judgment concerning the war upon the evidence supplied by the Allies so much as upon the evidence supplied by the Germans, and it is German words and German deeds that have caused Americans to range themselves on the side of the Allies. The invasion of Belgium, the starvation of Belgium, the attempts to blacken Belgium's reputation by pretending that she was the destroyer of her own neutrality—these are regarded as crimes. Criminal also it is held was the refusal to arbitrate the Austrian-Serbian question. The revelation made on behalf of Italy, that Germany meditated war in 1913, the vast preparations Germany is now seen to have made for the present conflict—are taken as proof that Germany wanted and intended war.

Abhorrent to real American.

The idea of German domination, the military, economic, or cultural in any sense of that term, is as abhorrent to real Americans as it is to the Belgians, the French, the Italians, the British, or any other European people. The war has not left America entirely unscathed. She has experienced certain of the German methods and does not like them, as they affect herself. The abuse of German passports is a serious offence, including as it does the theft of the Charles Inglis passport by the Berlin Foreign Office, and various other cases familiar to the public. The attempt to impose the will of Prussia upon America through the medium of the German-American vote is more than any free nation can tolerate. The sinking of the "Falaba" and the drowning of an American citizen is another of the hostile acts committed by Germany against America.

American People had made up their minds.

But before they had any personal and direct experience of this kind, the American people had made up their minds. By no means the first, but a very telling expression of the American point of view was the famous *New York Times*' editorial which it appears excited so much indignation in Berlin. Said the *New York Times*:—

The world cannot, will not, let Germany win in this war. With her dominating all Europe, peace and security would vanish from the earth. . . . A few months ago, the world only dimly comprehended Germany, now it knows her thoroughly. Germany is doomed to sure defeat. Yet the doom of the German Empire may become the deliverance of the German people if they will betimes but seize and hold their own. . . . Leipzig began and Waterloo achieved the emancipation of the French people from the bloody, selfish, and sterile domination of the Corsican ogre. St Helena made it secure. Sedan sent the Little Napoleon sprawling, and the statesman of France instantly established and proclaimed the Republic. Will the Germans blindly insist on having their Waterloo, their Sedan—and their St Helena too?"

Many and eloquent are the declarations of support for the Allies and condemnation of Germany's part in the war, that America's

wisest and most honoured citizens have made. Doctor Charles Elliot, President Emeritus of Harvard, who has been called the greatest living American, has said:—

All our American ideas of the right to life, liberty, property, happiness have been nullified by this nation which is led by a ruler who has an archaic idea of his powers and of his relation to the world. Let us not confuse our minds by failing to see whither the German policy tends. We must help the Allies if our assistance is requested.

America has saved Belgium.

There are people in our own country who express regret that America has made no formal protest against the invasion of Belgium and various acts in violation of the Hague Convention, and many Americans share this regret. But the matter is of less importance than it might be, because Germany knows that Americans condemn not only their manner of waging war but also for having brought the war about. Moreover, let us consider what the American people have done! They have defended the Belgian people against the German methods of extermination, for the Germans would have let the Belgian people starve to death, and it is American help alone that has saved them. American ambassadors and consuls have done an incalculable service to humanity by their efforts to protect subjects of all the allied nations in Germany and in territory occupied by the German armies.

The American people have formed an audience, before whose eyes Germany has had to act throughout the war. The presence of this audience has (and all the more so since Germany realised the American people's abhorrence of the policy of frightfulness) prevented atrocities, even more numerous, perhaps even more terrible if that could be than the atrocities that have actually been committed.

It would be wrong for a few to rail at the American people, and a cure for those disposed to do it would be to cross the Atlantic and get a fuller understanding of the position.

A Cool-headed People.

But this is not the only mistake that can be made where America is concerned. The Americans are a warm-hearted and generous people, but they are at the same time a cool-headed people, possessed of a strong sense of humour and great reasoning power. It is therefore idle and foolish to tell them, as some of our sentimentalists do, that they are the "supreme moral power in the world to-day," and that it is for them to "assume the moral leadership of the world." Naturally, such statements make them laugh! Another point, because of the idealism and the moral fervour of which Americans have a full share, because also of their common-sense and logical way of looking at things, American goodwill does not need to be

The Question of Contraband.

bought by a compromise of principle on points at which British belligerent interests and American neutral interests may conflict. For example, since cotton may properly be

declared contraband owing to its use in connection with the manufacture of ammunition, the Allies ought not out of an imaginary fear of alienating Americans to allow cotton to reach Germany. Even if a section murmured, they would do so without conviction, because they would know themselves to be without legal or moral justification for doing so. Certainly the mass of the nation would uphold the Allies' decision with regard to the matter. "Britain can easily prevent us, from selling cotton to Germany and Austria without evoking any protest from us," says Colonel George Harvey, editor of the *North American Review*, in his open letter in the *Times*. Yet another point! Statements addressed to the American public need to have no special flavour adapting them to American consumption. The Americans are not strangers to our point of view. The speech or the interview or the manifesto that appeals to the British public is precisely that which will appeal most strongly to the American public. Americans think and often speak of the Allies' struggle as "our" fight, and look forward to the Allies' victory as "our" victory. It is in the same spirit of confidence and comradeship that we must address them.

Europe's War—Europe's Peace.

"The terms of peace will probably be settled in Washington," says Mr Norman Angell. Responsible America does not agree with him. This is Europe's war, and it will naturally be Europe's peace. It is true that America has certain interests in common with Europe, but it is still more true that what to Europe are primary interests are to her secondary interests. America's centre of gravity is not the same; her tasks and problems are not the same as are those of Europe. It is not for nothing that America and Europe lie in different hemispheres. The geographical distance between the two continents brings with it many and surprisingly great consequences. The youth of the United States as a nation, the heterogeneous character of its racial elements, that will be, but are not yet completely welded into one, are facts that materially affect the situation.

To Europe, the present war, the causes of it, the results of it, matter infinitely more to Europeans than to Americans. One word more or less in the terms of peace may mean the difference between freedom or subjection to thousands of human souls in Europe. Nothing in the peace terms can so closely concern Americans. Therefore it is those who have suffered, it is those who have most to lose or gain by the terms of peace, who must decide what these terms shall be.

Europe and the Munroe Doctrine.

For America to have a voice in settling the peace terms would be a tremendous reversal of her past policy. It would entirely change her position and her world responsibility. She could never again, in the event of another great European war, remain neutral. Indeed it is only because she was not one of the guarantors of Belgium's

(Continued on page 10.)

THE SPIRIT OF OUR ALLIES.

The Spirit of France.

By MAURICE BARRES, of the Academie Francaise, 1^c.

Translated from the French with acknowledgments to the "Echo de Paris."

It is not the neutral countries who will give us Victory, but ourselves and our will to be victorious. Italy, Roumania, Greece, and Bulgaria, when you please, and if your heart bids you to it, we will make room for you at the battle and at the final rejoicing. If not, with our own means, cheerfully we shall accomplish our hard task, the defeat of Germany.

Nor must you imagine either that we are in difficulties with regard to finishing this operation which is more than half accomplished.

A Miracle-Working People.

The decisive battle of the Marne, that sublime day on which the military might of Germany received a blow from which it will never recover, proves to the world that we are still the miracle-working people which sprang from Joan of Arc.

What was the secret of the Maid who drove out the foreigner from our land? Twice in the course of her career she revealed how hope and certainty developed in her. "Defend yourself and Heaven will defend you," said she; and again, "Work, and God will work."

It is an old proverb of the people of France, this watchword of the Maid, and it was taken up by the canny fabler, La Fontaine, justly dear to sceptics. This saying tells us everything. It expresses the deep wisdom of our brave nation, and gives the explanation of the great miracles of our History.

It is well that we shall now raise on high the figure of the young girl Warrior and Martyr, who led our forefathers to victory, saying, "Work, and God will work."

We strengthen and develop a state of mind by glorifying it. It is good for us to be, as we are, in an atmosphere of Joan of Arc.

Lifting up the Soul of her Contemporaries.

This heroic girl lifted up the soul of her contemporaries; she put them into an extraordinary state of mind; she warmed their hearts to that point of enthusiasm, which is the genius of the masses. Thanks to her, during many months the French found themselves to be greater than themselves, and capable of accomplishing that which they could not have accomplished until then.

How did she manage it? It is not easy for us to distinguish what could stir the soul in the days of Joan of Arc, and make it give out all its strength. But on the eve of the battle of the Marne, when Paris almost came under a foreign yoke, we all knew that we could not and would not survive our country. "This time," said our chief, "it is a question of Victory or Death." And it was not only that he saw this truth and made us understand it; he communicated to every rank, down to the most obscure soldier, the strength to act in conformity with this idea, while he himself, received from all, in return, the certainty that he had at his disposal an invincible force. Thus was the miracle renewed?

France stands firm.

In the time of Joan of Arc, and in the time of Joffre, France stands firm and finds in herself the strength to surpass herself. Raised to this degree of moral temperature, a people loses the sense of insufficiency which the day before made it doubtful of itself. It understands that which it is creating (as an artist, in

a flash, conceives the work he is about to accomplish); it sees the invisible, and is assured of its future.

Once again we are going to perform miraculous deeds, provided we realise, that it is in ourselves we must find strength to achieve our task. We have invited neutral nations to the honour of delivering the final attack upon the enemy. They delay their decision. Let them know that the harvest is not easily reaped by those who have not sown, and that the advantage is always in proportion to the effort that has been made.

"Defend yourself, and Heaven will defend you."

The device of Joan of Arc is of value to the whole world—"Defend yourself, and Heaven will defend you." As for us, if we must manage our affairs by ourselves, there are wise people who believe that this will be the best and almost as quick a way. In any case, England and Russia, Belgium, Serbia, and France, know how to protect their own interests and the interests of civilisation.

THE PATRIOT'S CREED.

By HENRI LAVEDAN,
of the Academie Francaise, 1^c.
(Translated from the French.)

25th August 1914.—Our offensive has failed to break through the German lines.

We have had to retreat, and we await better fortune. But all of us, who, day by day, breathlessly watch from afar the mysterious march of fate—how are we for weeks, perhaps for months, to meet the furious attacks that as it were from the field of battle are made upon our thoughts! These attacks we must answer by this article of Faith, upon which all who have no share in the fighting, must take their stand as though clad in armour—

I believe in the courage of our soldiers, and the ability and devotion of our chiefs.

I believe in the strength of Right, in this crusade of the civilised peoples—I believe in France eternal, imperishable, and necessary to the world.

I believe in the reward of our grief, and in the worth of our hopes.

I believe in confidence, in concentration, in good daily labour, in order, in militant charity.

I believe in the holy wishes of the aged, and in the almighty ignorance of children.

I believe in the prayers of women, in the heroic vigil of wives, in the devout calm of mothers, in the purity of our Cause; in the immaculate glory of our flag.

I believe in our great past, in our great present, and in our still greater future.

I believe in the living Champions of France, and I believe in her Dead.

I believe in the hands that grip the sword, and I believe in the hands folded in prayer.

I believe in ourselves; I believe in God. I believe . . . ! I believe . . . !

And to the very end, whatever may happen, I shall not cease from repeating this article of faith, which is my canticle, my litany, my Allelujah

THE BELGIAN TRAGEDY.

By MAURICE MAETERLINCK.

Author of "Wisdom and Destiny," "The Blue Bird," etc.

A Speech delivered at Rome to the Association of the Italian Press.

In Belgium at this moment there is in progress a tragedy that has no precedent in the history of civilized people, nor even that of barbarous peoples, for the Barbarians when they committed their greatest crimes, had not the infernal sequence of ideas, nor the scientific and all-powerful means that are possessed at the present time by those who profit by the researches and benefits of civilization, only to turn them against civilization, and to destroy all that is most generous and most noble in it.

A Vast Prussian Prison.

The desperate rumours of this tragedy reach us only through the fissures in the wall of blood that isolates it from the rest of the world. Nothing but the lies of the enemy reach our ears, and we must be strongly on our guard against these biased reports appearing in certain newspapers in neutral countries, reports that are too naively reproduced by some French and English newspapers. These reports, which periodically announce that the situation in Belgium is improving, that life is resuming its normal course, that foodstuffs are abundant, are all, needless to say, of a purely German origin.

In reality, Belgium is nothing but a vast Prussian prison, where every cry is methodically and brutally stifled and whence comes no voice save that of the jailer. Only now and again, after a thousand adventures, and after overcoming a thousand dangers, the letter of a relative or a captive friend reaches us from that immense enclosure, and gives us a gleam of the real truth.

There remains nothing.

That truth is as well known to you as to me. At the moment when her territory was invaded, Belgium had 7,700,000 inhabitants, and it is estimated that about three hundred thousand died in battle.

In am not speaking here of the children—the very small children, who, it appears, for want of milk, have died in appalling numbers.

Five or six hundred thousand unhappy ones took refuge in Holland, France, and England.

There remained then in Belgium nearly 7,000,000 inhabitants, and these seven million inhabitants are living almost entirely upon American charity.

In a country that is above all industrial, and that even normally and in time of peace does not produce a third of the wheat necessary for its own consumption, the enemy have systematically requisitioned everything, and taken away everything for the maintenance of its army, and have sent into Germany what it could not consume on the spot. The result of these monstrous proceedings is easily understood. In this land, once so happy and so prosperous, to-day subjected to extortion, pillaged and re-pillaged, ravished, devastated by fire and sword, there remains nothing—

A Soul too great to be enslaved.

Has there ever in the course of history been a more poignant, or more desperate tragedy? An

SERBIA AND FRANCE.

A Fraternal Friendship.

Following upon the celebration of Serbian Day in France, Mr Vennitch, the Serbian Minister in Paris, issued the following letter:—

"The Serbian Day was the most touching manifestation of sympathy that one nation could offer to another. All Serbs are profoundly grateful for this to noble France.

"The friendship between our two nations is not a thing of yesterday.

"France and Serbia have been united for thirteen centuries by an affinity that has never been broken.

"It was in the year of grace 623—think of it!—in the time of the King Dagobert, that Franco-Serbian friendship first manifested itself, upon the battlefield of Hungary, when our ancestors were led into battle by your compatriot, Samo, who became their king. It was in 649 that a priest of the diocese of Poitiers preached the Christian religion to our ancestors, and three years later he was assassinated by the Germans. All that is related by your old chronicler Frédégaire.

Affinity between French and Serbs.

"Yes, we French and Serbian people, have fought the same fight; we have had all through history the same enemies.

"But there is between the French and the Serbs something better than the associations of centuries. There is between us a spontaneous affinity.

"History shows this. During four centuries of Turkish domination, France did not forget us. Karageorge, who re-established the independence of Serbia, had so many French traits that one of your writers imagined that he was a Frenchman who had become a Serb, and the only Power to which he sent an official representative was France, in 1806, the year of Léna.

"Since then the affinity between the two people has grown. Your great men, such as Laboulaye, Lamartine, Victor Hugo, Gambetta, have understood it and have admirably expressed it.

"French diplomacy was favourable to us even before the Franco-Russian Alliance, and whenever we had need of foreign aid, it was to you quite naturally that we have looked with confidence.

Russia the Big Brother of Serbia.

"We are a people to whom the family never seems large enough, who feel the need of including others in the community of the hearth. We remain as were the sons of Youg Bogdan, who at the end of the fourteenth century fought against the Turks. They were nine brothers, who armed themselves for the battle of Kossovo, and yet they looked for still more warriors in order to make brothers of them. This tradition of brotherhood by adoption has been perpetuated among us with all its rights. Just as we observe it towards a faithful friend, so we are ready to observe it towards the nation that we love. Certainly we Serbs can say, as said the nine legendary brothers, that we are not alone in the world.

"We have, in our Slav race, our big brothers, the Russians, your Allies. We have our brothers the Poles and our indomitable brothers, the Czechs. But we want still another fraternity. For a long time one people has attracted us by its altruism. This people knows not that appetite for domination, that passion of egotism that fills the soul of our common enemy. It has always been the Chevalier of Right and Liberty. This great, this generous people is

France. The present draws us together even more than the past.

This Brotherhood of the Heart.

"As does the French nation, so do we at this time sacrifice the best of our blood, in order that the country shall live—the country which is the incarnation of that which springs from the heart and makes the nobility of the Spirit.

"This brotherhood of the heart I offer to the whole French people, in the name of my king, who was a French officer in 1870, in the name of all my compatriots, whatever their religion, or whatever the flag under which they were born."

Note.—Pobratinstvo (brotherhood); Posestrinstvo (sisterhood).

An old Serbian custom is the adoption by two men or boys of each other, as "brothers," or by girls as "sisters," or sometimes by two of different sex, as "brother and sister"; the brother in that case would be a relative of the girl, too near in blood, according to Serbian usage, to marry or admit of any but fraternal affection between the two. It would be sacrilege and illegal for them to marry. This system is the literal application of the Christian principle of brotherhood, developed into an institution during the bitterest times of oppression by a foreign foe. Two young men going into battle bound themselves as brothers in ties of closest fealty, which endured through all trials.

This tie is considered most sacred by Serbians. The principle of the brotherhood of man, not as a theory, but as a daily life motive, is manifested in many Serbian institutions. The Moba is the gathering together by spontaneous consent of neighbours to help one another, either to put in crops or to harvest them, especially in the case of widows and poor farmers who have not the necessary help on their farms and are too poor to hire such.

The Freeing of Russia.

By PRINCE TROUBETSKOY.

(Translated from an article in the Moscow "Russkiya Vedomosti.")

Without question the most important thing that has happened during these historic days is the spiritual revolution through which we have passed. For the first time after many years, we have seen a united, a whole Russia.

In 1887, during the Turkish War, our state of mind was in many respects similar to what we have now. Then also all differences were forgotten; all were united in one thought, in one outburst.

We have thus revealed the one great secret of our national life. For the second time in my memory Russia finds her spiritual unity in a war of liberation.

There were many reasons why we suffered defeat in the last Japanese war. The main reason, it seems to me, was the following:—There was not that super-national aim which could unite Russia in one whole and make her live with one feeling; we were fighting only for ourselves and for foreign territory. And Russia has never found inspiration in serving a bare national interest.

By serving Russia.

It is a peculiarity of Russian patriotism that it is never inspired by the idea of the fatherland as such, by serving Russia as such. In order to give ourselves up for the fatherland we must know what service the fatherland itself is doing,

(continued on page 10)

INTERESTING ITEMS.

READY FOR ANY WORK.

A large number of Dundee women have responded to the Government's call for female labour for war service. The working class women are being employed largely in the jute mills and factories, which are working fully, but the educated women of the middle classes are registering themselves for Government service. The majority of these women have applied for clerical posts, but many have made application for work as chauffeurs, and shell-makers, while others have indicated that they are willing to be trained for any work to which they may be set.

VARIED WORK BY WOMEN.

Other ways in which women are filling the places of men are as lift attendants (both at Selfridge's and at Harrod's women have been employed in this capacity for many months), newsgirls, clerks in railway and tube ticket offices, clerks at bookstalls, telegraph and postal messengers, bank clerks, railway carriage cleaners, grocers' assistants. Women are also now employed extensively in armament and munition factories.

DOCKERS IN KHAKI.

Much interest has been aroused in the scheme by which men of the Dockers' Union are to be enrolled in special companies, and in addition to their ordinary wages are to receive payment at army rates. There is a widespread feeling that this system should without delay be applied, for the benefit of working women, at the same rate of pay.

OBITUARY NOTICES.

Miss FLORENCE CANNING.

We deeply regret to have to record the death of Miss Florence Canning. Miss Canning was one of the oldest and most devoted members of the W.S.P.U. Daughter of the Rev. Thomas Canning, Vicar of Tupsley, Hereford, she was an artist by profession, but gave up painting in 1906 in order to devote her whole time to Woman Suffrage. In July 1908 she was imprisoned in Holloway for going on a deputation to the Prime Minister, and also took part in subsequent deputations, being one of the large number of women who formed the famous deputation of Black Friday. She was so maltreated by the police on that occasion that cancer resulted and an operation became necessary. From then till her death on Christmas Eve of last year she suffered continuously, but notwithstanding this, she continued to address meetings in all parts of the country, not only for the W.S.P.U., but also for the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association, and for the Church League for Women's Suffrage, to both of which societies she belonged, being on the Executive Committee of the latter. In the spring of 1914 she took part in the deputation to the King, and was arrested, her subsequent speech in the dock causing a deep impression. The following June she was compelled to give up all work and go to the south coast for special treatment. She remained there till her death six months

later, and although unable to take an active part in the work of the Union she loved, she never ceased to take an intense interest in all its activities, and to do all that lay in her power to interest everyone with whom she came in contact in its work and aims. The last few weeks of her life, which were spent at Brighton, were full of the greatest suffering, and although those around her were only too well aware of the rapid approaching of the end, she herself steadfastly refused to recognise the possibility of more than a few weeks' illness, and continued to make plans for the new year, and almost her last act before she died was to dictate a list of friends to whom she wished to send copies of Miss Pankhurst's pamphlet on the war as a Christmas card. She died on Christmas Eve, and was taken to Hereford to be buried.

A wreath in the colours of the Union was placed on her coffin by a representative of the W.S.P.U., and members of the Union were present at her funeral.

Rev. H. K. Hope.

It is also with the deepest regret which will be shared by all members of the W.S.P.U., that we have to record the death of the Rev. H. K. Hope which took place at Bexhill in February last.

On the death of his wife, Mr Hope came to live at Bexhill. When he came into touch with the local W.S.P.U. he entered closely into the Women's Question, and thenceforth became the staunchest supporter of the Union, never wavering in his allegiance, and attending the weekly local meetings with his entire household, heading processions with his motor car flying the colours, and escorting the speakers to distant villages for open air meetings.

Miss Mordan.

Miss Clara Evelyn Mordan, a pioneer of the Women's Movement, and an honoured and beloved member of the Women's Social and Political Union, has passed away on Jan. 22nd. An account of her life will appear next week.

A GERMAN POET OF THE PAST.

Johann Christoph Friedrich von Schiller (1759-1805), Poet, Dramatist, and Philosopher. His admiration for England was such that his poem, "The Invincible Armada," from which the following is an excerpt, might well have come from the pen of the author of "Ye Mariners of England":—

"Great-hearted Britain, Mistress of the Sea,
This storm-cloud lowers and would break o'er thee!
How can'st thou thus to be
The homeland of the free?
The sceptre of the sea,
Was it not won for thee
By many a gallant deed in many a hard-won fight?
Bish, nations of the earth, the palm award
To Britain's spirit and to Britain's sword."



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