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The Suffragette

Edited by CHRISTABEL PANKHURST

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Women's Social and Political Union

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CONTENTS

Table listing contents of the issue, including cartoon, review of the week, Russia freeing herself, new methods wanted, disaster, death and damnation, Sir Charles Macara on capital and labour, a political prophetic, women's war services, W.S.P.U. removing to West End, and suffragette subscription form.

Review of the Week.

The Blow to Pro-Germanism.

PRO-GERMANISM met with a smashing blow at the Trade Union Congress. The Union of Democratic Control must for the sake of consistency either change its name and programme or else in obedience to its professed principles come to an end. For the war resolution of the Trade Union Congress supporting the Government's decision to fight Germany has shown that the trade unionist elector whose importance the U.D.C. would hardly venture to deny is out of sympathy with the objections to the Government's war policy made by the U.D.C. leaders. The contemptuous references to the U.D.C. made by various speakers show that this organisation has completely failed to bamboozle the British working man. The Germans, who have openly expressed their approval of the U.D.C.'s activities, will be bitterly disappointed.

German Socialist Views.

While the German Socialists are delighted by opposition to national service in this country, they think it a very good thing for Germany. Vorwaerts, the German Socialist newspaper, says:—

"In Germany even in social democracy one is accustomed to look upon the duty of military service as a social democratic principle, and certainly there is a Socialist root in the thought that every member of the State has an equal duty in the defence of his Fatherland which, without doubt, the great composers of the pictures of future States like Thomas Morris felt when they allowed national service in the ideal States."

As strikes in war time, the Germans seem to regard their occurrence as a sign of British inferiority. This fact and the fact that the German peril is increased by every

war-time strike should give British trade unionists food enough for reflection.

German Employers and Workers in War Time.

As Mr. Lloyd George pointed out in his speech at Bristol, the Kaiser has had no trouble with the trade unionists of Germany. Kaiserism has been well served by German labourism!

It is now for British labourism to serve Liberty with still more ardour and energy!

If we mistake not, German employers as well as German workmen have been firmly kept in order by the Kaiser during the war. Then we must also remember that the German employers, and the German workers too, are out for plunder. They are not fighting to defend their own, they are fighting to grab the belongings and the fruits of the labour of others. That fact lends an energy and indeed a ferocity to their munition-making efforts. But British passion for liberty and justice must show itself strong enough to prevail—to inspire a triumphant munition-making effort.

Women should Study Science and Engineering. Begin now!

"Inadequate war material means defeat," the Munitions Minister warns us. Women have known that for a long time and have clamoured, are clamouring and will clamour until they are allowed to help in making war material.

The terrible thing is that women lack the training and experience that would enable them to set to work more or less independently. Young women of means and energy should take engineering courses at the universities. A large number of women should also apply themselves to the study of science. Without knowledge women are helpless—with knowledge there is nothing they cannot do. It is late to begin now the war is a year old, but the future is long and the need of the service of highly educated and trained women is great. Besides the present state of ignorance and dependence is humiliating especially in war time.

80,000 Skilled Workers Needed.

That this need of women's service is great and urgent is proved by Mr. Lloyd George's call for 80,000 more skilled engineers. If women had been represented in every rank of engineering service the present serious emergency would have found the nation far stronger than it is. The ranks of unskilled workers certainly can be filled by women and at once. We look to see the miasma of sex prejudice disappear and allow all who are willing, without distinction of sex, to get to munition work.

More Women Doctors Needed.

After a long uphill fight the woman doctor is now finding herself recognised and welcomed at any rate in many quarters. If we had listened to the reactionaries there would have been no women doctors in this hour of great need for them. Let the industrial men trade unionists meditate upon the case of women doctors and remember too that women doctors have shown great loyalty and firmness in the matter of keeping up the standard of professional remuneration. We notice by the way that though women are being urged by the Prime Minister himself to qualify

as doctors, a certain hospital has boasted that it has never had a woman doctor on duty in its wards!

What Americans Expect.

In our leading article we draw attention to a letter from the American historian, Mr. George Louis Beer, received by Sir Gilbert Parker and by him sent to the Morning Post. This most important letter calls for further comment here. Says Mr. Beer:—

I have read much of German political literature, and the vagueness of their desired "place in the sun" always irritated me. It is always impossible to argue in generalities. When I tried to imagine in what land a "New Germany" could be erected my mind always reverted to Southern Brazil. Of course, the Monroe Doctrine would be a barrier, but would it be an effective one were Germany not so decisively beaten that it could recuperate and still pursue its ambitious over-sea policy?

Mr. Beer goes on to say:—

What I am afraid of, and I write this in no spirit of criticism, is that an unbeaten Germany—though not a victorious one—may after the war try to restore its colonial fortunes by the annexation of Southern Brazil, and that England, weary of the continuous conflict and glad to have Germany's energies diverted from Africa, Far Asia, and the Persian Gulf, will silently consent, provided assurances are given of equal commercial opportunities. Hitherto, I know, it has been the British Fleet that has protected South America, although we imagine that it has been the Monroe Doctrine. Were such support in the future to be withdrawn it would be resented very much by Americans, despite the fact that there is not the slightest feeling of obligation for the support hitherto accorded.

Then Don't Cripple the British Navy.

We underline the last sentence out of a sense of its significance.

It is not for us to resent American reliance on the British Navy for the purpose of protecting the Monroe Doctrine and the interests generally of the Americas North and South, against Germany. Whether it would be in our power to give active assistance in the circumstances sketched out by Mr. Beer is another matter which depends partly upon the United States refraining from any attempt to impose upon us the so-called freedom of the seas in war time. For the United States to try to cripple and fetter the British Navy by agreements and conventions and then to expect the British Navy to help to protect America against German attack would be an illogical self-destructive policy.

A New Department Needed.

A special Government department for the protection of maternity and infant life is an urgent need. This department should be managed by women at the head of it being a woman having if possible both medical and administrative experience. In the absence of such a department the unnecessary suffering of mothers and death of their infants are very great and until the whole problem is dealt with by women there is no reason to hope for improvement.

The anticipated rise in the price of milk is bad for babies and is in the threatened loss of life worse than a big battle. What ever happens an ample supply of pure milk to the child population of the country ought to be assured.

This is one of the subjects which would occupy the attention of a department for the care of maternity and infant life.

What the Germans Do.

It is stated by *La France de Demain* that the property of subjects of the Allied nations sequestrated in Germany owing to the war is being administered in the interests of the German Empire. A large part of such property is invested in the German War Loan. Another part is handed over to the German Red Cross and relief funds.

British Trade with Italy.

Realising the national dangers due to German commercial penetration, Italian importers are bent upon dealing henceforward with British instead of German firms, says Mr. Richard Bagot in a letter to the *Times*. Among the obstacles to establishing trade relations between Italy and our own country are he says, these:—

The insistence on the part of British firms in conducting their correspondence in English and in employing the English system of coinage, weights and measures, the impossibility of obtaining easy terms of credit and payment, the lack of British commercial travellers in Italy and the want of any important British bank in the Italian cities and industrial centres.

All these difficulties can be removed if the British Government and British traders will bestir themselves. To begin with a decimal system of coinage and weights and measures ought to be adopted for home and foreign use. The retention of the present system aids the Germans in their politically and commercially hostile competition with ourselves. The use of foreign languages by British traders in their dealings with traders of other lands will be a far more simple matter when women are employed as foreign correspondents. Women ought to be employed as commercial travellers too. They would do wonders in the matter of ascertaining and informing their principals of foreign customers' business requirements. Similar considerations apply as regards trade with Russia and other lands.

Germany's Diplomatic Scapegoat.

Germany so far as the situation in the United States is concerned would seem to be allotting to Austria the rôle of scapegoat. Despite the long-continued diplomatic malpractices of the German Ambassador at Washington, the Austrian Ambassador it is that goes. The *New York Herald* and the *New York World* are among the American newspapers that demand the presenting of passports to the German Ambassador and his consequent departure from the United States. At the moment of writing it remains to be seen whether Dr. Dumba alone is to pay the penalty of the offences committed by the Austro-German Embassies at Washington. The expectation in the United States seems to be that Count Bernstorff will before long follow his Austrian colleague.

German Tactics in Switzerland.

The United States is not the only neutral to be offensively treated by the Austro-Germans. It has proved necessary to issue warnings to the people of Switzerland against the attempts being made by German agents to entrap or bribe them into acting as spies in the countries of the Allies. The German agents address their degrading persuasions to mere boys and girls hoping to exploit their inexperience with success.

RUSSIA FREEING HERSELF

Breaking Down and Driving Out German Influence

In the Russian Duma

UNTIL the eve of the war German power and influence were dangerously strong in Russia and since the war have done appalling harm by hindering and weakening the Russian national defence.

German peaceful penetration of Russia included a strong grip on the banking system, the establishment of many German business houses, the exploitation of Russian mines. German business concerns were installed as if by chance in important strategic positions.

At the Court, in the Army, in Government departments, Germans, Germans everywhere.

Germanism sought to enforce and reinforce itself in Russia by resisting all extension of the rights of the Russian people on the one hand and fomenting disturbance on the other.

Members of the Russian Duma have revealed in the recent debates many of the evils due to Germanism. These revelations are a useful warning to all countries including our own. Thus M. Roditchef showing how the Germans and pro-Germans in Russia have injured the interests of the Poles said:—

In 1905 when Count Tichkevitch spoke of the rights of the Poles to the Governor of Warsaw the Governor answered: "You have the Emperor William against you and he will come and 'pacify' you." In 1906 in the first days of the Duma, the official journal, the *Russian State*, of which the Minister of the Interior was the responsible editor, said that there was a force upon which the Russian revolution would break and that was the German Emperor. The German Army was desired and called for. The functionary Schwanebach sent his reports on the Russian revolutionary movement not only to the Russian Government but also to the German Emperor. Need I recall to your memory the words of a Deputy of the Right: "If you should succeed in doing that, the Emperor William would put you in your place with a blow of his iron fist."

Another member of the Duma, the Labourist, Kerenski, said:—

The Minister Pléhvé [a notorious Russian reactionary] wrote: "As the Government of Berlin has always been attentive to the interests of the Russian Minister of the Interior, it is proper that we should make concessions in regard to the treaty of commerce [a treaty greatly benefiting Germany to the disadvantage of Russia, whose people became in effect payers of tribute to the Germans]."

That is how the interests of Russia have always been subordinated to the interests of our enemy! A servile Russia replaced by

a free democratic Russia—that is what Germany always dreaded. It must not come into existence, this free democratic State, because the birth of liberty in Russia must mark the end of the German hegemony.

A Woman's Letter

A Russian woman writes to an Italian woman friend as follows:—

Moscow, August.

We are living through days of grief and as in a mirror we see all our sores, all our wrinkles, all our deformities.

But having seen them, I believe that we have set forth on the right path, the path we must follow.

We have set to work and to organisation, all along the line.

We are in the right direction and almost without realising it we live in a drama in which power and initiative pass little by little out of the hands of some into the hands of others—of those who *work*!

I do not believe that the history of the world has yet shown such an example of the total transformation of a people, morally and materially, without it being possible to attach to it any known label of revolution or evolution.

We discover that a quantity of weeds—German weeds—had grown in our garden, in our dear Russia, mixing with ours their deep and tangled roots. But we are beginning to pull them out of the ground. You may be sure that this time Russia, in spite of her kindheartedness, will forget nothing not a single offence, but will see that all is paid for a hundredfold.

Thanks to God, the harvest, favoured by magnificent weather, is very good in every way and everywhere. Harvesting is well done and in good time everybody helps. Almost all the schools, with the teachers at the head, have formed themselves into groups of harvesters.

How mistaken Germany was! She has committed the gravest and most irreparable error. By attacking Russia she has awakened strengths and powers of action we Russians ourselves did not know or suspect.

It was you who said to me one day that Bismarck had declared that the greatest mistake that Germany could make would be to provoke the enmity of Russia. Bismarck said truly.

We shall have many tears to shed and many sacrifices to endure, but we all await with certainty and confidence the clear and beautiful future.

Why are you not here to see it all? It is so immense, so grand—the sight of this infant people which, at the very time when it is organising itself and developing, when, indeed, it is beginning to live, is obliged to sustain the terrible attack of a powerful, inhuman and unscrupulous enemy.

NEW METHODS WANTED

The Ways of British Employers and Workers Considered

By CHRISTABEL PANKHURST

THE Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress have expressed themselves as seriously concerned at Mr. Lloyd George's statements concerning under-production due to slacking in munition factories—this in breach of an understanding that union restrictions on output would be withdrawn.

The Committee add:—

"We have confidence that since the outbreak of the war trade unionists have loyally endeavoured to assist the Government to carry out their pledges. The Committee will take steps to investigate these charges and then issue a report."

We are sorry to say that information has reached the W.S.P.U. from an independent source which supports every one of Mr. Lloyd George's statements. The W.S.P.U. was on the point of submitting this information to the Munitions Department, when the report of Mr. Lloyd George's speech appeared in the Press. When German bombs are smashing and crashing down on London and other centres of population, not much more should be needed to rouse the British trade unionist to an understanding of the urgent and tragic and overwhelming need of driving back to Germany the bomb-throwers and the rest of the German nation. What more striking evidence on that point could be required?—save perhaps the explosion of a German bomb in the Trades Union Congress itself. But then the assembled trade unionists would have passed beyond the reach of conviction and beyond the power of working to avert the peril threatening their country and their liberties.

It was magnificent—the way in which the Trades Union Congress routed those peace-at-any-price pro-Germans. The U.D.C. and the F.O.R. and the I.L.P. and all the rest of them were snubbed out of all real existence. It was just what was needed. Well done! the Trades Union Congress, as far as that goes.

But now that the trade unionists have defeated the *friends* of the Germans, it remains for those same trade unionists to defeat the *Germans*, who are much more dangerous people!

Now although resolutions are very efficacious as a means of fighting the pro-Germans, they are not the least bit of good for fighting the *Germans*.

Shot and shell and cannon and machine guns and rifles and all manner of equipment—those are the only things that count in dealing with the Kaiser and his people on the war path.

Not the work of tongues but the work of hands is needed to save ourselves and our friends from German conquest.

The war resolution, the pledge of support to the Government in carrying on the war till victory crown effort and sacrifice—that was very well. But now to put it into practice! Now for deeds, not words!

This country is *not* yet working up to its full power in the production of war munitions. That stands to reason. It is a fact that no one can deny.

Not only are many skilled workers, fully qualified for munition making, at the front or in military training, but also

(1) There is restriction of output by

some even if not all, the skilled workers still in the factories and

(2) There are countless numbers of unskilled women and men who are anxious to work and able quickly to learn the simpler processes of munition making, but are prevented from doing so because the skilled workers won't let them.

No wonder the volunteer soldier son of a delegate to the Trades Union Congress wrote from the front: "*Father, give us a chance!*"

That the skilled trade unionists shall demand and secure the maintenance at standard level of pay for work done by the unskilled is reasonable. But that does not satisfy some of them. They *still* resist the employment of the unskilled and especially of women.

It is maddening! It is heartrending! For meanwhile those heroes at the Dardanelles, and in Flanders, and on every field where the Allies fight the Hohenzollern-German tyranny are sacrificed. Human beings, the living barricades behind which are the Allied nations, behind which is civilisation, is freedom, are being destroyed for want of munitions.

Yet women who want to make munitions are asked to be content to stand with idle hands for the sake of—what?

It was a Trades Union Congress delegate and Labour M.P., Mr. G. Roberts, who said: "There are things even higher than trade unionism. A vanquished Britain and our trade unions will be of little avail!"

Another delegate said, it appears, that better would it be to lose and have to recover the results of past trade union effort than suffer the results of German victory.

But is there even any question of losing ground industrially by transforming trade union methods?

The fact is that apart from any question of war needs, employers' methods and trade union methods ought to be changed—and this for the good of the employers, workers and the nation as a whole.

There is the narrow-minded short-sighted habit of some employers of fixing piece rates and then cutting these down when the workers show capacity to turn out more than a certain quantity of work and thus earn more than a certain wage.

The workers retaliate by slowing down, by restricting output. Thus employers and workers between them rob the country by producing less than their due quota of goods.

And is there anything more morally and mentally injurious to individuals or to a class than the pretence of working at full strength and speed while really slacking? Let the working hours be shortened to a wise minimum, but during working hours let work be work whether it be with brain or hand!

Under-production in munition factories due to deliberate slowing down is disclosed by a report in our possession and is affirmed by the Munitions Minister: "That is fatal in time of war and nearly as bad in time of peace."

The Labour man is in the habit of pointing to the small share of this world's goods

possessed by many and many a family and then saying: "Do you call this a rich country!"

Yes, but what helps to keep it poor! Not *only* the unjust distribution of material wealth, but also under-production of wealth and for that the trade unionist as well as the employer is responsible!

It is an economic superstition of the silliest kind to suppose that the community is made richer if we restrict the number of skilled men and women workers and limit the wealth produced by such workers.

The working man as voter is politically supreme. Let him share his political power with women and let a due share of wealth be guaranteed to labour by every possible means!

But do not let us any longer have the country impoverished by employers' methods and trade unionists' methods that are nothing less than suicidal.

The munitions difficulty has brought to light a permanent evil which was steadily impairing the prosperity and therefore the very freedom and existence of our country.

It is said that the productive power of, for example, the American workman is rising in relation to that of the British workman. British employers' conservatism and want of enterprise and the British workers' deliberate restriction of output are enough to account for that.

Considering the financial burdens we are assuming in this war, considering our responsibility for maintaining European freedom in the time to come, considering the loss of life the nation is now suffering, the British people must work with a will from now onwards and what is more, *all* must work, women as well as men.

There are too many parasites in the land—many of them unwilling parasites. The number of workers actually creating wealth is too small in proportion to the number of non-workers and non-productive workers.

The work of adult women now unemployed must be utilised. Domestic industry must be so reorganised and brought up to date as to secure a better result with less expenditure of effort.

We need not hanker after German organisation. What we want is *British co-operation!*

That old delusion, the class war, is exploded. The interests of the nation are one and indivisible. The true, the natural, the divinely-intended human grouping is according to *nations* and one of the indispensable means to *international harmony* is *national harmony*.

Another dead delusion is the sex war which men have waged for ages against the women who sought to take the next forward step along the path of human destiny.

Away then with the folly that would bar out women from working to equip the soldiers of the nation, or would deny them the right to work to feed, clothe and provide for the civil population in peace or war!

Abolish the employment of children in favour of lessons and play and let the grown men and women get to work and keep at work for the nation's good!

The Suffragette

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

PRICE ONE PENNY WEEKLY.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1915.

"Disaster, Death and Damnation"

NO! Sir Edward Grey's views on the law of the sea in war time will not do.

Once upon a time and in another connection Sir Edward Grey employed very forcible words which we propose to apply now to his own views on the so-called freedom of the sea. We quote him:—

I say that to confine ourselves to a Single Chamber issue and to leave the policy of reform of the Second Chamber—to leave all that ground open and unoccupied for the other side would result for us politically speaking, in my opinion, in disaster, death and damnation.

From a speech on the House of Lords question addressed to the City of London Liberal Association on March 14th, 1910.

Surely with more truth it can be said that to concede to the Germans in a future war the freedom of the seas, freedom to carry on import and export trade as usual at sea, while German armies were slaying and destroying property and trade on land would mean for Great Britain and for Europe, Disaster, Death and Damnation!

Eternal vigilance being the price of liberty, we must keep our eyes open to the fact that Sir Edward Grey has since the war began manifested some disquieting symptoms.

There was the attempt to put into practice the provisions of the null and void Declaration of London, there was the twelve months' resistance by the Foreign Office to the declaration of cotton as contraband, there is the fact that fatty oils are still not on the contraband list. However we may still hope under the continued stress of war to see our contraband practice made more stringent.

The really alarming symptom is the recent statement of Sir Edward Grey that

"Freedom of the sea may be a very reasonable subject for discussion, definition and agreement between nations after this war."

Freedom of the sea in war time cannot possibly be a reasonable subject for discussion, definition and agreement, for not only is it a proposition made in Germany, but it is a proposition self-evidently unreasonable, cruel and immoral!

Sir Edward Grey essays to qualify his statement by adding these words:—

"But not while there are no freedom and no security against war and German methods of war

on land. If there are to be guarantees against future wars, let them be equal comprehensive and effective guarantees that bind Germany as well as other nations including ourselves."

But the lesson of this war precisely is that the only guarantee that Germany will keep the peace in future is the latent force majeure possessed by Great Britain and the Allies generally. No pledge, no guarantee, no treaty will bind Germany. That we know!

Freedom of the seas in war time would be a licence for war-making presented to Germany and therefore a guarantee of future war!

We have learnt, as regards this or a future war, that with Germany in possession of a great store of war material, much of it stolen from France and Belgium, it is absolutely essential to make war on her commerce.

The following American comment is of interest here. It is made by the *Wall Street Journal* and it shows how greatly strengthened Germany's position is and would be in future by any concession of freedom of the seas in war time.

Discussing the financial outlook for Germany, the *Wall Street Journal* remarks that she is living off her own resources now. The real exchange value of the mark, as long as she can do so, is a matter of merely secondary consequence. Apart from parade holdings of gold of the Reichsbank, the country is flooded with a paper currency, issued by the private banks, the volume of which has not been made public, secured by bonds of corporations and municipalities, mortgages and what not, which are anything but liquid assets, and would be absolutely unsaleable on an attempt to liquidate such currency at par.

But her manufacture for export has gone. Apart from the bare necessities of her people, all she manufactures is munitions of war, to be immediately dissipated in smoke. This is not reproductive creation of wealth. What she manufactures in peace is exchanged for raw material, with steady growth in the margin of wealth and in the employment of industry. But what she manufactures for the extravagant uses of war represents a steady depletion of the accumulated wealth of the people, tending to one inevitable result according to the duration of the war. Ultimate insolvency, with anything short of the successful conquest of the one belligerent capable of paying indemnity, must necessarily follow.

In short, the right to attack German commerce in war time is and always will be a main condition of Britain's and Europe's victory in a German war of aggression.

The Germans have not only tried to manoeuvre British politicians into cutting Britain's throat by surrendering British sea power, but they have tried to incite Europe and America to a similar act of suicide by infecting the peoples of Europe and America with their own jealousy of British sea power.

Evidence of this was provided in a recent debate in the Russian Duma when a Labour member, Kerenski, recalled the fact that in 1912 one of Russia's pro-Germans said:

Germany is preparing to render us a great service—us and the whole world—by delivering the planet from British hegemony on the seas.

This German attempt failed and to-day our Allies know from renewed practical experience how vital to the liberty of

Europe is the possession of power to cripple the commerce of Germany at war and how potent a defender of European liberty is the British Navy.

As to the neutral nations, while certain of their traders (in many cases Germans or influenced by Germany) have clamoured for business with all belligerents at profits extraordinary during war, there has been ample recognition of the fact that the crippling of the British Navy either by German force or by German-inspired "agreements" would be disastrous to the neutral nations.

Even the United States, richest and most powerful among the neutrals, depends for safety and independence upon a strong and unfettered British Navy.

Only the other day Sir Gilbert Parker sent for publication in the *Morning Post* a letter from Mr. George Louis Beer, the American historian, who says:—

In my opinion the future of the United States is intimately bound up with the success of the Allies!

Personally—and many agree with me—I resent that we have in any way hampered the free action of English sea power in bringing pressure to bear on Germany.

Were Great Britain to succumb, upon us would fall the heavy burden of defending the cause of free government.

Hitherto, I know, it has been the British Fleet that has protected South America, although we imagine that it has been the Monroe Doctrine.

From another neutral, from Spain comes further testimony:—

Don Jeronimo Pou, a political leader at Mallorca; in an article reprinted by the Liberal newspapers throughout Spain, demonstrates that Germany cares no more for the neutrality of Spain than she cared for that of Belgium, and that she entertained the project of seizing the Balearic islands.

He recalls the series of questions, all of a military nature, put by the German Consul to the port authorities of Mallorca in July, 1914, the residence in the island during five years of a German officer, who is now in Belgium, and who made many notes and maps, and the sojourn of two German cruisers at the Balearics surveying the bays and strategical points.

He concludes by declaring that it is thanks to England's immediate mastery of the seas that Spain did not share in part the fate of Belgium.

A voice from Switzerland, that of one of the leading Swiss newspapers, the *Journal de Genève* says:—

The friendship of England is necessary to us; it answers not only to our highest interests but to our intimate feelings, to the most ancient traditions of our people.

From the point of view of European policy, the constant resolve of England has been to maintain a just equilibrium in Europe.

Her maritime supremacy is for her a necessity; and for her Government, however pacific may have been its tendencies during the past ten years, it is a national duty.

We have never had to complain of England. She has never done us any harm. She has only done us good. At the Congress of Vienna she upheld our interests. At the Congress of Neuchatel she rendered us great services and perhaps averted a war. At the epoch of Sonderbund she saved us from foreign intervention.

And now again our interest coincides with that of the great liberal nation, creatress of constitutional right. When it is a question of erecting the new Europe upon so many ruins we must hope that the influence of England will remain intact.

But if that monstrous proposition for the freedom of the seas in war time should be carried into effect, then the due influence of Britain and with it the freedom of Europe would be lost. That way indeed lies the betrayal of humanity and it is the road to disaster, death and damnation.

CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

CAPITAL AND LABOUR: MEANS FOR PROMOTING INDUSTRIAL PEACE

Extracts from a Paper read by SIR CHARLES W. MACARA, Bart., on Wednesday, September 8, in Section F—Economic Science and Statistics—British Association for the Advancement of Science

THE subject we have to-day met to discuss—viz., the relationship between Capital and Labour—is one of supreme importance at any time, but more especially so at a time of national crisis such as that through which we are at present passing.

In the early days of the war I was one of those approached by representatives of the Government regarding the effect the war would have upon industry, and what could be done to minimise the dislocation that was certain to ensue and to keep the workpeople employed as much as possible.

Recognising the colossal task with which the Government was confronted, and that it was essential that the assistance of the most experienced practical men should be taken advantage of, I strongly advocated that all existing organisations of capital and labour and indeed of every kind, should be at once brought into requisition in preference to forming new ones to deal with the crisis. There is ample correspondence to prove, and resolutions have been passed and published showing that this supremely important matter has been urged on the Government without avail.

Everyone who has had experience of such work will realise that creating new organisations cannot be efficiently carried out without expenditure of much time and labour, whereas it is comparatively easy to adapt existing organisations to deal with great and sudden emergencies—and time is an all-important factor.

Having visited many of the principal countries of the world, and having studied their methods of working, I am convinced that, upon the whole, this country is as well organised as any, but the Government has not understood how to utilise existing organisations as it should have done, and in this respect we have been placed at a disadvantage with enemy countries whose Governments, on the outbreak of war, at once utilised all their existing organisations and deputed to their most experienced industrial and commercial organisers, definite and important duties in connection with the carrying on of the war. Had this been done in England, instead of

Ministers keeping matters in their own hands, it is my opinion that we could have faced this great upheaval much more effectively than has been the case.

Efficient co-operation of the industrial, commercial, financial, scientific, transport and labour interests with the Government would have enabled our enormous resources to have been brought into requisition from the very commencement of the war.

As it is, after twelve months of war we are only now realising what proper co-ordination of all our vast resources might have accomplished—indeed, the difference so far as practical results are concerned between thorough organisation and the reverse can scarcely be comprehended. It is unfortunate that the services of men who have led the great organisations of capital and labour have not been taken advantage of to anything like the extent they should have been.

Had this co-operation between the various organisations existed, it might have been possible to have dealt more effectively with the problems connected with the supply of the necessaries of life, which, I pointed out to the Government, would not only constitute the chief difficulty in carrying on the war, but would be the main factor in terminating the struggle. Certainly, so far as this country is concerned, much might have been done to prevent the undue rise in prices which has inflicted hardships upon all and especially on the working people, and has been the main cause of the industrial unrest that exists. On the other hand, nothing could have been more splendid than the response of the nation to the call to arms, and the magnificent and unprecedented heroism and self-sacrifice which have been displayed—but, again, the failing has been the want of co-ordination of the resources in men with the resources for the production of the munitions of war, which I believe the National Register will speedily remedy.

It is useless, however, dwelling upon the errors of the past which cannot now be altered, and the only object in referring to them is that in the future full advantage may be taken of the experience gained, so that the vast resources of the nation may be utilised to the fullest extent.

AN AMERICAN PROTEST

Out with Hohenzollerns!

CHANCELLOR JAMES R. DAY, of Syracuse University, is another good American who does not mince words in his condemnation of "the most positive and unqualified example of inhumanity" given in the sinking of the *Lusitania*. He says:—

"It is our plain duty to withdraw ourselves from all intercourse with a nation that is without mercy, that is barbarous and murderous, that will kill non-combatants and women and children as a retaliatory war measure against an armed foe, by seeking out and sinking without warning an unarmed passenger ship. If Germany had found a British battleship upon the seas on whose decks were hundreds of women and children and defenceless men being taken into port, she would have had no moral right to attack that battleship in such a reckless manner. It would be monstrous for her to do so. The Hohenzollern dynasty should be annihilated, exterminated root and branch, until there is not a vestige of it left. Justice and judgment demand it; the peace of the world demands it.

"It is from the same geographic and political source that sent out generations ago its hordes to carry the sword, rapine, and arson across Saxony and other peaceful regions now in the German Empire. It is a dynasty that never has spared woman or child. It has made a fitting alliance with the Turk. Tens of thousands of Germans in both this our country and their country are filled with humiliation and grief over this indescribably horrible murder. It is not educated, enlightened, civilised Germany. It is a remnant of barbarism that got the ascendancy when the different German States became an Empire. It is our duty to help deliver the world from such a monstrous form of government."

HALL CAINE'S WAR BOOK

The Drama of 365 Days

MR. HALL CAINE'S remarkable war book, dedicated to the young manhood of the British Empire, has just been published by Mr. Heinemann, at one shilling net, bound in cloth, 128 pages, and with a photogravure portrait of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, reproduced by special permission of H.M. the King. It is now on sale at all booksellers, and may be ordered from any newsagent. Orders for 46,050 copies of this book were received before publication.

"A DYNASTY OF FRAUD AND FORCE"

A German historian's indictment of the Hohenzollerns—Continued from last week.

Under the title "Who is the Real Enemy of Germany?" the historian ONNO KLOPP, an old-time non-Prussian and non-Prussianised German, wrote in 1868 an indictment of the Hohenzollerns and Prussianism which was veritably and tragically prophetic. We here reproduce a sixth instalment.*

IN spite of the flood of books treating of German history, the true knowledge of it is but very insignificant. The opinion which in reality has been proved erroneous by all historical experience, that a nation in order to obtain a higher state of intellectual development and culture, must first be massed into one State, also took root in Germany after the just hopes of the people had been disappointed in 1815. It is very remarkable that it is precisely a great part of the German students, who have had in the study of the intellectual development of the ancient Greeks and that of their own country, the best proof of the contrary, have the most easily been led into that error. The Prussian memoir of 1822, lately so often mentioned, elucidating the course of the Prussian policy as directed towards the future dissolution of the Germanic Confederation and the expulsion of Austria from it, had already at that time fully pointed out the importance of that error because of the possibility of its being turned to good account for the benefit of the State of the Hohenzollerns.

Accordingly, the Prussian policy has since that time promulgated by speech and writings the opinion through its organs, that the State of the Hohenzollerns which in effect has originated and grown up in opposition to Germany and through its dismemberment, represents Germany.

The fruits thereof could be already seen at that melancholy comedy, the choice of an Emperor by the Professors-Electors in Frankfurt. These simpletons (whose stupendous knowledge in details we, by the bye, do not doubt) have at the same time proved their utter ignorance of all historical progress and the solidarity which unites all the members of a Confederation like the concatenation of the last link of a chain with the first. Germany is the next object for conquest of the Hohenzollern dynasty. The foundation of the same rests on the principle, which they have themselves implanted and which they never will nor can change.

After the Austrian misfortune in 1859, the party which is incapable of learning appeared as a close body in the Nationalverein, already then with the pronounced intention of excluding Austria from Germany, and thus to form a United Germany under the sceptre of the Hohenzollerns. The Prussian policy was enabled to use these pliant tools at will, because they were very useful at the time of preparation for decisive action and very little dangerous afterwards.

We here not only speak of those who in their own native country, in Hanover, in Electoral Hesse, in Nassau, whenever the rightful Government was guilty only of the shadow of a partiality, rose in what they called their moral anger to the fury

* Previous instalments appeared in the SUFFRAGETTE of August 13, 20, 27, September 3 and 10.

of a lion, and who now with the most servile adulation bring to the tyrant everything, that he may order, from the rights and property of their until then independent native land—not only those individuals we mean, but the entire race of those political minors, who yet expect, from one day to another, to be more than the simple footstools of Hohenzollern grandeur.

The whole of that party with their dependents and followers have filled Germany and Europe with the cry for German Unity, which cry however—it cannot be too often repeated—has found no echo in the hearts of the true German people. That party spoke in the Chambers of the Diets, they taught from the chairs in the universities, gave their oracles in the newspapers, travelled about and held meetings. It was often one and the same person who did all this. The ancient method of frightening the adversary by the force of the war cry, has been applied again with great success by the Nationalverein.

Nor do we deny that Count Bismarck has made use of that party with astonishing skill. It was the policy of the Hohenzollerns before that most unjust of all wars, to adopt the whole phraseology of this party, and thus to secure, when success smiled upon them, absolution of their sins and misdeeds from the leaders of the party. But not so from the real people;—whose voice was not heard.

It would be as unjust to accuse the German people that they willingly submitted to the tyranny imposed upon them by means of an unexpected and undreamt of series of successes of the Prussian army, and that they voluntarily now joined in the mendacious cry of the so-called German Unity, under the dynasty of Hohenzollern, as it would be indefensible to suppose that this Dynasty would regard or accept the pretended Unity of Germany as the limit of its lust of conquest.

The Hohenzollern dynasty has made use of the really existing efforts of the German nationality tending towards a closer political unity and social intercourse, towards a strengthening of the Federative ties, in order to corrupt or convert by means of its organs these efforts by the fallacious cry for a United German State.

It has done this in order to use the idea as a means for its designs of aggrandisement and of conquest. But this aim is entirely different from the tendency of the German people. It is inherent in the nature of the dynasty, and is essential to its existence, without which it neither can nor will exist. The last century was not as yet acquainted with this new idea of our modern time, that German nationality requires the creation of one compact State. But the tendency of the Hohenzollern dynasty for conquest did exist. It attached itself to no nationality in particular. King Frederick II. seized and annexed whatever countries of German or Slav nationality he could obtain. Nay he went even further than this. Whatever lands and nationalities he obtained by force and fraud of every sort, and incorporated in his military Unity State, whether they were Germans, Slavs, Silesians, East Frisians, Poles, or inhabitants of the Rhine—

HE CALLED THEM ALL "LA NATION PRUSSIENNE."

The truth or falsehood of the present German Unity State is exactly the same on every point as that nation Prussienne of Frederick II. The conduct of the dynasty is to-day what it then was. The only limit to the Hohenzollern tendency for conquest is fear. Whenever the principle of nationality, which they pretend to defend, touches that limit, it falls to the ground.

We repeat it:—the dynasty of the Hohenzollerns uses the idea of German nationality as a pretext, in order to captivate the nation and make it subservient to its purposes. Its tendency towards conquest, however, goes far beyond it,—it is without limit.

This state of affairs the Empress Maria Theresa, has described with the following words:—"We shall be run over and laid in the dust, one after another, if we do not firmly unite together."

No fresh addition of German or foreign subjects is able to weaken or change the Hohenzollern system. They only increase with servile power;—the Hohenzollern governing power remains the same. The energy of the latter is far stronger than any possible power of resistance. It has forced into submission every such addition and pressed all its newly acquired populations into the service of the policy of Berlin. It is not the death of a single man who may represent their policy, but the ANNIHILATION OF THAT SYSTEM AND ITS BEING RENDERED INNOCUOUS, WHICH CAN SAVE OUR GERMAN CHARACTER AND THE HUMAN CIVILISATION FROM THE DANGERS, WHICH THE UNION OF VIOLENCE AND FALSEHOOD OF THE SYSTEM OF THE HOHENZOLLERN DYNASTY IS PREPARING FOR THEM.

The destruction of this system is in the interests not only of human civilisation, but also and above all in that of the Germans and the French, for the sake of their own self-preservation and security; because it is inimical alike to the peaceable existence of the neighbouring countries and peoples, and their intellectual developments and material well-being, as well as opposed to all proper sense of justice since it recognises no other right than that of the stronger.

The treaty of Prague has set the river Main a limit as to the extension of the Prussian system in the South. But all treaties which are opposed to the growth and extension of the Hohenzollern Dynasty, are only so long respected by the same as the fear of losses outbalances the price of breaking them.

Nor is it always necessary openly to break a treaty—IT MAY ALSO BE EVADED. The offensive and defensive Treaties of Alliance which, in August, 1866, were forced upon the governments of South Germany, that were unarmed by their own fault, and which by their terms make the King of Prussia master of the armed forces of South Germany, are contrary to the treaty of Prague, which stipulates the international independence of these States.

(To be continued.)

A POLITICAL PROPHETESS

More about Mme. Juliette Adam's Book on the War

TO be wise before the event is to have the rarest wisdom, the wisdom most precious and the wisdom most difficult to come by. It is because she was wise before and many years before the event that Mme. Juliette Adam's war book *L'Heure Vengeresse des Crimes Bismarckiens* is among the greatest of the books published since this war began.*

If only our Gladstones and Salisburys, not to speak of those who have succeeded them in office, had listened to the repeated warnings of this wise woman, if they had learnt from the facts and teachings she offered to them and all the politicians of Europe, Bismarck, and the present Kaiser and the Germany they inspired and organised for evil would not have been able to create the German peril against which we are fighting for life and liberty to-day.

There was the Congress of Berlin at which Lords Beaconsfield and Salisbury, speaking and acting in Britain's name, were exploited and wirepulled by Bismarck in the ultimate interests of Germany. Mme. Adam could have enlightened their darkness.

A remarkable comment by Mme. Adam on the Congress of Berlin is to be found in the book now published, which consists mainly of her past writings on foreign affairs. It ends with these words:—

... What one could write upon the Congress of Berlin. . . . Bismarck snatching the prize of victory from Russia in order to give it to his client Austria.

How plainly it appears that seeds of the present war were sown at the Congress of Berlin! By their subservience to Germany, our two representatives at that Congress did to their own country and to Europe an injury of a kind that has since been disastrously and more than once repeated by British politicians.

What is Germany's ambition, plain to every seeing eye, in this year 1915? It is to govern the world. But Mme. Adam and her friends knew it all years and years ago. In July 1887 they were "denouncing the man of Varzin's (Bismarck's) dream of ruling the world" and Mme. Adam wrote that Bismarck "gives new and hourly proofs of his passion for what he calls his *œuvre de Germanisation universelle*."

In the same year she wrote:—
"Bismarck perpetrates the materialisation of the European spirit. . . ."

* This is a continuation of a review of Mme. Adam's book, the first instalment having appeared in our issue of September 3.

The book is published by La Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, Paris.

"He applies himself to the destruction of the power of idealism wherever he meets it, because that power is the only one which can triumph over force."

The present Kaiser has continued this work of materialising Europe.

Everyone who is worth anything realises to-day that Russia has for long been cursed and enchained by the influence of Germany. That fact was obvious to Mme. Adam many, many years ago. She followed with impassioned fervour the movement to de-Germanise Russia. Evidence of this is to be found here, there and everywhere in her book.

All the world now knows Kaiser William for what he is. There never was a time when Mme. Adam did not know him! She wrote in November 1887:—

A new fact is added to the latent German menace against Russia and against France: it is the importance that recent events give to Prince William, *ce jeune guerroyeur à tous crins*, that open enemy of France and secret enemy of Russia, "who would willingly put in the same cannon's mouth the Slav race and the Latin race," that cynical partisan of the "war of extermination."

That Bismarck maintained Europe in a state of moral servitude was the opinion expressed by Mme. Adam in January 1888. Alas! until long after that date, certain politicians in non-German Europe were in moral servitude to Germany. Hence our present troubles!

The evil of Germans in the camp—of German "peaceful" penetration as a preparation to German war and conquest—was exposed by Mme. Adam in January 1888. She then wrote:—

I would draw attention to one of the instructive aspects of the Bismarckian project. It is that German manufacturers and merchants established abroad need only make a declaration to their Consul in order to secure exemption from the call to the reserves. That puts a substantial premium upon the Germanisation of neighbouring peoples. . . .

These German merchants and manufacturers were, she declared, charged with the task of playing the reptile in France and other lands.

Bismarck's newspaper intrigues were denounced by Mme. Adam in 1888. Yet, learning nothing, certain British newspapers increased the effectiveness of Germany's preparations for this present war by publishing the lies and misrepresentations supplied to them by Councillor Kuhlmann, Germany's Press intriguer.

Before the present Kaiser's reign was a year old Mme. Adam warned Europe of the true character of this man and pointed out that his contempt for his father's memory, his ostentatious vaunting of his grandfather in whose time Germany had three times waged aggressive war in Europe, his singling out of the Army and Navy as the

objects of his first royal exhortations were danger signals.

A war against France would she prophesied, be undertaken by the new Kaiser and she said:—

The national life of France is, from to-day, menaced hour by hour and if she wishes not to perish her sole duty is to consecrate herself wholly to defence.

Party questions now become crimes of *lese-patrie* and personal questions become treason.

The Kaiser's war has brewed for more years perhaps than Mme. Adam expected, but, as she foretold, his criminal purpose has at last found expression in act.

Never was she deceived by the fair-seeming words of the Germans. Never did she mistake the true character of the Triple Alliance of which she truly said:—

It is based only upon war and it is this fact which explains the indefatigable ardour of Germany and Austria in the matter of more and more ruinous armaments. The tickets in the Bismarckian lottery are guns, cannon, torpedoes. The big prize is war!

When Bismarck said:—

"The maintenance of peace, the Emperor considers as his highest task," she replied: "Yes, the peace of the Emperor William II., which is like the peace of the Emperor William I., the peace of Germany which must not be confounded with the peace of Europe!"

Of the Triple Alliance she said again, that it was based on hatred and that Germany could maintain it only by exciting Austria to hatred of Russia and exciting Italy to hatred of France.

But our British politicians of that day took the Triple Alliance more or less at the Germans' pretended valuation. Our politicians of to-day have shown a similar unwisdom, because they have actually allowed the Germans to say and have negotiated with them on that basis, that a Russo-Franco-British understanding for self-defence against the dangerous Triple Alliance meant an aggressive policy of "encirclement." Take for evidence the negotiations of 1912 and the Haldane speech at the National Liberal Club!

Again, in the first year of the Kaiser's reign Mme. Adam denounced him as a *new Frederick*, reminding Europe that as long ago as May 1770 Frederick II. had seriously considered a plan of military operations against France and quoted from his writings as follows:—

It was a question of attacking France with two armies, one in Alsace in order to contain the French, the other, a stronger army, in Flanders in order to march on Paris.

If the politicians of Europe in general and Britain in particular had shown the wisdom, foresight and firm purpose of this patriotic and devoted Frenchwoman, the history of our time would have been wholly changed.

WOMEN'S WAR SERVICES

W.S.P.U. RECRUITING CAMPAIGN

Mrs. Pankhurst's Meeting

MRS. PANKHURST is to speak at a great patriotic meeting at the Park Hall, Cardiff, on Wednesday, September 22, at 8 P.M. Admission to this meeting is free, but reserved seats, price 2s. 6d. and 1s., can be obtained from Wm. Lewis, Ltd., Duke Street; W. H. Smith & Sons, High Street; or from the local W.S.P.U. Offices at 87 St. Mary Street, Cardiff.

Mrs. Pankhurst will also speak under the auspices of the Hackney Recruiting Committee at Hackney Town Hall on Sunday next, September 19, at 3 P.M.

General Flora Drummond in Hyde Park

THE W.S.P.U. recruiting meetings in Hyde Park continue to be largely attended. General Drummond is the principal speaker at these meetings, which are held at 3 P.M., near the Reformers' Tree.

General Drummond is at the entrance to Lincoln's Inn House each day between 12 and 1 P.M. and will welcome all inquirers.

WAR REGISTER

THE W.S.P.U. War Service Register includes the names of several fully qualified women who are prepared to undertake work of various kinds, such as:—

- CHAUFFEURS.
- HOUSEKEEPERS AND CATERERS.
- GARDENERS.
- CLERKS.
- COOKS AND TRAINED IN DOMESTIC WORK.
- LINGUISTS.
- DRESSMAKERS AND MILLINERS.
- FACTORY WORKERS.
- ARTISTS AND DESIGNERS.

Owing to the very large number of names that have been received, it has been decided to close for the time being the Women's War Register. It is hoped to re-open this register at a later date.

Those who have employment to offer should apply to the Secretary, Women's War Service, Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C. If suited, a small fee, proportionate to the salary paid, will be charged.

MRS. PANKHURST SEES THE POINT

UNDER this heading the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, a well-known New York paper, says:—

Mrs. Pankhurst shows a keener appreciation of the necessities of real warfare than do several millions of her fellow Englishmen.

Her remark to a meeting, in which somebody shouted "Votes for women," that if England loses this war, not only would "votes for women disappear, but that votes for men will be a thing of the past," goes straight to the point. Her further statement that "We are going to lose the war unless we use women as well as men," is to be commended to the trade unionists and others who are objecting to Lloyd-George's policy of industrial conscription. She pointed out the fact that half a million women in Germany are making ammunition, while the English women were eating their hearts out for an opportunity to help their country.

If the men who are blocking the industrial employment of women in England would realise as clearly as Mrs. Pankhurst does the fact that they are in the midst of a war that far exceeds General Sherman's terse description, there would be more chance to shorten the term of the conflict and to bring near the day when talk about peace may be something more than an iridescent dream. This is a case of getting peace by fighting for it and the fighting has reached a point where theories about the duties and rights of men and women should go by the board until the fight is over. Women seem much more ready to lift their part of the industrial burden under which England is staggering than Englishmen are to let them carry it. And the men are actuated not by chivalry, but by fear lest the women may be kept in the jobs after peace is reached. Perhaps they would rather see their places filled by Germans than by English women.

SIR HENRY MIERS, Principal London University, has written to us as follows:—

My attention has been called to a false statement published in your issue of July 9th in a speech by Chevalier Ricci, who is reported to have said:

"Would you believe that we London taxpayers for the last fifteen years have been paying £10,000 a year contribution from the London County Council to the University of London? What has happened to this £10,000? £6,000 of it was spent in paying a salary of £600 a year to ten German professors for German research, for the study of the German language, to the advantage of the Germans."

The facts are as follows:—Of the sixteen professorial chairs which have been endowed by the London County Council only two are for the study of German; of the two professors of German one is an Englishman and the other is an Austrian who has been naturalised.

I trust that you will give this statement the publicity that was given to the report of the speech.

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