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The Suffragette

Edited by Christabel Pankhurst

Official Organ of the
Women's Social and Political Union

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CONTENTS.

Cartoon	129
Review of the Week	131-132
A Tragic Delusion. By Christabel Pankhurst	133
Things Needed for Salvation. By Christabel Pankhurst	134
The Insult to the Belgian Clergy	135
Universal Obligatory War Service Demanded	136-138
Germany the Uncivilised	139
Jews and the War	140
The Franco-British People	141
Miscellaneous News	142
The Serbian Victories	143

Review of the Week.

The Country in Danger!

EVERY woman, every Suffragist must understand that the great boon of freedom of which she has been dreaming, for which she has been fighting for years past, is in deadly peril. Every man must realise that all his rights and all his hopes of future freedom are in deadly peril. Members of the Government have never shown themselves to be alarmists; perhaps too much the contrary. Therefore when Mr Lloyd George, speaking on behalf of the Government, said: "Our country is fighting for its life," he uttered words which only traitors will disregard. He said further:

I come as an emissary of the State to carry the most urgent errand, our country is fighting for its life, our country is fighting for the liberties of Europe and upon what it does, upon what it is prepared to sacrifice will depend the issue.

If I could for a moment make everybody realise the great issues, the great dangers of the struggle we are engaged in, there would be but one cry from every home to the Government. It would be this—"Convince yourself as to what action is necessary, take it boldly and we will see you through." (Loud cheers.) If the country is not prepared for that, then let us go to the nearest German internment camp, pick your men and send them as a deputation to the Kaiser and say, "On behalf of Great Britain we tender you our deepest apologies; we are sorry we have sinned against the great Monarch of the world. What penance thou wouldst inflict upon us for our transgressions we will gladly endure."

That is the Government's warning to the people of this country. After the warning and the call to action—the issue of orders! Lead on, the Government! Nothing that you demand will be too much, provided you lead us safely through danger to victory!

Workers and Fighters needed.

What do we need to preserve our freedom as individuals, our freedom as a nation and the freedom of our neighbours!

Mr Lloyd George answers the question: "Workers and fighters—at this moment especially workers."

Our armies need more munitions of war. Then why, why, why and a thousand times why may not the women make them! If under the stress of war and national danger, soldiers can be turned out in a few months instead of years, then in the same stress and danger women can be turned into efficient workers in days, where months would have been needed under ordinary conditions.

Remember this! Already half a million German women are making munitions, intended for the destruction of Europe's freedom. Are British women, who love their country, who adore liberty, to break their hearts in idleness instead of being allowed to get to work, to work, to work! But now the Minister for Munitions has said: "Women must be employed," so at last women we hope will have their chance of service.

Let us have the whole Scheme now!

Before these words come under the eyes of our readers the Government will no doubt have made some further announcement amplifying Mr Lloyd George's Manchester speech. The whole country is breathlessly waiting for the adoption of a measure which will provide a place for everybody in the fighting line or the workshop and everybody in his or her place. Above all, we trust that there will not be two bites at the cherry and that by a tremendous effort of imagination and foresight and organisation the Government will create for immediate adoption the comprehensive scheme of universal and obligatory industrial and military service which is to carry us through this war in triumph.

Let us show what we are worth!

We have, as a nation, spent ten months in feeling our way and carrying out provisional policies, in adopting half measures. Now, once and for all, let us rise as a whole people (dealing firmly with those few individuals whose stupidity, cowardice, or treachery might make them a national weakness in this crisis) and let us show our Allies, let us show our enemies, let us show the people of the generations to come what the British people are worth!

The Test of War.

This war is searching out the weak points in our national fabric.

It has come as a shock to many no doubt to find that Great Britain, who in industrial matters has been the leader of the world, is now showing weakness at this point and that even after ten months of war, the nation has not yet concentrated one half its industrial strength on the task of carrying the war through successfully. The fact is that our country, old in efforts and achievement has been at the parting of the ways and the women's movement of the past ten years was more than a conscious struggle towards freedom on the part of one sex. It represented an effort towards national regeneration as the alternative to decline; the feminine principle coming to the relief of the masculine principle.

Food for Reflection.

Mr Lloyd George in his speech emphasised the importance of organisation and pointed to France (France who is also providing far more soldiers than we) as an example of what could be accomplished in this respect. There is food here for reflection. Bismarck and many in other countries have believed that, in the company of nations, France is one of those that represent the feminine principle.

Not only the power of organisation, but also the full understanding of what this war really means, of the gravity of the issues at stake, of its character as a life and death struggle between two opposite civilisations, have been

swifter and keener in France and in her Latin sister Italy than in our own country. Surely this points the way to Great Britain and proves that for her the path of honour as of continued greatness is to develop and give freer play to the feminine principle in industrial, intellectual and political life. Not only in nature, but also in industry, thought and politics, the masculine principle acting alone is sterile and foredoomed to death.

The moment has now come when all the power and all the greatness of the British people, men and women both, must be shown in action. We have limitless initiative and resourcefulness that must be waked to new life at this crisis. The honour of our forebears is at stake. They laboured truly and well for us. We can be worthy of them and we will.

Mischievous Example of I.L.P. Leaders and others.

So far as working men are concerned, the reasons of certain weakness that has been manifested include the following: there have been lectures over and over again during the past year by narrow-minded, short-sighted, so-called "leaders" of the I.L.P. and other movements. These I.L.P. leaders have in their turn been fooled and bamboozled by the pan-Germanising Socialists of Germany who are now co-operating with the Kaiser with a view to securing for their party and their class a share of the spoils of various kinds that are expected as the result of a German victory in this war. The evil of I.L.P. propaganda has been all the greater because, though they talk incessantly of the working man's grievances, they have shown themselves incapable of practical action to redress such grievances. They have thus set a mischievous example of grumbling, futility and ineptitude.

Wanted: The Truth!

In addition to false and unpatriotic and suicidal teachings regarding our national position by the I.L.P. and others, working men have not either before or since the war been told the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth about the German peril and the conditions under which this war is being fought.

We rejoice in Mr Lloyd George's warning and stimulating speech which we are convinced is one of the things that mark the beginning of a new condition of affairs.

A third important question is that of convincing the workers that individuals belonging to the employing classes will not be allowed to make huge fortunes in the hour of national need.

On the field of battle the classes fare and share alike. The W.S.P.U. has ever since the war began maintained that something should be done at home to mark the equality and common interest of all classes where the war is concerned.

A Warning to Labour.

But the fundamental necessity is that the workers shall realise the truth of the Minister for Munitions' warning:—

You have a personal concern in the war. If the Germans won, God help labour, for it would be the victory of the worst form of autocracy the world has seen for many a century.

If the Germans are defeated, the working men will retain the political power they possess (though they have not yet used it very effectively) to gain improved conditions. The consequence of the German victory would be subjection to the will of the Kaiser.

Shall the Kaiser's Friends guide us?

We notice that a No-Conscription Fellowship has been started, having as one of its secretaries a certain Mr Fenner Brockway, who has been

hall-marked by the Germans and recommended by them as a literary exponent of the question of the war!

Here again, with no mincing of words, we say that such a man as this is a common or garden traitor. No country can expect to be without some few of these. They are beneath contempt and they are almost beneath blame. The question is how are we going to deal with them. Are we going to allow them now that the country is in danger, to influence the national policy as we allowed some of them to influence it before the war broke out. Are measures of national protection to be rejected because they do not meet with the approval of the friends of the Kaiser?

A Simple Solution!

The Anti-Conscription Fellowship, it is claimed, consists of those who have a conscientious objection to taking life. But as has been well pointed out, those who are inspired by their own conscience and not simply by Germany—or by sheer cowardice, can find plenty of occupation that, while dangerous, does not conflict with their conscience. Apart from stretcher-bearing involving the saving of life, in which many Quakers are already engaged, there is, as a correspondent of one of the newspapers reminds us, "an immense amount of useful work, such as digging trenches and latrines and cleaning camps which could be handed over to those who object to taking life."

Of people concerned, those who are honest will therefore find occupation of this sort, while the rest, whose motives are less clean, will take the consequences of infringing the law, which means that they will be out of mischief and will certainly be less to be pitied than prisoners of war who are at the tender mercy of Germany!

An Infamous Thing.

We are glad that Mr Lloyd George has spoken out in answer to the short-sighted, muddleheaded, the cowardly and the treacherous (for it amounts to treachery with some of them) who are crying out against the idea of obligatory military service. It is an infamous thing that any British man should oppose obligatory military service for himself and his countrymen when the Belgians who have already suffered all things, have seen their country ruined, their daughters violated, their babies massacred, their brothers mutilated or taken away into Germany for what fell purpose they know not, and are now expected to render universal obligatory military service in the Allies' cause.

It is an infamy, we say again, that any British men should seek to find safety for themselves behind the men of France, who out of their love of country and freedom have for years gone by borne the burden of universal military training, which in these latter days has involved giving up in peace time three years out of their ordinary life.

Winning and Preserving Freedom.

Let the no-conscriptionists ponder these words from Mr Lloyd George's speech:—

Conscription means raising by compulsory methods armies to fight Britain's battles abroad. Even that is a question, not of principle, but of necessity. If the necessity arose, I am certain no man of any party would protest. But pray don't talk about it as if it were anti-democratic. We won and saved our liberties in this land on more than one occasion by compulsory service. France saved the liberty she had won in the great Revolution from the fangs of tyrannical military empires purely by compulsory service; the great Republic of the West won its independence and saved its national existence by compulsory service and two of the greatest countries of Europe to-day—France and Italy (cheers)—are defending their national

existence and liberties by means of compulsory service. It has been the greatest weapon in the hands of Democracy many a time for the winning and preservation of freedom.

But what do the Kaiser's friends of the U.D.C., I.L.P., N.C.F. and all the rest of their leagues care for winning and preserving freedom!

Thinking Women Object!

Thinking women strongly object to the plan whereby the wisest, bravest, and best men are killed off in disproportionate numbers leaving inferior men at home likewise in disproportionate numbers, to be a drag on the country, to exercise a bad influence upon the rising generation, to be fathers of children inheriting their faults.

From this point of view the present system of recruiting has been in force ten months too long.

In a great national effort such as the present war, a system which did very well in the past has proved to be from many points of view a seriously mistaken one. As we have now been told by the Government "under present conditions men have enlisted who would have been more useful at home." On the other hand there are men who have not enlisted who would have been best at the front.

There is also a very great deal in the argument that it is unjust that some men, especially generous, far-sighted and patriotic, should give up good positions and prospects of advancement and go to risk their life in battle, while others whose interests are after all as much at stake, whose duty is the same and profit by the heroism of their fellow citizens and step into the places left vacant by them.

Then also, it is perfectly true, that in this great crisis it is hardly fair to lay upon the individual the tremendous burden of deciding how he can best serve the State. In moments of imminent danger private or national the condition of salvation is a directing mind and a directing voice. Again, Mr Lloyd George was perfectly right when he said in Manchester:—

It is the elementary duty of every citizen to place the whole of his strength and resources at the disposal of his native land in its hour of need. No State can exist, except on the basis of a recognition, of a full recognition of that duty on the part of every man and every woman in the land.

Well done, Railway Men!

Who is going to be pessimistic with regard to the working man in view of such a fact as this: The West Ham Branch of the National Union of Railwaymen, at a largely attended meeting held on Friday evening, passed the following resolution:—

That this branch of the National Union of Railwaymen, having received communications from the Union of Democratic Control, is unable to endorse the contentions of that body and further considers that organised workmen and Trades Union branches should demand that its secretary, Mr E. D. Morel should explain the remarkable fact that all his movements and agitations appear to favour the interests of Germany; and further considers that a man who was the colleague of Sir Roger Casement in the Congo agitation, who strove to bring Morocco under German influence and is now injuring at this critical moment the activities of the British Foreign Office, is not entitled to the confidence of organised workmen.

Mr Thomas Kirk, corresponding secretary of the branch and a member of the West Ham Borough Council, has further said:—

"It seems to us after some weeks' careful

consideration, that the organised workers should be on guard against these influences."

Just like the Real Kaiser!

A German sailor employed on one of the German liners interned in New York, has lately gone mad: he suffers from the illusion that he is Kaiser Wilhelm. He went round the men's quarters with an axe asking everyone to kneel to him and declare loyalty; finally he was lassoed and taken to the asylum, protesting violently that the war had been forced upon him by the barbarians.

The symptoms in this case are precisely those to be seen where the Kaiser himself is concerned. Indeed in fighting Germany we are fighting a nation led by a madman, who has communicated his malady to the people over whom he rules. That is one reason why so many nations have to unite in overcoming Germany. As we know madness gives an unnatural, a sub-human force to those who are seized by it, which necessitates the co-operation of numbers in order to get the madman under restraint.

"Their story is not graven only on stone over their native earth, but lives on far away without visible symbol, woven into the stuff of other men's lives. For you now it remains to rival what they have done and knowing the secret of happiness to be freedom and the secret of freedom a brave heart, squarely to face the war and all its perils."—*The saying of Pericles concerning the Athenians who died for Athens in the war against Sparta.*



IN remembrance and in honour of those brave men, husbands, sons, and brothers of W.S.P.U. Members, who, in the Great War, have fought and died for our Country, and for Freedom.

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS.

In our next issue will appear the following:

An Article on some Liberal Newspapers. By Christabel Pankhurst.

Obligatory Universal Military Service.

More about Norman Angell.

A TRAGIC DELUSION.

A Commentary on the Result of Norman Angellism.

By CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

NOT the least conspicuous of those leaders of the Union of "Democratic" Control whom we are passing in review, is Mr Norman Angell.

His book, *The Great Illusion*, had made him widely known before the present war broke out. The book is, as described by its author in a sub-title, "a study of the relation of military power in nations to their economic and social advantage." As he further expresses it, he sets out to prove in its pages that "military and political power give a nation no commercial advantage and that it is an economic impossibility for one nation to seize or destroy the wealth of another; or for one nation to enrich itself by subjugating another."

Reading this book in the light of the flames that are rising from the battlefields of Europe, one realises keenly that whatever the intention with which the book was written, it has in practice done an infinity of harm. For while German policy has been in no way affected by it, it has acted as a dangerous opiate in the civilised nations of Europe and has thus helped to lay these nations open to German attack. It has fostered the growth among the peace-loving peoples of a *tragic delusion!*

The two reasons why the book has done harm are these—

Firstly, the author in arguing his case, made certain false assumptions of fact.

Secondly, the author gave no warning to his readers in the civilised countries that Germany did not accept his theories and far from being guided by them, was determined to act in opposition to them and by practical military action set them at defiance.

Mr Norman Angell familiar with the German State of Mind.

It was not for want of knowledge surely that this warning was withheld; for reading the 1911 edition of *The Great Illusion* one notices indications that long before the present war, Mr Norman Angell was more familiar than most people with the German state of mind and policy. Thus he spoke of "the prospective amalgamation of Germany with Austria" and he referred also to Germany's desire to possess the Balkan Peninsula, of which he appeared to be entirely disposed to make Germany a present!

In the synopsis of the book, by which it is prefaced, we have the summing up of the author's theories in the following terms:—

Wealth in the economically civilised world is founded upon credit and commercial contract. If these are tampered with in an attempt at confiscation by a conqueror, the credit—dependent wealth not only vanishes, thus giving the conqueror nothing for his conquest, but in its collapse involves the conqueror; so that if conquest is not to injure the conqueror he must scrupulously respect the enemy's property in which case conquest becomes economically futile.

Thus it comes that the credit of the small and virtually unprotected States stands higher than that of the Great Powers of Europe, Belgian Three Per Cents standing at 96 and German at 82. . . .

For allied reasons the idea that addition of territory adds to the nation's wealth is an optical illusion of like nature, since the wealth of conquered territory remains in the hands of the population of such territory.

Now as we know the theory in which all these contentions are summed up is absolutely and emphatically rejected by Germany. The

Kaiser's repudiation of the Norman Angell theory is expressed in the following words from Bernhardt:—

War, successful war, is a profitable business. . . . One ought not to over-estimate the economic damage done by war. Though wars bring about economic crises and do harm to the business of many individuals, the victor usually derives the greatest economic advantage from his victory. Germany's great development was made possible only by the victories of 1866-1870.

The Germans were perfectly familiar with the Norman Angell theory, but nevertheless (although according to Mr Norman Angell and others of the U.D.C. the Germans were no fools) they decided to make the present war. No doubt they were encouraged to that proceeding by the fact they are a debtor nation. (Mr Angell provides us in his book with a reminder that the rapid expansion of German trade could not have been achieved but for the help of British credit) and had on that account all the less reason to fear the result of the economic disturbance caused by the war which they were resolved to wage and believed they could wage victoriously.

But although the Germans pooh-pooh'd Mr Norman Angell's alarming statements about a collapse of credit as the result of war, people in other countries had taken these statements more seriously and it is now pretty obvious that the Germans counted upon the Norman Angell theory as an assistance to them in playing upon the fears of our financiers and thereby keeping us neutral, or if we went to war, injuring British credit—credit being of course largely a psychological matter.

And as we know, Norman Angellism and other like theories, caused many to argue at the time of the war that immediate starvation and ruin for the State would follow upon British participation in the war of defence against Germany.

Painful Reading.

It is very painful as one turns the pages of *The Great Illusion*, to read here, there and everywhere, references to the healthy condition of credit of the small nation: in general and of Belgium in particular and references to the prosperity of the individual Belgians.

Where is Belgium to-day! Where is her credit and where the prosperity of her citizens!

In Mr Norman Angell's book, *Prussianism and its Destruction*, published since the war began and the martyrdom of Belgium took place, we notice that although reference still is made to the prosperity of small states and of their people, the name of Belgium does not appear among the names of the small nations that are mentioned in this connection! The name of Holland does appear there however. And yet, as we know, Holland is living upon the brink of national destruction and will be the next victim of German greed unless (despite the mischievous agitation of the Union of Democratic Control, one of whose leaders Mr Norman Angell is,) the Allies are victorious and so act in victory as to prevent the recurrence of a German onslaught upon the nations of Europe, great and small.

And take Mr Norman Angell's contention that it is an optical illusion that addition of territory adds to a nation's wealth, since the wealth of conquered territory remains in the hands of the population of such territory! The answer to his contention may be summed up in these words: **Expatriation, Extermination, Exploitation.**

We know from what we have seen in Belgium that the Germans are by no means making it their policy, whatever they may have done in previous wars, to leave the conquered territory in the occupation of the inhabitants of such territory, or to leave those inhabitants in possession of their wealth.

On the contrary, the Germans boast that they are working the mines and other natural resources of the lands which their armies occupy. They have pillaged and robbed the inhabitants of these lands. They have forced them to make the most hideously exorbitant money payments. They have consumed on the spot or taken away to Germany fodder, foodstuffs, everything upon which they can lay their hands. They have virtually destroyed the Belgian horse-breeding industry which was a principal source of Belgian prosperity.

And worse than all that, they are waging a war of *expatriation* and *extermination* upon the French and Belgian people whose soil they occupy and mean if they can to hold for ever.

Thousands of French and Belgians have been expatriated, millions of the Belgians especially are in danger of death from starvation and have only been saved from that fate by the generosity of Americans and others during the ten months of the war. Numbers even of non-combatants have been massacred.

If Mr Angell still tries to persuade the Germans that they are not richer for appropriating and working the land from which they have driven out those who formerly held it, they will only laugh in his face.

A Tragic Mockery.

And what a tragic mockery will the following words of Mr Angell seem to be to the homeless and ruined Belgians—and to the massacred ones if they could read them!

As the only possible policy in our day for a conqueror to pursue is to leave the wealth of a territory in the complete possession of the individuals inhabiting that territory, it is a logical fallacy and an optical illusion in Europe to regard a nation as increasing its wealth when it increases its territory, because when a province or state is annexed, the population who are the real and only owners of the wealth therein are also annexed and the conqueror gets nothing.

Does that strike our readers as representing the real facts arising out of Germany's robber raid on Europe!

The significance of the words "Expatriation" and "Extermination" as a commentary upon the Norman Angell theory having been explained, we pass now to the meaning of that other word "Exploitation."

It is undoubtedly a fact that the Germans intend if victorious to put into effect a policy of exploiting the labour of other nations for the aggrandisement of the German people and the German State.

Just as the exploitation of one class by another within the borders of a single nation is a possibility, so also the Germans believe the exploitation by the people by one nation of the people of another nation is possible. It is the hope of material benefits to be gained from the exploitation of other nations by the German people that has moved the German working-classes, including the Socialists, to give their approval to the war, to the means taken by the Kaiser and the German Government to wage it to a successful issue.

The Suffragette

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

PRICE ONE PENNY WEEKLY.
FRIDAY, June 11, 1915.

Things Needed for Salvation.

THE silent cry of the heart of many men in this country to-day is:

"O, God, give us back the last ten years!"

In the last ten years fatal beyond any in our history, what happened?—this is what happened: The men of our country discussed with small practical result measures of social re-constitution and internal management and spent their time in devising ways and means or in allowing ways and means to be devised of suppressing the Suffragettes instead of enfranchising and invoking the aid of women in the task of dealing with German intrigue and preparing to resist the German attack which preparation might even have averted.

Meanwhile Germany, persistently, stealthily, relentlessly was undermining our national strength, getting a grip on our finance, wire-pulling our journalists and newspapers, corrupting our Socialists, hoodwinking our intellectuals, weaving a web of intrigue round our politics. All this to delude us into thinking there was no German peril and no German intention to dominate the world! All this to disarm us spiritually and materially! And during these same ten years the German preparations for attack upon us were hastened and perfected with such effect that a Cabinet Minister now tells us that our country, both old and dear by its history and glorious and new in our hope of its future, is in peril of its life.

Would indeed we might have back those ten lost years; years worse than lost! It was not for nothing that a force stronger than themselves stirred the militant women to fight, fight, fight, during those momentous years! for the power to bring their hands and their voice to the succour of the Motherland in danger, of human liberty in danger!

Well now here we are, British men and British women, in the midst of it. And we must win. Literally we must win or die.

Prussianism which is the essence and embodiment of tyranny in this age, is at war upon freedom and is waging war with that efficiency which our pro-Germans have always so humbly admired, yet never sought to imitate.

This is humanity's supreme chance of averting scientific slavery!

Ask the Poles who have suffered under German rule and ask the people of Alsace what it means to be ruled by Germany! Their answers will tell us much—but even they will not tell us the whole reason why we must win and win decisively.

To know the whole reason we must ask the Belgians to give it to us. And even then we shall not have it all for we shall still have to imagine what are the worst humiliations, what the greediest extortions, what is the most

appalling tyranny that an envious people of barbarous instincts intoxicated by victory and led by a degenerate ruler, can invent and can inflict upon a vanquished people.

What are the conditions of our victory in the present struggle and our safety in the future? Here are some of them:

Leadership! Leadership! Leadership!

Democracy without leadership is the negation of democracy. By leadership we mean that those known as politicians shall boldly initiate policies, shall deal truthfully and bravely with the people, saying to them: "I see things thus. My policy is this. If you see as I do, if you have confidence in my policy I will serve you. If not, then you must be served by others."

If instead of leadership there is mere demagoguery that means the ultimate ruin of the State.

Greater social justice.

The lack of social justice means that large masses of our people are ill-housed, ill-fed, without adequate leisure, without largeness of outlook, such conditions being disastrous to the formation of character. And the great strength of Britain is in the character of her people!

An abatement of the crank nuisance.

A disease of the time is the prevalence of cranks who make it their rule of life to be obstructive and destructive, who cherish the ambition, if they cannot be in the right with two or three, to be in the wrong with two or three. Instead of taking definite principles as their guide they simply try to interfere with all constructive effort. Some are even traitors to their country and all are malcontents at any and every price. They have no real kinship with true reformers whom they burlesque and whose greatest hindrance they are.

Character-building.

At the risk of repetition we comment on this again. Better material conditions are the first, though not the most important means to this. A more liberal and longer continued education for the people as a whole. A persistent effort to shed muddled habits of thought and action while retaining, one is sometimes tempted to say reviving, the fine old British qualities that in the past made possible the building up of our great nation.

There is need of new and wider open mindedness, of keener vision and *pre-vision*. The advance of women will have its effect there!

Political action on national and less on party lines.

Broadly speaking our political activity has in the past been too much in the nature of a duel rather than a constructive effort towards social well-being within and national safety without. Conservatives have attached too little importance to Social Reform, the Liberals and Socialists have attached too little importance to national defence. It is time that both parties shed their respective weaknesses and devoted their qualities and wisdom to national service, rather than to Party service.

A more truly national press.

While the Liberal and Labour Press have paid more attention than the Conservative Press to social questions they have been as the present situation shows, wrong in their estimate of the German peril and the protective military and naval measures needed to avert it.

The Conservative newspapers though wiser as regards questions of national defence seem never to have realised as fully as they should, that certain existing social conditions have weakened patriotism and thus produced weaknesses gravely inimical to national safety.

This question of the Press is important just now because we notice in certain Liberal newspapers, pre-war echoes which are terribly out of tune with the need of the present day. One newspaper, opposing the plan of obligatory industrial and military War service, says that to impose a universal obligation to military service would be to "Prussianise our institutions." Yet the fact is that this may be the

only way of preventing our institutions from being Prussianised by the Arch-Prussian himself, the Kaiser!

The Germans in the person of Councillor Kuhlmann and others, vigorously wire-pulled the British Press in German interests before the war and they found the Liberal newspapers were more easily duped than any others. Now, a newspaper may perhaps be duped honourably once, but it cannot honourably be duped twice!

We may be sure that there is nothing the Kaiser so much desires as to prevent the adoption by this country of obligatory military service as a means of triumphing in this war. Let Liberal newspapers beware how they play the Kaiser's game! They have had by their past attitude their share in bringing about Liberty's present distress. Is that not enough? Or are they bent upon sealing Liberty's fate?

Patriotism, Patriotism and again Patriotism.

British patriotism has been steadily assailed by Germany for years past; the reason for the assault being that our patriotism is the basis of our national existence, is a barrier against German world domination and is a guarantee of the existence of freedom, as opposed to Prussianism, the world over.

Instinctive patriotism is the heritage of every well-balanced human being. Yet it is to be desired that instinctive patriotism shall be re-enforced by reason and conviction.

We who are patriots have a duty to destroy the false ideas launched by the enemy and spread by the enemy's agents and by the enemy's dupes.

Socialists, Trades Unionists, intellectuals so-called, reformers, real and otherwise, have as the result of German inspiration been assured that national boundaries are obsolete and that the only real link between human beings are the links which bind the Socialists of all countries together, or the links which unite the intellectuals of all countries, or the links that unite the financiers of all countries and so on and so forth. Humanity according to this scheme of things being classified according to the personal interests, opinions, or professions of individuals and not according to their nationality!

The Germans have fostered this idea among the peoples of other lands, but they have never accepted it for themselves.

While they have tried to break down the right kind of nationalism in other countries, they have resolutely maintained every sort of nationalism for themselves. And now we see them, having tried to divide the peoples of other nations into different classes so as more easily to overcome them, uniting as one man, German professors, German Socialists, German intellectuals, German Trades Unionists, Germans of every sort and degree and falling upon the other nations of Europe with intent to vanquish and subjugate them.

Then no more of this sham internationalism, this pan-Germanism in thin disguise! The national bond is not only a sacred one, it provides also the best practical restraint upon the selfishness of the individual, the best practical safeguard of the liberties of the people.

Those International Conferences in which Germans delight as a means of promoting their own ascendancy—those International Conferences with their standing orders, their committees, their endless speeches and—discussions! we know them! One single Act of legislation by a national Parliament in practical effect is worth any number of Conferences.

The Ramsay MacDonalds and the Bernard Shaws of all nations may meet in conference at Berlin, talk themselves hoarse, carry endless resolutions—but one reform measure carried into legal effect by the British Parliament, does more to promote the onward, upward march of humanity than all the conferences, all the speeches, all the sham Internationalism made in Germany.

CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

THE INSULT TO THE BELGIAN CLERGY. A WAR SONG

TO ENGLISHMEN.

By WILLIAM BLAKE.

The following article from the "Tablet" casts a vivid light upon the German method of establishing soldiers dressed as civilians in a country they intend to attack, these disguised soldiers forming the advance guard of the German army of invasion. The article also throws light upon German methods of bribery by which in Belgium they tried to corrupt even the Clergy.

NOT sufficient notice has been taken of Cardinal Mercier's letter to the German Governor-General in Belgium and to the circumstances from which it sprang. It is a pitiful tale of insult following upon massacre. It records a crowning act of frightfulness which makes us remember Luther and his bloodthirsty advice about the methods of treating the peasants in the Peasants' War.

Yesterday I was talking with a young "maréchal de logis" in the Belgian Lancers who was spending his few days' holiday with his novice brother within our walls. He had seen active service since the first day of the war. He told me quietly that on the afternoon of the day on which war was declared, he saw a squad of German cavalry near Namur. These men, he said, had come into Belgium some days before in civilian dress. Their orders were to await the declaration of war and then to foregather, armed. It was part of Germany's splendid treachery of preparedness.

With the same fine organising instinct, Germany prepared to deal with the priests of Belgium. To quote the broken-hearted words of Cardinal Mercier in his Pastoral, "In my diocese alone thirteen priests or religious were put to death. . . . To my own actual personal knowledge more than thirty in the dioceses of Namur, Tournai and Liege." To find a parallel with this bloodthirstiness we have to go back to the worst days of the French Revolution. But the orgies of the Revolution, unlike these organised orgies of the Kaiser's troops, were not made still more loathsome by the hypocrisy of expressed regret.

The frightfulness which shot priests in scores was a carefully prepared military expedient, which the Germans expected to succeed. And it succeeded.

They meant to cow the Belgians who remained in Belgium. And the poor Belgians are cowed. A nation twice as brave as Belgium, if that were possible, would be cowed; in other words, every other nation would now be as Belgium now is, quiet and still in the claws of a wild beast from whom it has received almost deadly wounds.

The frightfulness meted out to all sections of the Belgian people, even to the ministers of religion, was a deliberate policy intended to keep the people quiet and the lines of communication, perhaps of retreat, unhampered. The militarists, who wanted every German fighting unit at the front, had no intention of employing these units behind the trenches in the thankless task of policing a galled and angry people. Germany's battles needed every fighting man.

It did not escape the thought of the intelligence behind this invasion of Belgium that if Belgian priests could be persuaded to calm their flock, the army of mere occupation could be still further lessened and the trenches still more filled. In the past counsels of Germany two forces have been looked upon as of primary importance, fear and love, to wit, fear of death

and love of money. German gold has been a most efficient ambassador in unsuspected places. Its bloodless victories will one day make strange reading.

For the honour of mankind it is good to know that at least once this ambassador failed. Gold was offered to the decimated priests of Belgium, when nothing except food was more needed than gold. But it was offered on conditions that make us ashamed of human nature. Let us read the words of Cardinal Mercier's reply to the Governor-General:—"A communication of your Civil Administration informs us that the German Government offers to give effect—in the occupied portions of the country—to the payment of the emoluments of the clergy, beginning with the 1st September or the 1st October 1914, on condition that the members of the clergy sign a declaration binding themselves to undertake nothing and to combat everything which can be prejudicial to the German administration."

It is almost inconceivable that Kultur should have offered such a glaringly obvious bribe and offered it with such calculated niggardliness. This offer of the German Government, with its feverish desire for a "signed" scrap of paper, was an outflanking movement against the loyalty of the Belgian clergy. It was meant to make these resolute children of the Belgian soil and Fathers of the Belgian soul into paid emissaries of the German Government.

The treachery of these Fathers in God would have been worth at least one Army Corps to the German fighting machine; and the German fighting machine is quite obviously in want of all the Army Corps it can find. But German diplomacy, which has blundered badly in almost every avenue of its communications, has seldom fallen so low as when it offered a Judas bribe to that section of the Belgian people which should be the last to "run after gold." When the Belgian Army, now so nobly fighting in West Flanders, knew no defeat and were set beyond the east of bribery, how could the army of priests tamely sell their country for—the price of a halter? Had German gold succeeded in outflanking the loyalty of the Belgian clergy, I know not how a Catholic priest could stand before the altar of Belgium and exhort his flock to love of their beloved fatherland. I could even foresee that this cowardice of the clergy would have loosened their hold over this people whose faith has been a jewel in the tiara of the Church. It would have been the twice-dyed scarlet of treachery against their fatherland on earth and their Father in heaven.

There never was a moment's doubt that the resolute army of Belgian priests, led by the "Lion of Malines," would refuse the Judas-price of treachery. But the noble letter of the Cardinal refusing this German bribe should be read, as I have read it, again and again. It is amongst the classics of this war's literature; but unlike the Plutonian classics of Bernhardt and his fellow fire-eaters, it lives and moves and speaks in a "caelum empyreum," a far-off kingdom of the clouds where principles, not facts, are of most worth and God is very near, as summer is now very near the fields of Belgium, "yea, even at the doors."

VINCENT McNABB, O.P.

PREPARE, prepare the iron helm of war,

Bring forth the lots, cast in the spacious orb;

The Angel of Fate turns them with mighty hands,

And casts them out upon the darkened earth!

Prepare, prepare!

Prepare your hearts for Death's cold hand! prepare

Your souls for flight, your bodies for the earth!

Prepare your arms for glorious victory!

Prepare your eyes to meet a holy God!

Prepare, prepare!

Whose fatal scroll is that? Methinks 'tis mine!

Why sinks my heart, why faltereth my tongue?

Had I three lives, I'd die in such a cause,

And rise, with ghosts, over the well fought field.

Prepare, prepare!

The arrows of Almighty God are drawn!

Angels of Death stand in the lowering heavens!

Thousands of souls must seek the realms of light,

And walk together on the clouds of heaven!

Prepare, prepare!

Soldiers, prepare! Our cause is Heaven's cause;

Soldiers, prepare! Be worthy of our cause;

Prepare to meet our fathers in the sky;

Prepare, O troops that are to fall to-day!

Prepare, prepare!

Alfred shall smile, and make his heart rejoice;

The Norman William and the learned Clerk,

And Lion-Heart, and black-browed Edward with

His loyal Queen, shall rise, and welcome us!

Prepare, prepare!

UNIVERSAL, OBLIGATORY WAR SERVICE DEMANDED.

GREAT PATRIOTIC MEETING.

ENTHUSIASTIC PROCEEDINGS.

Universal Obligatory Service Resolution carried by acclamation.

A great Patriotic Meeting organised by the W.S.P.U., was held at the London Palladium (kindly lent by the management) on Thursday afternoon, June 3, at which a resolution urging the Government to establish Universal Obligatory National Service for men and women was carried with acclamation.

Long before the hour arranged, thousands of people thronged the precincts of the Palladium and by the time the speakers appeared on the platform every seat was occupied. Mrs Pankhurst was in the Chair and was supported by Captain Gilbert Reeves, 3rd (City of London) Battalion, the London Regiment (lately wounded at Neuve Chapelle), Miss Annie Kenney and Mrs Tuke. Lady Mackworth, who was to have spoken, was unfortunately too ill to appear, not yet having recovered from her terrible experiences and sent a letter which was read to the audience.

The Palladium Orchestra kindly played selections, including the National Anthems of the Allies and Mlle. Emilie Bennett, who was accompanied at the piano by Mr Isidore de Lara sang the "Marseillaise" in a manner which greatly stirred the audience.

After Mrs Pankhurst had spoken, contributions for the Special Fund for W.S.P.U. work in war time, were received and amounted to the sum of over £2000. Amongst the large number of subscribers were the following:—

Mrs Douglas Hamilton, The Duchess of Marlborough, Mrs D. A. Thomas, Lady Colebrooke, Dr Ethel Smyth, Lady Mackworth, Madame Clara Butt and Mr Kennerly Rumford, Mrs Boyd, Lady Byron, Mrs Grieve, Mrs Ronald McNeill, Miss Methven, Miss Graham, Sir George Kekewich,

Mrs Billingham, Sir Claude Vincent Caillard, J.P., Mrs Bullock Workman, Mrs Sacré, Lady Glanusk, Mrs Vans Agnew Corbett, Sir R. C. Maclay, Sergt. Lidiard, R.A.M.C., Madame Clements Rose, Sir Talbot Scarisbrick, Miss Boughton Leigh, G. W. Prothero, Esq., Mrs Francis Rowe, Frank Browne, Esq., Miss Compton, Miss Corne, Arthur Roberts, Esq., G. W. Parker, Esq. and Mrs H. C. Saunders.

Readers who were unable to attend the meeting are asked to address their subscriptions to the Hon. Treasurer, W.S.P.U., Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

LADY MACKWORTH TOO ILL TO BE PRESENT.

Her Letter Read from the Chair.

In opening the proceedings, Mrs Pankhurst from the Chair read the following letter from Lady Mackworth.

I am so very sorry that I am after all not allowed to speak yet and so am not able to be with you this afternoon, for I had much looked forward to it. I do not think that any survivor of the *Lusitania* could be otherwise than deeply interested in the suggestion of Universal War Service for men and women which you are considering to-day. Doubtless the outrages and horrors in Belgium should have brought home to one clearly enough the sort of fiends that we are fighting, but a thing that one has witnessed with one's own eyes is somehow even more real. I do not think that I have ever seen so many small children on board a ship as there were on the *Lusitania* when we crossed last time; everyone noticed it and commented on it. The great majority of them perished, as was inevitable when no notice of torpedoing was given and the whole ship had sunk in fifteen minutes. The brutality of the people who could make war on those defenceless babies seems to me a thing that we ought to give everything we have and are to fight and get rid of. Mad brutes of that type are very much too dangerous to leave at large. I cannot tell you how glad I was when I reached Ireland to find that the SUFFRAGETTE had been started again.

It seems to me that it does a piece of work and fills a gap in the fighting of the enemy that no other British paper would exactly do and it is taking as of course one knew it would just exactly the right line and the one most useful at the present time.

In conclusion, will you allow me to send you this small subscription towards the home for war babies which I hear the W.S.P.U. is starting.

Whilst one feels that there has most certainly been much exaggeration in the press with regard to war babies, there must still be great need for something on the lines you have started and it is an unthinkable thing that the poor little mites should suffer at all for what is not in any way their fault.

(Signed) M. H. MACKWORTH.

OAKLANDS, CAERLEON.

THE SINGING OF THE "MARSEILLAISE."

Mlle Emilie Bennett, who was accompanied at the piano by Mr Isidore de Lara, sang the "Marseillaise." Her draperies consisted of the Tricolour which stood out against the background of flowers banked high on the platform. As the last stirring notes of the French National Anthem died away the audience burst into loud cheers and a bouquet was then presented to Mlle Emilie Bennett.

Mrs Pankhurst then called upon Captain Gilbert Reeves, 3rd (City of London) Battalion, The London Regiment, who was wounded at Neuve Chapelle. Captain Reeves, who was loudly applauded said:—

It is a great honour that has been thrust upon me by asking me to speak at this meeting. I think it a great honour partly because of speaking to you and also because I have the privilege of speaking from the same platform as Mrs Pankhurst. We all admire Mrs Pankhurst, both for her pluck and her power as a speaker and a personality and the great good she has done in recruiting.

When I was asked to speak to-day I could not help thinking that there must be hundreds of fellows who have seen a great deal more than I have and the reason I accepted the invitation to speak is that I am a Territorial and can tell you a lot of things that the Regulars would be far too modest to talk about.

I don't think the country realises how magnificent the British Expeditionary Force was. It was the very last word in efficiency, its physique magnificent, its equipment perfect, really one might say quite the most magnificent force in Europe by a long way. And the spirit of comradeship existed between officers and men to such a degree as has never been seen in any Army before.

I have been asked to give you a few details of the service I have seen. My regiment embarked at Malta and we landed at Marseilles and that was the first taste we had of real war. My men asked what sorts of trucks we were to travel in and I told them cattle trucks. When we got to the train there they were—cattle trucks—to carry eight horses or forty men and we had to travel like that for three days and nights.

When the men got into the trucks the first thing they did was to put their heads out and moo-oo!

Later on we got to real business. On 7th March our brigade was on the right of Neuve Chapelle. We moved up on Tuesday night and at 3.30 got fired on. Happily, none of us had much of it, the bullets made a noise, only one of our men was hurt. We went to sleep when we got up to our place, 200 yards from the

German trenches. At 7.30 the bombardment was to begin. A hundred guns went off in the next five seconds; four hundred more went off in the next five seconds, each gun firing fifteen rounds a minute. At five minutes past eight they raised the range and the whole brigade was to charge.

My battalion was supported by the Leicesters and at the beginning the Leicesters went in and took the first three lines of trenches without stopping. The Germans were all lying at the bottom of the trench, the bombardment was terrific, the Germans did not realise that it was practically over and that though the noise was the same the shells were dropping farther and farther away. If they stayed where they were we cannot blame them. Our people said, "poor devils." There were some very interesting happenings during that day. Our men had had a bad time of it, some had been killed and after about ten minutes some two hundred German prisoners came through our ranks and our people looked and called out, "waiter, waiter!"

I trained a company at Malta and wondered how they would behave. They were Territorials. This is interesting in so far as you are concerned because they were all drawn from the same positions as most of the men will be whom you will I hope influence to join. I wondered how they would behave and what they would do when it came to the real thing. I never saw a man look frightened, no matter what they had to pass through.

In conclusion, I should like to say that a young sub. of mine got hold of a wounded German prisoner and as this young sub. was a fluent German scholar, he could talk to the man and even wrote a letter home for him. In the course of conversation he said to him: "What are your own people's real ideas of this war; surely they must know that it is impossible for you to win." The German answered: "Those may be your views, but they are not those of anyone in our country. We all believe that we shall win the war." That is really what they do think.

I want you to realise that we are up against the most stupendous proposition any country has ever seen.

We need more men!

Mrs PANKHURST'S SPEECH

Mrs Pankhurst said—

Captain Reeves in his speech has made us realise I think, not only the value of organised national service, but the need of it. Well, it is because of that need that this meeting has been called together. We believe that in order to deal with the proposition, as Captain Reeves calls it, with which this country is faced, it is necessary to mobilise and use all the resources of the nation.

It is because we believe that, that we welcome the coming into office of the Coalition Government. We recognise that this Government has undertaken the arduous duty of governing the country in a tremendous crisis and in conjunction with our splendid Allies of winning an overwhelming victory for our cause. Such being the tremendous duty and responsibility of the Government, what is our responsibility and what is our duty?

Well, let me first of all say that our duty as a nation is to strengthen the Government and not to weaken it.

This is a time for the exercise of self-restraint. It is a time for collecting the national force and calmly, yet firmly, organising that force so that it may be used to the greatest advantage. Therefore it is not our purpose this afternoon to criticise; it is our desire to help. If there are people who think they observe signs of weakness in the country, then that is all the more reason why they should try to strengthen the country and there is no excuse for carping criticism, or panic.

Lack of self control is weakness in a nation as it is in the individual and I am glad to have the opportunity of recommending to my fellow country-men and my fellow country-women, the splendid example of the noble Allies with whom we are fighting this tremendous war. From the very outset of the war—and I speak now of the allied country of which I know best, the country of France—from the very outset of the war in France, the men and women of the nation fell into place, took up their duty and did it without criticism, without comment, at the word of command. That is their national system in war time and when I read some of our own newspapers, even to-day, criticism of those who desire organised national service, when I read of "Prussianising this country," I say it is an insult to our Allies, because our Allies are organised to the last man and the last woman for national service.

Mrs Pankhurst then put the following resolution:—

RESOLUTION.

"That we, men and women, here assembled affirm our loyal devotion to the great cause of national freedom which Great Britain and her Allies are fighting to maintain and believing that the organised efforts of all are needed to ensure a speedy and complete victory, we ask the Government to establish universal obligatory national war service for men and women."

In our Resolution we have specially emphasised the need of obligatory service in order to overcome difficulties, not only for men but also for women. From the very outset of the war thoughtful women have been advocating that. They have been asking those in authority and those responsible, to look upon women as a great national reserve force, to be used when the proper time came and we have asked that in order that they might be ready, the necessary arrangements for training that force should be set on foot.

We know that it will need all our courage, all our power of endurance, all our strength, in order to carry this war to a successful end.

Well then, is it not ordinary common prudence to prepare ourselves and to organise ourselves.

I would like men to understand or try to realise how women have been feeling their sense of pain, of irritation—and I would like them to give us credit for the self-restraint we have shown in the course of this struggle up to now—(Applause)—because we love our country just as much as they do and we desire to serve it just as earnestly. We have seen the way they have made their arrangements and sometimes they have left us out of account and not realised that in the women of the nation there is a great force. Why! Do you know that in the making of ammunitions in Germany half a million

women are engaged already and is it not a weakness on our part, quite apart from any other consideration, is it not a weakness to ignore willing workers and eager workers longing to serve?

Now, how is all this to be accomplished? How are the munitions of war to be made? How is the ordinary business of national life to be carried on? How are men to be set free to do what is men's proper business—fighting—unless you use the women to the fullest extent?

Pending the action of the Government, pending the mobilisation of the nation which we hope is to come, I urge all women to show their readiness for War Service by registering their names at once at the Government agency, the Labour agencies throughout the country. Let us make the list of women volunteers so great that even in that way we shall have a great effect upon this war and we shall show Germany that the women of Great Britain are ready to stand by the men in this momentous struggle.

Lady Mackworth referred to our paper "THE SUFFRAGETTE" (interruption). I should like to tell that lady who says: "Let them give us the vote" that she now has a splendid opportunity of showing the world that she is fit for the vote (loud applause) and I can tell her that women who are now putting the national cause first are doing more than others for the women's cause (applause).

There is no woman in this country who has done more, or sacrificed more for her enfranchisement than I have (applause) and when the proper time comes, there is no woman who will be readier to do and to sacrifice again than I shall be.

But when I see that the free institutions for which we fought, for which we struggled, are in danger of being swept away for men as well as for women; that we are in danger—and this no exaggeration—of being subjects of Germany and deprived of all free institutions, then all men and all women too, who love freedom and desire citizenship, must fight together against the common foe and never cease from fighting until that foe is crushed and rendered helpless. (Applause.)

Now let me come to a piece of practical war service which I want to lay before you this afternoon.

At the outset I want to say how thankful I am to know that the talk about an increase of illegitimacy because of the mobilisation of our new Army is greatly exaggerated. I believe that there is even good hope that there will be no increase in the statistics of illegitimacy and that there may probably even be a decrease this year.

A little reflection will show you that this is likely to be the case, because never before in the history of our Army have so many moral forces been at work as during this war, in this country. Every effort has been made to bring home to the young men who enlist a full sense of their responsibility in a way which is quite unprecedented and the health instruction and the moral instruction of the recruit, are very complete. From Lord Kitchener downwards (applause) the officers of our splendid Army have impressed upon those of whom they are in charge a sense of responsibility—and their duty to keep themselves clean and pure in doing the work of defending the country. And so I believe that we have reason to be proud of our army and I feel I share the resentment of those who dislike that any stigma should be put upon them in this matter.

Continued on next page.

UNIVERSAL OBLIGATORY WAR SERVICE DEMANDED.

continued.

But the correspondence, the newspaper publicity, has had this effect: it has called attention to a permanent problem, to a great evil of our civilisation. The illegitimate child is always with us. As Mrs Bramwell Booth of the Salvation Army has reminded us, annually in this country we have an average of 37,000 illegitimate births, children who come into the world handicapped by nature and handicapped by law. There is no time to go into our illegitimacy laws this afternoon. I think you will all agree that they are harder and more cruel than the laws of many other countries, perhaps it is because those to whom it comes home most have had very little say in the matter that there has been great delay in legal reform in this direction and our illegitimacy laws are out of date and not in agreement with modern feeling and modern sentiment. Well we cannot hope to get the illegitimacy laws reformed or any other laws reformed until this war is over. (Another interruption from the same person.) The lady says that when we get the vote we shall get them altered. I hope we shall, but as we cannot get the vote until the war is over, let us get to practical business.

The W.S.P.U. and Social Work.

Now, when the war broke out all sorts of women's organisations considered what work they could do in connection with the war. The W.S.P.U. felt that the best work they could do for the moment was to strengthen the national feeling for defence and advised our members to ally themselves to permanent organisations whose duty it was to undertake social work of every kind, but we always said that if the time came when we saw some special piece of social service which we could do as war service, we should be ready to do it. The discussion in the newspapers made it clear to me that the time had come and that something that had always been very close to my heart, could effectively be done. The correspondence in the papers, the publicity given to the problem of illegitimacy, seemed to make it possible for us to do a piece of work in connection with that problem. Now after the war, when we take up ordinary life again, I hope something may be done on a national scale to protect those children and prevent them from growing up to be bad citizens and a danger to the community. While I hope something may be done on a national scale, what we can do now I believe is to establish a model, to conduct an experiment which may be useful as an object lesson when the time comes. The problem is a vast and an important problem. There are people who say heredity makes it impossible for anything to be done for these children because they are doomed to misery and on the other hand there are people who say environment will settle the difficulty.

Practical help required.

Knowing the importance of environment we propose to do a piece of practical work and adopt as many of these children as the funds at our command will warrant; to surround them with loving care; to give them individual treatment when they come to an age when they can be influenced; to adopt the very latest methods of training children and so conduct an experiment which we believe will be of the greatest value. We will do the work if you will support us in a practical way and I appeal particularly to men in this matter on many grounds, but the only ground with which I will deal this afternoon is this: women care for these children. We are women and whether you believe in women taking part in politics

or not, you all agree that it always has been and always will be their business to care for children and that they by nature and by circumstances are the best to deal with these children. You men cannot do it, but you can pay. You can help us. You can put your hand in your pocket. If you have a fear of the consequence of caring for these children all I can say to you is this: that the world in apportioning the punishment for wrongdoing and lack of responsibility towards the future imposes the heaviest punishment on women who are often the least responsible and the least able to bear it. So I say to men: do a little to equalise the burden. Help with your money, we who are willing to take all the care and all the responsibility and a great responsibility it is too, of directing these young lives. To those who object that if you take children into a home of that kind you separate the mother and the child, I would reply that we also believe that the mother and child should where possible be kept together. But there are many of these children who have no mother. There are some every year who have neither father nor mother, because the mothers die when the child is born, or owing to some other reason mother and child cannot be together.

Orphans to be chosen.

Among all those children we shall find quite as many children as we can deal with. And so we propose in this W.S.P.U. home for children to take only those children who have no mothers, who are practically orphans and we want to make ourselves altogether responsible for them until they are launched in life. The scheme is a very big one and I cannot go into all its details this afternoon, but I shall be very glad to hear from those who are prepared to help in a practical way and to show them how we have anticipated and provided for every difficulty and to tell them of our ideas about the training of these children. We want to take each child as an individual and if we should happen among our children to have a genius, we are going to foster that genius. And if, as is certain to be the case, the majority of our children will be quite every-day people, we will bring them up as they ought to be brought up in the hope of making them strong human beings, able to face the difficulties of life, able to protect themselves against all the temptations and dangers, because the best thing you can do for a child is to bring it up so as to be able to protect itself.

The Collection was then taken and as already announced amounted to over £2000. Mrs Pankhurst then called upon Miss Annie Kenney to second the resolution.

Miss ANNIE KENNEY'S SPEECH.

I think that the hearts of all, both men and women, must have warmed towards our new Ally when they heard the Italian National Anthem played. When we remember that Italy joined in this war because her soul and heart and spirit refused to keep out of it! We feel proud as British people that Italy is our Ally. In the days when Garibaldi and Mazzini fought so nobly for the Unity of Italy, the working men of this country and especially of Newcastle, did all they could to support them. The working men of Newcastle collected pennies to buy and present to Garibaldi a sword and he, when thanking them in a letter that he wrote to Mr Cowen, the chairman of the presentation committee, said: "If ever England needs my arm, I shall willingly draw this sword in her defence!" I think we ought to feel very proud that the land of Garibaldi and Mazzini, of Dante

and Rossetti, has come and taken her stand by our side. The intervention of Italy has done away, once and for ever, with the false statement that the war has been brought about by secret diplomacy by the wealthy capitalists of all countries.

There is one thing about our nation which I cannot understand and it is this. It contains some people who seem to think that instead of fighting for national existence, instead of putting all the best that the Empire can produce at the disposal of our country in time of need, we ought to turn our minds to our own domestic differences and try to settle these. I cannot understand why they do not realise what this country would be like if the German invader were to set foot upon our shores. They have surely read the reports of the atrocities perpetrated by German troops in Belgium and the parts of France that are in their hands. I ask you where would be our civil liberty and our constitution if England were annexed to Germany? That constitution which the greatest legal minds of foreign countries will tell you is the finest constitution in the world.

I should like to say a few words on War Service for women. I certainly hope that the new Government will not be afraid of certain men, Trade Unionists. There is a certain section of people who are terrified lest the middle class and leisured woman should take her place in the national work. But for the sake of the country all classes of women must at the present time take their part in national service. If the Government does its duty, it will take all the able women and give them the opportunity of proving themselves to be truly British and true daughters of the Empire.

Voluntary Service not sufficient.

The other day, this argument was put to me by a writer who said: "It will be the greatest blow to conscription if we can win this war on voluntary service." That would be quite true if we alone were fighting and beating Germany with a voluntary army, but we have the help of Allies who have adopted compulsory service. We are fighting for the freedom of our country and we know and the Government knows that if we only had our own voluntary army to depend on we should be overrun by Germany.

Voluntary service would never and will never win this war. Our Allies have compulsory service and therefore I do not think that it is right for a man of military age belonging to our own nation to be out of uniform.

It is quite true that we were not ready for this war, neither we, nor any of our Allies, but that was because France, Russia, Serbia and Italy and Great Britain kept faith whilst Germany had been deceiving every country.

This war may be over in twelve months and it may go on for another two years; therefore we ought not to wait twelve days before we are organised in every walk of life.

I call upon all the women of England, the leisured as well as the working woman, to do their share. Come forward and let us be united under one flag that we may fight together for the Empire that has already sacrificed so much in the cause of freedom! Is it not worth fighting that the Empire may be defended from our common enemy?

In conclusion let me support the resolution and ask you to put your little differences on one side that we may all unite and send our resolution to the Government and let us hope that soon we shall all be working together to oust the Germans and send them back to their own country.

The resolution was then put and was carried unanimously amidst loud cheers.

GERMANY THE UNCIVILISED.

The Belgian poet Emile Verhaeren has contributed the following account of Germany and the German people to *Les Annales*.

The insight of the poet has in all ages been of priceless value as a means of getting at the truth underlying human problems.

LIFE is not a means; life is an end. That is what we must tell ourselves in order really to live in this world. Hence the obligation to perfect life, to make it high and beautiful, to make a masterpiece of it. Hence too our contempt and hatred for those who wish to tarnish life, either by their thoughts or by their deeds.

Germany behaves as though it were the most backward among nations. And indeed it is in spite of appearances essentially feudal. There is perhaps a German culture, but there is no German civilisation.

One may be well informed and yet be hardly civilised. A sense of duty to humanity, a sense of pride, a sense of liberty are independent, certainly not of intelligence, but are independent of mere knowledge of accumulated facts.

The German professor is a walking library. He collects, he arranges, he comments. Arrangement and discipline with him take the place of everything else and they inculcate in him the spirit of dependence and of servility. It is perhaps because he classifies so much that he is so dully submissive. Everything according to his view is in an ascending or descending scale. Everything is in its compartment.

A Being who always accepts.

How, then, can we be surprised if everything becomes materialised and the mind of each Teuton can lay claim to be nothing more than a sort of stiff and dingy compartment, in a sort of social chessboard.

It has already been said: The German invents almost nothing. He works upon the inventions of other people. In order to invent he would have to possess the spirit of rebellion against that which is. He is incapable of that spirit. He is a being who always accepts.

But as soon as a new discovery has been made by others the German gets hold of it. He examines it patiently. He turns and returns it this way, that way, and every way. He, as it were, criticises it. He thus succeeds in augmenting its power. Moreover, he wishes that it shall serve a practical purpose and be classified accordingly, just as he himself serves and is classified in life.

Never have the Germans opened up a great road in science. They open up only by-paths. Leibnitz and Kant joined their paths to the royal high road of Descartes. Haeckel would hardly have existed if Darwin had not existed. Koch and Behring are dependent upon the labours of Pasteur.

This second-hand science is excellent as a means of attracting mediocre minds. To work, each in his little corner, at solving some secondary question and to believe oneself a somebody, when one is hardly anybody, flatters the universal vanity. All the little provincial universities of Germany can live in the illusion that they are full of learned men—thanks to the German conception of what is learned and serious!

It is a system of regimenting in great barracks of laboratories. It is the absolute negation of the spirit of initiative of spontaneity and it is above all the negation of the spirit of protest and revolt.

If the German people had been truly civilised they would never have maintained silence before the assassination of Belgium. Even among those whose ideas are contrary to the existing political order in Germany, none have risen up against this crime admitted and proclaimed at the beginning of the war in full Parliament by the Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg himself. The universal astonishment at such a silence was so great that even to-day the world has not recovered from it. Apart from Liebknecht the whole of German Social Democracy is dishonoured: it is desired to expel the German Socialists from the International Socialist Movement. They excuse themselves; they aggravate their fault. They say,

"We should have been arrested and imprisoned." The world replies—

"Are they then afraid of dying?"

In the German Socialist Party everything has been reduced to method and organised as in the German universities and the German Army.

There were I know not how many Socialist electors: German Socialism was thought to be already triumphant and invincible. People said;—"They are Germany!"

"It was the German Socialist Party that was devoured."

The German Socialists were held up as an example to all the Democracies of the earth.

Those who swore by the German Socialists affirmed that they would devour Kaiserism when it should become necessary. But last August in one hour in the Reichstag it was the German Socialist Party that was devoured!

When recently certain German Socialists visited the *Maison du Peuple* of Brussels they expressed astonishment that the Socialists of Belgium should attach so much importance to the invasion of their country.

"What then binds you to your country?" they asked.

"Honour" was the reply.

"Honour! Honour! that is a very bourgeois ideal" interrupted the Germans.

Yet a true civilisation has as its framework precisely honour. Honour is not a bourgeois ideal, but an aristocratic ideal. It was slowly created by the flower of humanity throughout the centuries. When force becomes educated, force opposes itself. It limits and encloses itself. It becomes intelligent and tempered by reserve and by tact. Brutal force thus changes into moral force, power becomes justice.

The more a nation lends itself to such a change, the more it rises from the material plane towards the spiritual plane. The more it enshrines in its institution respect for humanity as a whole, the greater and more civilised it becomes. Such a nation remains faithful to its pledged word; neither interest nor even necessity moves it to commit felony. It loves to protect and not to oppress those who are weaker than itself. It has at heart the work of propagating throughout the world certain principles of social life which certainly are utopias, but are yet beautiful to have before the eyes and in the heart, in order to live not only for the present but also for the future.

These admirable principles which may never be put wholly into practice, but towards which we must try to grow always nearer, are the expression of the deepest human generosity. They are the radical negation of brutal and primitive force; they incline the world towards

a unanimous and serene peace. They have based on faith the infinite perfectibility of conscience. Only a nation of a high degree of civilisation can conceive of relations so perfect between human beings and cherish dreams so great.

Germany was never capable of this. The individual German is the least subtle and the least susceptible to education of any in the world.

It has been my lot to take part in certain European capitals in a number of re-unions where English, French, Italians, Germans came together and conversed. They were all I was assured, distinguished people, of whom their respective nations might be proud. Now the German was rarely to be seen in an excellent attitude. He was at once embarrassed and arrogant. He lacked refinement. His politeness was clumsy. He was as though afraid of seeming not to know everything. The most eccentric taste seemed to him the best taste. To him to be up to date was to be up to the minute. He would have been wretched if anyone in his presence had claimed to be up to the second.

As soon as he had the chance to speak and got a hearing he inaugurated as it were a course of lectures. Clearness was not at all necessary to him. One rarely understood precisely what he meant. The fastidiousness and subtlety which lead others to seek perfection in phrase and thought had little attraction for him. With what heaviness the German diplomat discusses matters at the council table! With what clumsiness the German conqueror plants himself in a conquered country! While France, at the end of half a century, makes herself beloved in Savoy, at Mentone and at Nice, whilst in the space of two centuries she assimilates Lille and Dunkirk and Strasburg and Alsace; while England in a few decades unites to her Egypt and the Cape, Germany remains detested in Poland, Schleswig and in Alsace-Lorraine. Germany is essentially the *persona ingrata* everywhere it presents itself. It knows only the methods that divide and not those which unite. Germany makes proclamations that act upon the mind as the frost acts upon plants. Germany knows neither how to attract nor how to charm nor how to civilise, because she has no personal and profound moral force.

The Fate of Europe under German Hegemony.

Europe under the successive spiritual hegemonies of Athens, Rome and Paris remained the most admirable centre of human development that has ever been.

Under German hegemony Europe would move towards a sort of gloomy and hard organisation under which everything would be impeccable, arranged only because everything would be tyrannised over from above.

For the true Germany—we have to-day the sad but immovable conviction of this—was never that of Goethe, of Beethoven nor of Heine. It was that of implacable Landgraves and fierce soldiers.

For thousands of years Germany has let loose its hordes upon Europe; Vandals, Visigoths, Alains, Franks, Herules. Germany continues to do this at the present day. It is Germany's terrible and sinister function.

Only let us not deceive ourselves as to this point in future, Germany is the dangerous nation because it is the uncivilisable nation, because its castles, its fields and its barracks have remained the inexhausted and perhaps the inexhaustible reservoirs of human ferocity.

JEWES AND THE WAR.

We give below some interesting notes which appeared in a recent issue of the "Jewish World." These throw light upon the war as it affects the interests of the Jewish people. Passages of special importance we have printed in black type.

A "Jack-the-Ripper" Nation.

THAT Germany would offer excuses for the villainy of which she has been guilty in sinking the *Lusitania* no one could have had much doubt. The deed itself shows that Germany has sunk too low in the moral scale to be able to confess even so manifest a wickedness as this crime of her blood-lust. But what in far different circumstances would be amusing is the plea that Germany is putting forth that she warned all and sundry of what she intended to do, and therefore not Germany but Germany's victims are to blame for disregarding the warning. Some years ago there haunted the streets of London a somewhat mysterious criminal who was subsequently found to be suffering from one of the most terrible mental aberrations known to alienists. One of the features of Jack the Ripper's crimes was that he always preceded them by scrawling in chalk on some street wall a warning to the police that some poor wretch was about to be sacrificed. This notice doubtless soothed what little conscience disease had left the murderous beast in human shape; it was a sure sign of the nature of his crimes, arising from egoism gone mad and megalomania brought to the point of lunacy. We commend the analogy to the German people and to their sympathisers here and in America. The excuses that the *Lusitania* was an armed vessel, that she carried reservists, or that she brought munitions of war in her holds are clearly afterthoughts. Because, had they been otherwise, the facts as alleged would have been mentioned in the warning advertisement issued in America on behalf of the German Government. The advertisement said nothing of the sort, so that, as usual, Germans are lying in an endeavour to cover their terrible sin. One word more—and we say it for the benefit of sympathisers with Germany—"Jack the Ripper" was, in the end, found to be a man who once had been highly cultured. Evidently a nation like an individual can become decadent and demented, when we see the people that produced Goethe and Schiller, Lessing and Heine, and all the noble band of great Germans producing the "Jack the Ripper" murderers of the *Lusitania*.

Mr Schiff on the War.

In the second number of the *Menorah Journal*, Mr Jacob H. Schiff contributes an article, which he entitles "The Jewish Problem To-day," one of the objects of which is to appeal to American Jews to shake off their apathy towards their suffering brethren in the war zone and subscribe more liberally than they have to the American Jewish Relief Fund. In the course of the contribution, Mr Schiff makes some remarkable statements in regard to the war. He says that in Poland, Jews "have been outraged in the most terrible manner" by Poles and Russians, and that "it is only after the Russian armies are forced to leave that the Jews are given protection by the Germans." The reason Mr Schiff says this is obviously in order to gain favour for Germany among our co-religionists in America; but however important that may seem to him, does Mr Schiff imagine that he can serve any good purpose which can justify such a ludicrous picture of the German Army?

English Anti-Semitism!

Again, Mr Schiff alleges that England's alliance with Russia has resulted in there being "such a thing as anti-Semitism" in this country, while on the other hand he declares "in Germany the Jews do not suffer; they have a high standing, and occupy many high positions." Nothing, he it noted, is said about the "high positions" our co-religionists would have occupied in the Fatherland, but for the anti-Semitism there, but this seems to have crossed Mr Schiff's mind, for he adds: "There has, it is true, always been a certain anti-Semitic tendency in Germany." This is how this veracious scribe writes of the cradle of anti-Semitism! If there were a tithe of the anti-Semitism in England that there is in Germany, even at this moment, when our co-religionists are pouring out their blood in the country's battles, we should feel ashamed of our English citizenship.

As Pro-German.

To give Mr Schiff due credit he frankly proclaims himself pro-German. "I do not want to be misjudged," he says, "for it is well known that I am a German sympathiser." From one point of view this is not surprising, seeing that Mr Schiff was already a young man when he left his native Germany for America. But from another it occurs to us that it would be interesting to hear Mr Schiff attempting to justify German methods of carrying on war with any aspect of the humanity which has made Mr Schiff, as he is described editorially in the *Menorah Journal*, "a prince of philanthropists." It would for instance be a nice exercise for Mr Schiff to explain his sympathy for the torpedoing of the *Lusitania* consistently with the sympathy for innocent human suffering which he has ever evinced. But it is a pity that Mr Schiff's German sympathy is so strong that, because Germany is at war with Russia, he cannot imagine any good thing coming out of Russia.

Mr Schiff and Russia.

All that he can suggest is that "pressure" should be placed on Russia to induce her to abolish the Pale of Settlement. For he has "little confidence at all" in Russia, does not trust her promises, and believes that Jewish heroism that is being shown in the war will tend to "an improvement of Jewish conditions all over except possibly in Russia." All this talk and more like it is wind to the pro-German-American mills. It apparently does not occur to Mr Schiff that the war is throwing up new conditions and new ideas which Russia will be as unable to resist as any other country even if she so desired. Mr Schiff, of course, cannot see that the crushing of German militarism—the blatant, bombastic, mailed-fist and shining armour bullying of Germany—will *inter alia* give to Russia an opportunity of progressing along lines of freedom in which it has been Germany's set policy for upwards of three-quarters of a century to restrain her, that, with Germany reduced to a reasonable level among the nations, the policy of Russification which is the root cause of Jewish persecution in the land of the Czar will become obsolete, and with it, gradually perhaps, but surely, the restrictions upon Russo-Jews. The promise of events we regard as of more value than the promises of governments and rulers to which Mr Schiff refers.

The Logic of Events.

M. Aladin, a Russian reformer at present in England, put the point very clearly in the course of his address at Manchester the other evening. As he said "for better or worse the fate of the Jews (in Russia) is bound up with the progress and development of Russia itself," and that the advance towards democratic principles of Russia must carry with it the amelioration of the lot of the Jews. M. Aladin made two observations which are important and should be borne in mind by a man like Mr Schiff when he hints at now raising the passport difficulty between the American and Russian Governments. M. Aladin said: "All policy of pinpricks, either on the part of the Russian-Jewish community or on the part of the Jewish communities abroad to whom the cause of the Russian Jew is dear, must be dropped. The policy of pinpricks shows only absolute lack of statesmanship." The other point was that the Jews of the world either have to decide to stand by Russia and her Allies or with Germany. "If with Germany," said M. Aladin, "we shall then know that we have got one more enemy to fight. An attitude of expectancy, sitting on the fence trying to accommodate both sides, would be and is worse than hostility." These words will, we hope, reach our brethren in faith in the United States.

The Alternative.

It seems to us that our sympathy as Jews in this war, speaking of course apart from all obligations of loyalty to the countries we inhabit and of which we are citizens, has to be determined upon the alternative of Germany or the Allies, including Russia, winning. Now, there can be little doubt that if Germany wins in this war all the forces against which Judaism has fought for centuries will receive an impetus and a fillip which must tend largely to our undoing as a people for generations. The principles for which Germany stands and the *kull* she would impose upon the world are diametrically opposed to the teachings of our faith and the traditions of our people. That is the reason why Chauvinistic Germanism has proved itself all along to be absolutely inseparable from anti-Semitism. It is argued, on the other hand, if Russia wins in this war the forces that have been employed to persecute the Jews will be hardened and the modern Pharaoh will not let his people be free. But this idea is based upon the altogether wrong assumption that the war is a war of Russian bureaucrats and not, as it is, of the whole Russian people. It is inconceivable that at the end of the war the Russian people who have fought for Russia will not demand and obtain a large measure of democratic progress in which the Jews in Russia will share. On the other hand, the defeat of Russia would be bound to magnify the power of the bureaucrats. The sense of fear that would be inspired in the Russian Government would make them fearful of inaugurating or allowing any reforms. The rigid rule of Russification would be increased in inflexibility, and with that state of affairs would be bound to come fresh restrictions for the Jewish people. A Russia strong, triumphant and above all free from the menace of German militarism, surely forms the best prospect for the future of our Russo-Jewish brethren.

THE FRANCO-BRITISH PEOPLE*—continued.

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

By JEAN FINOT.

RECIPROCAL FRIENDSHIP AND ADMIRATION.

Writers, statesmen, philosophers, historians, workers, all realised the benefits of this fraternal penetration of English civilisation by French thought. And when the national consciousness of Great Britain was not obscured by the petty interests and quarrels of the day, it confessed with gratitude, the debt owed to France. A poet such as Wordsworth did not hesitate to reproach a Bishop such as Watson for having dared to attack France and thus shot "an arrow against liberty and philosophy which are the eyes of this human race." The same Wordsworth exulted in his soul when his English compatriots were vanquished by the French, "for humanity which is France, thus triumphs over England which is only a part of humanity."

Almost all the great English poets were in nothing behind Wordsworth in this ardent love of France and the French people.

This display of noble feeling on the part of the English, was to find a powerful echo in France. English thought, ripened and developed under French influence, arrived in the eighteenth century in France and found there a soil ready to be cultivated in its turn. English travellers followed and on either side of the Channel there was an outburst of feeling long suppressed. Just as an overflowing torrent at last breaks through artificial banks and extends to unsuspected limits, so English thought, once established in France, penetrated everything and imprinted an indelible mark upon the national life.

Regarding the spectacle of this communion of souls, Buckle, a wise observer, wonderingly classes this "phenomenon of the junction of two civilisations," as one of the most imposing events of the eighteenth century.

WHAT FRANCE OWES TO ENGLAND.

"The hell of demons and parricides which serves as a habitation for an enraged although stupid people," according to the Jesuit Father Coulon, author of the first *French Guide to England* (1654) was now to pay its debt of gratitude to France and the French.

We shall see above all that the true humanity which consists in the love and comprehension of other peoples, this essential characteristic of the French mentality, was derived above all from England.

The France of the eighteenth century, the France of the Encyclopedists, the France of the Revolution, that good fairy of humanity fighting for the conquest of its liberties and the abolition of despotism, owes much to the influence of the English.

Let us not forget that during a whole century (the eighteenth), France who held herself aloof from other nations, nevertheless maintained constant relations with the English nation alone. And, let us say it without fear of contradiction, it is to this beneficent influence that

* Chapters reprinted by permission from the recently published book, *Civilisés Centre Allemands. La Grande Croisade.*

are due the most enviable characteristics of the spirit and glory of France.

FORMATION OF THE FRENCH GENIUS.

The revocation of the Edict of Nantes gave to Great Britain thousands of the flower of the French people. The enlightened Huguenots, took refuge there in order to breathe the free air and taste the fruits of liberty. They knew the country only through having heard much evil of it. If France was adored by the English, England was on the contrary vilified and despised by all the notabilities of France.

Already at this epoch the British had in France implacable detractors recruited among all classes. They were ignorant of the English language and country, but that did not prevent them from ardently despising both.

The verses of Saint Amant who, in his *Albion* maintained that "stupidity and arrogance make up its manners" accurately reflected the opinion of the day. Let us not forget that the translation of Shakespeare did not appear until 1776 and that all the English literature known in France at the beginning of the eighteenth century consisted in the works of Bacon, in the *Man in the Moon* by Godwin and some books of less importance.

The blind hatred that the royalty, the nobility and the clergy of France nursed with regard to England, had something in it as cruel as fate.

England and Liberty.

The Roi-Soleil desired the break up of "this nation of murderers" who dared to attack monarchy and its divine right. The neighbourhood of this nation "more agitated on its soil and in its ports than is the ocean which surrounds it" (Bossuet) caused the nobility to tremble and seriously perturbed the clergy.

Writers in the pay of Louis XIV. as well as his courtisans who vegetated in the orbit of his favour cursed English cruelty and barbarity. The clergy everywhere showed themselves revolted at the spectacle of people who held so cheap their religion and their terrestrial privileges.

While in France blood was shed in torrents for the sake of celestial dogmas or their semblance, in England liberty upon earth was the preoccupation which showed through all religious strife. Henry VIII. ruled by his will alone over the national religion and edited the formulas of the church. Edward who succeeded him broke through the Catholic doctrine published by his father and caused Protestantism to triumph.

Queen Mary, born a Papist, proclaimed the victory of Catholicism. But immediately Elizabeth came to the throne she undid the work of Queen Mary and brought about the disappearance of Catholicism and Catholics. The English people assisted passively at this series of religious transformations which were facilitated and encouraged by their indifference (Locke).

What mattered to them the religious aspirations of its sovereign provided that the domain of their liberties grew and prospered? In the eyes of enlightened Frenchmen accustomed to the spectacle of revolting tragedies as a consequence of the least deviation from established religion, England became the ideal land of freedom of conscience.

The refugees on their arrival were moreover dazzled by the treasures of English thought and intelligence. With that vivacity and impressionability which characterise the French mind, they quickly passed from admiration to

penetration by this new spirit and to the comprehension of these hitherto unknown masterpieces.

Having quickly realised the injustice and stupidity of the systematic ignorance of the insular genius, they set to work to repair the wrongs of centuries. Their enthusiastic labour soon bore fruit.

France was invaded by the most beautiful conquests of the English spirit. Drama, romance, poetry, philosophy, science—nothing was neglected. Not only were there translations and *résumés* of well known works, but a search was made into all the corners and recesses of the intellectual life of England, discoveries being thus made which benefited the English themselves.

About the same time Rapin de Thoiras published a History of the English parliament. Hailed with enthusiasm it made a profound impression upon the best spirits of the time. The assembly of the wise Saxons, the Wittenagemot came to be regarded as the ideal institution of liberty. One sees later on the effect of all this even upon Montesquieu. At first very reserved with regard to English organisation which reminded him of that of Lacedaemon or the little Italian Republics of the Middle Ages, the author of the *Esprit des Lois* was afterwards seized with enthusiasm for this government half aristocratic and half bourgeois, based upon traditions and ancient custom.

Without the French, without Rapin de Thoiras, Louis Blanc said in his letters: "The English would not yet have had a general history of their nation. If the newcomers owed much to England, they thus paid their debt of gratitude."

"Constitutional England."

They made England known and admired not only in France but also in the rest of Europe. It is thanks to them that Locke, Newton, Shakespeare and Richardson were appreciated throughout the world. Once they had become the commercial travellers of English greatness, the French filled this rôle with intelligence and with profit to the whole of humanity.

Thus Europe learnt, thanks to the French the advantages of the English Parliamentary system. Until the beginning of the eighteenth century Europe spoke only of "regicide England." Through the instrumentality of the French refugees people began to know and to exalt "constitutional England."

On the other hand it is thanks to her and because of her that the French people interested themselves more in foreign affairs and gave free course to their dreams of equality and liberty.

A decisive step had been taken in the national life of France. She did not limit herself to being simply interested in the events that occurred beyond her frontiers; she associated herself with these events and finished by opening her heart to the peoples stirred by the same ideas, the peoples anxious for a public life worthy of free humanity.

About the year 1720 a sort of intimacy was established between the English and French mind, an intimacy which was to react in a healthy fashion upon the future of the two peoples.

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W.S.P.U. ACTIVITIES.

W.S.P.U. WAR SERVICE MEETINGS.

The W. S. P. U. has arranged to hold a series of meetings in order to urge the need for Universal and Obligatory War Service for men and women.

These Meetings will be held every Thursday afternoon from 3 to 5. The First of these Meetings will be held at the London Pavilion, Piccadilly Circus, W., (very kindly lent by the Management) on Thursday first, 17th, at 3 p.m.

The object of these meetings is to demand National and Obligatory War Service for men and women and to consider other means of helping the country in this time of danger.

The speakers will be Mrs Pankhurst, Miss Annie Kenney and others.

W.S.P.U. RECRUITING CAMPAIGN.

Enthusiastic Meetings.

A large and enthusiastic audience gathered in Hyde Park near the Reformer's Tree to hear General Flora Drummond on Sunday last. She also spoke in Hyde Park at an impromptu meeting on Wednesday last, when a very large crowd quickly gathered and listened with great interest. At the close of the meeting an Irish soldier on forty-eight hour's leave from the front spoke telling of his experiences in the trenches and at the end of this meeting several recruits gave in their names for Kitchener's army.

General Drummond also spoke during last week at the following places:—Harrow Road, Tower Hill (during the lunch hour), Peckham Rye and Hampstead.

The following meetings have been arranged at which General Drummond will speak.

Monday, June 14th, at the Grove, Hammer-smith, 7.30.

Wednesday, June 16th, Cobden Statue, Camden Town, 7.30.

Friday, June 18th, The Plough, Clapham, 8 o'clock.

All who can help with these meetings, either by chalking or by selling "THE SUFFRAGETTE" are asked to communicate with Miss Shearwood at Lincoln's Inn House, W.C.

A PATRIOTIC JUMBLE SALE.

By the kindness of the Misses WYLIE, a Jumble Sale will be held on June 28th, at the Elysée Galleries, Queen's Road, Bayswater, at 2 p.m., in aid of the Special Fund for the W. S. P. U. work in War Time.

The Misses Wylie appeal to all members throughout the country to send contributions without delay, to Miss MARCH, 57 Bedford Gardens, Campden Hill, W. It is hoped to have a record sale.

SELLING "THE SUFFRAGETTE."

THE SUFFRAGETTE is having an enthusiastic welcome everywhere.

On Whit Sunday a great number of SUFFRAGETTE sellers did a brisk trade at the gates of Hyde Park, while General Flora Drummond was addressing a patriotic meeting at the Reformer's Tree.

Sellers were also present at the great Italian demonstration held in London on Thursday of last week, when the picture of Garibaldi on the front page of the paper caused the greatest enthusiasm amongst the Italians in the streets, one of whom was heard to remark, "The Suffragettes are always on the spot."

More paper sellers are required and those who can undertake to help in this way at special functions are asked to send their names to Miss Kennedy, at Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

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WANTED.—Suffragette with good Degree in French or German, or both, to correct weekly essay for Suffragette, formerly student in Paris and Berlin.—Write, stating fee, to Mrs GILES, c/o Captain Giles, 28 Topping Street, Blackpool.

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THE SERBIAN VICTORIES.

By VICTOR BERARD.

This is a second instalment of an account of the history, the recent wars and the ideals and aspirations of the people of Serbia. It was, by order of the Minister of Public Instruction, read out in all the schools and colleges of France on Serbian Day, in order that the pupils might have a fuller knowledge of the people for whom their country is fighting. We publish this translation by kind permission of the author and the publisher.

BETWEEN 1912 and 1915 the Serbs sustained three great wars:—

- (1) The war against the Turks in 1912,
- (2) The war against the Bulgarians in 1913,
- (3) The war against the Austro-Hungarians and the Germans in 1914-15.

(1) The Turko-Serbian War.

In September 1912 the Turks still possessed in Europe the provinces of Albania, of Macedonia and of Roumelia, that is to say all the centre of the Balkan Peninsula between the Adriatic Sea and the Black Sea. These Turkish provinces were inhabited by a majority of Bulgarian, Serb and Greek Christians and by a Mussulman, Albanian and Turkish minority. The provinces had always been badly administered. They had been since 1894 a prey to anarchy and insurrection, the consequence of the administrative pillage and the theocratical régime of the Turks.

The Turkish administration was, on paper, organised in the European fashion, but the officials, being never paid, robbed in every sort of way in order to live. As the saying goes in those parts, they "devoured" and the appetite of these devourers was insatiable. The generals and the officers stealing the wages, food and the equipment of the troops, the soldiers and the policemen pillaged in the villages and along the roads; the Prefects paying none of those employed in their offices, the employees exacted money from the public for the least bit of paper and nothing could be done in Turkey without innumerable papers. Even in order to travel in the interior a passport was necessary.

Mussulman Tyranny.

The Christian peasants were above all the prey of the tax collector. They owed to the Government a tenth of their crops. The Government farmed out this tithe to contractors, who exacted from the peasants as much as a fifth and even a quarter of the harvest. The peasants were, in addition to this, molested, robbed, beaten and often killed by the Mussulman chiefs, who arrogated to themselves all the rights of seigneurs and subjected the Christians to taxes and forced labour. The Albanian lords and above all the Beys of the Plain of Kossovo, adopted methods of which one has remained celebrated under the name of "the last Sou." Every spring and every autumn the Albanian Bey installed himself with his band in one of the villages of Kossovo; there they led a joyous life, emptied the granaries, the wine cellars and the farmyards. On leaving they further exacted further tribute from the ruined peasants.

For fourteen years (from 1894 to 1908) it was thought that the responsibilities of these excesses was that of the Sultan, who is also the sovereign Pontiff of Islam, the Mussulman Pope (Khalif).

The Sultan-Khalif of Constantinople was then Abdul-Hamid. He affected the greatest religious fanaticism. By his massacres of Armenians he had earned the name of the Red Sultan. He continued in Macedonia his Armenian exploits; people believed that he alone was responsible. But when in the month of

July 1908, the revolution of the young Turks at Constantinople changed the political façade of the Ottoman Empire and when the coup d'état of April 1909 had replaced the tyranny of Abdul-Hamid by that of the Committee of Union and Progress, it was realised that the fate of the Christians in Turkey in Europe was not better, but on the contrary was worse. The Young Turks professed to be patriots and liberals. They were in reality Imperialistic fanatics and in order to get their revolution against the sovereign Pontiff of Islam forgiven, they professed the same religious zeal as Abdul-Hamid and an even greater hatred of the Christians.

They dreamed of driving out all the Macedonian Christians from their native land; they wished to replace them by Mussulman immigrants, whom they called from the provinces recently annexed by Austria-Hungary and by Russia. Under the pressure of these immigrants denuded of everything and reduced to pillage, it was by thousands that Christian Macedonians and Roumelians had to fly and seek a refuge with their brothers by race in neighbouring kingdoms in Serbia, in Montenegro, in Bulgaria and in Greece.

Now, the arrival of these unfortunates made life very difficult for the Governments and peoples of these kingdoms. The spectacle of such distress filled the people with anger, the maintenance of these thousands of famished people involved great expense to private individuals and to the State. The subjects of these neighbouring States living in Turkey were persecuted and robbed under the administration of the Young Turks, which showed itself to be as oppressive and as devouring as that of Abdul-Hamid.

Therefore during the summer of 1912, taking advantage of the Turko-Italian war in Tripoli, Serbia, Montenegro, Bulgaria and Greece, made the demand coupled with the threat of war that Turkey should be made inhabitable to all its subjects and that the Christians of Macedonia and of Roumania should be assured of a minimum of personal security, of legal and regular administration and that as far as possible in Turkish territory massacre and pillage should be punished.

The Turko-Balkan War of 1912.

The advice of Germany and of the German Ambassador at Constantinople decided the Young Turks to reject all the demands to the Balkan States. The Turko-Balkan war broke out in 1912.

While the Bulgarians, marching upon Adrianople and Constantinople, gained the victories of Kirk-Kilisse and of Lule Bourgas and advanced as far as the lines of Tehataldja a few miles from the Bosphorus; while the Greeks gained in Macedonia and in Southern Albania victories which took them as far as Salonica and Janina, the Serbs of Belgrade occupied as victors the Plain of Kossovo, whose grievous memories had been celebrated for so long by their popular songs.

The high Plain of Kossovo is very fertile, surrounded by mountains; the soil is strewn in places with light-coloured stones which look like pieces of broken-bread. A Serbian legend has it that these are the last provisions of the Christian combatants of 1389 petrified by a miracle when the Turks attempted to put their teeth into them. Ever since 1389 all Serbs had awaited the day when they should succeed in driving the Turks from this plain and should return to eat "the bread of Kossovo."

For three hundred years the Christian villages of Kossovo had been desolated by the Albanian Beys and converted by force to Islam. For fifty years, above all, the number of Christians

and the extent of the cultivated fields had steadily diminished. In order not to be massacred these unhappy people had been compelled to renounce their national costume and their mother tongue and to dress themselves as Albanians and speak Albanian in public.

After five hundred years the Serbians occupied anew all the southern part of their national domain between the Vardar and the Adriatic. They had reconquered the Macedonian country of Okhrida and that Adriatic plain of Alessio which with Kossovo, had been the best provinces of ancient Serbia.

After five centuries they renewed their contact with the free seas and they were to renew across the Adriatic their relations of commerce and friendship with the Latin countries, put themselves again to school in Italy and France, become throughout the Southern Slav world, the propagators of our Western ideas and of our democratic customs.

The Turks and their military theocracy were henceforth excluded from nearly all their conquests in Europe. There remained to them only Constantinople and a narrow band of territory along the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmora and the Bosphorus.

The victory of the Balkan Allies meant the triumph of modern ideas, of democratic patriotism and also the beginning it seemed, of a pacific and civilising era in the world of the Balkans.

This triumph of the small nations delivered the Balkan Peninsula from its oppressors and shared it out between the States which had delivered it.

The Serbo-Bulgarian War.

But Austria, who could only live and last at the expense of other nationalities and by the enslavement of the people to its Imperialism, made mischief between the Balkan Allies.

In 1913 a new war broke out. Greece and Serbia, who had remained united, saw themselves attacked by Bulgaria. Bulgaria was in her turn attacked by the Turks and by the Roumanians. Cruel defeats punished the aggression of the Bulgarians. While the Greeks fought a Bulgarian army at Koukouch, the Serbs from the lines of Bregalnitza sustained heroically the furious assaults of another Bulgarian army and secured the victories of June and July 1913.

Peace was only re-established by the rigorous treaty of Bucharest, which took away from the Bulgarians the greater part of their recent conquest in Roumelia and in Macedonia. Serbia remained in possession of her acquisitions of the plains of Kossovo, Uskob and Monastir and the valleys of the Drina and of the Vardar.

But this second war, in spite of its victories and its annexations, cost almost as dear to the Serbs as to the Bulgarians. Austrian menaces forced the Serbian Government to give up the Adriatic coast and hinterland, the outlet to the free seas. Montenegro had to give up Scutari. Serbia had to give up Durazzo and Saint John of Medoua to the new Albanian State which Austria insisted upon creating in opposition to the Serbs.

After, as before, the two years of heroic warfare (1912 and 1913) Serbia enlarged but still cut off from the free seas, remained a continental State under the military menace and the fiscal exploitation of Austria-Hungary.

The military menace of the Austro-Hungarians continued to weigh upon Serbia and upon her capital of Belgrade, which were protected against invasion only by the waters of the Save and the Danube. Belgrade was still at the mercy of a bombardment or of a surprise attack and was under the cannon of Semlin and under the batteries of the little vessels of war, the Austro-Hungarian monitors which skimmed up and down the river.

To be continued.

Universal and Obligatory War Service for Men and Women.

The Women's Social and Political Union

Has arranged to hold

A WAR SERVICE MEETING,

EVERY THURSDAY AFTERNOON from 3 to 5.

The first of these Meetings will be held at the **LONDON PAVILION**,
Piccadilly Circus, W. (Very kindly lent by
the Management.), on Thursday first, 17th, at 3 p.m.

The object of these Meetings is to demand **UNIVERSAL AND OBLIGATORY WAR SERVICE** for
Men and Women and to consider various other means of helping the country in this time of danger.

Speakers: Mrs **PANKHURST**,

Miss **ANNIE KENNEY** and others.

W.S.P.U. RECRUITING MEETINGS.

The W.S.P.U. is holding a series of Patriotic Meetings in and around London, in order to
urge a response to Lord Kitchener's Appeal for Army Recruits, at which General Flora Drummond
is the chief speaker. These Meetings will be held on each **SUNDAY AFTERNOON** throughout the
summer months in **HYDE PARK** (near the Reformers' Tree) at 3.30 p.m.

General **DRUMMOND** will speak at the following places during the coming week:—

Monday, June 14th	The Grove, Hammersmith, 7.30 p.m.
Wednesday, June 16th	Cobden Statue, Camden Town, 7.30 p.m.
Friday, June 18th,	The Plough, Clapham, 8 p.m.

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