

"The Suffragette," June 4, 1915.

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# The Suffragette

Edited by Christabel Pankhurst

Official Organ of the  
Women's Social and Political Union

No. 104—Vol. IV.

FRIDAY, JUNE 4, 1915.

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## Review of the Week.

### The Cabinet is One and Indivisible.

Whatever justification there may have been during recent months for singling out individual Cabinet Ministers for praise or blame, in common with X. must go campaigns with other waves of criticism. The time has now come for regarding the Cabinet as a whole instead of discriminating between one member and another.

Since we have now a new Cabinet responsible for the conduct of our national affairs, it is perhaps not out of place to recall to mind the principle, sometimes overlooked, that *Cabinet responsibility is one and indivisible.*

According to Constitutional practice the act of one member of the Cabinet is the act of all. The Cabinet must be judged as one and upheld as one, or condemned as one. This collective Cabinet responsibility is one of the root principles of the Constitution and is a protection to the public interest.

### Suggestions to the Cabinet as a Whole!

It is the function of the Prime Minister to select his Cabinet colleagues, allot to each an appropriate task and to request the resignation of any who prove to be unequal to the legitimate demands made of them.

The reconstruction of the Cabinet that has just taken place means that Mr Asquith has observed the principle that it is for him as Prime Minister to appoint the strongest available person to each ministerial office and to re-adjust the burden of work so that no Minister shall be required to bear burdens heavier than one pair of shoulders can support.

From now onward all suggestions or constructive criticism (of destructive criticism there should be none!) must be brought to bear upon the Cabinet as a whole, with the Prime Minister as its head and front and finally responsible member.

### French Armies welcomed as Friends.

Will the pro-Germans explain the meaning of these facts—

In Belgian and French territory occupied by German troops there is a reign of terror.

In the territory reconquered from Germany and now in the occupation of French troops, peace and calm prevails. Life goes on as usual, little girls are to be seen in their white muslin dresses going to their First Communion, there is no fear, no pillage, no slaughter of the inhabitants. Surely the interpretation of all this is not only that the French armies are civilised, while the German armies are barbaric, but also that the people of the lost Provinces regard the French troops as friends—as their own people who have freed them by driving out the German conqueror of forty-four years ago.

### A Socialist of Alsace.

M. Georges Weill until lately the Socialist Deputy for Metz, in the German Reichstag says:—

Through all the phases of its trial Alsace-Lorraine has remained French. It has been said, I believe, that the adaptation to France of Alsace and of Lorraine would constitute a delicate and difficult task and that infinite precautions would be needed out of respect to their customs and traditions. What a needless anxiety! The customs of Alsace and Lorraine are French customs and their traditions are those of France.

Certainly in order to re-establish the economic and material order in the two provinces, as regards for example, social legislation and tariffs, the re-union with France will involve certain adjustments. But everything which relates to spirit and thought are French. France in drawing us back to her will find us France!

### The Case of Italy.

The Union of Democratic Control will find it impossible to square its favourite arguments with the situation in Italy. It is not diplomats who have sent Italy to war. It is the Italian people, the workers, the artists, the poets, the reformers, who have risen up and insisted upon war against the Austro-Germans. "Secret Diplomacy" in the form of pro-German intrigue conducted behind the back of the recognised diplomats, behind the back of the Government and the people, was directed towards keeping Italy out of the war, just as German and pro-German intriguers sought to keep this country neutral.

### Italy's Reply to the Austrian Tyrant.

The Italian newspaper the *Gazzetta del Popolo* says commenting upon the manifesto of the Emperor Francis Joseph:—

Francis Joseph has spoken; he has spoken from the height of a throne stained with blood. His old voice is lost in the noise of cannon, but we Italians recognise it as the voice of him who has spilt so much Italian blood and who with a senile impudence dares in 1915 to accuse us of ingratitude and felony, just as with a juvenile arrogance he accused us in 1859—when, in the course of another Springtime holy for Italy, he arrogated to himself the right to protect the "repose and the welfare of his Lombard and Venetian Kingdom!" Then as now the liberators were in his eyes the usurpers. But as then, so to-day, that which the Hapsburgs have usurped shall be given back to liberty.

It is in vain, old monarch, that you proclaim the "insatiable greed of Italy." The programme of our demands is not born of a turn of circumstances, it is nature who has marked out the frontiers of Italy and we must establish those frontiers. Destiny will be accomplished.

The *Corriere della Sera* declares that:— "There is not a phrase in Francis Joseph's proclamation which is not contrary to truth," that "now as for more than thirty years it is not Italy but the other parties to the Triple Alliance who have been implacably and systematically treacherous. We have broken, not a treaty, but a chain!"

### Justice for the Illegitimate Child.

Certain contributions that have been made to the discussion of the question of treatment of the illegitimate child, just now especially

acute, indicate that in some minds there lurks the delusion that women are kept moral only because of the penalties which by law and custom fall upon the unmarried mother and her child.

The truth is the very reverse of this. Justice done to the illegitimate child will certainly not increase immorality amongst women. If we believe that to do justice brings a bad result, then we have no compass whereby to steer the ship of life.

### Women who are Victims of Injustice.

When we look into the facts we find that women who go astray and act wrongly and unwisely in matters of sex, do so in the vast majority of cases, because life has dealt unjustly with them, because their heredity or their training or their economic position is defective. Their mistakes are the fruit of helplessness or of weakness due almost always to circumstances over which they have themselves no control.

Cases cited in the article which we publish on page 117 throw some light upon this point. It is not by punishing her helpless child, nor even by inflicting upon the unmarried mother a penalty which is not suffered by the other and often the more guilty partner in her fault, that women's moral fibre will be strengthened and women's conduct kept on the right lines.

### The Safeguard of Women's Morals.

*Freedom*, political, economic and spiritual is the one sure and certain bulwark of woman's morality. The woman who is free is the woman who is strong—the woman who is strong is the woman who is chaste. It is such women who can best maintain their virtue, their honour, their dignity.

A certain type of male anti-suffragist is well aware of this and there is the secret of his opposition to women's political enfranchisement, to women's enfranchisement in every form. To any suffragist who are afraid that humane care of the illegitimate child will lower women's moral standards and increase immorality among women we say: Have faith in your own principles, have faith in the power of liberty, above all have faith in woman, the Priestess of human morals, whose spirit when it is free impels her to the course proper to her own dignity, serviceable to the community and right and beautiful in itself.

### The Duty of the fortunate Women.

The women who are strong and are protected not only by their favourable circumstances, but also by the spiritual freedom which they have conquered for themselves, should be the first to go to the aid of their weaker sisters to whom the same strength, protection and vision have not been accorded, largely because of the unjust social and political conditions which we as suffragists desire to reform. Their duty is above all to ensure for the illegitimate child the protection which might have saved its mother!

### Concerning the U. D. C.

It appears that a certain R. L. Orchelle has written to the editor of *Harper's Weekly* a letter quoted with approval in the *Continental Times*, a newspaper published in the English language in Berlin under the auspices of the German Government. His letter urges that *Harper's Weekly* and other American publications shall secure articles by certain persons including "Charles Trevelyan, the resigned Minister of Education, 14 Great Portland Street, Westminster, S.W., E. D. Morel, Sir Arthur Ponsonby, Norman Angell, A Fenner Brockway, 30 Blackfriars, Manchester, Keir Hardie, M.P., Ramsay MacDonald, Bertrand Russell." Among these names will be recognised those of leaders of the Union of "Democratic" Control.

The letter which has found so much favour with the German Government is another indication that those who regard the Union of "Democratic" Control as a pro-German organisation inspired by Germany have divined the truth.

#### The Latest Pro-German Tactics.

The latest performance of pro-Germans connected with the Union of Democratic Control and the I.L.P. is to post to women who have lost son or husband in battle, pamphlets embodying the false "made in Germany" arguments which THE SUFFRAGETTE is exposing week by week. This insolent approach to bereaved women who have given more than their own life in defence of their country and in defence of civilisation, is worthy of men who draw their inspiration from the German invaders of Belgium.

#### Labour and the War.

The German Socialist paper *Vorwaerts* relates that a German Socialist workman has achieved the record of doing for twenty-six days an average of seventeen hours daily work in munition manufacture. Evidently the German Socialists and Trades Unionists, however much they may have encouraged a contrary policy in other lands, take the view that during time of war everything, including hours of labour, may be changed and that war conditions call for a modification of Trades Union and other rules applicable in time of peace.

As it happens *Vorwaerts* has referred in an anything but respectful manner to certain labour disputes that have taken place in this country in the last few months and seems to regard such disputes as a sign of British inferiority. If certain British working men have thought that by taking a certain course of action they were pursuing a policy based on the international solidarity of labour, they are greatly mistaken; for the German Socialists are showing themselves determined to get the better of the workers of other lands. Take as an example of this, the visit of the German Socialists to Belgium to try and persuade the workers of that country to abandon resistance to the German armies.

#### No Hyphenism Here!

The evil of "hyphenism" or German-Americanism is seen to be one of the greatest dangers to the safety and well-being of the United States. Its existence is due to the fact that Germany, in pursuance of a policy framed by the Kaiser, looks to Germans naturalised in other countries to influence the policy of those other countries in the interests of Germany whose subjects they profess no longer to be.

We in this country have sympathised with the United States in the difficulty which hyphenism creates and we are now asking ourselves whether the Kaiser, who has gone to such pains to establish a German-American following in the United States, has made the same attempt at our expense.

The *Frankfurter Zeitung* referring to Sir Edgar Speyer's recent letter to Mr Asquith has said:—

The decision of the German-English banker is the answer to the heavy attacks to which he was exposed, first of all at the outbreak of the war and recently upon the occasion of the "Lusitania" incident. The voluntary retirement to citizen rank honours Herr Speyer more than the retention of his title.

The expression "German-English" has an unpleasant ring, for we can tolerate no hyphenism here. A man must either be a German citizen or a British citizen.

The system of naturalisation, was never invented for the purpose of giving one nation the power over its neighbours and such an abuse of our naturalisation laws must be prevented by any and every necessary means.

#### Socialists and National Service.

No doubt from a certain group of Socialists there will come opposition to the idea of a universal mobilisation of the country's men and women in the present national emergency so that all may be fighting or working for the country.

But the opposition to universal national service military and otherwise in time of national danger, has no relation whatever to Socialist principles, as is proved by the support of universal military service accorded by Socialists in countries other than our own.

The late M. Jaurès, the French Socialist leader who had the admiration and confidence of British Socialists, was a convinced believer in universal liability to military service, a system which he held should not be adopted as an emergency measure after the outbreak of war, but should be permanently in operation.

#### The Illegitimate Birth-Rate.

As the question of illegitimacy is attracting so much attention just now, it is of interest to notice that the countries which have the lowest illegitimate birth rate in Europe are the United Kingdom and the Netherlands. The countries which have the highest illegitimate birth rate, are Austria and the German Empire.

"The self devoted came  
Who rushed to die, without reply,  
For duty not for fame."



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 ANNOUNCEMENT.

Included amongst the Articles in our next issue will be:

A Further Article on the Union of Democratic Control. By Christabel Pankhurst.

A Full Report of the Speeches delivered at the London Palladium Meeting on War Service.

Articles and News concerning War Service.

#### THE PRICE OF LIBERTY!

A leading American newspaper, the *New York Evening Sun*, in the course of an editorial refuting the argument that this is a commercial war has said:—

"Europe is fighting to-day primarily because Austria in past centuries had acquired possession of lands populated by many millions of Slavs. To-morrow, when the war broadens to include Rumania and Italy, the cause for this extension will be found in the possession by Austria-Hungary of Italians and Rumanians.

"Of the 50,000,000 who dwell in Austria half are Slav and to these Slavs there has been denied the right to shape their own political life either within or outside the Dual Monarchy. Serbia provoked the contest, so far as her provocation is responsible for the war, because she openly dreamed of regaining the Bosnian lands and the 2,000,000 Serbs who lived in them.

"But beside the Serbs stand the Poles, the Ruthenians, the Czechs, the Croats. Austria shared in the partition of Poland, benefited by the collapse of Turkey, which placed her in the seat of the Sultans as master of subject populations.

"The end of the present conflict will unquestionably see the liberation of many more millions of men and women who will henceforth be permitted to speak their own language, make their own laws, decide their own destinies. Until such power is possessed by these millions all peace in Europe will remain necessarily transitory.

"What is true of the Slavs of Austria-Hungary is true of the Poles of German Posen, the Danes of Schleswig, the Franco-Germans of Alsace-Lorraine, the Poles and Finns of Russia. Beyond all else, this tremendous conflict is developing into a war of independence, a natural and a logical consequence of the other great wars of the last century.

"All that capitalists, high finance, the men who control millions could do to avert the war was done. All that Socialism could do was done in the previous years in preaching against war and militarism. But finance and Socialism alike broke down in the face of the oldest and the newest of human desires, that to be free.

"To *The Evening Sun* it has seemed, it continues to appear, necessary to emphasize the plain fact that beneath the terrible and the pitiful circumstances of this conflict lie noble and enduring facts. The declaration that this country of ours could not endure "half slave and half free," has passed into history as the noblest of prophecies. Above all else the battle in Europe to-day is being fought because Europe, too, could not endure half slave and half free.

"For 30,000,000 of Slavs the Great War is a war of liberation as truly as that the Germans waged against Napoleon, the Dutch against Philip. The system of peace erected in Europe was founded on the political slavery of millions, therefore it could not endure. To destroy it will prove as expensive in life and treasure as our own Civil War, as the French Revolution, but until it has been destroyed real hope of peace, permanent peace, is idle. If the consequences of this struggle shall be the enslavement of other races, anything but the complete liberation of all, then there must be more wars, and in fact there should be more wars and more agonies for mankind until the right of nations and of men to freedom is established.

"To *The Evening Sun* this seems the greatest thing in the present world of war, the thing that makes all the agonies tolerable, that when it is over more millions of men and women will have obtained the liberty Americans enjoy at the price Americans and all others have had to pay for it."

## THE CHILD OF THE UNMARRIED MOTHER.

Those interested in the W.S.P.U. scheme for adopting the children of unmarried mothers in cases where, owing to the death of the mother or some other cause it is impossible for mother and child to be together, will find of value a new pamphlet by A. Dingwall Fordyce, M.D., chairman of the Executive Committee of the Edinburgh Infants' Home, entitled "The Illegitimate Baby in Peace and War."

It is prefaced by the following statement:—

Most of the work of this pamphlet was completed before the outbreak of war. . . . Since then public attention has been widely directed to this problem and expression has been given to many ill-considered views regarding the abnormal situation which has followed on mobilisation since last August. In the opinion of the author the moral aspect of the question remains exactly the same as before the outbreak of war.

#### To see that Fair Play is to be Found.

The keynote of the pamphlet is struck in the following passage:—

"In this twentieth century, in the year 1915, when we are in the midst of a great war and are staking our very existence to uphold the weak and downtrodden in the face of famine and death; when we are willing to sacrifice everything we love and possess for the principle of fair play, surely it is our duty to act up to our profession, to look around us on the conditions in our land, in our own cities and to see that there also in the face of famine and death fair play is to be found.

"Need we seek far? How stands the case as regards the unmarried mother and her illegitimate child and more particularly the baby, not only socially hall-marked illegitimate but also homeless, unwanted, often the most lonely and pitiable creature on the face of this earth."

And the author proceeds:—

"Is he likely to get fair play? He has not sinned. Is his lot comparable with that of his legitimate brother? True, we know that the sins of the parents are visited upon the children, but is it for us to judge the degree of the sin and the severity of the penance to be demanded from the child?"

#### The Fate of the Illegitimate Baby.

Answering the statement made by those who hope to evade this most important issue, that "the illegitimate baby is probably cared for quite well," Dr Dingwall Fordyce denies that this is the case and says that "the great majority of these children, if they grow up at all, will grow up physical and moral degenerates." He proceeds:—

"But, it may be argued, these are the children of degenerate parents; they are hereditarily degenerate. Special means to protect them will (1) conduce to social degeneracy and will (2) at the same time encourage immorality."

In refuting the first of these arguments, the author asks, "Are these children heredi-

tarily degenerate and will their preservation lead to social degeneracy?" and answers the question by saying:—

"Physically many of these children are at birth fine healthy babies and even when force of circumstances has told hardly on the mother and the baby is at first weakly, with good care he develops in many cases into a fine healthy baby. A vast deal depends on the baby's environment. As regards the moral inheritance, let us remember that the presence of the baby focuses attention upon one particular sin on the part of the mother; the magnitude of which sin in each particular case, we are incapable of judging. The mirror of virtue is badly cracked by the birth of an illegitimate baby, but in many other cases there are numerous little cracks which *en masse* are hardly, if at all, less important.

"Hereditarily is universally accepted as a most important moral and physical element in the life of man, as witness the modern 'science' of Eugenics. But heredity merges in environment. Be we as scientific as we may, we cannot define the border between the two and good nurture has for ages been efficacious in *developing the best and controlling the lower innate potentialities.*"

#### Aid to the Mother does not encourage Immorality.

In answer to the second question, the author states as follows:—

"Will aid to mother and child encourage immorality? Will aid to the child be harmful to the mother's moral character?"

He says in reply:—

"It is implied that relief to the mother and child will increase the number of illegitimate births. Let us again look at facts. In Hungary since 1903, every homeless child, every child for whom there was no obvious means of suitable support, has had a right to support by the State and has been so supported. What has been the result? During the years 1904 to 1908 the number of births increased by over two per cent, while the number of *illegitimate births decreased by over four per cent.*"

#### Difficulty in Finding a Suitable Home.

Discussing existing legal provisions concerning illegitimate children and their mothers, Dr Dingwall Fordyce points out that the unmarried mother who is destitute of means and cannot afford to board out her infant in order that she can earn a livelihood for herself and it, cannot gain admission for the child to the workhouse, unless she herself enter with it and is thereby deprived of the possibility of earning a livelihood! He further says that it is often extremely difficult to find a suitable home in which to board out an infant and that in not a few cases the home of near relatives, willing to take the baby are even less fitted to insure its welfare.

While showing that where possible, it is to be desired that mother and child shall be kept together, Dr Fordyce nevertheless makes it clear that there are many cases in which this is for one

reason or another impossible; so that a good home must be found where the child may be boarded out or adopted.

"This 'good home' is however, extremely difficult to find" he says. "Of the fifty mothers who have passed through the Edinburgh Infants' Home, forty-one," we are told, "are in good places and their conduct is in every way satisfactory."

The importance of this statement will be appreciated by our readers. It will go to show how mistaken it is to assume that all, or a majority of illegitimate children are of necessity unpromising material.

#### A Few Cases Quoted.

Here are particulars of a few cases given by Dr Fordyce:—

H. D., a factory girl, was engaged to be married to her child's father, a reservist. He disappeared a few days before the wedding was to have taken place. She went into domestic service and supported her child entirely out of the very small wage. Eventually the father was found and the parents were married.

H. E., a domestic servant, after leaving the Infants' Home, opened a shop with her sister a small baker and confectionery shop and did extremely well. For some time she had her child with her, but later on her health broke down and she was sent to Australia by the congregation to which she belonged. She sends money home for the child's support and hopes eventually to have it with her.

T. P., was only fifteen at the time her baby was born. She had been a very wild girl and had been enticed away from home by a married man. By the aid of the police her whereabouts were traced and after the birth of her child she was sent to the Infants' Home. From the first, she improved distinctly and remained seven months in the home, where she was bright and helpful and finally became a *very good influence among the other girls.*

H. Y., was absolutely friendless, having no money and no clothes for her baby. On investigation it was found she had had no chance from the start. Her mother died when she was a baby and her father, a miner was killed in an explosion when she was only a few years old. The poor child was left to the care of any neighbour who chanced to take a temporary interest in her. Through frequent changes of home she managed to escape the school authorities and had practically no education. She could neither read nor write. When of age to work, she could only obtain situations as a drudge with no chance of training or promotion. She is now in service and has remained there ten months and is giving every satisfaction.

Dealing with the exceptional circumstances of the times, the author of the pamphlet says:—

"During the past few months many and many a girl who has been carried off her feet in excitement, is about to sustain alone the burden of parenthood." He points out too, that the responsibility for their unwisdom does not fall upon these girls alone, although the consequences of what they have done fall, in too many cases, solely upon them and upon their helpless child.

# The Suffragette

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

PRICE ONE PENNY WEEKLY.

FRIDAY, June 4, 1915.

## War Service for All.

The new Government sets out upon its course upheld by the goodwill, the moral support, the ardent hope of all. May these help the Government to carry their burden of responsibility, than which none heavier has ever been laid upon a British Government since our national history began.

During the critical time through which the country has yet to pass, we must clear our minds of all preconceived ideas, of memories which should not again visit us until all danger from without has passed away.

Our thoughts must be only of the present and only of the future.

We are living in a new world; we must all be new men and new women, with new duties to perform and new service to render to our country and to liberty.

And while we trust the Government, we look to the Government to trust us. While we honour the Government by expecting everything of them, we expect the Government to honour us by expecting everything of us.

The one cardinal mistake which the Government can make, is to underestimate public willingness to serve.

We ask of this Government simply one thing, that it shall act in the spirit of Lincoln, that it shall claim of each one all and nothing less than all in the defence of the nation and in the defence of right.

Let there be universal, obligatory national service for men and women alike!

To make national service universal will be in harmony with the essential spirit, the all but unanimous feeling of the country; to make it obligatory during the period of the war will adjust the burden and the sacrifice, so that these are not borne only by the worthy majority, but are borne also by the less worthy and very small minority and borne by them for their own good.

We have the precedent set in America by Lincoln for our encouragement. And after all if we would not work and fight for our country in the name of its freedom, for which our forebears died in many a struggle, then we may be very sure that we should soon be compelled to work if not fight for Germany and its Kaiser!

Lincoln, faced by the necessity of insisting

that military service be made obligatory during the American Civil War, said:

We are contending with an enemy who as I understand drives every able-bodied man to the breach in his ranks very much as a butcher drives sheep to the slaughter pen; no time is wasted, no argument is used. This produces an army which will soon turn upon our now victorious soldiers already in the field, if they cannot be sustained by the troops as they should be. It produces an army with a rapidity not to be matched on our side if we first waste time in re-experimenting with the voluntary system.

What the country wants the Government to say, fully, frankly, courageously, as Lincoln told his compatriots is whether obligatory military service is or is not needed to enable us to preserve our national safety. Is it or is it not needed to enable us to do our duty to Belgium—to enable us to fulfil the hope of national resurrection which we have held before the eyes of that nation of martyrs and exiles, whose great and unimagined sufferings are mainly the result of German envy and hostility directed against ourselves!

If obligatory military service is not needed, then let us think and speak of it no more, but if it is, let there be no more dallying, but let us, Government and Nation acting together, have the courage to do what Lincoln did; remembering for our reassurance that as this expedient did not injure the liberties of the American people, but rather preserved them, so it will not injure the liberties of this country. Remembering too that our neighbours in France—democratic beyond all the great Powers of Europe in its traditions—have voluntarily imposed upon themselves the burden of obligatory military service at all times, because they realise this to be the price of their freedom!

It has been hinted that rather than do military service some men will go to prison. These we presume will include members of the I.L.P., the U.D.C. and others. Better be in prison than be active tools of the Kaiser and imprisonment would for the time being save them from that!

We know this: These very same men, some after a protest soon abandoned and some with no protest at all, left Suffragette prisoners to their fate. They will, therefore, hardly expect an exaggerated sympathy from the Suffragettes whom they did nothing effective to liberate from prison or from disfranchisement! Perhaps a personal experience of imprisonment even under the best conditions would make the Ramsay MacDonald's of the country less censorious of women rebels. Their willingness to see women imprisoned precludes them from arguing that imprisonment is a grievance in their own case.

Considering that the Suffragettes have been to prison because (in the Civil War that was in progress when the present War broke out) they would fight for their country, who will distress themselves one thousandth part as much if men are in prison because they won't fight for their country!

As for women they are one and all impatient to be up and doing in the national cause. Five hundred years ago, one woman saved France; cannot our millions of women, acting together, save England to-day? Certain it is that England may be lost by women, though not from any fault of theirs, unless something be done and be done quickly to utilise their services. We mean this: *In Germany to-day half a million*

women are said to be already engaged in making munitions of war. There are some nineteen and a half million other German women over eighteen years of age, who are not yet, but of whom many soon will be employed in the same task!

The cry has been raised that we on the British side are short and for months have been short of the necessary ammunition. But while half-a-million of Germany's women setting free half-a-million more men to shoot down the armies of freedom, are making munitions of war, a mere handful only of British women are engaged in this work of urgent necessity.

The life and death need of utilising, for the nation's sake, the as yet dangerously under employed force of women's labour, is shown by Mr Lloyd George's Budget speech made in the House of Commons on May 4th, in which he discussed the difficulties of enrolling vast numbers of men for the army and at the same time in the absence of those men from the industrial world producing the goods for export purposes which are needed to maintain the strength of our national financial position. Mr Lloyd George said: "As in the Napoleonic wars so now this country could bear the main burden of financing her Allies in the necessary purchases outside their own country, more especially for carrying on the war and could also help the Allies with the manufacture and equipment of munitions of war, while leaving the task of supplying fighters mainly to them."

But in this war (although for the sake of our country and for the sake of our Allies the production of munitions of war, the production of goods for export must continue and on a much larger scale than in the past months), we have no right to throw any of our share of the sacrifice of precious life upon our Allies by sending fewer men in proportion to our numbers than they send into the field to take the risks of battle. The life cost of this war above all wars is infinitely greater than its cost in money. It must be borne by all the Allies in just and equal measure—with the determination to render for ever powerless for more slaughter, the Kaiser and the nation that follows him.

It is by drawing into industrial work every available woman that this country can do its share of fighting and also produce the necessary munitions of war and goods for export.

In the nine months that have gone by since the war began, marvels could have been accomplished in the training and organising of women, so that by this time they would have been replacing men on an enormous scale.

The time lost in this way cannot be recovered, but to cry over spilt milk is the worst of all occupations in time of war. Let us learn by the mistake that we have made and let us now establish universal obligatory service for women and a proper organisation of women's work, so that the hands and brain of no woman shall be idle, so that no woman shall be under-employed, so that the work of no woman shall be misdirected.

Thinking of the soldiers who wanting only peace, have already taken up the Kaiser's dread challenge of savage war and are fighting with unsurpassable heroism, all the rest of us, women as well as men, must wish our life shall be in harmony with theirs; and that instead of merely watching their deeds of gallantry and self-sacrifice, each and every one shall do our share of war service.

CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

# SERBIA AND HER HISTORY.

By VICTOR BERARD.

*This is a first 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.*

For five or six hundred years, Serbia had never known full independence. During the last centuries of the Middle Ages, before the arrival of the Turks in Europe, Serbia had been a great and prosperous nation extending from the Save to the Adriatic. Peopled entirely by Jugo-Slavs (Slavs of the South), she was a Christian and highly-civilised State. Thanks to her ports in the Adriatic, to which came the fleets of Venice, she was able to live in contact with the West and especially with the Latin nations. She had intimate relations with the Italian cities and with the kingdoms of France and Spain. Western influence brought to her French ideas, customs and art; Serbia has still churches raised by the old master-builders and decorated by the old fresco painters of France.

But in the middle of the fourteenth century, the Turks of Asia Minor invaded the European provinces of the Byzantine Empire. They made their way through the valley of the Vardar, into the very heart of the Serbia-land as far as the high plain of Kossovo known as the field of blackbirds.

At the battle of Kossovo in 1389, Serbian heroism was crushed by weight of numbers; the Turks brought the whole of Serbia into subjection and soon afterwards Hungary and all the plain of the middle Danube, as far as the approaches to Vienna.

### Serbia Massacred and Pillaged for Four Hundred Years.

For four hundred years, then, from 1400 to 1804, Serbia was massacred and pillaged. A fourth of her population was reduced to slavery or destroyed in the daily massacres; another fourth was forcibly converted to the religion of the Turks and the Arabs, to Islam and Mahomet and they came under the name of Bosnians, a Mussulman people, who still spoke the language of their ancestors, the same Slav language as the other Serbs, but were by community of religion attached to the service of the Turkish conquerors. Another fourth emigrated into Russia, Italy and even to Provence, in France, but above all to the frontier provinces of the Empire of the Hapsburgs. It is the Serbian race which for four centuries has furnished to the house of Austria its stoutest defenders, its Croatian regiments, against all the attacks from without, from the Turks in particular and against all revolts within.

There remained in ancient Serbia, only two groups of mountaineers immovably attached to the soil and the faith of their ancestors, the people of the Choumadia in the forests of the present Serbia and the people of the Black Mountain (Monte Negro), as the Latins of the Adriatic say; Tserna Gora, as the native Slavs say.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the ideas of the French Revolution awoke the courage and patriotism of this enslaved nation. In 1804 the Serbs were the first Balkan people who rose up against the Turks and followed the French people in fighting for the Rights of Man.

In 1805 Etienne Jivkovitch, manager of the powder magazine of the insurgents at Valiévo, translated into the Serbian language, the *Telemaque* of Fénelon. In the course of the nineteenth century an indomitable courage and patriotism, aided by Russia and France, restored first their autonomy and then their independence to the two groups of Serbians who had remained Christians and rebels in the Choumadia and in the Tserna Gora.

Bit by bit, a part, a small part of the ancestral territory was freed and shared between the two Serbian States, who became the Principalities and afterwards the kingdoms of Serbia and of Montenegro, with their capitals of Belgrade and of Cettigne.

### The Hopes of the Slav Races.

In 1912 Serbia and Montenegro were still separated one from the other by the Turkish provinces of Kossovo and of Novi-Bazar. The Serbs were still very far from having achieved their national resurrection. In the south and in the centre of the Great Serbia of the past, Turkey still kept, in Macedonia and Kossovo, a million Serbs in subjection. In the north, in Bosnia Herzegovina, in Slavonia, in the Banat of Temesvar, in Croatia and in Dalmatia, the Austro-Hungarian Empire had two hundred years before replaced the Turks expelled from these Hungarian dependencies by the arms of the faithful Croats and Slavons. Austria-Hungary claimed to keep under her bureaucracy and her police, under her intolerance and her exploitation, five or six millions of these Jugo-Slavs, Slavs of the South, who speak one and the same Serbo-Croatian language, but practise three religions, the Croats and Dalmatians are Catholic Christians, the Serbs are Orthodox Christians, the people of Bosnia Herzegovina are generally speaking, of the Mussulman faith. But all these people in Austria-Hungary belong to the same Serbo-Croatian branch of the same Slav race and the same Southern Slav branch. All speak an identical language and understand and get on with each other as well at the present day as in the past.

The Imperial and Royal Dynasty of Austria-Hungary, the family of the Hapsburgs, which by right of conquest held in its grip the countries of the Croats, the Slavons, the Dalmatians and the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina, had the publicly avowed intention to unite to these, sooner or later, the two independent States of Serbia and Montenegro, in order to form one single Serbo-Croatian kingdom that was to be annexed to the other kingdoms of Hungary, Bohemia, Poland and Austria.

### The Austro-Hungarian Empire never a National Unity.

The dynasty of the Hapsburgs, regarded this conquest as legitimate, because the annexation

of the two Serbian kingdoms seemed to them necessary to the continued existence of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. This Empire has never been a national unity; it has united seven or eight subject nations under two ruling peoples, the Germans and the Hungarians, with two capitals, Vienna and Buda-Pest, one Hungarian and the other German. This Empire maintains existence only by an equilibrium with difficulty maintained between these two peoples and these two States, which are less friends than rivals. It has been necessary unceasingly to negotiate an understanding, or, as they say in those parts, a Compromise between the two Ministries of Vienna and of Buda-Pest, between the two Governments of this dual régime, also the future of the Dynasty was very precarious.

The Archduke Francis Ferdinand, who was to have become Emperor after the death of the aged Francis Joseph (born in 1830) counted upon substituting for this always unstable Dualism a Trialism more firmly planted upon the tripod of the three kingdoms which would be obtained by annexing all the Southern Slav people and by adding a Serbo-Croatian kingdom to the Austrian kingdom of Vienna and the Hungarian kingdom of Buda-Pest.

### The Southern Slav Peoples to Unite.

Ever since 1906 journalists of Vienna professed to see, as regards the future of the Southern Slav race, only these alternatives: Either all the Slavs of the South annexed by force to the Empire of the Hapsburgs, would become the subjects of the Germans of Vienna and the Hungarians of Buda-Pest, or else left free to choose Croats, Dalmatians, Slavons and the people of Bosnia Herzegovina would unite themselves sooner or later with the Serbs of Belgrade and of Cettigne, in order to make a single kingdom, a great and independent kingdom, a national and democratic State of Serbia, just as formerly the Neapolitans, the Romans, the Tuscans, the Venetians, the Lombards and the people of Piedmont united to make a national kingdom of Italy.

Since 1906 and above all since 1909, Austria simply looked for an occasion, a pretext for throwing her millions of soldiers upon the two little Serbian states of Serbia and Montenegro. Austria counted upon being able easily to invade and annex the kingdom of Serbia and then upon encircling and reducing by famine, the kingdom of Montenegro. Each year from 1909 to 1914, the Government of Vienna managed to raise some quarrel with the Serbs, mobilised against them, threatened to enter upon a campaign against them, but then drew back at the last moment before the diplomatic intervention of the *Triple Entente* of Great Britain, France and Russia.

In 1914 the renewed menace brought about war. The great Serbian victories of 1912 and 1913 had stirred the enthusiasm of all the Southern Slavs and turned the hearts of the Serbo-Croats towards Serbia. Austria thought that she could no longer draw back.

(To be continued.)

# WHAT THE KAISER SAID.

Some students of the writings of Bernhardt have not taken this view, but it is a more than likely thing that whereas the pen is the pen of Bernhardt, the thoughts and words are the thoughts and words of the Kaiser.

It might be possible in any other country for a General in the Army to write a book in support of a policy contrary to that of the ruling power, but Germany is the last country in which such a thing could be done.

It is safe to say that, just as Herr Ballin for example is an agent of the Kaiser in one direction, so General Bernhardt is his agent in another—his agent for the purpose of preparing the way for the War policy subsequently put into operation by the Kaiser.

## Bernhardt, the Kaiser's Pamphleteer.

The German people, docile towards their Kaiser and aggressive towards other nations as they are, had to be finally prepared for war, had to be warned that war was imminent, had to be roused and to be finally persuaded that the sacrifice involved in war would bring a tangible, material result. Their martial spirit had to be fanned to its fiercest.

If the Kaiser had done this preliminary work, all the Nations of the world would have sprung to attention and would have taken such military precautions as would have made the German plan of aggression impossible of realisation.

Therefore, it would seem, the Kaiser needed a publicist a pamphleteer—and Bernhardt was the man!

One evidence that Bernhardt is no mere freelance as a writer is that he was sent on a mission to the United States some little while before the war broke out; that mission being to prepare German-Americans to render certain services to the German cause during the war.

## The One Great Outstanding Fact.

That here and there Bernhardt seems to criticise the past action of the German Government as being too moderate, does not really affect the matter; the one great outstanding fact is he not only calls for but announces action on the part of Germany which if his books had been taken as seriously as they ought to have been in foreign countries, would have staggered humanity—action which Germany, led by the Kaiser has now actually attempted.

*Germany and the Next War* was published in 1912 so that either we must regard Bernhardt as the man who has led where the Kaiser has followed, or we must accept the obviously true explanation, that Bernhardt who was sent before to say that which if it had been said by the Kaiser in his own person would have given a premature warning to the countries to be attacked—to the intended victims of the German policy of world domination.

As Baron Beyens, the Minister who until lately represented Belgium at Berlin, has assured us, as the result of his close observation: "during the last ten years foreign countries have had too much confidence in the pacifism and sincerity of William II."

## "Britain as Germany's Vassal."

By the year 1913 the bellicose tendencies of the Kaiser which had been getting more and more apparent for some time had become glaringly apparent and as we know he informed Italy of his desire that the war should be made upon Serbia, which owing to Italy's refusal to co-operate was delayed until the following year 1914. It was in this same year of 1913 that Bernhardt published the book, *Our Future—a Word of Warning*, which has been translated into English under the title *Britain as Germany's Vassal*, this as Bernhardt says, is in effect the earlier book, *Germany and the Next War* written over again in such terms as to appeal to a wider public. To quote his precise words:—

*Germany and the Next War* has met in nearly all countries with unfavourable and frequently malicious criticism. On the other hand *Germany and the Next War* has found support and recognition in many quarters, particularly in the patriotic circles of the German Fatherland. In the interests of the cause the views and teachings which were expressed in the book mentioned should be made known in the widest circles.

Bernhardt proceeds:—"Therefore when I was asked to popularise *Germany and the Next War* and to offer it to the public at a moderate price I most gladly consented."

"I was asked to popularise *Germany and the Next War*." By whom was he asked? One may reasonably answer—by the Kaiser.

## "Is It Likely?"

*Germany and the Next War* met in nearly all countries outside Germany with unfavourable and frequently malicious criticism! Is it likely that the Kaiser if he had wished to maintain peace would have allowed a book originally read by a more or less limited number of Germans, to be re-written and popularised and placed in the hands of the masses of the people. On the other hand is it not likely that he would leave the work of popularising his policy in Germany to one who would do it without exciting unduly and before The Day, the alarm of foreign nations!

Here is a significant passage in the author's introduction to *Britain as Germany's Vassal*:—

Only when the nation fully understands the aim of its Government, can it with full knowledge either support the Government's action or oppose it. At a time such as the present, it is particularly important that the German nation should clearly recognise the aim and purpose of Germany's policy and the tasks which have to be solved. . . Unfortunately we find only too frequently that the citizens do not fully comprehend the significance of the approaching crisis.

The author says too that the country must concentrate all its strength and prepare energetically for the "impending storm."

The Kaiser, speaking in his own voice on that occasion, said in 1907 that "the German nation is the block of granite upon which the Lord our God can build up and complete his work of civilising the world." This is the text of Bernhardt's chapter on the *Significance of Germanism* which is in fact simply an amplification of the Kaiser's words.

## Germany, the Supercessor of Great Britain.

Adopting the theory that nations in their turn rise and fall, he claims in unmistakable terms that Germany shall be the successor, the supercessor of Great Britain, not to speak of the other Powers to be likewise superceded *one and the same time*. Says the Kaiser guiding the hand of Bernhardt:—

History teaches us that the greatest civilised nations have always gradually declined when they had fulfilled their civilising mission, when they had reached their zenith. This is a law of nature and there is no reason to believe that that law will be invalid in the future.

British heroism in the field and British women's strength and service at home show that the British nation despite its long history, is re-vivified and has begun a new career more glorious than the old. The same is true of the nations we are proud to call our Allies. Nothing we have been told, is more dangerous than a false analogy. Nothing certainly is more dangerous as a mis-leader of Kaisers to their own overthrowing than false, pan-Germanised history.

## Bernhardt, a Mask for the Kaiser.

Who will say that Bernhardt is not simply a mask for the Kaiser, when they read: "As a condition of a permanent understanding between England and Germany," that "*England would have to give Germany an absolutely free hand in all questions touching European politics and agree beforehand to any increase of Germany's power on the Continent of Europe which may result from the formation of a Central European Union of Powers, or from a German war with France.*"

Is that not, word for word, the proposition made to the British Government by the Kaiser and the German Government and revealed by Mr Asquith in his Cardiff speech?

As Bernhardt says in his book, so the Kaiser and his Government said to our Government, "England would have to change her entire policy; the basis of all negotiations between England and Germany would have to be the demand that England should leave the Triple Entente."

As throwing light upon the fact that Germany deliberately brought this war about, we notice here and there excuses for such a course. For example:—

It would be very dangerous to follow a waiting policy. The responsibility of bringing about a necessary war under favourable circumstances is much smaller than the responsibility of making an unfortunate war inevitable by following a policy of present advantage or by lacking the necessary resolution.

We have no reason to be afraid of war if we act with our whole armed strength, if we do everything to be as strong as possible on the field of battle . . . before Germany's opponents are ready. . . Our claim to a great position in the world may certainly lead to a war similar to the Seven Years War; still we shall be as victorious as was Prussia's hero King.

## "Through War to Victory!"

Here and there in the Bernhardt book one sees a note of criticism and complaint; but on

close examination we find that the criticism is directed rather against certain politicians and business men who seem to have doubted whether a war and all expense and disorganisation and other evils it would involve would be recompensed. Thus we read:—

Small men will talk finance and whine that we cannot afford it. We can find the necessary funds in case of need by loan. In view of Germany's tremendous wealth and in view of the fact that the future of state and nation are at stake, it seems criminal to speak of financial difficulties. Germany does not lack money. What we want is a firm will to greatness. Then only shall we obtain greatness. Everyone must do his best. All true Germans must gather round their Emperor ready to give their blood and their treasure for the honour, the greatness and the future of the German nation. Through war to victory!

Here we see was an assumption that the Emperor was ready to lead forward into battle, if the German financiers would all follow and history has told us they eventually decided to do so.

Then of course there must have been some in Germany who had taken seriously, whether they agreed with them or not, the repeated declaration of the Kaiser intended for foreign consumption, that he desired peace and took a pride in maintaining it. Therefore if war were not to take some at least of the German people by surprise an instruction and a warning must be issued and the news that war was coming must be spread. Hence the Bernhardt books!

## Characteristic instructions.

Here are characteristic instructions:—

A consideration of the political situation forces the conviction home that in our preparations for war there must be no talk of a gradual development of our forces by sea and land, such as may lay the lightest possible burden on the national finances. Financial preparations for war must be made quite distinct from the current expenditure on the army. The national finances must be so treated that the State can bear the tremendous burdens of a modern war without an economic crash. Further as already mentioned there must be a sort of mobilisation in the sphere of commercial politics, in order to ensure under all eventualities supply of the goods necessary for the material and industrial needs of the country. Joint action on the part of the Government and the great import houses would seem to be indicated.

Germans of all degrees are vigorously assured, through the medium of the Bernhardt books, that "*war, successful war is a profitable business.*" And again that:—

One ought not to overestimate the economic damage done by war, although 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 and 1870. Throughout history we find that increasing prosperity and increasing political power goes hand in hand because capital and labour require the security of armed power to develop freely.

The policy of world-domination, in pursuance of which Germany started this war is sketched out in the Bernhardt books with the greatest

candour and audacity. The Kaiser as indicated by speeches made by him in the past, has the mania which the following Bernhardt passages sufficiently indicate:—

The German Empire has suffered great losses of territory in the storms and struggles of the past. The Germany of to-day, considered geographically, is a mutilated torso of the old dominions of the Emperors. It comprises only a fraction of the German peoples. A large number of German fellow-countrymen have been incorporated into other States, or live in political independence like the Dutch who have developed into a separate nationality, but in language and national customs cannot deny their German ancestry. Germany has been robbed of her natural

## "GOD PUNISH ITALY."



A cartoon by the Dutch artist, Mr Louis Raemaekers, which appeared in the "Telegraaf," Amsterdam, of May 20.

boundaries; even the source and the mouth of the most characteristically German stream, the much lauded German Rhine, lie outside the German territory.

We have the same policy stated in other terms as follows:—

In the future however, the importance of Germany will depend on two points. Firstly, how many millions of men in the world speak German; secondly, how many of them are politically members of the German Empire.

This pre-occupation with numbers is not surprising in a nation whose favourite adjective is *Kolossal!*

## German Principle of Considering Quantity instead of Quality.

German contempt for small nations is so well known through repeatedly quoted Bernhardtisms

and through the action of the Germans in Belgium, to make quotation here superfluous indeed! But the same principle of counting heads, of considering quantity instead of quality the Germans desire to apply at the expense not only of small nations, but of great ones. And so we are told that France and Germany ought not to be equals among the nations because Germany has a larger population and that "the 65,000,000 of Germans cannot allow themselves to sink to the same level of power as the 40,000,000 of French!"

On this principle Russia should be far more powerful than Germany, which the Kaiser would not for one moment admit. China would be more powerful and important than any nation in the world—and we know what the Kaiser would say of that proposition!

The Kaiser's friends of the Union of Democratic Control are particularly fierce in their attack upon the principle of the Balance of Power. The Kaiser as usual agrees with them, as they with the Kaiser. And thus we read in Bernhardt:—

The principle of the Balance of Power in Europe must be entirely discarded; the idea of such a balance was gradually developed from the feeling that States do not exist to thwart each other, but to work together for the advancement of culture. . . . Practical interests too have strengthened the theory of the Balance of Power. When it was understood that the State was a power and that by its nature it must try to extend that power, a certain guarantee of peace was supposed to exist in the balance of forces. . . .

## The German Cat let out of the Bag!

Germany differs; and so the scribe declares that: "We must put aside all such notions of equilibrium." He says further: "It is not now a question of a European State system, but of one embracing all the states in the world in which the equilibrium is established on real factors of power."

And here comes the crux of the whole matter—here is the German cat let out of the bag!

The Kaiser means and Bernhardt says:—

"We [Germany] must endeavour to obtain in this system our merited position at the head of a federation of Central European States and thus reduce the imaginary European equilibrium in one way or the other to its true value and correspondingly to increase our own power."

The object of Germany is as further stated by Bernhardt "to obtain an unshakable foundation for our position on the Continent of Europe by enlarging the sphere of our power in Europe itself." This as a preliminary to dominating the rest of the world and supplanting the free and democratic civilisation that is strengthening and growing in other Continents by the ugly, relentless, dehumanised, scientifically barbarous Prussian system of government and of life.

What wonder that the world is in arms to break the Prussian tyranny!



## A SIGN OF THE TIMES.

### A Fine Lead to the Army.

As our readers are no doubt aware the organisation known as the Alliance of Honour is, with the approval of the military authorities, distributing among the troops a little booklet entitled "For Thoughtful Reading." This consists mainly of statements by medical authorities urging upon those who read it, continence in sexual matters.

Lt-Col. Sir Alfred Pearce Gould, K.C.V.O., M.S., F.R.C.S., Dean of the Faculty of the University of London, says:—

I am anxious to give an emphatic denial to the oft-repeated lie, that the gratification of the sexual passion is necessary to the physical welfare of healthy men in early life. . . . In urging continence upon young men, I am not asking them to adopt a line of conduct that will in the least degree lessen their vigorous manhood.

Bishop Taylor Smith, C.V.O., D.D., Chaplain General to the Forces, makes the same appeal in the name of religion.

Mr S. H. Habershon, M.D., F.R.C.P., in a forcible and convincing statement points out that:

Man differs from the lower animals in being gifted with the power of self-control—an inhibitory power that resides in the higher centres of the brain. . . .

No one can attain to the highest intellectual activity or to the most perfect bodily health who cannot keep a steady rein on his appetites and habits.

One of the most specious and diabolical lies that can be uttered and that tempt young men to a downward course is the persuasion that an exercise of the sexual appetite is necessary to health. . . .

The most perfect health and manhood are only to be attained by a life of purity and self-restraint.

Some pages of the booklet are devoted to a letter by a Hospital Surgeon, reprinted from the *Spectator*, giving a full and convincing medical argument showing how calamitous are the results of what is known as "sowing wild oats" and ending with the statement:

The young man who keeps straight has his reward. He can say to himself that he has not contributed to any woman's ruin. He is absolutely healthy and wholesome. He is untainted with disease, and when he marries he will neither infect his wife nor beget tainted children.

That this wise and admirable booklet should be distributed among the Army is an encouraging sign of the times.

## "HONOUR A MIDDLE CLASS IDEA"

### "GERMAN SOCIALISTS' DULL AND BRUTAL DOCTRINES"

We have before now referred to the visit of the German Socialist soldiers to the headquarters of the Socialist party of Belgium at Brussels, on which occasion the German Socialists pronounced the ideas of honour, loyalty, justice and humanity, to be bourgeois ideas. Here is a fuller account of what took place as given by a Belgian Socialist leader:

"One morning a motor car driven by a German soldier stopped before the Maison du Peuple, the Socialist headquarters in Brussels. Two officers of the Reserve of the German army got out, Koster of Hamburg and Noske of Chemnitz, both Socialist deputies. They asked to see the Secretary of the committee of the Socialist International and the leaders of the Belgian Labour Party.

They were led to the office of the committee where one of the Belgian Socialists was in charge. The welcome accorded to them was icy.

Noske began to explain the object of their visit. He and his companion he said came to offer their co-operation to the Belgian Socialists in order to help them through the grievous events of the time.

#### Charged with a Mission from the German Government.

It was evident that Noske and Koster had been charged with a mission inspired by the German Government if not actually official.

The Socialists of Brussels met all their advances with cold reserve. One of them began to speak of other matters, of resolutions passed by the International Congresses concerning war, of the attitude of the Socialist group who in the Reichstag voted the military credits, of the invasion of Belgium and the German crimes by which it was accompanied, of the events of Louvain.

Immediately the discussion became passionate and violent. Noske pretended that the stories of the atrocities charged against the German soldiers at Louvain were lies, due to the popular imagination having been over-excited by current events. "Remember," he said, "the German army which occupied Louvain consisted of the flower of our nation—industrials, merchants, doctors, professors, students. As to the soldiers, more than fifty per cent of them were social democrats. How can you believe that such men are guilty of the crimes imputed to them?"

#### "Is that the Work of the Flower of your Nation?"

"A Belgian Socialist then produced a portfolio and drew from it a photograph which he placed before the eyes of Noske and of Koster. "This photograph," said he to them, "represents the offices of the Workers' Association of Louvain; one of the most prosperous co-operative societies in the country before the passage of the Germans. You see that the furniture has been broken, that the safe has been broken into and emptied—is that the work of the flower of your nation, of your Socialists?" Noske, greatly embarrassed, ended by making an evasive promise to look into the matter.

But the Belgian Socialists did not let go of the two Deputies; they spoke of the burning of the library, of the Church of St Peter, of the two ancient pictures that the German soldiers had thrown into the canal. Noske answered, "I prefer to destroy works of art rather than see my son killed."

The Belgian Socialists replied: "We did not ask your son to come here. Did Belgium declare war upon Germany?"

Another reproached the Germans for having no feeling of honour, or loyalty, or justice, or humanity.

"Those," answered Koster who had not yet said anything, "are bourgeois ideas, middle-class ideas."

The Socialist who gives these facts makes the following comment:—"Bourgeois ideas, all those noble sentiments that from the time of my youth led me towards Socialism far more than did my class interests. It was like a flash of light: I saw for the first time the abyss which separates our Socialist conceptions with their pure idealism, from the dull and brutal doctrines of the German Socialists."

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# THE FRANCO-BRITISH PEOPLE.

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

By JEAN FINOT.

## WHAT BRITAIN OWES TO FRANCE.

—Continued.

### The Benefits of the Norman Invasion.

In his capacity of conqueror, William shared out among his knights the land of England. Master of the spoils, he was able to dictate terms to those whom he desired to favour by his generosity. His vassals thus received their lands upon conditions much more stringent than those which united his vassals to the King of France.

From the eleventh century the English Barons thus found themselves less powerful than those of the Continent, who enjoyed their domains by prescriptive right and in virtue of rights often more respectable and more ancient than those of their sovereign and lord.

From this resulted the phenomenon most significant for the history of England, that the Barons being weaker, could never conduct revolts or revolutions on their own account; each time that they desired to combat the power of the king, they were obliged to have recourse to the help of the citizens and the farmers. Every triumph that they obtained over the royal power was gained equally for the interests of these latter and in order to make the people understand the lessons of revolt that they incessantly gave them, the English nobles were obliged to teach them their rights as men and citizens. United thus in their demands, they resisted the common enemy of the king and shared fraternally the fruits of their victory.

### The People become Conscious of their Force.

Thus Magna Charta while favouring the nobles, did not forget the English people. Hallam is right in saying that the equal distribution of rights between all free men, is the characteristic mark of this great act of legislation.

In 1264 the English aristocracy openly appealed to the inhabitants of the towns and villages to defend the common cause.

Considered as a wheel necessary to the working of the machinery of the State, the people become conscious of their force, of their utility and above all of their citizen rights. They guard these with jealous care and work incessantly to enlarge them.

From the year 1307, Guizot tells us in his *Essays*, the rights which were to give birth in England to a free government were definitely recognised.

It is enough to compare the history of France and that of England, to understand all the advantages England was able to draw from the special position which she owed to the French invasion.

Whilst in mediaeval Europe a profound gulf separated the people from the nobility, England under an appearance of aristocracy was a group of free citizens. Social inequalities were confined to apparent privileges, but not to any essential difference in the sum total of liberties.

The people of France waited many centuries before conquering the position enjoyed by their English neighbours. As we shall see later, the great Revolution whose fruits are so dear to us, broke out and was victoriously accomplished, thanks to English influence. But this conquest of liberties preceding by many centuries that which took place in France, had a paramount influence upon the formation of the English character. Under the beneficent régime of liberty, the English gained individuality, self-confidence and as a consequence a sort of distrust of governmental tutelage.

On the other hand, the French were long the prey of an excessive centralisation, which for a long time diminished the force of their character and their spirit of initiative.

The facts cited are enough to show how decisive was the influence upon the formation of the English character due to the political contact of the two peoples.

These salutary and imperishable effects recall the beneficent influences of certain constellations of which the Ancients spoke. England seems to have been born under a star representing Jacques Bonhomme and France in her turn under that of a John Bull. Let us consider now the successive formation of their mentality.

## THE EVOLUTION OF THE ENGLISH GENIUS.

English literature was not only born, but it grew up under the influence of that of France. The genial Chaucer himself, who rejoiced in the glory of having freed the literature of his native land from foreign influence, was nurtured by French thinkers and writers. He may have written in English, but through his writings showed always his French education and the admiration of his youth. His spirit is eminently French. All the subjects of French satire are to be found in his works, including those of marriage and religion. One finds there pages worthy of those two so profound French writers, Rabelais and Molière.

Certain critics of Chaucer have wished to insinuate that his taste for French (as well as his Franco-English language) were personal to himself; but Tyrwhitt, to whom England owes the best edition of the works of her great poet, answers with reason that if the language of Chaucer did not correspond to the English language of that epoch, he would never have succeeded in becoming the national poet *par excellence*, the most revered and the most admired of all the writers of the Middle Ages.

### Chaucer and the Influence of French Literature.

Yet just as the English nation was able to place upon a French foundation the virtues of the Saxon race and soil, Chaucer was able to apply to the gallant and monastic conventions of the epoch the truth, flowing from a profound understanding of mankind and of nature. His taste for Deschamps, for Granson, showed deep gratitude to the writers who formed his talent and guided his first steps.

When, later on, English literature in the

sixteenth century renewed itself by having recourse to the Latin and Greek methods, we find that the taste for these studies also came from France.

If, leaving out of account the more vague influences we confine our attention to the more palpable and more concrete influences, we shall find them working upon the most illustrious writers, whose genius is regarded as the very essence of the English soul. Shakespeare, for example! Yet how much his genius owes to France, not only because he profited by all the benefits of its civilisation, but also because his Muse went for refreshment to a French source and returned deeper and more human.

The work of the immortal Shakespeare presents two phases. The first finishes and the second begins at the moment when he became aware of the work of Montaigne. That moment marks a decisive revolution in his spirit. One could say that a new horizon opened before his eyes.

Until 1603, the poet had written only his *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, the *Comedy of Errors*, *Pericles* and *Romeo and Juliet*. But then appears the translation of Montaigne, by Florio. Shakespeare is dazzled by it; he has at last found his favourite master. Upon his path has appeared the divine light which is to illuminate the route of his life. More vast perspectives open before his genius; he plunges into them with delight and hence the imperishable works which have made him the poet of humanity.

### Shakespeare and Montaigne.

Dating from this epoch Shakespeare, doubting and troubled in his lyric quietude, begins to observe humanity, to scrutinise its problems, to be pitiful for its fate. It was not until after he knew Montaigne that he wrote *Othello*, *The Tempest*, *Macbeth*, *Antony and Cleopatra* and *Hamlet*.

Philarète Chasles, in his book *England in the Nineteenth Century*, made this curious and just observation, that even Shakespeare's style was transformed after that memorable date in the evolution of his genius. Before then imitation of Petrarch and of Ariosto was evident in him; after 1603, this copying was changed.

Do not let us forget that after that date there were no more crossed rhymes, no more sonnets, no more conceits. Montaigne lurks in all the corners of *Othello*, of *Hamlet*, of *Coriolanus*. A German, Jacob Feis, even tried to prove that *Hamlet* was only written in order to combat certain opinions of Montaigne. John Sterling expresses the opinion that *Hamlet* is only Montaigne lifted to a higher eminence and agitated by more striking circumstances. (*London and Westminster Review*, 1838).

Mr John Robertson, in his book, *Montaigne and Shakespeare*, tells us that the *Essay on Solitude* of Montaigne left a special mark upon the intimate life of Shakespeare and fashioned it according to the precept dear to the French moralist.

With his gift of supreme comprehension, Shakespeare chose above all the most beautiful, the most profound and the most human maxims, and wove them into his work. Thus, in *The Tempest*, we find a complete translation of the celebrated passage from the *Cannibales* (*Essais*, book I., chapter XXX.) One notices that the same thoughts which were later on to excite the fervour of Pascal and the enthusiasm of Jean Jacques Rousseau, are those which most strike the imagination of Shakespeare.

To be continued.





# PROGRAMME.

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  3. SPEECH - - - - - LADY MACKWORTH
  4. SPEECH - - - - - Captain GILBERT REEVES, 3rd Battalion Royal Fusiliers  
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Mrs PANKHURST.
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  8. SPEECH - - - - - Miss ANNIE KENNEY
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