

"The Suffragette," August 6, 1915.

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The Suffragette

Edited by CHRISTABEL PANKHURST

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Women's Social and Political Union

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Review of the Week.

After a Year of War.

THE feeling of the British at the close of the first year of the Great War is one of thankfulness that this country was spared the ignominy and the peril of neutrality—a feeling of pride that we as a nation are taking our part in one of the most righteous wars of resistance that the world has ever seen.

The Generosity and Heroism of Russia.

The magnificent generosity of the Russians, their incalculable sacrifices for the common cause, their incredibly gallant resistance to Armies for the time being vastly better supplied with munitions, have forged a link between that country and our own which will never be broken.

The Popular Awakening in Russia.

We rejoice in the great popular awakening in Russia. The periodical meetings of the Duma during the war are a reminder of the enormous constitutional progress that Russia has made in the last few years.

Messages from Some Political Leaders.

Here are messages from Russian political leaders.

M. Rodzianko, President of the Duma:

I can declare one thing to you at this hour, historic for Russia, the anniversary of the war and of the reunion of the Duma: We shall pursue the war until the end and we are sure of victory.

M. Milioukof, leader of the Constitutional Democratic Party:

We desire victory because we know it to be indispensable. The Russian people will be all the more disposed to continue the war because it sees the Duma taking up the organisation of this victory.

M. Eifremof, leader of the Progressive Party:

On the eve of the anniversary of the declaration of war, the Russian peasant whom I represent—I speak only in my own name, but the peasant represents 8 per cent. of the population of the Empire—is more sure of victory than at the beginning of the year.

In truth Russia was never ignorant of the military might of Germany and if on the one hand we believed at first that hostilities would rapidly come to an end, on the other we very much feared when the war began that the end of hostilities might be fatal to us.

The Outlook.

The beginning of the second year of the war finds the Allies sure of victory in spite of the German hold in Belgium, France and Poland. Certainly if the war ended now the Germans would be victorious; but the war will not end now.

The most hopeful sign of German weakness, apart from the less cocksure tone of the Kaiser's latest manifesto, is perhaps the Papal manifesto. This is generally inter-

preted as indicating that Germany is putting out feelers in the direction of a compromise peace, the reason for such action being the Germans' realisation that their military power is likely from this time onwards to decline, together with their power of extorting concessions from the Allies.

The War cannot End except by the Victory of the Allies.

The Italian newspapers have firmly rejected the idea of a compromise peace and in doing so have expressed the views of all the Allies.

The Corriere della Sera says: "This conflict cannot finish except with the victory of the Allies."

The Messagero says:

It is not to the belligerent nations in general that the Papal letter should have been addressed but only to certain peoples and certain rulers; to those to whom an indestructible historic documentation has clearly shown to be the first and the solely responsible culprits—that is to say the Austro-Germans.

The Giornale d'Italia further declares: "This war dishonours only its responsible authors."

The Secolo says:

The appeal of the Pope can at the present time profit only one of the belligerents; that one who premeditated and let loose the war. That is the impression of the public and of the political world. To-day when Europe is already engaged in her mission and is preparing to gather the fruits of her bitter struggle for the defence of high national aspirations the word of the Pope arrives too late and is absolutely wanting in efficacy as moreover it is wanting in serious argument.

No Compromise and Why!

No, there cannot be any compromise peace between the Germans and the nations whom they have arrayed by their cruel aggression and greedy ambition against them. That is because the whole of non-German humanity is united in the belief that it is better to be dead than German. Therefore the Allies would have no right, even if they wished, to make a peace that will leave or bring any unwilling peoples under German rule or influence.

Peace may come sooner than is expected. If it were not to give at the present time more than an incomplete result, it would serve at least as a preparation for the future. It could be signed to-morrow if I wished it.

We would refer our readers to page 255 for further evidence of the long-standing and persistently and stealthily followed German ambition to dominate Europe. This war will not end until the Germans have been taught such a lesson as to cause them to renounce this ambition once and for ever.

Grey Sky or Blue.

According to Mr. Lloyd George there are two new political parties instead of the old ones: optimists and pessimists—the blue-sky school and the grey-sky school.

We are optimists, with a "but." We believe, that is to say, that we shall be victorious over the Germans—on the one condition that our spiritual and material resources as a nation shall be fully mobi-

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lised and rightly led. We have no fear of Germany's strength. Our only fear is of a waste of Britain's strength. We are not awed by German ability, because we believe that in Great Britain alone, not to speak of the Allied nations, there is more inventiveness, more originality, more initiative, more "character" than in the whole of Germany. Apart from the question of the British people's contribution to the human stock of thought and knowledge it must be so, or the Germans would not tolerate Hohenzollern rule and the Prussian system. Yes, given strong leadership, the British people with their Allies will triumph. So far as our own country is concerned, the issue now depends entirely upon Cabinet Ministers and those who in the Government service execute their orders.

Some Danger Points.

Anxiety centres round such questions as these: The coal supply, our store of gold, the cotton question, questions such as the pattern of fuse made for British use, the metal tied up by contracts with Germany, aircraft, economy of national resources in public and private hands, and perhaps above all, Germans and German influence in our midst. These and other questions need to be handled with a new foresight, energy and determination.

Strong Policy Needed.

Optimistic as we are, we realise the dangers of the situation and its difficulties; the very greatest danger of all being that of our taking things too much for granted. Optimism comes from knowledge that the resources of the Empire and the ability and devotion of the British people are very great. But neither material resources, nor ability, nor devotion, can give us victory unless they are fully mobilised and boldly used.

The magnificent service which the British Navy has rendered to the nation and to the Allies is so great that none can overlook it. But this service would have been greater in its practical result if there had been a stronger Government policy regarding the export to Germany from neutral nations and from our own shores of cotton and other matters helpful to the enemy in prosecuting the war.

To avoid Mistakes in Future.

The heroic deeds of the Army which now comprises the flower of our male population have already become a part of the glory of our national history; but we cannot and ought not to forget the fact that when the war began, although the Germans had given to our Government ample warning of their bellicose intentions, we were lamentably unprepared for war in the matter of equipment and munitions. Not only so, but for ten months after war broke out, efforts to repair these deficiencies and to put this great manufacturing country on an equality with less industrialised and partly invaded France as regards the production of munitions were grievously inadequate to the needs of the case. It is only by remembering all this that we can hope for an avoidance of future trouble due to kindred mistakes.

Cotton.

It is rumoured that cotton will soon be declared contraband and the neutral countries adjoining Germany be put on rations equal to their import of cotton for the

three years preceding the war. It is for all possible reasons a thousand pities this plan was not adopted on the first day of war, because no neutral trader would have felt any sense of deprivation at losing extra war profits. *To begin as you mean to go on* is the wisest way even in war.

Another Convert.

Compulsory military service comes nearer. A notable convert to this change is Mr. Wedgwood, M.P., the last person who could be called a militarist, or a partisan of unnecessary discipline. But he *knows*! For he has been to the front and taken his share of the pain and sacrifice that devoted men are making there for the sake of us all. He *knows*, of his own knowledge, he has seen with his own eyes the need of this change.

The Kaiser's Guilt.

An attempt is being made by pro-Germans to represent the Kaiser as having been persuaded to the war against his will. The evidence contradicts this view. And even if the Crown Prince were, as they pretend, the moving spirit, would this improve matters, seeing that if the Hohenzollerns are allowed to rule after the war, the Crown Prince will in course of time be German Emperor. But it is plain that the Kaiser, even if he willed it a year later, willed this war and had deliberately prepared for it. Remember his manifesto to the German troops in the East.

Remember that you are the chosen people. The spirit of the Lord has descended upon me because I am the Emperor of the Germans. I am the instrument of the Very High. I am His sword, His representative. Woe and death to all those who resist my will. Woe and death to those who do not believe in my mission. Woe and death to cowards. Let all the enemies of the German people perish! God exacts their destruction; God Who by my mouth commands you to execute His will.

Remember too the Kaiser's recent boasts about his Destructive Sword!

Mr. Norman Angell's Quick Change.

We notice with surprise the chameleon character of Mr. Norman Angell where his nationality is concerned. He is veritably a quick-change artist in nationality, as witness the following extract from his latest writings in America:

Throughout I have written as an American. At a very early age I acquired American citizenship and though by necessarily prolonged absences in Europe I have reverted to British citizenship, I always claim the right in dealing with American problems to speak as an American, because in those cases I feel as one. It is as an American that I envisage the problems here dealt with; and so I write.

NORMAN ANGELL.

This change of national front is truly bewildering, is it not? How many more nationalities may not Mr. Norman Angell spring upon us before the end!

A Strong German Accent.

We do not know whether he has had time to acquire German nationality in addition to his other two nationalities, English and American; but in any case one is forced to the conclusion, having regard to the nature of his writings and his activities, that both his British and his American nationality have a strong and unmistakable *German accent*. The Germans at any rate think so, for, as we have already pointed out in previous issues, Mr.

Norman Angell has been hall-marked by them as an approved exponent of the present war, its causes and its issues. Moreover, as pointed out in the article in our issue of July 16, entitled "Is He Working for Germany: An Enquiry into Norman Angell's Strange Proceedings," he is busily engaged in America in advertising the German complaint of so-called British navalism and the German demand for the so-called neutralisation of the seas; the inner meaning of which two cries is admirably described by the *New York Herald* as:

A desperate effort to use the United States to promote curtailment of the powers to be exercised by belligerents upon the seas, in other words the power now being exercised by the British Navy vis-a-vis German commerce. . . . Germany is now seeking just what the German Government have always opposed and is counting upon its ability to hoodwink the United States into aiding it in attaining its end.

More Secret Diplomacy!

What sinners, according to their own principles, the "Democratic Controllers" are! While verbally condemning secret diplomacy they themselves constantly resort to secret diplomacy. This fact is brought out by an article published in the *New York Times History of the War*, by Professor Schiemann of the University of Berlin, who is also the leading editorial writer of the *Kreuz Zeitung*, his writings being regarded as inspired by the Kaiser himself, whose personal friend Dr. Schiemann is often declared to be. The article from which we quote was sent by Dr. Schiemann to Professor John Bates Clark of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, with the special request that it be translated and forwarded for publication in the *New York Times History of the War*. Says Dr. Schiemann:

On February 18, 1913, Charles Trevelyan, M.P., paid me a visit and assured me with great positiveness that England would under no circumstances wage war. A Ministry which undertook to make preparations for war, he said, would at once be deposed.

Thus the Union of "Democratic Control" while complaining of a system of responsible diplomacy conducted by statesmen elected by the people and accredited Ambassadors working under their instructions, have thought that they themselves were entitled to resort to secret "diplomacy" and negotiation with the Germans! It would be a sorry day for this country if Mr. Arthur Ponsoby, Mr. H. N. Brailsford, Mr. E. D. Morel, Mr. J. R. MacDonald, Mr. Charles Trevelyan, Mr. Norman Angell and all the rest of them should ever gain the increased power which they desire, to influence the course of our diplomacy and our foreign policy. The only interests which, as far as we can see, would benefit from such a development would be German interests!

SPECIAL NOTICE.

Readers of "The Suffragette" who are arranging their summer holidays are asked to do all they can to obtain fresh Subscribers to the paper.

The Circulation Manager will be glad if those able to help in this way will communicate with her at Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

"The Best Paper Going."

That is how one of its readers describes THE SUFFRAGETTE

MANY are the assurances we receive that this paper is believed by those who know it to fill a special place and to have a special work to do in deepening the public understanding of the war and the German peril, in combating the intrigues of the enemy, in stimulating activity and service, in constantly holding up before the people the great ideals for whose sake no sacrifice is too great.

There are large numbers of people to whom is sent through the post the mischievous literature of pro-Germans, of compromisers and of mere sentimentalists who are ever the dangerous if involuntary aids of cruelty and wrong.

THE SUFFRAGETTE is, so we are told, a powerful antidote to literature of the kind in question.

We therefore ask for the co-operation of our readers in the task of sending THE SUFFRAGETTE every week to a large number of people whom we have reason to believe are being made the recipients of war literature of the wrong sort.

The German Government, it should be remembered, is spending fabulous sums of money on the printing and posting of pro-German literature.

Pacifism at any price is being financed also by the Kaiser's multi-millionaire admirer Carnegie and by certain other persons of great wealth but who little care for the great cause that the Allied Nations are fighting to uphold.

The cause of Freedom could not be allowed to go by default on the field of battle. That is why Britain and her Allies are at war.

And even in the field of argument it is a mistake to let misrepresentation intrigue, or even wrong-headed sentimentality go unanswered.

In this great struggle Munitions of War are needed on every plane, not only Silver Bullets but also bullets of printed paper play their part.

OUR READERS ARE ASKED THIS WEEK TO DO TWO THINGS IN PARTICULAR.

The first is to pay for sending a certain number of copies of THE SUFFRAGETTE to those whom it will benefit. Readers may send their own list of names.

The second request is, that readers who are holiday-making shall speak of the paper to the people they meet. Paper-selling in country markets or on the promenade at seaside resorts is an excellent way of making the paper more widely known and more widely read. We shall be grateful for information as to newsagents who stock the paper or as to any difficulty in procuring it.

Letters in response to these appeals should be addressed to

The Circulation Manager,

Lincoln's Inn House,

Kingsway, London, W.C.

The Suffragette

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

PRICE ONE PENNY WEEKLY.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 6, 1915.

No Germanised Bureaucracy for Us

"To be a German became more than ever the surest way to every honour and distinction. A famous general asked what reward he would like to receive for his great services replied:— 'To be promoted German; rewards would then follow of themselves.'"

REALLY that is what we seem to be coming to in this country!

The words above quoted are from M. G. de Wesselitsky's *Russia and Democracy, the German Canker in Russia* and they describe a condition of affairs that for two hundred years has existed in Russia but is now passing away owing to the Russian determination that Russia shall be for the Russians and not for the Germans.

But let anyone go through the British Army List and they will see there a host of names showing that their possessors are of German birth or descent!

What does it mean that a public servant is of German birth or descent? It means that, apart from any partiality he may have for Germany, he may actually be a German subject and acting as such! Because the Kaiser has procured the enactment of a law providing that Germans naturalised in other countries continue to be Germans. These "naturalised" Germans who are for example in the British Government service are punishable by German law as traitors to Germany if they serve British interests in opposition to German interests.

There is more than that! A British subject of German descent even though he has never set foot in Germany can under the provisions of a German law passed in 1913 become a German subject by signing a secret declaration. On thus assuming German nationality he is expected to serve German interests.

The author of *Russia and Democracy, the German Canker in Russia* says that hundreds of Germans by birth or descent are alleged to be "secretly fulfilling their duties towards their recovered Fatherland." And he adds: "If that were veri-

fied, many otherwise obscure events in the present war would be explained."

One fact at any rate is not obscure. It is that there has been treachery in Russia on the part of men in the Russian Government service who were really working for Germany and to this treachery has been due, in large measure, the Russian *mutilation difficulties!*

It is thought by Russians that Great Britain is more fortunate than they in being more free of German influence in the public service.

Yet Germanism in office is a fact with us and one of greater extent than people have realised until now.

To be of German blood sometimes seems to be a positive advantage to the candidate for place or promotion in the Government service.

Here are facts laid before the House of Commons by Sir Arthur Markham and not denied by the Under Secretary for War. Sir Arthur Markham said:

I will deal with the case of Major Reichwald, who has now changed his name to Baker. This person is the son of Krupp's agent in London, Mr. Auguste Reichwald, who has for many years been the representative of Krupps in this country. Mr. Reichwald has four sons; three of them are still in the business with him. The eldest son, Frederick Wilhelm Reichwald, joined the British Artillery. . . He was educated by his father, who was an extremely able man and he passed through Woolwich in the ordinary course. This officer was sent to India and four months before the war for some extraordinary reason which no one seems to understand, he was taken out of his own service and made Assistant Military Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief in India.

In that position he had all the confidential information of the Commander-in-Chief's office. He had all the information relating to the movement of troops to France and East Africa.

When the war broke out he was immediately promoted to Chief of the Intelligence Department of the Indian Corps and was sent to France.

Many wounded Indian officers who have returned to this country have complained very strongly about these proceedings. They have said that here was an officer who had all the confidential reports before him, who examined all the spies and prisoners, who knew also when any attack was going to be made or when any offensive or defensive movement was contemplated. . . .

Is there any other nation in the world except ours—take France, Germany, or Russia—who would take the son of the agent of a foreign Government and make him their Chief Intelligence Officer?

Our comment upon the case is firstly that the admission of Major Reichwald to the British Army was contrary to the public interest, whether or no the authorities then realised it and secondly his continuance in the Army and above all his promotion in the manner described is an offence against the nation at this time of deadly peril.

And over and over again we find Germans by birth or descent holding posts of what may be called *strategic importance* in Government service.

In the War Office, at the Admiralty, including the Air Department—there they are installed! That is not the way to win the war or to protect the country's interests in time of peace. The principle on which these appointments are made is wholly bad!

Even our Foreign Office is not free from the evil. The other day the House of Commons was assured of "the greatest possible value" of Sir Eyre Crowe, an Assistant Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

But Sir Eyre Crowe is half a German, being the son of a German mother. And moreover he is married to a German.

The following reference is taken from *Who's Who 1915*:

Crowe, Sir Eyre, K.C.M.G., cr. 1911; C.B. 1907; Assistant Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs since 1912; b. 30th July, 1864; 3rd s. of late Sir Joseph Archer Crowe, K.C.M.G., C.B., and Asta, e. d. of Baron C. von Barby; m. 1903, Clema von Bonin, e. d. of late Professor Gerhardt, Berlin. Address: 74, Elm Park Road, Chelsea, S.W. Club: Travellers'.

Sir Eyre Crowe's appointment as Assistant Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs took place in 1912, the very year in which the Germans rejected the British Government's peaceable overtures and made clear their intention to attack and subjugate their neighbours in Europe.

In the grave situation that existed in consequence; in this present peril of war; in the time to follow the war there is no room in our Foreign Office for a man linked to Germany by the closest of all ties—by blood and by marriage!

The Women's Social and Political Union is not an official body; it is not a Government Department. It has not the power of the Foreign Office to make or mar the future of this country and of Europe.

Yet the W.S.P.U., unofficial though it is, would deem it a breach of principle and duty to appoint or retain as an official any person having the disqualifications of Sir Eyre Crowe!

Our Allies the Russians are showing the moral courage and fixity of purpose needed to free themselves from their national curse—a *Germanised bureaucracy*.

Are we at the same time to tolerate the development of a Germanised bureaucracy here?

No! a thousand times no. But a Germanised bureaucracy we shall surely have unless we make a firm stand now against the state of affairs which exists already!!

CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

WHAT THE GERMANS WANT!

A Long Ago Warning

Why did we not Protect Ourselves?

THE famous Prussian General VON CLAUSEWITZ, one of the makers of the Germany we know today, died so long ago as 1831, but not before he had given expression, in the words quoted below, to Germany's intention to attack and conquer a very large part of Europe. What have the statesmen of Europe been doing to neglect this warning of the enemy's intentions?

"Let us not forget the civilising task that is incumbent upon us Germans by the terms of the decrees of Providence. Just as Prussia was the predestined kernel of Germany, so regenerated Germany will be the kernel of the future Empire of the West.

"And in order that no one may be ignorant of this we proclaim here and now that our continental nation has a right to the sea, not only to the North Sea, but also to the Mediterranean and to the Atlantic.

"We shall therefore absorb one after another all the provinces which are the neighbours of Prussia. We shall annex successively Denmark, Holland, Belgium, the Franche Comté, the North of Switzerland, Livonia, then Trieste and Venice and then the north of the Gallic region from the Somme to the Loire."

A Prussian War Minister's Declaration:

"This Empire that we wish to found."

"The next war will be a terrible one. . . We shall annex Denmark, Holland, Switzerland, Livonia, Trieste and Venice and the North of France from the Somme to the Loire. This programme, which we set forth without fear, is not the work of a fool. This Empire that we wish to found is not a Utopia. We have now in our hands the means of its realisation."

General Bronsart von Schellendorf, formerly Prussian Minister of War.

The German Appetite for Conquest

This enlightening account of German ambitions appeared in *Excelsior* in December last.

"In these latter days one noticed to left and to right articles and books by the generals or the intellectuals of Germany" and one could cite many others in addition, in which the author claims for his nation a part, more or less great, of Europe.

The French continued for the most part to imagine these to be isolated expressions of opinion. There are, they said, fools in all countries. Certainly, but more or less and of a different species. As far as that is concerned I am very much afraid that the people across the Rhine have all lost their reason. They have all, in fact,

learnt from their infancy and they firmly believe that Germany is far from having attained its just limits, the limits defined by race, language and history and economic needs and military necessities, by the superiority of the German genius and by God.

In oral instruction which runs no risk of reaching the knowledge of the profane, that is to say, foreigners, German professors and teachers extend the German frontiers further than the eye can see! In the school books more circumspection is shown and more moderation. The evidence they give, evidence which is more-over unanimous, is all the more significant on that account.

The little geography books in use everywhere for many years past, those by Daniels and by Seydlitz, will suffice to edify the reader.

The *Guide to the Teaching of Geography* by H. A. Daniels had in 1911 reached its 265th edition and has had to be reprinted since then. I will quote from my own edition, the seventy-fifth which appeared so long ago as 1872. It is divided into four books, the last having as its title "Germany" and including under that name; the German Empire, the Austrian Empire, Switzerland, the Principality of Liechtenstein, the Kingdom of Belgium, the Kingdom of Holland, the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg and the State of Denmark. It is annexation pure and simple.

The *Elements of Geography* by E. von Seydlitz is adopted to-day in most of the German schools. I quote from an edition which appeared in 1901. After having indicated the frontiers of the German Empire, on page 96, the author adds:

"Germany in the large sense included also German-Austria, the greater part of Switzerland and of Belgium, Holland and Denmark."

Without doubt these different parts of Germany are still politically separate, but the ideal of every German is to see them one day reunited. That is what is taught to Germans from the tenderest age; they are taught to sing, for example the famous song of the poet Arndt *What is the German's Fatherland*; this Fatherland "will be the whole of Germany" and Germany in the sense in which the authors of the two geography books referred to understand it. To realise this it is moreover enough to hear the first lines of the German national anthem: "Germany, Germany above everything in the world, will be fraternally united both for defence and attack from the Meuse to the Niemen and from the Belt to the Adige. . . ."

It must not be supposed that the Germans stop there in their ambitions avowed and proclaimed, if not by all at least by a very great number, by an imposing and an all-powerful minority. There has existed in Germany for the last nineteen years a monthly review called *Heimdall* "for pure Germanism and pan-Germanism," a review patronised by professors well known and even celebrated, such as the late Felix Dahn, by members of the Reichstag, by ministers of religion, by Government officials. All the numbers of this review are ornamented by an astonishing engraving. In the background one sees Valhalla, the Olympus of the Scandinavian mytho-

logy which the Germans have also annexed. On the left is the god Heimdall, the god of the dawn and sentinel of the gods, "of the German gods." He blows the horn to call them all to combat, to the conquest of territories which are to complete "Germany."

Of what this complete "Germany" consists we learn by the device printed below the picture in runic characters. "From Skagen to the Adriatic, from Boulogne to Narva, from Besançon to the Black Sea." Skagen is the cape at the North of Denmark. Narva is a Russian town situated on the Gulf of Finland quite near Petrograd. It is no longer a question merely of the present German Empire: of Austria, of Switzerland, of Belgium, of Holland and of Denmark, but also of the North of France, the West of Russia and a good part of the Balkans.

But the Pan-Germanists are not content with so little as that; they must have at least the whole of Europe. Here is what is taught by Herr Reimer among others, in a *Pan-Germanist Germany* published in 1905:

Germany has the right and the duty to impose her hegemony on the entire world. She must begin by annexing all Europe. In order to assimilate the populations different from her own she will have recourse to two degrees of Germanisation. The minor Germanisation will be applied to the related peoples—the Scandinavians for example and the Dutch. The process will meet with few difficulties.

As to the major Germanisation it will be put in force in the countries of mixed race; in France for example the ten millions of French inhabitants of German origin will be conserved in order that they may be Germanised anew; all the rest will be exterminated or expelled.

For the countries in which this radical Germanisation would meet with obstacles too great, certain authors contemplate another system. German immigrants who alone will enjoy civil and political rights as well as the rights of property, of industry and of commerce, will reduce the natives to the most humiliating, the most miserable of servitudes.

There then is the ideal of the Pan-Germanist League which has been joined by about forty members of the Reichstag and many officials and University professors!

What a tragic irony was the speech with which the President of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies opened the present session of that assembly:

We have been forced by envious enemies to make war; a war which has for its object, not to extend our power or to reap a miserable gain, but on the contrary to defend our existence, our hearths, our homes, our women and our children."

So it is evidently the Belgians and the French who, in an abominable thirst for conquest, have invaded pacific Germany, ravaged its homes, burnt its buildings, pursued, violated and mutilated its women and its children. How easy it is to understand that in German these two words rhyme so well: *Heuchler* (hypocrites) and *Meuchler* (assassins)!

THE WAR PLOT OF 1870

The Falsification of the Ems Dispatch

THE *Neue Freie Presse* of November 20, 1892, published the following account by Bismarck of how, determined to wage war upon France, he falsified the historic telegram sent to him from Ems by the King of Prussia and thus gained the end in view.

The King was at Ems; I was at Varzin, when there broke out at Paris the rumour relative to the candidature* of Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern to the throne of Spain. The French acted entirely like people who had lost their heads. I speak above all of the Government with Emile Ollivier at its head. Ollivier was not in any way equal to the situation. He did not realise the mischief that he was doing in the Legislative body by his imprudent bravado.

The situation was therefore extremely favourable for us. We had real provocation and as for a long time we had been convinced that we must fight things out with the French, the present moment seemed to us the right one to draw the sword.

So I left Varzin in order to discuss with Moltke and Roon at Berlin all the important questions. On my journey I received the following telegram:

Prince Charles Anthony of Hohenzollern has, owing to his love of peace, withdrawn the candidature of his son Leopold. Everything is now settled.

This unexpected solution was a great surprise to me and I asked myself this question: **Would another such favourable opportunity ever present itself?**

When I arrived in Berlin I had a telegram sent to my home saying that I should return in three days. At the same time, in a dispatch addressed to the King at Ems, I resigned my position as President of the Ministry and Chancellor of the Confederation. In reply I received a telegram in which the King summoned me to Ems.

I had already formed very clear ideas with regard to the situation and I said to myself:

If I go to Ems, everything will be spoilt. At the best we shall end by making a rotten compromise and then the only possible solution, the only favourable solution, the only great solution will escape us.

I must do everything in my power to make the King come to Berlin; there he will feel better than I could make him feel at Ems, the pulse of the nation.

I therefore explained in the most respectful way the reasons why I could not go to Ems. My presence in Berlin was at that moment absolutely indispensable.

Happily the French, short-sighted and arrogant, did at that moment all that they could to create new difficulties. They caused the King to be asked to sign a letter which was equivalent to a profound humiliation. The King asked me my advice by telegram. I answered him with a clear conscience: "Impossible to sign."

I had invited Moltke and Roon to dine with me on the evening of the 14th July and we discussed all the eventualities. We all shared the hope that the senseless proceedings of France, that the unheard-of invitation that had been addressed to our King, would avert the danger of an issue weak and without glory. Then—we were at dinner—arrived the dispatch from Ems. The dispatch began thus:

The news of the renunciation of the hereditary Prince of Hohenzollern having been communicated officially by the Spanish Government to the French Government, the French Ambassador at Ems further addressed to His Majesty the King

of Prussia a demand that he would authorise him to telegraph to Paris that His Majesty the King undertook for all future time that he would refuse his consent if the Hohenzollerns should resume their candidature to the throne of Spain.

Then followed a long statement. It was to the effect that the King referred to what he had already said to Count Benedetti, which reply Benedetti had received with gratitude and had said he would communicate to his Government. Thereupon Benedetti asked for a new audience of the King if only to receive once more from the mouth of His Majesty a confirmation of what had been said to him on their promenade.

Then the dispatch added:

"However His Majesty refused to receive the French Ambassador and sent a message to him by his aide de camp that His Majesty had nothing more to communicate to the Ambassador."

When I had read this dispatch Roon and Moltke both let fall their knife and fork on the table and leaned back in their chairs. There was a long silence. We were all profoundly cast down. We had the feeling that the affair was losing itself in the sand.

I then spoke to Moltke and asked him this question: "Is our army, the instrument which we need for war, in good enough condition to enable us to begin the war with the greatest possible likelihood of success?" My confidence in Moltke was unshakable as a rock.

"We have never had a better instrument than we have at this moment," said he.

Roon, in whom I had, it is true, less confidence, fully confirmed what Moltke had said.

"Well then, continue to eat in peace," said I to my two comrades. I sat down at a small round table placed by the side of the table at which we were eating. I attentively re-read the dispatch. I then took a pencil and I deliberately crossed out all the passages in which it was said Benedetti had demanded a new audience, etc. I left standing only the beginning and the end. Now the dispatch had quite another air. I read it to Moltke and Roon in the new rendering that I had thus given to it.

They both exclaimed: "Magnificent! that will produce its effect!"

We went on eating with the best of appetites. I gave immediate orders that the dispatch should be sent with the greatest possible rapidity by telegraph to all the newspapers and all our Embassies. And we were still all three of us together when we received the desired information as to the effect that the dispatch had produced in Paris. It had burst there like a bomb. While they had addressed to our King a humiliating demand; the dispatch made it seem to the French that their representative had been affronted by our King. All the loungers on the boulevards were of the opinion that one could not endure that. The cry, "To Berlin! to Berlin!" was raised by the crowd. We had in fact produced the effect desired.

The effect was the same with us as in France. The King who, yielding to my urgent representations, had interrupted his cure at Ems and had come back to Berlin, was quite surprised by the noisy joy the people showed in the course of his journey. He did not yet understand what had happened. The indescribable enthusiasm which broke out with frenzy in Berlin pleased and profoundly moved our old master. His eyes filled with tears. He recognised that this was truly a national war, a popular war which the people demanded and had to have.

Even before arriving in Berlin we had received from the King the authorisation to mobilise at least a part of our army. As the Crown Prince got out of the train he purposely spoke very loudly of the imminent mobilisation and then there was an enthusiasm broke out which lasted even longer. When we arrived at the castle His Majesty was already disposed to mobilise the whole army.

What ensued you know. I add that I was authorised to make erasures that seemed to me absolutely necessary. I had been left free to publish the dispatch in extenso or an extract; I do not regret that I made extracts.

Another Account

In his "Reflections and Reminiscences" Bismarck deals with the affair of the Ems telegram as follows:

The difference in the effect of the abbreviated text of the Ems telegram as compared with that produced by the original was not the result of stronger words but of the form, which made this announcement appear decisive, while Abeken's version would only have been regarded as a fragment of a negotiation still pending and to be continued at Berlin.

After I had read out the concentrated edition to my two guests, Moltke remarked: "Now it has a different ring; it sounded before like a parley; now it is like a flourish in answer to a challenge." I went on to explain:

If in execution of His Majesty's order I at once communicate this text, which contains no alteration in or addition to the telegram, not only to the newspapers, but also by telegraph to all our embassies, it will be known in Paris before midnight and not on account of its contents, but also on account of the manner of its distribution, will have the effect of a red rag upon the Gallic bull. Fight we must if we do not want to act the part of the vanquished without a battle. Success, however, essentially depends upon the impression which the origination of the war makes upon us and others; it is important that we should be the party attacked, and this Gallic overweening and touchiness will make us if we announce in the face of Europe, so far as we can without the speaking-trumpet of the Reichstag, that we fearlessly meet the public threats of France.

This explanation brought about in the two generals a revulsion to a more joyous mood, the liveliness of which surprised me. They had suddenly recovered their pleasure in eating and drinking and spoke in a more cheerful vein.

Roon said: "Our God of old lives still and will not let us perish in disgrace." Moltke so far relinquished his passive equanimity that, glancing up joyously towards the ceiling and abandoning his usual punctiliousness of speech, he smote his hand upon his breast and said: "If I may but live to lead our armies in such a war, then the devil may come directly afterwards and fetch away the 'old carcass.'"

What Germans Say To-day

Shortly before the present war broke out, the *Neueste Nachrichten*, referring to the falsification of the Ems dispatch, said:

The whole of Germany thanks Bismarck for this; and all those who feel really German hearts beating in their breasts, will never forget this act of Bismarck.

"Blessed be the hand which falsified the Ems Dispatch"

Bismarck addressed the Ems dispatch to all the representatives of Prussia abroad in order to put France in the wrong in the eyes of the civilised world. He succeeded perfectly in doing that.

From this point of view he has the right to our eternal gratitude.

Professor Hans Delbrueck has said: "Blessed be the hand which falsified the Ems dispatch."

Well might Goethe say to Eckermann: "The comparison of the German people with other peoples awakes in me feelings of sorrow from which I have sought to escape by all possible means."



ALEXANDER II, Emperor of All the Russias. ISABELLA II, Queen of Spain. VICTORIA, Queen of England. NAPOLEON III, Emperor of the French. VICTOR EMANUEL II, King of Italy. WILLIAM I, King of Prussia. On a scroll is written: "The Empire is Peace," underneath the picture were inscribed the words: "The Empire is Peace." Three years ago Germany was engaged in a war against France, and the Hohenzollern dynasty became more firmly established in Germany and more definitely a menace to the world. At this present time Germany is again making war on France and on Europe. It must be for the last time. Europe will in the war of to-day and the peace of the future stand united against any further aggression by Germany.

STORING UP THE GOLDEN BULLETS



The certificate given to those who in response to the appeal by the French Minister of Finance hand over to the nation the reserves of gold in their possession, in exchange for paper money.

SOCIALISTS AND THE WAR

A FRENCH Socialist Deputy and a Belgian Socialist Deputy were among the speakers at the meeting held recently by the Socialist National Defence Committee. Both made statements of great interest and importance which we give below with acknowledgments to the *Clarion*.

The Germans alone Produced the War

The German Socialists know this Their utter lack of influence

M. Marcel Cachin, the Socialist Deputy for Montmartre, said:

That the Germans and the Germans alone fomented and produced the war is fully proved, not only by the Blue Books of the Allied Powers, but even by those of Germany and Austria. The German Socialists knew this full well and the speaker read extracts from *Vorwärts* and other German papers, published a day or two before the war began, all blaming the militarist party of Germany and Austria for provoking war.

To-day German Socialists were finding excuses in favour of suppressing the Belgian nation and Südekum, Socialist member of the Reichstag, had told the Italian Socialists that the Germans must crush the French.

How could any Socialist commit such a sacrilege? A few German Socialists are now represented to have protested against a policy of annexation; but what influence have they on the German nation? None—absolutely none.

On the other hand, the incidents which occurred at Zabern, even before the war, showed the world what Prussian domination meant. By their "frightfulness," by their useless destruction of beautiful towns and of the lives of non-combatants, the Germans had raised the conscience of humanity against them and had brought eternal disgrace upon their militarism. To crush such aggressors no sacrifice was too great if it led to victory.

We will Fight unto Death

No Peace till Kaiserdom is crushed

M. Emile Royer, Socialist deputy for Tournai to the Belgian Parliament, said:

He was glad to see the spirit of justice was still a virile force among Socialists. Their first King, the first Leopold, when 83 years ago the Kingdom of Belgium was constituted on the same day of the same month as the present meeting, expressed the hope that all parties would unite to defend the liberty and independence of their new country. To-day the invader denied that independence and destroyed their freedom.

All Parties had united—Socialists and Clericals, Republicans and Monarchists, all stood shoulder to shoulder against the common enemy.

The Belgians were determined to fulfil, even unto death, their duty to their country and their duty to Europe.

Alone and unassisted they had stemmed the tide of invasion at Liège and on the banks of the Yser. You English know something of what this cost us, you who collected our 12,000 wounded at Ostend, brought them over to England and nursed them with admirable tenderness.

Whatever may be said about the causes of the war, all must admit that Belgium is a perfectly innocent victim; yet she has been treated with untold cruelty. She has been robbed of everything, even her workmen's tools have been stolen and she is denied the right to think or to speak.

Someone in the hall had asked what proof there was of the atrocities. He would only mention the small town of Dinant, where 90 old men, as many old women, 37 little boys, many little girls—in all 800 out of the 10,000 inhabitants—had been massacred. He mentioned Dinant because he could supply to those who doubted the names of every one of these victims.

Can such crimes remain unpunished?

Yet we were told we must have internationalism and disarmament. But how could we talk of such things with such a people? They denied all laws and rights of humanity. No peace was possible till the Kaiser was crushed. When defeated, Kaiserdom must not be allowed to retain enough strength to make us anticipate yet another war at the end of another 40 years.

Unless Kaiserdom were crushed, Socialism, or even mild social reforms, would have to be set aside and everything sacrificed to the one object, that of military preparations. Therefore those who were to-day fighting in the trenches were not only fighting for their country and for the Allies, but they were also fighting for our ideas, for Socialism, which could not survive if the Allies were defeated. Under these circumstances he could not understand that there should be the slightest division of opinion among Socialists. All Socialists must be equally resolved to fight till the German menace was destroyed.

WOMEN AND WAR WORK

Their Right to Help in Saving the Country.—Sacrifice and its essential Sequel

By MRS. PANKHURST

Reprinted from the *Daily Express* of July 19.

TO women who see danger threatening all that makes life worth living, the thought that gives comfort is that in this crisis they can share in the task of national defence, they can give aid to the Allies, they can do their part in saving human liberty.

The means to those ends—the means to the victory of the Allies are men, money and munitions. It is women who give husbands and sons to fight for the country in the trenches; it is women who can more and more, if they are not prevented, produce the necessary munitions of war. It is women who, by making goods for export and by regulating the national expenditure in the home and in Government departments, too, if they get the chance, have the power to maintain the nation's financial strength. Indeed, no limit can be set to what the millions of British womanhood will do if once they gain the right to serve.

Happily for women's peace of mind and happily for the safety of the nation, men who have power in the land are recognising these facts. Lord Kitchener said the other day in his speech in the Guildhall: "I cannot refrain from a tribute of grateful admiration to the large number of women, drawn from every class and phase of life, who have come forward and placed their services unreservedly at their country's disposal."

Mr. Walter Long, speaking on his own behalf and on that of the Government, defended the inclusion of women in the National Registration Bill by saying not only that women themselves desired it, but also that their services "are already of the greatest value and may in the future become absolutely indispensable."

Mr. Lloyd George, the Munitions Minister, received a deputation of women on Saturday and told us that the training, organisation and employment of women in very great numbers for munition-making will begin at once.

Hitherto there has seemed to be a barrier of conservatism to be swept away before women could fully exercise their right to serve. That is why the great procession of Saturday was so vitally important. We made that procession a demonstration of our patriotic resolve to serve the country and so imposing was it that no prejudice or conservatism should stand against it. The procession was a pledge to our Allies of British women's devotion to them and their determination to work with them and for them until the end.

The Final Proof

Circumstances have arisen in our country which may have seemed to the enemy, if not to our Allies, an indication of a certain degree of weakness or disunion among the British people. The great women's demonstration will do much to sweep away that impression if it has existed. If the women of a nation show the right spirit in war-time, that is the strongest and the final proof that the nation as a whole is sound at heart, ready for every sacrifice, resolute in work and battle and determined to fight until it has achieved victory with honour.

IMPORTANT!

PEACE INTRIGUES.

Italian Socialists state that Carnegie, the Kaiser's admirer, offered them money for Peace Campaign.

THE United Socialist Party of Italy has published a declaration showing that shortly before Italy entered into the war financial inducement was offered to them to maintain the policy of neutrality which for a certain time they as a party pursued and desired their country to pursue. Their statement says:

On the 16th of May there came to Bologna Mr. Greulich, the doyen of the Swiss Socialists, accompanied by Mr. Balar, an interpreter. Mr. Greulich requested an interview with the committee of the Socialist Party.

Of this interview which took place on the following day a written account was drawn up, which shows that after the words of welcome that the President of the party addressed to him, Mr. Greulich expressed the thanks, admiration and approbation of European Socialists for the conduct, logical and full of faith and energy, of the Italian Socialist Party, which had, said he, given so magnificent and so ardent an example to the Socialists of other countries.

Mr. Greulich added that he knew, however, the financial difficulties of the Italian Socialist Party and in consequence he had taken the liberty of presenting comrade Nathan, a Swiss Socialist, who had returned from a visit to America charged with a mission from an American lady.

These declarations were received by all present with stupefaction and the President in an energetic tone invited Mr. Nathan immediately to furnish explanations.

Mr. Nathan declared that an American Socialist lady of Chicago in accord with a well-known American pacifist had deputed him to offer a sum of one hundred thousand to two hundred thousand francs or more in order to aid the pacifist propaganda of the Italian Socialists.

This declaration caused general exclamations of protest and the President severely rejected the proposition of Mr. Nathan, adding that it was impossible even to discuss such a question.

He suspended the sitting and invited Mr. Nathan to leave the hall. Mr. Nathan immediately withdrew without any further explanation.

After his departure the committee very vigorously demanded enlightenment from Mr. Greulich. He replied that he had no mission from the Swiss Socialist party. He had known Mr. Nathan for fifteen years as a Socialist and as a well-known chemist in Zurich and on that account he believed that the support announced came from a source above all suspicion.

Yielding to the pressure of the committee Mr. Greulich gave the names of two millionaires of Chicago, Mr. and Mrs. Warren Springs, the wife professing to be a Socialist. He added that the money was offered by Mr. Carnegie.

Without debate the committee approved a declaration moved by the President deploring that Mr. Greulich had lent himself at so grave and difficult a moment to such proceedings.

The statement of which the above words are a translation, has been sent by the United Socialist Party to the Italian Press.

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