

"The Suffragette," July 16, 1915.

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# The Suffragette

Edited by CHRISTABEL PANKHURST

Official Organ of the  
Women's Social and Political Union

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From the original by G. F. Watts.

F. Hollyer, photo.

“And I saw when the Lamb opened one of the seals, and I heard, as it were the noise of thunder, one of the four beasts saying, Come and see.

“And I saw, and behold a white horse: and he that sat on him had a bow; and a crown was given unto him: and he went forth conquering and to conquer.”—*Rev. vi. 1 & 2.*

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## The Suffragette

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### Review of the Week.

#### War Service Procession July 17.

Until Saturday is over women intent on helping the country are concentrating on the great War Service procession, which will undoubtedly be one of the most impressive demonstrations the country has ever seen. Women who are already doing war service and others whose work in the home or elsewhere is such that they cannot lay it down and by its importance amounts to war service are asking whether they are eligible to march in the procession. The answer is yes provided they desire to see the services of women in general utilised for war service.

#### The Munitions Minister will Address the Processionists.

After the Procession, what next! Mr. Lloyd George will be interviewed by a deputation who will put that question to him. The processionists will await the result of the interview which will be announced at its close. Mr. Lloyd George has promised to address them and will speak from the garden of the Munitions Building. A platform overlooking the Embankment will be erected for the purpose.

#### Unless we Do More!

"Unless we do more in the future than we have done in the past we are going to be beaten." So said the Home Secretary the other day. If "we have not done more in the past" that is certainly not the fault of women who have been clamouring for nearly twelve months to be allowed to do more and are now to have a huge procession to express not

merely their wish but their determination to do more!

#### The Value of Women's Service.

As Mr. Walter Long explained the other day the Government had intended to leave women out of the National Registration Bill but felt called upon to yield to the demand for inclusion made by women themselves. He said further that women are doing already and wholly admirable work of men in many capacities and that "in future service, women may be not only of the greatest value but we may not be able to do without them."

Lord Kitchener in his Guildhall speech said I cannot refrain from a tribute of grateful recognition to a 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.

#### Women Munition Makers.

As to the special and most urgent task of munition-making, the need is for munition schools for women and munition factories in which they can be employed. We are aware that large numbers of men who are skilled engineers have lately been enrolled, but for those men to do work which women can be trained to do would be a criminal waste of national energy. They should do work which cannot be done except after long training. Work such as women are already doing in France and to some extent in this country ought not to be done by men.

#### Von Bissings at Large.

One von Bissing is at present German Governor-General of Belgium and is oppressing our glorious Allies the Belgians. Another von Bissing, the brother of the first one, is a "naturalised" Englishman. He and his wife are at large in our country and the wife had the effrontery to make her appearance at a function at a Skating Rink organised by the Belgian Croix and attended by the Belgian Minister and other prominent Belgians. Here is our duty: to imprison these von Bissings whom it is dangerous to have at large (the law gives the power) and keep them in prison at least until the Germans release Burgomaster Max of Brussels and Mme. Carton de Wiart, the wife of the Belgian Minister of Justice, who was kidnapped in Brussels and taken to Germany. We ask the Home Secretary to carry out this policy and we shall raise this point weekly as we feel strongly that our national reputation, not only for common sense but also for chivalry, is at stake.

#### The United States and Germany.

As we write the relations between the United States and Germany are still unsettled. The dominant fact in the situation surely is that Germany is to all intents and purposes already at war with the United States and this because the German scheme of world domination involves disaster to the moral and material interests of America. Mr. Rudyard Kipling was entirely justified in saying:

Realise, too, if the Allies are beaten, there will be no spot on the globe where a soul can escape from the domination of this enemy of mankind. There has been childish talk that the Western Hemisphere would offer a refuge from oppression. Put that thought from your mind. If the Allies were defeated, Germany

would not need to send a single battleship over the Atlantic. She would issue an order and it would be obeyed. Civilisation would be bankrupt and the Western world would be taken over with the rest of the wreckage by Germany the Receiver. So, you see, there is no retreat possible.

#### Believers in the Voluntary System should Volunteer!

Our gallant soldiers are beckoning with an urgency at once imperious and pathetic to those who remain at home to come out and play their part too.

Lord KITCHENER at the Guildhall.

This splendid spirit is particularly manifested by the men in hospital, even amongst those who are mortally wounded.

The invariable question which comes from lips hardly able to utter a sound is, "How are things going on at the front?"

Sir JOHN FRENCH.

All I ask you fellows fit to serve is this: Don't stand looking at me and cheering me. That's no good. Come and join me.

Sergeant MICHAEL O'LEARY, V.C.

Those who believe in the voluntary system of enrolling our soldiers will surely not hesitate to respond to these three appeals, one from the organiser of the new armies, one from Sir John French and a third from a hero of the trenches. But the fact is that some of those who most fervently declare their support of voluntarism regard it as a means of getting other people to do their fighting for them.

#### Let it be Now!

There are many sincerely patriotic men who are ready to join the Army when the State says to them: Come! it is not only men in general but you in particular who are wanted to defend the country. Recent speeches by members of the Government have made it clear that obligatory military service may have to be established at any moment. It ought to have been established before. What right have the men of this country to keep their own military burdens lighter at the price of making the military burdens of their Allies heavier! A glance at the western battlefield and the enormous length of line held by the French, a thought given to Belgium still under the heel of the invader—these are argument enough for obligatory military service.

#### Suppose they Do Resist!

The Government certainly need not be deterred by the opposition of such people as voted against the National Registration Bill. We prophesy that opposition to obligatory service will be remarkably small.

Suppose some people do break the law and go to prison, they will be better there than talking and writing pro-Germanism. The only difficulty is that prison is far too honourable a place for them because the Suffragettes have been there. To give the same treatment to men who are unpatriotic as was given to women who are patriotic seems unjust however necessary.

#### A Letter to the Government.

Gentlemen,  
Are you going to break those contracts whereby the Germans in preparation for this war tied up the Australian supplies of zinc ores and concentrates needed for the manufacture of spelter the shortage of which means tragic loss of life and a very serious loss of money to ourselves and our Allies? Why this

consideration for the interests of Germans while Germany is holding and exploiting for warlike purposes the mineral resources of France and Belgium? Are German firms to be allowed either during the war or after the war to control the mineral resources of the British Empire?

Then as to cotton! Is Germany in spite of our command of the seas to get any of the new American cotton crop? Is cotton now to be made absolute contraband and are you prepared to save the neutral countries as well as ourselves from German conquest by using British sea power as rigorously as Lincoln used the sea power at his command in the American Civil War? An early answer will oblige.

(Signed) THE BRITISH PUBLIC.

#### A Tribute to Queen Elizabeth.

The *Morning Post* pays tribute to the war policy of Queen Elizabeth as follows:

That able governor of his church Sixtus V. who watched the struggle between Spain and England with an eagle eye, used to say that when Philip was talking Elizabeth was acting. . . . Not numbers nor weight of metal nor length of purse makes victory. Philip had all these things and Elizabeth defeated him because when Philip was writing a minute Elizabeth was cutting off his supplies and anticipating his plans.

Queen Elizabeth if she were living now would be most helpful.

It is said that cotton is selling in Germany at a price five times higher than the price which it is fetching in Liverpool. This means that cotton is already a problem for the Germans. It is the business of the British navy to prevent one single bale of the new cotton crop from reaching Germany.

#### A German Manoeuvre.

We deal elsewhere with Mr. Norman Angell's pro-German activities in the United States, which include the writing of an article for the *North American Review* inciting the American people in the name of the "freedom of the seas," to protest against the present naval status of the British Empire and to demand either the "neutralisation" of the seas or American supremacy thereupon.

The inner meaning of these manoeuvres is admirably shown by the following article from the *New York Herald* of June 17:

International conventions at The Hague showed the German Government at all times and consistently opposing any agreement that would curtail in the slightest degree the powers to be exercised by belligerents upon the seas. In those happy convention days German hope and German expectation were centred upon a rapidly growing navy that was to challenge Britannia's ambition to "rule the waves."

Now, when the discretion of keeping that wanted German fleet bottled up in home waters rather than have it risk open conflict with the British navy has become the better part of valour in the eyes of those responsible for Germany's military policy, German diplomacy is making 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 powers now being exercised by the British navy vis-à-vis German commerce.

This is all there is and exactly what there is, back of all this German talk about "freedom of the seas."

The boot is on the other foot. Germany is now seeking just what the German Government has always opposed and is counting on its ability to hoodwink the United States into aiding it in attaining its end.

But it may be taken for granted that the Government of the United States, now that Mr. Bryan has been removed from its councils, is not going to be catspaw for anybody.

#### Why!

War bonuses are to be granted to three grades of postal servants. Women are to have only half the amount granted men. Why this discrimination! The worst possible thing for men themselves is to pay women less because they are women.

## VIVE LA FRANCE

July 14, 1789.—*The Fall of the Bastille.*  
July 14, 1915.—*France defending Liberty against Germany, the Bastille of Europe.*

OF all human achievements none is more glorious than the French Revolution, fighting as it did a great flame at which over and over again oppressed peoples throughout the world have lit their torch of liberty. What were the "excesses" of the French Revolution—as "respectability" is wont to call them—compared to its great gift to humanity and what were they compared to the appalling savageries and atrocities committed in their present war against freedom by the Kaiser and his Germans who of all European peoples are the most servile at home and the most savage abroad in doing their War Lord's bidding.

#### What Bismarck said

Cant and calumny have bespattered this great Revolution of the French people which in so far as it was complete and unhindered by adverse currents destroyed a bad old order and gave birth to a new order that has been unfolding and developing despite obstacles until this day and is now fighting for its life against German attack. But there are people who will forgive to a Hohenzollern destroying European freedom ten thousand times more violence than they will forgive to a sovereign people fighting for freedom!

Bismarck who naturally detested the French Revolution declared it to be a defeat for Germanism—an overthrow of the Germanic principle. That theory would show us France fighting in 1789 and in 1915 for one and the same cause!

That Germanism and the principles of the Revolution are as the poles apart is shown by Mazzini in his interesting critique (reproduced on page 221 of this issue) of Thomas Carlyle's *History of the French Revolution*.

#### "France is a Person"

And even if, to the world's loss, we could blot out the French Revolution there would still be France who before and since the Revolution has been and is lovely and beloved among the nations.

*La France est une personne*, said the historian Michelet. Yes, of France it is more true perhaps than of any other nation that she is a person. Her sons and daughters feel this—feel that while she lives in them, in their collectivity, she has an existence as it were apart from them. And it is not the French alone who feel this, because, as Sir Frederick Wedmore said the other day: "France has for us who hope we understand her a creature's existence and a noble creature's charm." We will quote more. He says:

She is not a machine in the very least: she is not even a machine for crushing. Human she is from end to end—we find a sympathy, receive a benefit, by contact with every son and daughter of her soil.

And those who know her the most know the most certainly that our debt to her on every side—in the art of Painting, in the art of ordered Words, in the art of Music, in every art of daily life, in every element of civilisation, is endless—endless simply. Will dullards never recognise it at all? "They order these things better in France," said Laurence Sterne—of it does not much matter what. "*Le soleil de France donne du génie*," said Gluck to Marie Antoinette. And Mr. Robert Browning, lamenting her misfortunes in a day when English statesmanship—but "statesmanship" is too good a word—and English popular feeling along with it, subsided into the attitude of passive permission of her defeat—Mr. Robert Browning at least emptied his pockets for the moment and induced his publisher to empty pockets of more

capacious depth, in endeavouring to relieve, at all events, the physical wants and physical sufferings, which would never have been hers to that most dire extent had it not been for the hopeless shortsightedness, the almost Teutonic insensibility, with which the English of 1870 and 1871—the years I recollect with shame—acquiesced in the triumphal march of Teuton hordes over lands of which every acre exhales "the perfume of the Latin race."

England offers to France, I must suppose, on "France's Day" the tribute of admiration of a sound-hearted but never quickly-moved land. Will she at last, after generations of hesitation, take to heart the only lesson of the Day which may, in perpetuity, work for her own good? France, troubled enough, it may be, in Artois for the moment, is safe, one must conclude, in her near future, by her unity, her flexibility, her true sense of proportion in conduct and events, her own incomparable greatness. What then is England's lesson? *To grapple to her soul with hoops of steel this neighbouring strength, this more than proffered, this assured amity; and, casting aside the silly sentimental preferences of the Past on the one hand and the vulgarer prejudices on the other, recognise that the most beneficent influence with which it is possible for any people, for any land, to be in communion is that which finds itself expressed in the one simple term, l'âme française.*

C. P.

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



IN remembrance and 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.

### Weekly War Service Meeting.

The next War Service Meeting will be held at the London Pavilion, Piccadilly, W., on Thursday, July 22, at 3 p.m.

# EVERY WOMAN'S DUTY.

1. To march in the War Service Procession on Saturday Afternoon, July 17. Form up on the Victoria Embankment 2.30 p.m. Start 3.30 p.m. promptly.
2. Register for Munition Making and other forms of War Service at Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.
3. Buy and read "The Suffragette" price One Penny weekly. To be obtained from all Newsagents and Booksellers. Yearly Subscription, 4s. 4d.
4. Contribute to the W.S.P.U. War Service Fund for maintaining and circulating "The Suffragette," and for the holding of meetings to stimulate Recruiting throughout the country.

Will readers kindly fill in the form below and post to the Secretary, Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.?

## WAR SERVICE.

I wish to register for War Service, and shall be glad if you will send me \_\_\_\_\_ Registration Forms for the use of myself and friends.

I intend to buy *The Suffragette* every week, and wish to have it sent by post from Lincoln's Inn House; 4s. 4d. enclosed.

I enclose {cheque / postal order} for the W.S.P.U. War Service Fund.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

To the Secretary,  
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, JULY 16, 1915.

### GERMAN INFLUENCE IN OUR MIDST

ONE sometimes thinks it is a pity that our politicians cannot be as anonymous as examination papers. Then everybody would take them strictly on their merits and would seek neither to abase them nor exalt them for ulterior motives.

It cannot be too clearly understood that there is and will be *no glory for any individual in this war*, because it is a war of Peoples; not of Rulers or Statesmen. And above all there will be no glory for any civilian!

No one is going to make a great reputation in this war and no individual Statesman will emerge from it more famous than he went into it. Though reputations may be lost they will not be made or even enlarged in connection with the war.

No one inside or outside the Government should have even half an eye to winning extra personal importance. This applies above all to civilians—for we find that the greater and more successful are those in the Military and Naval services, the greater the personal modesty they show, whatever others may say for or against them.

Speaking of our civilian Statesmen, no one who is simply doing his duty—and none are doing *more* and some may be doing *less*—should be accused by other people of being on the hunt for personal glory and promotion. In this connection there is a great deal to be said for shutting up a certain political club, the greatest gossip shop in London, a storm centre of petty intrigue, a refuge for *embusques*—and also it is believed one of the favourite haunts of German spies. It is a pity that some Cromwell cannot walk into that establishment some day and clear out those he finds there either to fight or to work—or to Germany.

Then there is this serious, this urgently and terribly serious question of Germans and German influence in our midst and especially in

Government Departments. The Press informs us that:

An important official at the War Office, of German extraction, during the last few days has tendered his resignation. He has occupied a post of a very confidential nature since the beginning of the war and for some time before it. It is understood that the matter would have been brought up in the House had he not resigned.

And this after nearly a year of war! How can we be surprised if things don't go always as they should!

There is no doubt whatever that the Germans as part of their "marvellous! preparedness" made an audacious attempt to weave a network of treachery in our Government Departments and above all at the War Office and the Admiralty!

To employ men of German birth or descent in those Departments was and is simply playing into Germany's hands.

Apart from any attempt to organise a German "army" in British Government Departments which may have failed, we must remember that Germans are Germans and may be expected to act as such!

That fact shows out very strongly in the following extract from Busch's Bismarck concerning the Franco-German war of 1870:

To judge by a letter from St. Louis dated the 13th of September national sentiment amongst the Germans in America would seem to have been greatly stimulated by the success of the war and to be much stronger than their republican leanings. A German who has lived here for twenty years who was formerly your [Germany's] deadly foe but whose ideal you now are, thus enthusiastically addresses the Chancellor "Forward Bismarck! Hurrah for Germany! Hurrah for William I. Emperor of Germany."

So we see what the German-Americans were even forty-five years ago. And we know what the German-American danger is to-day!

Let us remember that there is a corresponding German-British danger that is perhaps more deadly still.

Realise that, according to German law, a German who becomes naturalised as a British subject *does not cease to be a German subject!*

Realise that a British subject of German descent can, by making a *private* DECLARATION to the German authorities, *become a German subject* while retaining his British citizenship!

Therefore in dealing with a naturalised German or a British subject of German descent we may be dealing with a German who is acting in the interests of the enemy. This is a hard fact but like "Jack Johnsons," machine guns and poisonous gases it has to be faced.

Better run the risk of misjudging an individual than fail in duty to our Allies, sacrifice the life of thousands of British soldiers, invite invasion and massacre and jeopardise the freedom of our country!

Those who take this danger lightly should learn wisdom from the Belgians who can tell them tragic things—appalling things that will open their eyes.

After all we are fighting for our country's life and freedom. Certainly those who come after us would not forgive us if born into a Germanised world and held under the German yoke they looked back to our conduct of a war that sealed their fate and found that besides supplying the enemy with warlike material we actually harboured Germans in the camp and gave them knowledge, power and position vital to the enemy's success.

While we are about it we may as well say something concerning Lord Haldane's speech.

There was his reference to the "great middle party in Germany including many diplomatists and business men." This middle party he contrasted with the Junker party to the Junker party's disadvantage. For our part we object if possible even more to the "great" middle party than to the Junkers. There is at any rate little to choose between them and the Ballins of the "great" middle party are as great a danger as the Junkers can possibly be and on the whole they seem to be rather more ignoble.

Then we had the phrase: "The great German nation—in some respects rather like our own people." The "greatness" of the German nation (unless its numerical strength is alluded to) is not very conspicuous in the light of this war. Great is an adjective more applicable to the Belgians.

And why should there be this talk of our alleged resemblance to Germany when the war is a flaring advertisement that we differ from them as widely as any nation well could differ from another!

As for that old story of "a combination with France and Russia to ruin Germany and to fall upon her unawares and crush her," this was from the first a part of Germany's intrigue to divide the nations of Europe so as more easily to conquer them.

The Germans' insolent admission as disclosed in the Premier's Cardiff speech that they desired to dominate Europe puts them in the wrong and the Allies in the right.

Lord Haldane's mistake was that he neither talked to the Germans as bullies should be talked to, nor did he understand that the British people wish not to cajole but to deal firmly with the enemies of their freedom. It was the false idea that Britain was afraid and the knowledge that Britain was unprepared that encouraged Germany to make this war.

Lord Haldane's way of tackling the Germans as he himself describes it has been foreign to the spirit of the British people. But now the British people mean to dispose of the German peril according to their own spirit and in their own way.

CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

## IN BELGIUM NOW

By M. EMILE CAMMAERTS

A Speech delivered at the London Pavilion, July 8

I AM very anxious, being a foreigner here, not to take any aggressive position about the question of compulsory national service. There is just one point which I would like to speak to you about. I read in a responsible English paper some time ago, that if we adopt compulsory service we have lost the war, because Germany is militarism and if we militarise, then it is no use waging the war. That was more or less the gist of that article. Well, my first remark about that is that it is not very kind towards the Allied nations who have adopted compulsory service. My second remark is this, That the writer of that article must think that the only difference between England and Germany, between people who respect their word and their honour and people who murder wholesale unarmed civilians, women and children—the only difference lies in one regulation—compulsory service. Well, if our virtue is so frail that it depends only on a small regulation, well really we ought not to boast so much of it and I am quite sure that it is not true.

But again I must say I don't want to take part in the discussion and I am here to speak of my country and to take this opportunity of thanking the British people once more for all that they have done for us Belgians and I want specially as I am here amongst women, to thank the English women for what they have done for us. When I was at the Front on a visit at Christmas, doctors said to me "Where should we be but for the English women?" And I want to repeat that to-day. Where should we be but for the English women?

### The importance of feeding the Belgian people

A very important thing which is being done at the present moment and which one is not able to forget, is the feeding of two million Belgians and that is perhaps more important than anything after the help given to the soldiers at the Front, because that is the most important of all, because those soldiers will reconquer the country; that is the first thing we must think of, but the other thing is to keep alive the people so that when the Germans are driven back, the country will not be depopulated. There were eight millions before the war and there are a little over a million refugees. Of course all of them will go back, but the great mass of the population is not the refugees. The great mass of the population is in Belgium. There are seven millions; there is the bulk of the population which must rebuild Belgium when the Germans are driven away. These people are threatened with famine. There are also about two millions of them who already are almost completely destitute and they are fed by the charity of England and America.

Now you wonder how this state of affairs happened; how it is possible that two million Belgians are destitute now. There is a report published in January last, written entirely by neutrals and this is the description they give of Belgium; that first of all there are no communications and no trade can be done without communications. Trains are only run for the Germans and it is only by special tolerance and special terms that the Belgians can go by train, can travel at all in that country. They must ask for passports from the Germans and that is the one thing that the Belgians do not like

that is asking for anything from the Germans. (Applause.) Rather than pass through the ordeal of doing that and applying for passports they prefer not to travel at all and remain at home.

There is no intercourse and no trade. With regard to the currency, nearly all the currency has been taken away. The banks have stopped payment and even the National Bank has stopped issuing any bank notes. There is no money left and practically one can say that trade has entirely stopped save for two things—clothes and food.

### "Rather than work for the Germans they prefer not to work at all"

If we turn to industry, what is the situation? The industry of Belgium was especially exports to foreign countries. Now the whole of Belgium is blocked. Only in one direction can they send exports and that is towards Germany and that is a help to the German army. The Belgians know that perfectly well and rather than work for the Germans they prefer not to work at all. Take the case of the miners for instance. The miners of Neuve Chapelle work three days every week and they strike three days, because they know that during these three first days they can produce enough for the local consumption of the country; if they work more than that it will be exports and they stop work. There are many examples, especially in the large towns especially of Liège, of masters refusing work from the Germans. I know one instance where the Germans knew that the master was not accepting any orders from them, so they managed to send the order from Holland, and the master of some iron-works at Liège was to receive an important order for Holland. Happily he found it out in time and refused to deliver the order. The Germans came to seize it, but he had foreseen that too and he had smashed the whole thing before they came. Of course it means starvation for them and that is why out of these seven million Belgians there are two millions completely destitute. That is one of the horrors.

With regard to agriculture, you must know first of all that two-thirds of the country, almost every village has been destroyed or partly destroyed and numbers of people are without homes in that way. Everywhere the neighbours take their neighbours who have lost their house, into their own house and the greatest hospitality is shown. There is no seed left and the Germans have gone so far as to requisition even the cows. A very great pro-German, of course you have heard his name, a Swedish explorer, Sven Hedin. Well, even he said that in his travels in Belgium each step showed what a calamity it is to have lost one's liberty and one wonders what one would feel oneself in the same circumstances. If that comes from a pro-German and a frantic pro-German, you can imagine what the reality is. Requisitions have been wholesale. The beast has turned into a vampire. They make us pay to the bitter end. The least little thing which can be used by them is at once taken advantage of. They hold us in a corner and so they suck our blood; they kill us by starvation.

### The German System of Requisition

I will give a few examples. There is an official report of the Chamber of Commerce in Antwerp, showing that the amount of requisition is up to now 34 millions and no limit has been fixed. That is for a big town. Let us take a small village. A writer in a Dutch paper writes about the situation in a little village called Middelkerke with 850 inhabitants. He saw in that village a poster saying that the people of the village had to provide the German troops within six weeks from now with 100 pigs and large quantities of wheat, straw, etc. How they were ever able to do it I do not know. Another Dutch paper speaks of the fines levied by the Germans.

Of course those fines are the greatest weapons in the German hands. They have started what they call courts. They know perfectly well that no Belgian magistrate would ever condemn a Belgian for not paying these fines, or not giving the requisitions demanded and so they have their own courts and they condemn wholesale.

In one town a fine of 50,000 francs was imposed because some posters which announced German

victories had been lacerated by some urchins in the streets.

Two little girls, for going out after 8 o'clock to fetch some milk, were fined 50 francs. The Germans make a lot of regulations and then upset them and devise new regulations. It takes the Belgians about half an hour every day to know what regulations are for that day. And each Belgian who forgets is fined 50 francs, and so on.

What must be the state of mind of people who have been harassed in that way, who have not only had the terrible sufferings of an invasion, but of seeing the peak helmets in their streets, which you do not realise at all. What would be your feelings if you saw peak helmets parading round Trafalgar Square, for instance? That is exactly what we feel when we see them parading in the Grande Place in Brussels.

Besides all those sufferings, besides Dinant, Louvain and so on besides all that, there is the fact that you must keep alive the people. People have given their money for charity and they have been splendid in that way. Almost the richest man in Belgium has given three-quarters of his fortune to his poor compatriots. (Applause.)

You would think that after all that, there would be some depression and some despair. We are waiting for the Allies since August last. In the first days of August the news that the English were coming was already spread about in Brussels. All that time they have been waiting and waiting and are not discouraged in spite of the false news spread about by the Germans that the Allies will never reconquer Belgium and the Belgians will be left in the lurch and when it suits them, England and France will betray them and leave them.

In spite of all that, they trust you and trust France and trust the Allies. (Applause.)

### The Germans cannot conciliate the Belgian people

I have told you of the resistance, of the attitude of the workmen. I should also like to tell you of the attitude of certain people in Belgium and really again here, the people have shown themselves splendid. Since the occupation of Brussels, for instance, the Germans have tried to conciliate the people. They have shown what a strong hand they can have and so they say, "If you will be very nice, we will show you what a soft hand we can have." A German musician came over, but he was not applauded and no one turned up at the concert. He could not understand how that happened. The same thing always occurs, when German officers are in a tramcar there is always a place on the left and a place on the right because no one will sit beside a German officer.

There is a young girl, almost a child, sixteen years of age, of whom I should like to speak to-day. That is the young countess Helene d'Ardey, who was looking at a portrait of King Albert. A German officer sneered and said, "Your king is without a country." She said, "I prefer to have a king without a country, rather than an Emperor without honour." That child has been condemned to three months' imprisonment and her old mother has been condemned to four months' imprisonment and sent to Aix-la-Chapelle. The same thing has happened to the wife of our Minister of Justice, who has also been sent to Germany, simply because she received letters from her husband who is at the Hague and so on. All those we do know of have big names, but we do not know those of the small names. Just a few words and then if I may I should like to read you a short poem of mine translated and it is also about a woman, a young peasant, who was in a small farm quite close to the trenches. The house had been shelled already and many efforts had been made to take these people away. She lived alone with her old father and when I passed before the farm as all that region is devastated, I was very much astonished to hear some one singing and I said to the person who accompanied me, "Is there anybody there?" And he explained that in spite of all efforts these people would not leave. The girl was always singing. I tried to imagine what she was singing and that is what I have written in the poem. (Applause.)

Mrs. PANKHURST: We thank M. Cammaerts and we want to tell him that we will remember the feelings of our Allies and of Belgium and we will not rest, we women, we will be strong and will support our men in being strong and go on with this fight until it is over, until Germany is crushed and made helpless to do these wrong things again.

# RUSSIA'S WAR OF LIBERATION

## THE SCOURGE OF GERMANISM

### Russia fights to be free of it

ONE of the most important books that have appeared during the war is "Russia and Democracy, the German Canker in Russia,"\* by Mr. de Wesselitsky, President of the Foreign Press Association in London.

The Central Committee for National Patriotic Organisations is responsible for the appearance of the book and is to be thanked and congratulated for having rendered so great a public service.

The book costs one shilling. Everybody should read it.

It illuminates in a remarkable way the fact that, whereas the Germans for their own advantage have sought to prejudice Europe against Russia by pointing to bureaucratic oppression of the Russian people, yet they the Germans are themselves responsible for that oppression.

An arresting sentence in the book is this:

Russia after having been in strict striking contrast with Western Europe, from time immemorial a democracy began in the fifteenth century to resemble in political institution and social organisation West-European countries.

Russia has suffered cruelly from the fact that when Peter the Great opened the window to the West, the country that met the eye was Prussia. The German influence has been Russia's curse.

The Germans, indeed, came to form the dominant caste in Russia and regarded themselves as having an inherent right to rule over the Russian people as though over a subject race.

Ruled by the Germans, the Russian Empire was practically a Germanic power, whose forces were principally employed to serve Germany and Germanism. And the German yoke proved to be harder and more deeply harmful than the Mongol.

Certain persons may be interested to know that the German favourite Biron, to whom the Empress Anna entrusted absolute power, "introduced a régime of terror against all Russians suspected of disliking German rule. He

\* Published by William Heinemann. 1s.

created a special inquisition, invented torture and was the first to make extensive use of banishment to Siberia."

In the reign of Catherine the Great municipal self-government was given to the larger cities and a commission for the framing of laws was convened; an assembly elected in the whole Empire in which all classes were represented. This met in 1767, twenty-two years earlier than the French States-General convened by Louis XVI. But German influence was strong enough to check this movement of progress. It was strong enough also to induce Catherine to listen to Frederick of Prussia's proposals concerning Poland and to procure her consent to its partition. When she died German influence in Russia became stronger than ever.

In the earliest years of his reign Alexander I. was determined to grant a most liberal constitution to Russia, but unfortunately:

"Early wars for the sake of his German friends, his absorbing interest in Prussia and the influence of his German advisers deterred him from giving a practical shape to the constitution."

After Napoleon's invasion of Russia in 1812 and the brave resistance of the Russian people

it was generally expected that Alexander's chief care would be to reward the Russian people for their sacrifices by granting them at last the free institution he had been preparing for them as well as by devoting all his thoughts to the welfare of Russia. Unfortunately he was again diverted from it by his solicitude for the cause of Germany and especially of Prussia; and his German friends and advisers made every effort to dissuade him from applying his liberal principles to Russia.

His successor Nicholas I. "influenced by German ways of thinking and by his admiration for the Prussian State, considered that his chief task was to give Russia the solid Prussian organisation with Prussian rigid discipline and systematic order."

The only effect of this attempt was to regularise and morally Germanise the St. Petersburg bureaucracy, rendering it much more oppressive.

Philo-Slavism was strong in the reign of Nicholas I. Philo-Slavism, the fraternal love of the Slav for all other Slavs and desire for their liberation, is, as Mr. de Wesselitsky points out, entirely different from pan-Germanism which is in effect the desire of the German nation to dominate the rest of the world.

Of Alexander II. the author says:

He would have made an ideal Russian ruler had he not also had the unfortunate trait of both his predecessors, the belief in the superior civilising mission of Germany and the trust in the friendship of the Hohenzollerns.

Certain so-called Liberals and Socialists have so strangely made it their business to espouse the cause of Hohenzollernised Germany, but they have never expressed an opinion upon the strange fact that whereas the Russian Emperor Alexander II. emancipated the serfs, an enormous body numbering 43,000,000, no Hohenzollern has ever done anything for the people of his country comparable to this great act of liberation.

As the result of German influence in this and other forms, Russia's attitude toward Prussia's three wars of the nineteenth century was as deplorable as was the attitude of the British Government during the same period.

The aggrandisement of Prussia by means of these three wars created an evil deadly to Europe and only to be eradicated by the success of the Allies in this present war. Yet both Russia and Britain were blind to this fact and hypnotised, as it were by Bismarck, became by inaction his accomplices.

Bismarck in 1875 seeing the rapid recovery of France after the war of 1870-1 decided to strike a new and more crushing blow. This time Russia and Great Britain were a little wiser and both urged the abandonment of Bismarck's plan of aggression. Then, says the author, struck by the wholly unexpected concurrence of England and Russia he resolved to prevent a repetition of it in future by pushing Russia into a war which would at once weaken her and place her in opposition with England. He caused the stirring up of an insurrection in Herzegovina; Bosnia followed suit and a year later Serbia and Montenegro joined the brethren of their race. Bismarck then advised the Russian Government to go to war in the interests of her Slav brethren and this advice was acted upon. Meanwhile Bismarck was intriguing to Russia's disadvantage in Austria and in England.

At the Berlin Congress which followed the war Bismarck "arranged everything in the best way for Germany," with the result that Russia, considerably weakened and exhausted, could not dispute German pre-eminence in Europe.

In the year 1885 Bismarck secured the alliance of the three Emperors of Austria, Russia and Germany and then used his influence in the alliance to attempt to embroil Russia with England.

The author affirms that he has private knowledge that Bismarck was at that time trying to secure another war in Europe which would have enabled further Prussian aggrandisement. Certainly this fits in with the circumstance so often referred to by leaders of the Union of Disloyal Cranks (otherwise known as the Union of Democratic Control) that a statement appeared about that time in certain British newspapers, affirming it to be not perhaps after all the duty of this country to go to the armed defence of Belgium should she be invaded. Evidently Bismarck inspired that statement as part of his plan for another war of robbery. However, Alexander III., his suspicions aroused at last, broke through the Bismarckian net and concluded an alliance with France. Says the author:

Those only who realise the strength and subtlety of the German influences at the Russian Court and in the Russian Government, could duly appreciate the greatness of Alexander III.'s achievement. . . . The Germans and the Germany: serving elements in Russia bowed down to the inevitable hoping to paralyse the new policy in execution and gradually to restrict its scope and significance.

We know—do we not!—how strenuous are the efforts that were made down to the beginning of the present war to create misunderstandings between France and Russia and to destroy the Triple Entente between those two countries and our own. The moving spirits of the U.D.C. have been particularly zealous in their assaults upon and their intrigues against the Entente, now happily transformed into an Alliance.

The reign of the present Emperor of Russia will be famous above all things for the uprising of the Russians, from the Emperor to the Peasant, against German influence which for two hundred years has lain like a curse upon the country and eaten into it like a canker.

Mr. de Wesselitsky shows how Germany intrigued to bring about the war between Russia and Japan; advantage being taken of the temporary military exhaustion of Russia at the close of that war to force a Russo-German treaty of commerce which—as he points out—has had the effect of compelling the Russian people to pay a gigantic tribute to Germany. This passage is important.

Moreover Germany began just before the conclusion of the peace of Portsmouth, a diplomatic campaign against France and as is known to the writer from the best German sources contemplated sending an ultimatum to Russia asking if she intended to maintain her alliance with France, in which case Germany "to her sincere regret" would be obliged by military considerations to direct her main forces first of all against the Russian frontier.

In preparation for the present war Germany engineered a new peaceful invasion of Russia's border provinces.

An attempt was made to secure legislation providing a safeguard against such invasion. But the Bill never came up for discussion in the Duma and was eventually withdrawn.

So great was the German influence with every party in the Russian Parliament as well as with the Government. . . . This war and the voice of the Press compelled the bureaucrats to undertake the framing of a new bill against the passage of land and property into German hands. The accounts of it given in the newspapers show however how ineffective it was.

We come now to a question dealt with in the book which is of the most vital and direct importance to us as well as to Russia. The author says:

But it is not only to help a military invasion that the German Government was directing the scheme of immigration towards Russia. A deeper plan has been revealed to us by pan-German writers. To take one out of many Karl Jentsch advised in 1905 a systematic buying up by German syndicates of large estates of Russian nobles, as well as of the peasants' communal land. The syndicates were to re-sell their acquisitions to "skilful and intelligent German farmers who would scientifically cultivate them with cheap Russian labour."

Now the whole trend of affairs in Russia in so far as they are directed by Russians is for the soil to be owned by those who work it—by peasant proprietors. But as disclosed in the words quoted above, the German plan is for syndicates or large proprietors of foreign—namely German nationality, to exploit the land of Russia and the people of Russia.

Karl Jentsch said further:

Then German tradesmen would settle in small towns and make them prosperous centres of German culture. Manufacturers would follow and found great factories utilising on a large scale cheap Russian labour.

More exploitation and a form of industrial slavery for Russians such as they would never impose upon themselves!

And the Jentsch revelation is pursued:

The vast territory the Russians are unable to cultivate themselves would receive its full value and the regenerated Russia would form an appendage to the Central European agglomeration of States directed by Germany.

So that is the programme which certain British Socialists would like to see carried out at the expense of the people in Russia!

Substitute for the word Russia the word Britain and the following passage by our author would apply to our own case:

Encouraged by the amazing placidity of the Russian Government, as well as of the Duma, the Germans have been gaining ground in Russia with every year. A new and powerful impulse was given by the passing in the Reichstag in 1911 of the Bill "on the Conservation of the German Nationality" completed in 1913 by another Bill "on the double subjectation" which permitted the recovery of that Nationality by all descendants of former German subjects by means of a private declaration to a German Consul!

The author reminds us that in an article entitled the "Juridical Status of Germans who

are British Subjects" Herr Strupp, a lecturer on International law and a recognised authority in Germany on that matter, has asserted:

If a German is also a British subject that circumstance has no influence on his rights and duties as a German subject. Such an Englishman is bound to fulfil his military duty in the German army; he cannot evade paying German military taxes. In return for that he enjoys the fullness of the rights of a German subject.

Will our Government therefore please take notice that the naturalised Germans in Government Departments and in the world of finance and notably in the City of London, German professors and other Germans in responsible positions are German subjects having the rights and duties of German subjects.

No wonder we have found so much difficulty in putting forward a maximum effort for our defence!

To de-Germanise their country; that is the Russians' object in this present war and will be their object until the task is completed.

Says Mr. de Wesselitsky:

However important that matter is for all States with Teuton subjects and it seems to become very prominent in the United States just now, it nowhere could attain the importance it has in Russia, where the Germans have in the last two centuries been the ruling race, where their influence still permeates the whole administration of the State as well as that of most of the great financial and industrial companies.

German influence in Russia is dying hard, though we wonder whether it could die much harder than it does with us.

We are told:

To defeat the German armies, to break the power of Germany is comparatively an easier task than to pull out the innumerable fangs of Germanism, which have systematically fastened themselves into Russia like the tentacles of an octopus clutching its intended prey.

The author tells us of the

more or less disguised resistance which the intentions of the Government warmly supported by public opinion are meeting with on the part of certain bureaucratic, financial, commercial and other circles whose interests have become dependent on the continuation of the German influence.

He continues:

Russia can be de-Germanised only by the determined, unrelenting, systematic action of the Government; and an energetic organised concurrence of all Russian citizens.

The complete de-Germanisation of Russia is the only efficient safeguard against the return of the German influence which would endanger not only the national independence of Russia, but also that of all Europe.

And so say all of us! While we admire and rejoice in the courage with which Russia is fighting to save her soul from the corruption of Germanism, we must not be content to applaud and to admire. It is for us to apply ourselves to the same task and with the same courage, the same determination, to carry it through on the battlefield and in our civil life.

The British people no less than the Russian people are fighting for possession of their souls. They are fighting against the despotism of the Hohenzollerns; they are fighting against the de-spiritualised Kultur, the colossal materialism that prevails in Germany and threatens unless our efforts prevent this to spread over the whole face of the world.

WEEKLY WAR SERVICE MEETING, London Pavilion, Piccadilly, W., Thursday, July 22, at 3 p.m.

## IS HE WORKING FOR GERMANY?

An Enquiry into Norman Angell's Strange Proceedings

By CHRISTABEL PANKHURST

**T**HIS week we propose to investigate the peculiar proceedings of Mr. Norman Angell on the eve of the war and since.

But first let us notice that Mr. Norman Angell has now been publicly hall-marked, or to say more truly branded, by Germany as a qualified exponent of the question of the present war. A certain R. L. Orchelle lately wrote to the editor of *Harper's Weekly* a letter reproduced with approval in the *Continental Times*, which is a newspaper in the English language published in Berlin under the auspices of the German Government. The letter urges that *Harper's Weekly* give to the American public articles on the war written by Norman Angell!

A few days before Great Britain declared war, namely on July 31, 1914, Mr. Norman Angell wrote a letter to the *Times* (it appeared in that newspaper on August 1).

Had this letter been written at the German Embassy at the dictation of Councillor Kuhlmann himself, it is not possible to imagine wherein it would have been changed. There was the usual made in Germany, anti-Russian argument and a reference to a Germany highly "civilised" and mainly given over to the arts of trade and commerce, whereby Mr. Norman Angell, as it were, offered to become a surety for Germany's good behaviour. He repudiated the idea that Germany would attempt the absorption of Belgium, begging the public to consider what trouble Germany would thereby pile up for herself!

"Such is the intention with which the Kaiser began this War!"

He repudiated the idea that "if we allowed Germany to become victorious she would be so powerful as to threaten our existence by the occupation of Belgium, Holland and possibly the north of France." Yet subsequent acts committed by Germany and statements made in Germany have sufficiently shown that such is the intention with which the Kaiser began this war!

For purposes of comparison we print side by side words taken from Mr. Norman Angell's letter and words taken from the statement issued from the German Embassy by Baron Kuhlmann, Councillor of the German Embassy.

MR. NORMAN ANGELL'S COUNCILLOR KUHL-  
WORDS. MANN'S WORDS.

We are asked to The maintenance of intervene in the con- British neutrality tinential war because would in no way injure unless we do so we France, but on the shall be isolated. The contrary it might be isolation which will argued that by remain- result if we keep out ing neutral Great of this war is that Britain would give while other nations are France exactly as torn and weakened by much strategic assist- war, we shall not be ance and a good deal and by that fact might more effective diplo- conceivably for a long matic help. That time be the strongest England as a neutral Power in Europe and Power maintaining an

by virtue of our armed neutrality would strength and isolation diplomatically be a an arbiter perhaps to greater asset for useful ends. We can France for the termi- best serve civilisation nation of hostilities at and Europe, including an earlier moment than France and ourselves, if herself involved in by remaining the one war is self evident. Power in Europe that has not yielded to the war madness.

Since the outbreak of the war Mr. Norman Angell has founded the Union of Democratic Control—the Union of Disloyal Cranks, as we prefer to call it—whose attempt has been to prevent British unity and to damp British enthusiasm and so hinder the prosecution of the war against Germany. Its further purpose is to prevent what is described as the humiliation of Germany—in other words, to secure a compromise the result of which, the Kaiser has warned us in a recently published letter, would be another war later on in order to secure further gains for Germany.

Mr. Norman Angell making mischief in America

And now Mr. Norman Angell has gone to America and is making mischief there. Certainly he has never pretended to any patriotism or any love for his country. All the same the article which he has just contributed to the *North American Review* is amazing even to those who had expected least of him. Its title is "America and the Neutralisation of the Sea."

In this article he frankly abandons all the jargon and all the argumentation of the "Great Illusion." He seemed entirely to have forgotten or shall we say he finds no further use for, the contention upon which he based the "Great Illusion" — "that military power gives a nation no commercial advantage and that it is an economic impossibility for one nation to seize or destroy the wealth of another; or for one nation to enrich itself by subjugating another."

The article is nothing more nor less than an attempt to make bad blood between America and Great Britain, the country to which he claims more or less vaguely to belong.

He sets out by making the statement that

A bitter feeling has grown up in England owing to the impression that owing to the interests of a trade in copper or cotton America oblivious to all other considerations is or was prepared to enforce her point of view even to the extent of ranging herself on the side of England's enemies.

Some criticisms of America's policy there have been, but certainly into no responsible British head has the idea entered that America would go to war on the side of Germany and against ourselves!

Great Britain and her Sea-power

After this interesting effort to create an atmosphere of prejudice and ill-will Mr. Norman Angell proceeds to say that there will be "an irresistible movement in America for the neutralisation of the high seas or failing that their domination by the American navy."

Now according to all the theories preached in the "Great Illusion" and by all the Norman Angell Leagues, America if it were true that

she desired her navy should dominate the high seas would be altogether misguided! Yet strange to say Mr. Norman Angell seems to think this alleged desire quite natural.

He takes no account of the fact that America is a great continental Power possessed of an enormous wealth in natural resources, whereas the British Empire is scattered over the seas and has at its heart these Islands whose population is dependent upon food supplies coming over the water.

For the United States and, as this war shows, for Germany, sea-power is not of the life and death importance for their population that sea-power is for Great Britain.

As to the neutralisation of the high seas, the case of Belgium has taught us what neutralisation of land is worth and the neutralisation of the seas would be worth still less—*except to Germany* who as history warns us would use the "neutralisation" of the seas as a trick to secure her own supremacy at sea. Belgium and her Allies are paying a cruel price for having trusted to a neutralisation treaty. Let us take warning from that.

Mr. Norman Angell informs us that the movement for neutralising the high seas or failing that their domination by the American navy "will be backed by a most formidable combination of patriotic sentiment and commercial and industrial interests and will raise the fundamental problem of English national policy."

This is rank Germanism. The "patriotic sentiment" will be German-American patriotic sentiment which means German patriotic sentiment. The commercial and industrial interests to which he refers will be German-American, or let us frankly say German commercial and industrial interests. As for "the fundamental problem of English national policy," the Germans are raising that now in Europe.

Mr. Norman Angell is in America evidently with the idea of preparing to raise it there after the Allies have defeated Germany in battle.

How does Mr. Norman Angell know?

Then, says he, obviously gloating over his words:

England will be confronted by the demand for the limitation of a power round the preservation of which has centered her deepest national pride and upon which she has learned to believe her security as a nation and empire depends.

He continues:

The English public are likely in consequence to be presented with these demands which they will think unwarrantable and preposterous and on no account to be granted.

And yet America will not withdraw them. Such a situation is always dangerous.

Now, how does Mr. Norman Angell know that America will either make these demands, or having made them refuse to withdraw them?

The answer to that question is that the German-Americans have told him so. For the policy he indicates is not American. It is German-American. It is the policy which the German-Americans hope and Mr. Norman Angell expects—shall we say also hopes—they may be able to enforce upon the real American people and their Government.

(Continued on page 219.)

## IS HE WORKING FOR GERMANY?

(Continued.)

Mr. Angell pretends that the American trader is so ignorant as not to know what are the obstacles to trading between neutrals and belligerents that may arise in time of war.

His pretence is utterly false because we know and Americans know what happened in their own Civil War. Only the other day the *New York Times* published a history of the Civil War in which these words appear:

The Confederacy was not shot to death. It was strangled to death. What killed it was the United States Navy. The territory of the South was in a military sense almost unlimited and unassailable. Its defensive position was an answer to the North's numerical superiority. Its defenders as soldiers were at least the equals of those who attacked it. It fell because it could not get food, clothing, ammunition, rolling stock, money. It was the navy that prevented it from getting these things.

No one but a spokesman of the Kaiser could possibly therefore contend that Americans do not know what their own Navy has done in the past and what the British Navy by the same token has a right to do at the present day.

Now take these significant and interesting words which reveal more than is intended:

It is probable that very many Americans themselves do not realise clearly how this dispute is developing and how the United States will be pushed to take a stand for a profound alteration of the entire maritime situation.

"In the interests of lawless Germany"

In other words there are some genuine Americans who understand that the Allies are fighting for civilisation and for human liberty, are fighting moreover in the special material and spiritual interests of the United States and yet do not realise clearly that the German-American party in their midst is organising and mobilising with a view to compelling the United States Government to urge a change in the maritime situation perhaps not ostensibly, but really and in truth in the interests of lawless Germany.

In truly German fashion Mr. Angell tries to excite prejudice by importing the question of Japan into his argument picturing

a possible future Russo-Japanese or Sino-Japanese war in which as part of the blockade of Russian or Chinese coasts, an American ship moving between two American ports might be searched, detained and its cargo confiscated on the ground that its manifest was fraudulent. Such judgment of a Japanese Court could only be challenged by a defiance of international law.

Then comes a further "warning"—or shall we say a threat?

The demand for an enormously increased American fleet, a fleet which will be larger than the British, has already influential backing and if the German fleet at the end of this war is reduced or destroyed and definitely put out of reckoning, Britain's real naval competitor will then become the United States.

How strangely all this accords with the pacifism of Mr. Norman Angell of the days before the Great War! Some new "inspiration" seems to be at work upon him! Indeed what is the difference between Mr. Norman Angell's present writings and the German cry heard in the United States for months past of, "British navalism!"—a cry which has however influenced none save the German-Americans themselves and has not hidden from the eyes of the real America the truth that "the enemy is the Prussian" and that Britain and her Allies are fighting for the freedom of the world on sea and land.

## THE GERMAN PERIL

To-day, as they were two thousand years ago, the Germans are a menace to civilisation

Passages from an address delivered by M. CAMILLE FLAMMARION the famous astronomer to the Assemblée Générale de la Société Astronomique de France.

**T**HOSE who imagine that the dominating ambition of the Germans began with Bismarck or even with Frederick II. are mistaken. This ambition to dominate is in their very nature in their blood and in their character and manifested itself in them from the time of their origin.

The historian VELLEIUS PATERCULUS depicts the Germans as follows:

They are born liars, combining trickery with ferocity to a point which one cannot believe until one has had experience of it. They thus hoodwinked Varus, by a perfidious scheme deceiving his unsuspectingness knowing that the man whom it is the easiest to take by surprise is he who suspects nothing.

Would not one think that one was reading the newspapers of 1914!

This judgment is not of yesterday, for Velleius Paterculus was a contemporary of Jesus Christ and died in the thirty-first year of our era, Christ dying at the age of 33 in the year 37.

There, then, is the opinion that people already had of the Germans nineteen hundred years ago.

Fifty years earlier than the author from whom I have just quoted, JULIUS CÆSAR wrote in his *Commentaries*:

The Germans crossed the Rhine at first to the number of about fifteen thousand. The lands, the manner of living and the riches of the Gauls having had a strong attraction for these *ferce and barbarous men*, more of them came and there were then one hundred and twenty thousand of them in Gaul. The Aedui were defeated by them and were obliged to give them hostages.

But worse things happened to the Sequani than to the defeated Aedui for the chief of the Germans Ariovistus, having established himself in their land first of all had appropriated to himself a third of their land, the best that the Gauls had and now ordered them to evacuate another third because twenty-four thousand Harudes had just joined him and needed land. The Gauls were threatened with being entirely driven out of Gaul. Ariovistus exercised his power with insolence and barbarity, taking as hostages children of the nobility and delivering them up to every kind of torture if, at the least sign from him, everything was not done as he desired. These fierce and barbarous men wanted to invade the whole of Gaul and became a menace to Italy. (*Commentaries, Book 1, Chapter 7.*)

One sees that in the time of Julius Cæsar these arrogant invaders were the same as they are to-day. They were the jealous and envious rivals of the proud and happy Gauls; and if Vercingetorix and the whole of Gaul were defeated by the Romans at Alesia it was the Germans who brought on the defeat.

Let us read now what the philosopher SENECA has to say:

The Rhine flows between the Roman world and its enemies. It separates from us the German race always greedy for war.

TACITUS wrote:

The Germans call themselves men of war and this name was invented by them in order to terrify. They prefer enemies and wounds to working and awaiting the harvest and acquiring in the sweat of their brow what they can gain by fighting for it.

And STRABO said:

The Germans differ from the Gauls in that they are taller, more blonde and more ferocious.

Moreover the very name "German" means men of war: Ger-man; and the French word *Guerre* is of Germanic origin derived from *Guerra* and *werra* from the German *Wehr*.

Without possibility of contradiction the Germans are the greatest men of war on the planet. But that gives them no title to the admiration of an honest man a *savant*, a poet, an artist, or a thinker.

Do we find that they in any way reformed in the course of centuries, with the social transformations of Europe and under the influence of religion? No. Never.

Here is what we read in the historian of Saint Louis FROISSART:

Neither the custom nor the courtesy of the Germans is good. For they have neither pity nor mercy on any gentlemen who fall into their hands as prisoners, but they take from them all their money and moreover they put them in irons and keep them in the narrowest prisons that they can in order to extort from them a bigger ransom. Germans are very covetous. The great ardour of their covetousness deprives them of all knowledge of what honour means.

Theft, cupidity, pillage were their dominant passion yesterday as to-day.

Thus all the facts unite to establish that this race is by its very blood the redoubtable enemy of peaceful civilisation.

The present war is a continuation of the struggle of the civilised peoples against the barbarians which began more than two thousand years ago. . . .

This recognition of a radical difference between the German mentality and our own, fills me I confess with a profound feeling of sadness, for until this day I for my part had regarded humanity with the eyes of an astronomer, of an international pacifist for whom frontiers do not exist and I saw in the human race an immense family enlightened by the sun of liberty. Pan-Germanism whose ambition is to render this family the slave of German domination, obliges us to make a sad restriction which narrows our fraternal generalisation. We have there for all thinkers a veritable reason for grief. . . .

In the midst of the grave events through which we are passing none of us can abstain from protesting against Germany's interference with the harmonious progress of modern civilisation.

Imperfect as it is our planet offers to our thought two classes of beings very distinct; the civilised and the barbarous. Since the last-named seek to dominate us, we must all be resolutely united against the Germanic menace—all, not only the descendants of the Greeks and the Latins, not only the French, not only the political Triple Entente but also it seems to me THE WHOLE OF HUMANITY.

Before the violation of international treaties, before the acts of wild beasts, before savages and tyrants one cannot understand either silent indifference, or the political interests of personal ambition, or commercial venality.

It is the war of spirit against matter, the war of feeling against brute force, the affirmation of thought at last inaugurating upon our planet the reign of Right, of Justice, of Liberty.

The year 1915 will mark a decisive hour in the history of humanity.

We hope to give further passages in a subsequent issue.

A VOICE IN THE DESERT

A hundred yards from the trenches, Close to the battle front, There stands a little house Lonely and desolate. Not a man, not a bird, not a dog, not a cat, Only a flight of crows along the railway line, The sound of our boots on the muddy road And, along the Yser, the twinkling fires.

A low thatched cottage With doors and shutters closed, The roof torn by a shell, Standing out of the floods alone.

Not a cry, not a sound, not a life, not a mouse, Only the stillness of the great graveyards, Only the crosses—the crooked wooden crosses— On the wide lonely plain.

A cottage showing grey Against a cold, black sky, Blind and deaf in the breeze Of the dying day, And the sound of our footsteps slipping On the stones as we go by.

Suddenly, on the silent air, Warm and clear, pure and sweet As sunshine upon golden moss, Strong and tender as a prayer, Through the roof a girl's voice rang And the cottage sang!

"When the sap begins to spring— Red willows, catkins grey— When the sap begins to spring The cock will greet the day.

"The cow will sound her horn— Gold straw and sunny shed— So loud she'll low that morn That she will wake the dead.

"Our hammers then will clash— Strong arms and naked breast— Saws whirr and forges flash And sparkle without rest.

"Each church will ope its door— Pervyse, Ypres and Nieuport— And with strong clanging bell Thunder the Germans' knell.

"Then will our trowels ring— Dixmude and Ramscapelle— And shouts and laughter swell And busy pickaxe swing.

"Our boats will glide along— Black tar and seagulls white— We'll hear the skylarks' song Above our rivers bright.

"And then our graves will bloom— Dance, tomtits, on the sod— And then our graves will bloom Beneath the sun of God."

Not a breath, not a sound, not a soul, Only the crosses, the crooked wooden crosses.

"Come, 'tis getting late. 'Tis but a peasant girl With her father, living there. They will not go away, Nothing will make them yield. They will die, they say, Sooner than leave their field."

Not a breath, not a life, not a soul, Only a flight of crows along the railway line, The sound of our boots on the muddy road, And, along the Yser, the twinkling fires.

THE W.S.P.U. WAR POLICY

The opinion of M. JEAN CRUPPI, the French Deputy

M. JEAN CRUPPI, French Deputy and formerly a member of the French Government, has recently spent some time in London and in a series of articles appearing in the Matin has given his impressions to the French public. In the course of one of his articles appears the following passage:

"A young woman is selling the newspaper the SUFFRAGETTE and there is hardly a 'Tommy' who passes without buying it. Is it a question now of votes for women? No, those who yesterday fought for the suffrage have only one flag to-day, that of Britain at war.

"The women of Great Britain are showing the same spirit as the Italian women and the French women. They send their men to the Front and are ready to die there themselves. In the trenches of civil life, in this country as in our own they are sublime.

"Yesterday Mrs. Pankhurst and her daughter Christabel pursue their admirable patriotic campaign. They are listened to; they are followed. The Times, which is not so far as I know a champion of their suffrage claims, throws light upon their present magnificent effort.

"Moreover these violent Suffragettes are women of the first quality, appreciated and upheld by their own party even in the critical hours of their militant agitation. They are the daughters, but more prompt to action than their mothers, of those authoresses whose value and future importance Taine, hardly to be suspected of partiality saw and appreciated fifty years ago.

"The women of England and of France are playing an immense part in this conflict. They give examples of courage, patience and sacrifice which surpass the finest models of antiquity.

"Also it must be admitted that in the great war they are gaining their stripes and it is perhaps at the very moment when they seem to neglect their social and political claims, that they are owing to their heroism nearest to ensuring their success."

IN MEMORIAM

The deepest sympathy is felt by all W.S.P.U. members for Mrs. Kerwood in the death of her son, Lieut. Phillip Malcolm Kerwood, of the 8th Worcesters, who has been killed in action in Flanders.

Lieut. Kerwood, who was born on November 4, 1890, was a graduate of London University where he gained his LL.B. degree with honours in 1913. His name had been sent in for promotion only the day before his death.

Among the letters telling of his death was one from Captain S. H. Clark who said: "He was killed instantly and doing his duty nobly under dangerous circumstances."

Sergeant Davis said: "I am sorry to tell you that we have lost our officer Mr. Kerwood. If ever a man earned the V.C. it was he, for he gave his life for us and saved our lines from falling. I shall never forget it; it makes one proud to think that he belonged to the Worcesters."

CREPE DE CHINE BLOUSE COATS. Copied from an Exclusive Paris Model, and made by our own highly skilled workers. Holiday Blouse Coat, in rich heavy crepe de chine, to slip over the head. In black, white and colours. Price 29/6. Similar coat in lighter weight crepe de chine, price 21/9. DEBENHAM & FREEBODY, Wigmore Street, London, W.

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THE SISTER REPUBLICS

American Love and Reverence for France

Many French Ministers at "Fourth of July" gathering receive convincing proof of American "neutrality," whose whole sympathies are with France.

UNDER this heading the New York Herald in its Paris edition describes this year's annual ceremony of placing the Stars and Stripes on Lafayette's tomb and the annual banquet held by Americans in Paris in honour of Independence Day and adds:

The impressive note of the occasion was that instead of singing the praises of their own country, as is the traditional way of celebrating Independence Day, the Americans of Paris almost left their native land out of the reckoning for the evening, to unite in a spontaneous expression of affection for and belief in, the Republic of France.

Cabinet strongly represented

It was a happy thought that led those in charge of the dinner to urge an unusually large representation from the French Cabinet to be present and a gracious act on the part of the latter to come in such a body. It was, then, a banquet of neutrals, but of neutrals whose sympathies were un concealed and whose usual Fourth of July effervescence was modified by the circumstances of the hour—a gathering sobered and dignified by the shadow of a great war.

The existence of the war was moreover brought right into the banquet hall by the presence of several American volunteers in the uniform of the Foreign Legion and of hospital workers, dressed in sombre khaki.

"How admirable the civilians of France!"

"Our admiration goes out, above all, to the Women"

France fights for the liberty of the World

Mr. M. P. Peixotto, president of the American Chamber of Commerce, said:

"The manner in which France has concentrated all her energies has compelled our admiration. In comparison with this gigantic struggle, in which ten million men are at grips, what was that between the few thousand patriots, badly trained, badly armed, gathered by Washington and the mercenaries commanded by Cornwallis?"

"Because France believed in peace this gigantic struggle took her by surprise. In less than no time she was equal to it. Others with more authority than I have glorified and will glorify the military genius of the French leaders and the sublime heroism of the French soldier. I will speak of what I have seen for myself in saying how admirable were the civil population."

"The French nation has given proof of a strength of mind unequalled in the history of peoples. What serenity during the dark days at the beginning of the war! What calm in victory! What self-sacrifice was shown by everyone in neglecting private interests for the general good! What courage in supporting the abrupt stoppage of economic life and the subsequent inconvenience suffered by rich and poor!"

"Our tribute of admiration goes above all to the Frenchwoman. With what stoicism have the mothers offered their sons to the country!"

"I also wish to render homage to the devotion with which all women, of all ages, of all classes, have lavished their care on the wounded."

"I wish to render homage to the active charity with which those who do not want

devote their time and money to the carrying on of workshops where the needy can earn their bread and what is not less important, can preserve the habit and the taste for work.

"France is fighting to-day," he added, "for the liberty of the world. She is not struggling for her existence, which, thank God, was only threatened in the first month. She is fighting for civilisation."

"The president of the American Chamber of Commerce in Paris has the duty of considering the economic revival which will follow victory. In the name of all his colleagues his duty is to salute the magnificent future reserved for France industry."

"A people which in the war has performed miracles of improvisation will be able in times of peace to bring her industrial and commercial power to an unprecedented point. That is the wish of the whole of American commerce."

"Just as French culture and French art are necessary for the progress of civilisation, so are the taste and quality of French production indispensable to the world's markets."

"It seemed necessary to my colleagues of the Chamber of Commerce and to myself emphatically to assert our sympathy, to express our absolute confidence in your final success and to say that you would have our effective assistance in case of need."

This noble and beautiful France, who gazes fixedly at the sky while she bleeds from every limb

Professor J. Mark Baldwin, corresponding member of the Institut de France, in an address which aroused considerable enthusiasm, spoke of the glorious examples which the war had raised up to stir the soul of every patriot. First and foremost stood King Albert, every inch a king.

Was there in all history a higher inspiration than his fidelity to his plighted word, his cold disdain for shameful proposals and his resistance to their execution? There was also the august figure of England, their Mother-Country—more august than ever.

Great Britain stood up and cast the mantle of her protection over a weaker State that had fallen under the blows of its perfidious protector.

There arose a different figure, which par-took of the mystic, the legendary and the poetic, but was also human, military and powerful—militant France symbolised in the image of Joan of Arc.

France was to-day the centre of the world and the supreme source of individual inspiration. The factors of this inspiration were still obscure, but the fact remained that France was now the noblest example in the world.

The French had shown, during the struggle of the past year, qualities of body and soul, physical courage allied to moral force and a ponderation of mind moved by patriotic exaltation—qualities that showed the right of the Frenchman to wear the image and invoke the name of his patron saint, Joan of Arc.

This magnificent development of character, made of the purest gold from the innermost depths of the national and individual personality, had been called the miracle of France. It was rather a demonstration of supreme spiritual force—the ordinary virtues of fidelity, loyalty, self-sacrifice and devotion synthesised in a phase in which they draw nearer to the accomplishment of their ideal.

After quoting Sir William Ramsay's remark that the present feeling of the British people for France borders on veneration, Professor Baldwin asked if neutrality were really possible for any one born, like Americans, with ideas of right and rules of conduct similar to those practised in France? They could not be faithful to their patriotism if they neglected to condemn, publicly and without restriction, those

who attacked the spiritual values on which this patriotism was founded.

As a nation, Americans had played the part of the Good Samaritan. The superb manifestation of gratitude which took place recently at the Sorbonne showed that the French appreciated it.

But it should not be forgotten that it was better to rid the world of thieves than to minister to their unfortunate victims.

M. Gabriel Hanotaux recently remarked that Germany had received from the American Government, in spite of the offence it had to complain of, more compliments than were bestowed upon the Allies for their chivalrous and friendly concessions. It was to be hoped that French and English statesmen not in office would speak out more openly, not only to express their satisfaction but also their disappointment in case of need.

After protesting against the charge of excessive commercialism sometimes made against Americans, Professor Baldwin said:

"Our country knows the difference between humanity and patronage, between duty and prudence; and woe betide the man in power who forgets these elementary distinctions of social morality."

"Is there anyone here this evening among those whose lives are devoted chiefly to business who does not place national honour above his own profit and who does not prefer a personal loss to unworthy official silence or indifference? In your reply we shall find that of American idealism in general. (Applause.)"

This, then, is the nature of the inspiration that comes to us on this Fourth of July. Great contrasts and oppositions of good and evil, great examples of devotion and heroism, great ideals of truth and valour are being revealed to us. The elementary factors of moral culture and liberty are being laid bare.

"When, later on, historians write about this war, carefully weighing everything and distributing praise and blame, I believe they will give a place of honour to this noble and beautiful France, who gazes fixedly at the sky while she bleeds from every limb.

"They will see in her the symbol of a great vision and of a great sacrifice. We Americans hope they will not have to record the failure, for the great sister Republic, the United States, of this vision and of her effective share in the sacrifice."

AMERICA AND LAFAYETTE Ceremony at Patriot's Tomb in Paris The American Ambassador's Tribute to the Lafayettes of to-day

The usual Independence Day ceremony took place at the tomb of Lafayette in the Picpus Cemetery, Paris. The demonstration was organised by the Empire State Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, who laid a bronze wreath on the tomb.

The American Ambassador, Mr. William G. Sharp, in an impressive speech, after recalling the unusual circumstances under which this celebration was held this year, with France in the midst of a life-and-death struggle, went on to speak of the nobility of character of Lafayette, which had so impressed Washington and the American Congress. His modesty was equal to his bravery; he had offered to serve in the ranks as a private soldier if necessary.

The Ambassador told an interesting anecdote which connected him with the great French soldier. One of his own ancestors was a high official in Maryland when Lafayette visited the United States some fifty years after the Revolution and he had the honour of receiving Lafayette and escorting him to Washington to receive the thanks of Congress.

Lafayette, as was revealed in his correspondence, felt that the debt was not all on one side and he acknowledged his great admiration for Washington, from his intercourse with whom he had received lessons which served him in after life and in French politics.

Mr. Sharp said that he could quite realise what a charming hero Lafayette was because he himself had found many duplicates of Lafayette on all sides among the distinguished Frenchmen he had met since he came to France.

Could there be any doubt, therefore, that noble France would survive the present conflict. Never, never, no doubt at all! It must survive because there were thousands of Lafayettes in France, men

THE SISTER REPUBLICS

continued.

whose qualities enabled them to meet all difficulties and to overcome them. "It is appropriate," the Ambassador continued, "to meet here to-day in memory of Lafayette when a terrible cloud is menacing the great and noble country whence the French general sprang."

Glorious future for France

"There is no doubt that France, with all her splendid people, will survive and become greater and greater," the American Ambassador concluded, "for you have in the midst of your great nation not one, but thousands, of Lafayettes. They can meet their enemies, all of them and triumph. As we look upon the grave of this great general so beloved by us all, we see before us just a silent little tomb, but what a monument to the cause and to the love of liberty."

"We shall break the sword that murders justice." Strength the servant and not the mistress of right

M. Viviani, the French Premier, in the course of a speech, said: "On this noteworthy day, when you are accustomed to assemble in intimate communion, you have invited the Government of the Republic to be present, wishing to recall that a common glory smiles upon us and that American and French heroes sealed in former days a fraternal pact. You wish to render homage to the noble nation which, faithful to her traditions, defends on her soil, with her homes and independence, the independence of the world, of which she has been so many times the champion."

"You who know her so well desire to convey to her the testimony of your respect."

"It was not you who believed her a light and frivolous nation and you are not surprised to find her grave and strong. You have not been blinded by the dust which our internal struggles caused and have not thought that our discussion as free men forbade a union of hearts and concord."

"It was not you who believed that this nation was capable only of a heroic outburst to be followed by a sudden depression. You know what is hidden beneath the brilliant qualities of this race and that resistance to the most tragic trial wears out neither its body nor its spirit."

"And if this trial is prolonged, if days of fighting continue one after the other, you know that France is neither weary nor resigned, that she stands erect with an organised, ardent and redoubtable army, sure of conquering with the indomitable Allies who are defending the same cause."

The Premier recalled that as soon as Germany had let loose an abominable scourge upon the world it was towards France that America turned her heart. The United States sent doctors and American women, giving up all the pleasures which money supplied, took care of the wounded, surrounding charity with a supreme grace.

"Let my voice," continued M. Viviani, "thank and bless so much generosity which has found a deep echo in our soul. Your ancestors founded the greatest democracy in the world. They erected in principle the independence of nations. Ours proclaimed the rights of men and announced the rights of peoples."

"How such vibrant sympathy, when right is torn up and liberty is violated, should unite the conscience and heart of the heirs of those who bequeathed them this formidable heritage!"

"We are struggling, we shall struggle, we shall break the heavy sword which has so many times threatened and murdered justice. In order to do that we shall not resort to monstrous acts. We are not inclined to sink ships crowded with innocent victims or to assassinate women and children. But let us leave the present. I drink to the future, to the independence of nations, to their liberty to dispose of themselves, to the generations freed by the courage of so many heroes and to the great Republic which is the symbol of strength—strength the servant and not the mistress of right."

The freedom of Europe at stake

M. Frédéric Masson said: "Now, even more than when Lafayette went to the help of your fathers, that which all nations, proud of their civilisation and honour, hold to be most holy and sacred, has been insulted. That which is now at stake is the independence of Europe, the independence of Belgium and of Holland, her neighbour, the independence of France, the independence of Serbia. That which is at stake is the resurrection of Poland and of Bohemia—it is the re-entry of the nations into their natural limits, it is the triumph or the fall of this Empire which has universal domination for her object."

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**REMNANT DAYS EACH THURSDAY DURING JULY**

MAZZINI ON THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

Passages from his review of Thomas Carlyle's "History of the French Revolution"

IN the French Revolution the spirit of Emancipation became incarnate in a single people and gave battle to its enemies. The struggle was long, bloody and destructive, fruitful of great deeds and of great crimes, of Titanic fury and of vital conquest.

To reproduce material facts with exactitude and impartiality, yet in such wise as to guide the reader to their generating idea; such is the office of the historian. But in order to fulfil this a true conception of Humanity is required and this conception Carlyle lacks.

"Carlyle does not recognise in a people any collective life"

Carlyle does not recognise in a people—nor à fortiori, in humanity—any collective life or collective aim. He recognises only individuals. For him, therefore, there is not, there cannot be, any providential law—in fact every law contemplates mankind as a whole—nor any intelligible chain of connection between cause and effect.

This gives rise to an inexpressible sense of obscurity of something uncertain and nebulous, I might almost say anarchical, in the work. We rise from its perusal disturbed in mind, with a sense of delusion and discouragement, a disposition towards scepticism nearly approaching fatalism.

The spirit of the *Walpurgis Nacht* breathes throughout these pages of Carlyle, inspired by an imagination full of true poetry and power, constantly stirred and excited by the perusal of the documents of the revolutionary period.

The extinct heroes of his poem pass before our eyes as before his own . . . to vanish, lost in night—in the vast night of Goethe, the nameless and bottomless abyss.

When all have vanished you rouse yourself from the whirling vortex, like one awaking from nightmare; you look around as if for some vestige of these fleeting images, seeking if they have left aught behind them to suggest some explanation of enigma. You see naught but the void; three words alone remain as summary of the entire history—*Bastille, Constitution, Guillotine.*

"Does it not also reveal the secret of his soul?"

This mournful trilogy is the summing up of the narrative of the greatest event of modern times and whilst it makes known to us the intellectual secret of the writer, who has only seized the material and external side of that event, does it not also reveal the secret of his soul—unknown it may be, even to himself—and the penalty he has to pay for not having searched deeper while yet able to do so? Terror and discouragement.

The Constitution—the aim of every effort during that period—is placed between a prison and a scaffold. Three epigraphs, taken from Goethe, accompany the three words he has chosen as titles for his three volumes and the last concludes with a menace to all those who believe in the possibility of constituting themselves apostles of liberty.

A Bastille, a Constitution and a Guillotine.

Is this indeed the whole significance of the French Revolution? Does this gigantic event

teach us no other lesson? Has the historian no better counsel for the youth of Europe than the threatening Versuchs of Goethe?

No, it cannot be. Five-and-twenty millions of men do not rise up as one man, nor rouse one half of Europe at their call, for a mere word, an empty formula, a shadow. The Revolution forms perish when their task is accomplished, but the idea of the Revolution survived. That idea freed from every temporary envelope or disguise, now reigns for ever, a fixed star in the intellectual firmament; it is numbered among the conquests of Humanity.

Every great idea is immortal: the French Revolution rekindled the sense of Right, of Liberty and of Equality in the human soul, never henceforth to be extinguished; it awakened France to the consciousness of the inviolability of her national life; and awakened in every people a perception of the powers of collective will and a conviction of ultimate victory, of which none can deprive them. It summed up and concluded (in the political sphere) one epoch of Humanity and led us to the confines of the next.

These are results which will not pass away; they defy every protocol, constitutional theory, or veto of despotic power.

Carlyle—if indeed he wished to help or serve us—ought to have made himself the promulgator of this truth. He did not do so; he did not even attempt it.

What were the causes of the Revolution?

I am aware that this judgment of Carlyle is based upon ideas which are apt to bring upon those who hold them the names of dreamers, of believers in formulæ and systems. Nor am I troubled by such epithets. They have ever been bestowed upon the first supporters of new doctrines afterwards received and accepted as truth and at the present day they who apply them do so to conceal their own always injurious, often culpable indifference.

What were the causes of the Revolution? Why did it burst upon us and convulse the world? Why did it assume so profoundly European a character? What was the mission of the Constituent Assembly? How and to what extent did it fulfil that mission? Did the first inspiration and initiative spring from the people to the Bourgeoisie, or from the Bourgeoisie to the people? Were its earliest efforts directed to the elevation of the democratic element to power, or of a limited aristocracy? Were not the tremendous crises of its later years the result of the choice then made? And when the war burst forth—the war of all the European Powers leagued against a single people—what were the causes that determined the triumph of France? Through what nucleus or party, in the name of what or whom, was the triumph achieved? What was the mission of the Convention? What was the true significance of the mortal struggle between the Girondins and the Montagne? What gave rise to the reign of terror of 1793? Could it have been prevented and how?

To none of these questions which crowd upon the mind of all who read and reflect upon the history of that period, does Carlyle's work attempt an answer. Nor in asking them do I

demand a complete philosophy of history, but I maintain that a history of that time should at least offer the reader the elements of an answer to these questions.

Now the book neither gives you a summary of the resolutions passed by the classes called upon to compose the States General, nor of the Legislative acts and institutions founded by the various assemblies, nor any indication of the meaning of the questions which divided the various parties composing the Convention.

He sees nothing but the effects of famine

It is sad—very sad in the case of a man of such singular power as Carlyle—to see the consequences of the absence of a fixed belief as to the law, mission and destiny of Humanity.

In that uprising of twenty-five millions of men, in spite of the registers of the States General—which, from the very outset, keep record of Institutions, Rights, Education and the triumph of ideas—he sees nothing but the effects of famine, the utterances of physical want. The fête of the Federation in 1790 is to him only a theatrical manifestation; the thunder of the cannon which announced the unification of France to Europe—the echo of which three years after repulsed the foreigner from her frontier—is to him but meaningless and empty noise.

In a revolution which even yet causes the soil of Europe to tremble beneath the footsteps of her masters, he sees naught but the denial of a gigantic lie, a mere work of destruction, a huge ruin. . . . Like Goethe his master, he has contemplated, not felt life.

In fact the evil genius of Goethe hovers over the trilogy of Carlyle and many times as I read I could fancy I saw the chilling glance and Mephistophelian smile of the man whose thoughts and interests were simply scientific even in the field of Argonne and upon whose ear the sound of the cannonade that opened the mighty war between Kings and Peoples struck merely—Carlyle himself repeats this—as a noise, "curious enough, as if it were compounded of the humming of tops, the gurgling of water and the whistle of birds."

Carlyle and the influence of Goethe

To the influence of Goethe we may trace the tone of irony used in describing the struggles of a nation which was then combating for us all, as well as the satirical jokes introduced into the narrative of grave events, such as the night of the 4th August and in speaking of the members of the Constituent Assembly.

To the influence of Goethe we may ascribe the constant disposition to crush the human being by contrasting and comparing him with the Infinite, as if the true greatness of man did not consist precisely in his consciousness of the Infinite which surrounds him without impeding his action; as if the Eternity which is before and behind us were not also within us; as if from high above the earth we tread, a voice did not reach us from time to time, bidding us: *Onward in action, in faith and in the consciousness of thy dignity. God has confided to thee a mission here below; has promised to elevate thee step by step toward Him.*



# PROGRAMME.

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## WAR SERVICE PROCESSION AND DEPUTATION TO MR. LLOYD GEORGE Saturday Afternoon, JULY 17.

Form up on the Victoria Embankment at 2.30 p.m., start at 3.30 p.m. promptly.

### PROCESSION ROUTE

Victoria Embankment, Bridge Street, Whitehall, Cockspur Street, Pall Mall, St. James's Street, Piccadilly, Park Lane, Oxford Street, Oxford Circus, Regent Street, Piccadilly Circus, Haymarket, Northumberland Avenue, returning to the Embankment.

### ORDER OF PROCESSION.

Colour Bearer, Military Band, Special Deputation Banner, a Section of Girls dressed in White carrying Crooks with Red Roses, Pageant of the Allies, Deputation, General Public. There will also be a special Nurses' Contingent.

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The Decorative Scheme throughout the Procession will be in the Colours of the Union Jack.

Processionists will form up in order of arrival, beginning at Section II.

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Women wishing to register for Munition Making and other forms of War Service will have the opportunity of doing so at tables for the purpose stationed at intervals on the Embankment and along the whole route of the procession.