

"The Suffragette," June 25, 1915.

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# The Suffragette

Edited by Christabel Pankhurst

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Women's Social and Political Union

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## LA BELGIQUE.



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Review of the Week.

The Country backs the Government.

AS soon as the new Coalition Government was formed we welcomed it and pledged our loyalty to it, in its great task of carrying this war through to victory. To feminine minds at any rate, the idea of merging Party distinctions and symbolising national unity by creating a Coalition Government, appears to be an excellent one. Apart from the fact that the Government does not, electorally speaking and as regards its personnel, represent women (an imperfection which has its origin in the past and its very certain cure in the future, provided we defeat the Kaiser!) we have made no criticism of its composition. Nor do we believe that in any responsible quarter has the formation of the Coalition Government caused doubt, suspicion, bewilderment, or pain—to adopt the expressions used by the Prime Minister in his very indulgent reference to those individuals who cannot forget the Party game even during the greatest struggle in the history of the world, upon whose issue depends everything which these very same individuals profess to value!

Never mind the Party Gamemasters!

Having the support of a united nation asking only to be led forward, the Government can afford to ignore the Party gamemasters in question. That are these pettifogging men doing in the public life of a great nation! Never in the history of this country has any Government enjoyed so warm a welcome, or so enthusiastic a backing as has the Government now in office.

There is only one way in which this present Coalition Government could possibly offend the country, or could possibly implant in any honest loyal mind either "doubt, suspicion, bewilderment or pain;" and that is by hesitation, weakness or compromise with enemies within or without. The Government is to us civilians what their officers are to the soldiers in the field. We of the civilian rank and file are as full of fight as ever we can be. An uncompromising war policy, a great plan of campaign, a steady and a bold lead—that is all we ask till danger is past.

Women's War Service.

This paper goes to press too early to enable comment upon the scheme to be laid before the country and the House of Commons by Mr Lloyd

George on Tuesday, June 22nd. In the meantime, we have the Prime Minister's statement that "there is a fit place and there is fit work for every man and for every woman in the land."

The Prime Minister's statement that £3,000,000 a day will be needed to finance the war, shows how urgent is the need that the wealth-producing powers of women shall be utilised in the service of the nation. While millions of British people are needed in the trenches, while countless others are needed in the munition factories, millions again are needed not only in agriculture and various home services, but also in the manufacture of goods for export.

We are only just beginning to realise how economically wasteful it has been and how impoverishing to the country, to have women's work so unorganised and, for want of training, so unskilled, as it has been in the past. While the work of men, owing to the development of machinery and to division and association of labour has become steadily more productive, women in general are still working under primitive conditions involving overwork and underpayment for themselves and a great deficiency in the amount of wealth that they produce.

If we were Organised!

In the discussion which followed Mr Asquith's declaration that there is work for every woman in the land, Sir Leo Chiozza Money, M.P., said:

Our forty-six millions of people could furnish not only a very much larger army than we have at present, but could also furnish workers to produce munitions of war sufficient for ourselves and our Allies and in addition, produce an enormous quantity of peace goods. If the Government would create a suitable organisation we could very largely raise the number of available workers especially among women; and we might possibly raise the number to twenty-five million. We might then in addition to having four million men in the Army and the Navy, have four million other persons of both sexes making munitions of war and still have seventeen millions of persons of both sexes to go on with business as usual.

Cotton! Cotton! Cotton!

The German cotton requirements for military purposes, the manufacture of gun cotton, etc., are roughly estimated at 80,000 bales per month. Hitherto no substitute has been found. Germans smile at the idea that the importation of cotton, which is one of the most essential requisites of modern warfare, should have been permitted by the British authorities, while other less important articles have been excluded.—From the letter of a neutral investigator of war conditions in Germany, published in "The Times."

While sentimentalists and traitors have sought to prove that Great Britain is too harsh in regard to Germany, the truth is that we have been far too lenient. The facts relating to Germany's receipt of cotton during the months since the war broke out are almost too painful to be faced. The truth is that we have given to our very dangerous enemies an advantage which they ought never to have had. From the outbreak of war until now, not one single bale of cotton ought to have been allowed to enter Germany. Cotton ought from the outbreak of war to have been declared absolute contraband.

What would America do? Nothing!

Why was not this done? Apparently for a diversity of reasons. One reason seems to have been the fear of alienating the United States by interfering with one of the chief branches of American trade. Did the Northern States of America hesitate on such grounds as that to blockade the southern ports of America during the Civil War and thus prevent the supply of cotton to England, resulting in the penury and even starvation of the working people of Lancashire! So long as we do not exceed our rights under international law—and these rights entitle us to declare cotton absolute contraband because of its warlike utility—America could not have

sustained any complaint against our action and whatever certain sections prompted by self-interest might have said, or may say now, the American people as a whole would overbear their protest and would have assented to Great Britain's action. Even if the President himself had seen reasons against our action in this regard, he would not have been upheld by the American people in view of the complete legality of declaring cotton absolute contraband. An offer made by us to pay a fair price for all cotton seized would have silenced every murmur save that of German-Americans and sheer money-grubbers seeking excessive profits.

Consider what Germany has done.

To anyone who has been in America since the war began, it is obvious that the American people, fair-minded and logical as they are (in addition to being almost solidly in favour of the Allies' cause) would accept any internationally lawful act on the part of Great Britain, which would tend to bring the war sooner to a close. If those responsible for deciding whether cotton should or should not be contraband, hesitated to make the necessary declaration out of deference to American public opinion, they were not accurately informed; for as we have said, any protests that might have been made by some Americans would assuredly have been silenced by the rest of the Americans.

In this connection we may recall the statement, made by Mr George Harvey, editor of the North American Review in his open letter to the British public, that Great Britain could with impunity as far as America is concerned, prevent the supply of cotton to Germany. And have we not seen Germany grossly exceeding the rights accorded to belligerents by international law! Yet no serious issue arose between Germany and the United States until the commission of the Lusitania crime. If Germany has been permitted, as it were, to steal several horses, surely we may look over the gate!

Easy-Goingness!

Another possible reason for having allowed Germany to receive cotton supplies, which, being utilisable for military purposes, are therefore properly contraband, is no doubt the traditional easy-goingness of the Englishman, his readiness to give a great latitude to the enemy on the unconscious assumption that the enemy will give a similar latitude to him and that all will consequently be fair and square. But this present war is not a game; nor is it a duel regulated by the laws of chivalry. It is a desperate life and death struggle between the Allies on the one hand and a nation of prey (as Maeterlinck has described Germany) on the other.

We and our Allies are resisting a foe without mercy, without ruth, who will break every law, divine and human, every rule of peace and every rule of war, in order to conquer us. We have therefore no right to leave in abeyance any of our belligerent powers and rights under international law, because by so doing we prolong Belgium's martyrdom, we impose greater sacrifices upon our Allies; we spend more of the valuable lives of our own people who have so bravely gone forward to face every horror that the distorted imagination and the depraved science of the Germans can devise. Let there be henceforward none of this easy-going cruelty to ourselves and what is worse, to our friends and to the future generations to whom we are in duty bound to transmit as much freedom at least as we found when we came on to this earth. There is something revolting in a policy—or want of it—that arms and strengthens the foe of human liberty against whom we should be fighting with all our force, with all our might.

The German Intriguers!

One explanation of the omission to declare cotton absolute contraband at the outbreak of the war, undoubtedly is German intrigue. The Germans have done their best to misrepresent to Great Britain the true state of American opinion, concerning the cotton question and have done it with a success which bewilders the more, the longer one reflects upon it. But more than that! They have, we say, persuaded some of the most watchful and the most zealous men in the country belonging to the various political parties that cotton after all was not a thing of much importance; and that Germany had already, when the war began, an ample stock to meet her military requirements.

Enquiring into this, that and the other politically well-informed person in search of the fundamental truth respecting the cotton

question, one has been answered by reassuring statements of an undoubted sincerity—statements indicating that to prevent all cotton reaching Germany would be an idle, because needless precaution!

Does not this show how industrious and how dangerous in their activities are the Germans and the pro-Germans who are still in our midst, or are bringing influence to bear upon us from a distance? It proves that the wisest, the most wary, the most patriotic, the most resolute, must be more than ever on their guard against German pitfalls of all sorts from now onwards.

#### Weighty Advice.

Sir William Ramsay and a number of other men of scientific eminence have resolutely maintained that no cotton ought to reach the enemy. Mr Bertram Blount, the well-known consulting chemist, says: "Cotton is the one indispensable ingredient of modern propulsive explosives and it is the one material which Germany does not possess."

Mr W. S. Hopkins, secretary to the conference of chemists and engineers, has pointed out in an interview with the *Daily Chronicle* that the estimate of consumption by the enemy of cotton for explosives alone is between 750 and 1000 tons a day and that their stocks at the beginning of the war were estimated as well below quarter of a million tons.

#### Serious Statements.

Sir William Dupree has written a letter which has appeared in several newspapers, saying:

A friend of mine landed in Bombay last Christmas where he met a German he had known years before. The first question my friend put was, 'Well, how long will the war last?' The reply came, 'It will last two months if you stop our cotton; it will go on indefinitely if you don't.'

Sir William Ramsay, in a letter to the newspapers dated June 11th, said:

Would it not be advisable by declaring cotton yarn and cotton goods contraband of war, to clinch the matter and finally stop the entry of cotton in any form. Would it not have been better to have taken this step at a much earlier stage of the war? We can only regret the terrible loss of life caused by this procrastination and beseech the present Government to neglect no measure whereby the Germans may be deprived of ammunition. The complement of providing ammunition for our own army is surely the exclusion of the materials of ammunition from the countries with which we are at war.

On June 17th Sir William Ramsay said:

Nor is cotton the only raw material for ammunition with which we are furnishing our enemies. While cotton has been essential for propulsive ammunition up to the present, it cannot be denied that German ingenuity may convert wood-pulp—another form of cellulose—into nitro-cellulose. Pines and woods for burning, such as the German forests consist of, are not well adapted and involve costly and difficult processes, but I learn from French sources that wood of a suitable nature is being imported from Norway, together with certain light African woods such as ogoubi wood, which go through Switzerland.

It was early pointed out by Lancashire cotton men to the late Government that a considerable sum, say £20,000,000, invested at present in cotton, would yield a profit of £1,800,000, allowing for interest at 4 per cent. on the capital expended and at the same time American opposition to the embargo would be removed.

Every argument is in favour of the policy of declaring cotton absolute contraband. How long will the Government delay and continue to connive at the appalling sacrifice of life which has caused such unspeakable misery in so many homes all over the Empire? Without these materials, Germany could not long continue the war.

#### No More Sacrifice to the God of Cotton!

Disquieting evidence of the easy-going spirit which has prevailed among us and a proof of the necessity of vigilance on the part of one and all is the fact that since the order in council of March 11th, which was announced to be a means of preventing cotton from reaching Germany, enormous quantities of cotton have actually reached Germany; and certain neutral ports are said to be positively congested with ships bearing cargoes of cotton which will find their way to the enemy.

The following statement has just been made, but it is the same as was made in March, since when enormous quantities of cotton have reached the enemy:

All cotton from overseas suspected of possessing an enemy destination is brought in and, where it is found that these suspicions are justified, the ship is required to discharge the cotton and it is restored to the owner on such terms as the Prize Court may consider just.

We consider that the House of Commons and the public, who are finally responsible, should co-operate with the Government in convincing neutrals and also treacherous or merely greedy money-grubbers in this country that human life cannot be sacrificed to the god of cotton.

#### Shameless Conduct of Certain Traders.

It is not only that Americans have sent cotton direct from the United States to Germany, or to neutral countries bordering on Germany. No great personal responsibility rests upon them, for it was and is our duty to intercept such supplies. There are shameless people in our own country who have profited by Germany's huge demand for cotton (accompanied no doubt by a readiness to pay enhanced prices) and have supplied to neutral countries huge quantities of cotton which through this medium, has found its way to the enemy. It is announced that exportation of cotton to all save certain countries has now been forbidden, unless a licence to export be granted.

The task of granting such licences has been placed in the hands of a committee of business men. Speaking without initiation into the mysteries of the subject, we express our confidence that the self-interest or weakness that has led to the past supply of cotton to the enemy has been wholly eliminated from the situation and has no influence direct or indirect with the committee!

A later written statement made on behalf of the Government to a question by Mr Rawlinson, M.P., to the prohibition of exports of cotton from this country to foreign ports other than those of France, Belgium, Russia, Spain and Portugal; but no further light is thrown on the question of licences.

#### German Influence in Lancashire.

What has rendered it easier for the export of cotton from this country to Germany through neutral countries to take place at the expense of our soldiers, at the expense of our national safety, at the expense of our Allies, is no doubt the fact that German influence is pretty strongly entrenched in Lancashire, the cotton country. All this shows how ceaseless and uncompromising must be the vigilance and the action not only of the Government, but of each and every man and woman in the country, whatever his or her degree. We cannot expect this war to be won by the Government and the armies alone. The entire nation and every soul belonging to it must by thought and deed help to defend the country and its cause.

#### The Future: Danger Ahead.

Nothing that is here written is intended as merely sterile criticism, or as a reprimand over the irrevocable; but unless we realise where we have been in the wrong, there is no great

possibility that we shall be right in future. Wood or cotton, whatever it may be that can prolong this war must be prevented from reaching Germany. This war is deadly, tragic, earnest!

To take back the cotton and other material which has already reached Germany and the result of our own weakness is impossible and it will now inevitably do its deadly work. But let this bitter lesson fortify us in future.

#### German Tactics a Constant Danger.

The German tactics whereby false illusions are created and false impressions engendered even in the most sincere minds, are an ever-present and a growing danger. The Germans are trying to influence our policy not only in the large, but in every detail. They have spun cobwebs over our eyes and they have tied our hands during eleven vital months, where the question of allowing them to receive cotton and other materials susceptible of warlike use is concerned. They certainly are trying and will try to influence us against adopting the best and most expeditious means of turning out munitions of war.

For example, there is this question of using cast iron shells in addition to those constructed of steel. The Germans themselves are using millions of cast iron shells and men of practical experience and technical knowledge in this country are urging us to do the same. Yet there seems to be in some quarters a certain hesitation about this matter and reasons not very distinctly expressed are being put forward why a policy applicable in Germany is not applicable here.

To those responsible for the final decision of this point we would say: Remember cotton! And remember also the wisdom of the axiom which enjoins upon us to be guided not by what the enemy says, but rather by what the enemy does!

#### Let us Listen to those who know.

Another indispensable law of our present action should be: Listen to those who know! If we had listened to Sir William Ramsay and other scientific men, cotton would have been contraband long ago and the war proportionately shortened.

We are glad of any evidence that scientists are to play an ever more important part during the continuance of the war.

The more the management of the practical side of this war is entrusted to the people who have given their life to understanding and solving the varied problems which present themselves, the better it will be. For us who are amateurs in such matters it is matter for thankfulness that we can follow the lead of those who by their professional knowledge are the proper physicians of the nation until this malady of war is cured by victory.

We hope that the scientists above all will make themselves a nuisance to the Government and to politicians generally, to the newspapers and to us all, until their powers are utilised to the fullest extent.

#### To Weaken us from within!

There is yet another way in which the Germans will continue to weaken us from within. They are criticising every attempt on the part of this nation to organise itself for purposes of prosecuting this war. In their own newspapers they tell us that it is now too late for us to emulate their own perfection in war organisation. Through any agency they can discover in this country they are telling us that it would never do for us to Prussianise ourselves. Evidently they want to do it for us! We can assure Germans and pro-Germans at home and abroad that we have no intention of being Prussianised. The ways of the French Republic or of the Swiss Republic are good enough for us. From now onwards our motto is: We will defend ourselves against Prussianism by the whole force of our nation organised as a free people for defence.

## AWAITING THE CALL TO ACTION.

**T**HE First of the Weekly War Service Meetings arranged by the W. S. P. U. was held at the London Pavilion, Piccadilly Circus, on Thursday last, June 17th, when a large and representative audience gathered to demand Universal and Obligatory War Service for Men and Women and further to consider various means of helping the country in this time of danger.

Mrs Pankhurst was in the chair and the speakers were Signor Antonio Cippico, president of the Dante Alighieri Society in London and Miss Annie Kenney.

The singing of the "Marseillaise" by Mlle. de Bellaudiere, who was accompanied at the piano by Mr Isidore de Lara, was received with rousing cheers and Mrs Pankhurst, who reserved her remarks to a later stage in the proceedings, called upon Signor Antonio Cippico to address the meeting.

Signor ANTONIO CIPPICO,  
President of the Dante Alighieri Society.

Let us consider what are the real causes of this powerful movement and the national reasons. Nobody could have deterred Italy, neither Austria-Hungary nor Germany. Without a drop of blood flowing and without the life of a single Italian being endangered, Italy could have secured the long list of concessions which I recently read to the House: "Satisfy all the national aspirations in Trieste; a free hand in Albania and the valuable part of Volona, if they had not taken it." These remarkable words have been recently uttered by the Imperial Chancellor in the Reichstag, dealing with the entry of Italy into the war. People in every part of the world have probably put the same question to themselves. Why have they not taken it? Why on earth has Italy entered into this terrible war and this after nine months' experience of what ruin and havoc the war has brought to a large portion of Europe, to Belgium, to France, to Russia and to heroic Serbia. She has willingly cast the die. Why has she entered on a struggle fought against very redoubtable enemies, who now more than ever seem far from beaten. Some have expressed the opinion even in this country that Italian intervention was due to sheer Imperialism. Never has a statement carried such a contradiction. If Italy had really been moved by selfish reasons, her neutrality openly declared at the beginning of August would have been of the highest service and Italy would have spared herself all the ghastly miseries and uncertainties of war. A French writer has said that by her present intervention Italy could hardly do more for the cause of justice and civilisation than what she had done already by her declaration of neutrality which saved not only Italy, but the whole of Europe. (Applause.)

The reasons of Italy's neutrality as well as the reasons of her present intervention, spring from the same source. Never has a source been purer and never has a neutrality in a country been inspired by loftier inspirations than those which have guided the Italian Government and are guiding now the movements of the Italian army and navy towards the sea, towards the barriers that nature and history have given her. German and Austrian statesmen as well as the mischief-makers, are trying now even to misinterpret Italian aims and Italians and attacking

her as the violator of nationality upon which her first reserve was based, just because she wishes to liberate those of her children who are now under Austrian rule.

The constitutional policy of Austria has aimed for many years at the destruction of Italian nationality and civilisation along the Adriatic coast. These words of Sonnino, the Italian Foreign Minister, are from the circular dispatch sent on May 23rd to the representatives of Italy abroad: "A war has been declared upon a clear indictment. National reasons and the reasons of human justice and European liberty are guiding Italy's army towards victory, as they have guided Italians, people and Government, to enter the conflict in order to safeguard our highest aspirations in the most vital interests of our country. We have entered into a war greater than any that history can recall, a war which claims sacrifice, not only from the combatants, but also from those who remain at home. No one can stand aloof. He who does not help his country with the strength of his arm must give his might, his heart, his self-sacrifice on her behalf." These are the words pronounced by Sonnino, our Minister, a few days ago. Those who remain—women, we might add—must employ themselves so that the national life is not interrupted. They must keep brave hearts, ready for everything, with confidence in final victory, because our cause is just and our war is a holy war. (Applause.)

#### Mrs PANKHURST.

Yesterday I was at Plymouth and I spoke at four meetings. A general said "you have done a better stroke to-day for the cause you care for than by all the Suffrage meetings you ever had." I am going to be perfectly frank with you, if it was not going to help our cause, if not a single man told me he was influenced, we women who have led this Union would fight against the Germans to the end. (Applause.) Because Prussianisation is masculinity carried to a point of enormity and obscenity even, that is what we women are fighting against in every land and in every race, we are fighting against that over sexuality that we women have always been trying to break down; for women to be recognised as half of humanity. It is the same splendid fight that we have always fought that we are fighting now.

#### Not Organised as a Nation.

Yesterday as I have said I was at a great demonstration at Plymouth. The demonstration was the most wonderful one in some ways that had ever been held in that great historic place, but I tell you this ladies and gentlemen, impressed as I was with the splendour of the whole display, I came away feeling that we were not organised as a nation as we ought to be.

I have been going backward and forward to France ever since the war broke out and I tell you this as the most democratic person in this meeting: my admiration and my reverence for France has increased every time I have gone there and I have admired them more and loved them more. And when I have come back and seen fresh posters on the wall; fresh appeals to men to do their duty; more meetings and more appeals in the papers and more arguments on the platform, I have said there are a good many things we could learn from

France in time of war. I do not dispute that we could teach them some things and they don't dispute it. They are splendid Allies. They have been very kind to us; never a word of unkind criticism, even though in their heart of hearts they may think that we might with better organisation have been doing a little more in this war. It is our war just as much as it is theirs.

#### "We are not doing enough in this War yet."

Don't mistake it ladies and gentlemen. I tell you this in confidence; I tell you I am convinced from my own observation: we are not doing enough in this war yet and we have got to do it if we are to maintain the position that our population and our possessions warrant. We are greater in population than France. We are not doing as much as France in this war yet and we have got to do a great deal more if we are to maintain our position. This is not said in any unkind spirit of criticism to my fellow-countrymen or the Government, but it is an absolute fact. How are we going to do it? We can help the Coalition Government and strengthen its hands by making them feel that we as loyal British men and women are prepared to accept without question whether it is martial law or any other organisation of the nation, if those who are placed in that awful position of responsibility, feel it is necessary to do it; that we may play our part in this war.

And I will tell you up to now I am very proud of women and the part that women as a whole have played in this war. There have been no strikes of women, or women asking for war bonuses. Thousands, nay millions, of women are anxious to be used; willing to do anything; willing to help, and I must say this because there are men in this meeting: the only bitterness women have felt; the only anger women have felt; the only impatience women have felt is that they have not been allowed to take a greater share in the sacrifice and in the work. That is all.

#### "There ought to be organised National Service."

That is why we women in this Union who fought our fight for freedom, are saying that at any rate for the term of the war there ought to be organised national service. That is the only way. There are half a million in Germany making munitions; and women are in the fields working at the harvest—and our harvest is going on and not organised as it ought to be. And when we see that there are Englishmen who do not realise the situation and are threatening to strike, if a few women who have been trained for the purpose are allowed to act as conductors on trams! But does it not show that they don't realise the war yet. The reason why our Allies realise it is because it is an accepted thing that in time of war everybody has to do his or her share of the fighting, either the actual fighting or the preparing for the fighting, so that the fighting may be effectively done.

People say they won't have organisation because it is Prussianising. What an insult to

Continued on page 172.



# ON THE EVE OF THE WAR.

## THE GERMANIC CONSPIRACY.

### The Mystery of the Assassination.

### GERMAN INTRIGUES IN LONDON.

### "Cosmopolitan" Financiers of German Origin urged Neutrality.

### WIREPULLING BRITISH NEWSPAPERS.

An article on "The English and the War" is contributed to the "Revue de Paris" by Mr Wickham Steed, a leading authority on foreign affairs, whose book the "Hapsburg Monarchy" is a classic.

Mr Steed addresses himself to the French public, but he has things to tell concerning the events leading up to the war, which our readers will assuredly desire to learn.

TAKING 1911 Mr Steed describes the efforts made by Germany to prepare for the present war by disarming Great Britain, spiritually and materially.

The Kaiser sent to London as German Ambassador "a diplomat of Polish origin, the Prince Lichnowsky who had all the qualities necessary to disarm suspicion. Calm, courteous, very grand seigneur of an evident good faith and good will, powerfully aided by his wife, a Bavarian, very distinguished and of an almost French turn of mind. The Prince Lichnowsky soon succeeded in winning an important position in London.

#### Kuhlmann Active.

Side by side with him working and in the shadow, worked Councillor Kuhlmann, the skilful intriguer whom we know, who, after having organised the Emperor William's landing at Tangier in 1905, was able to win the imperial favour. Councillor Kuhlmann displayed a prodigious activity. He became friendly with all the journalists small and great whose influence might serve to promote his object.

He cleverly got round the publicists and having captured them had them invited to the table of his Ambassador, where they found themselves side by side with people of the highest position in their own country.

By his show of good fellowship he succeeded in making himself highly popular and even succeeded in convincing of his good faith politicians and officials at the Foreign Office. He multiplied the links between the German Embassy and cosmopolitan high finance and made a clever use of the influence of the German Trans-Atlantic Navigation Companies. . . .

Dealing with the effect of the Balkan crisis upon German policy, Mr Steed points out, that at the beginning of the war between the Balkan States on the one hand and Turkey on the other, the Diplomats and Generals of Berlin and Vienna expected the victory of Turkey and calculated that after the Turkish defeat of Serbia, Austria would have extended her "protecting hand" over that country and have assured a free road to Salonica.

#### The Austrian Plan of Attack.

At Vienna where he was living at that time, he saw evidences of Austrian discomfiture at Serbia's success. A few days after the battle of Kumanovo won by Serbia, a friend of General Konrad von Höttsendorf chief of the Austro-Hungarian General Staff called upon Mr Steed and asked his opinion of the following plan. "The Chief of the General Staff, said the General, was convinced that the only means of saving Austria would be to attack immediately and in the most thorough-going way both Serbia and Russia. 'We could' he said 'bowl them over before they had time to cry for help. The Austro-Hungarian monarchy would thus be re-established on a solid basis for at least fifty years.'"

Mr Steed's opinions as expressed are opinions unfavourable to this plan! As he points out: "The overwhelming victories of the Balkan Allies did not allow time for the plan to ripen and moreover the heir to the Emperor Francis Joseph restrained the ardour of the Austro-

Hungarian General Staff." He continues: "The German Emperor worked in the same sense; the defeat of the Turkish army had upset his calculations also and at Berlin the need was felt of re-enforcing the German army and of preparing the diplomatic ground for offensive action at a more propitious moment. It was then that a pretence was made of establishing closer relations with England. At the Conference of Ambassadors held in London under the presidency of Sir Edward Grey, Germany adopted such an attitude of pacific sincerity that the suspicions of the English melted away. The adroitness shown by Austro-German diplomacy in accepting Sir Edward Grey as president of the Conference passed unnoticed. It was not realised that Germany and Austria in paying this homage to the spirit of impartiality of Sir Edward Grey, thereby put France and Russia in a permanent minority at the Conference as compared to the diplomats of the Triple Alliance!

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It is further pointed out by Mr Steed that "Germany counted also upon the very real need of peace felt at that time by the politicians of Great Britain. The Irish question, industrial disputes, the agitation of the Suffragettes, the application of the Insurance Act claimed the constant attention of the Parliamentary world." Moreover the question of the Balkans did not at that time make so direct an appeal to the British people in the light of fuller knowledge it now does.

Mr Steed reminds us that by all the means at its disposal German diplomacy worked to augment and exaggerate this state of affairs and to envenom the internal disputes of the country. He writes:

The English Government did not suspect this subterranean work, did not suspect either the incontestable fact that the love of peace manifested by Germany at the Conference of the Ambassadors was inspired above all by the desire to gain time to accomplish the re-organisation of the German Army.

In England they were grateful to Germany, for its pacific spirit and Germany cleverly took advantage of this gratitude by proposing agreements on the subject of the Bagdad Railway and other yet more delicate questions. England fell into the trap and did not realise the true state of affairs until after the beginning of the present war.

#### A Warning given in 1912.

Mr Steed relates that so early as the close of November 1912, he wrote to a person of influence in England to warn him that the European situation had become very critical and that a conflagration into which England would be drawn might be a question of weeks or even days. He foretold the events which have actually occurred and others which we hope have been finally averted, saying that Germany would rapidly mobilise her Army and in the hope of crushing France before Russia could come to her help, would hurl herself through Belgium and would be in some weeks mistress

of Dunkirk, of Ostend and perhaps of Calais. He says:

I cite this fact in order to explain the state of the most enlightened minds in England during the winter of 1912-13. Dominated by horror of a European conflict, British diplomacy—and up to a certain point the diplomacy of the Triple Entente—yielded to the blackmail cleverly organised by Vienna and Berlin, allowed the Serbs to be excluded from the Adriatic, allowed the creation of an "autonomous" Albania and thus worked to prepare the second Balkan war which Austria succeeded in provoking by whispering in the ear of the King of the Bulgarians.

Recalling the fact, revealed some time ago, that after the second Balkan war Austria proposed to Italy a joint attack upon Serbia, Mr Steed shows how Great Britain continued in the hope of maintaining European peace, to be complacent and yielding as regards Germany and this at the expense of the Balkan peoples.

Finding himself at Constantinople in August and September 1913, Mr Steed found there evidence which confirmed his belief that a new war which would probably not be limited to the small nations, was only a question of months.

In October 1913 Mr Steed returned to England after an absence of many years. He says:

I found that German intrigues had made alarming progress. Belief in the good faith and the pacific spirit of Germany blinded even those who ought to have felt some uneasiness on the subject. . . .

Germany was flooding England and Ireland with her spies and furnishing armaments at a cheap price to the two armies of volunteers which were being organised in Ireland by the Unionist Party and the Home Rule Party. She was multiplying her efforts to lull to sleep the Press and public opinion where foreign affairs were concerned. . . .

During the month of June, German agents bought in the London market great quantities of gold at very high prices and placed upon the same market bonds and securities which, when the attempt is made to realise them will have a very problematical value. No one took any notice of all this.

The narrative is continued:

Such was the situation when on Sunday the 28th of June came the news of the assassination of the Archduke Ferdinand at Sarajevo. . . .

Immediately the British newspapers under Austro-German influence began a violent campaign against the alleged inspirers of the assassins. A great Radical newspaper went so far as to write that if it were physically possible to tow Serbia out to sea and sink her, Europe would be the cleaner for this.

In other newspapers forged documents tending to incriminate the Serbian Government were published in facsimile. They were the work of forgers and bore the traces of their origin.

At last Austro-German scheming suffered a check.

However this campaign and the conditions under which the assassination had been committed suggested to some diplomats happily influential and also to some sceptical mind this question: *cui prodest*. Could the assassination be of any service to Serbia whose forces were exhausted by two successive wars? Certainly not. The Government of Serbia knew only too well what to expect from the military party of Austria-Hungary to desire to give to this party a fine excuse of launching that "punitive expedition" of which Vienna had dreamed since 1908. In resisting an attack by Austria-Hungary, Serbia could count only upon herself unless right was clearly enough on her side to justify the intervention of the Powers of the Triple Entente. And to whose interest was it to put Serbia in the wrong before Europe if not those who desire to attack her!

The procedure which Austria had employed during the annexation crisis suggested at least the possibility of sinister designs concealed behind the official façade of horror and indignation.

I do not wish to insist upon this point. We still lack too many elements of proof to be able to bring an accusation of complicity, at least indirect, against the politicians and the secret police of Austria. Does the future hold in store for us surprises analogous to those which led to the discovery of the forgeries employed by Dr Friedjung or are we in the presence of one of those games of fate in which the shuttle of destiny seems to weave the stuff of tragedy?

In any case, if Austria and Germany had come to an agreement to create a *casus belli* which should appear to place the moral advantage completely on their side, they could not have found a pretext better chosen than that furnished to them by the assassination of the Archduke and his wife.

Indeed, while official Austria mourned the death of the heir to the throne, an indecent joy was manifested in Vienna and at Budapest in military circles, in the newspaper offices and even among members of the Imperial Family. Had not fate rid the House of Hapsburg of an heir inconvenient and almost mad and also of his morganatic wife, whose intrigues were feared, semi-official agents informed the diplomats with whom they were in touch that the misfortune was not so great, since the defunct Archduke was already doomed by illness and would not have lived more than a year.

#### The Austrian Manifesto.

Mr Steed points out that though the Emperor Francis Joseph's first action was to appeal to his subjects not to hold the entire Serbian nation responsible for the acts of a few fanatics, he was soon dissuaded from this course. He issued on the eve of the war a manifesto to the peoples under his rule which seemed to be based on the manifesto of 1859 against Piedmont. Upon examining the two documents side by side Mr Steed found they were in fact identical except for the substitution of Serbia and the Serbs for Piedmont and the people of Piedmont.

Mr Steed continues:

I have the best reasons to believe that on the 14th of July at the latest, the Emperor

Francis Joseph had received from the Emperor William, a letter in which Germany promised Austria an unconditional support even against Russia, if Austria wished to settle her account with Serbia. I know of certain diplomatic conversations which took place in Austria on the 15th of July, which were based upon this formal assurance. Moreover, there exists in England the written proof—I have seen it—that one of the political advisers of the Emperor William had read the letter sent by him to Francis Joseph in order finally to induce him to sign the ultimatum to Serbia and that in Germany on the 16th of July it was believed that the Emperor of Austria had that very day signed the ultimatum."

#### Attempts to Influence the British Press.

The action of Germany and Austria during the month of July had, so Mr Steed maintains, a direct relation to English affairs and was part of a cleverly-devised plan to ensure British neutrality. Attempts were made in London to influence the British Press and British politicians against Serbia and against Russia. . . .

The cosmopolitan financiers of German origin, whose fatal influence is as well known in France as in England, laid siege to Members of the Government and the Prime Minister. Acting through the press and through business men, they tried to excite terror and to spread the belief that only a policy of strict neutrality could save England from an appalling financial catastrophe. Their doctrine was precisely that preached by the German Embassy to all those accessible to its influence.

On the eve of the war the Councillor of the Embassy, Herr Kuhlmann, had the audacity to warn the public through the medium of the newspapers which had been devoted to the German cause, that the only policy suitable to England was neutrality pure and simple.

On the second of August the German Emperor caused to be telegraphed to the *Times*, through the medium of his friend Herr Ballin, a declaration in which he protested his love of peace and the sincerity of his religious feelings and cast upon Russia all the responsibility for the war. This declaration the *Times* did not publish.

Until 9 o'clock in the evening of Sunday the 2nd of August, the British Government hesitated, but at the news of the German ultimatum to Belgium it took its stand and adopted an attitude in conformity with the exigencies of duty and the interests of the nation.

Mr Steed assures his French readers and with truth, that never in any war great or small, have the British people been so unanimous, so resolved to fight until final victory, as they are now, where the present war is concerned.

The article ends on this note: "One fear and one prayer remain at the bottom of the heart of the nation; the fear that in the course of the war, the wisdom of political leaders may not rise to the height of the resolution of the people, the prayer that faith in the principles of human liberty, of justice towards small nations, of morality between peoples, that inspired the Allies at the beginning of the war, may guide and sustain them until the work of European regeneration has been fully accomplished."

# JOHN HUS

## The Martyr of Bohemia.

BY C. F. WYN.

IN view of the five-hundredth anniversary of the martyr death of the great reformer John Hus on July 6th, 1415, arrangements are being made very generally to signalise that occasion with worthy observance.

Through the work of Hus, errors and extravagances have been purged in the Catholic Church and true Christian excellences have been preserved. His life for universal history is as important as the life of Wycliffe, on whose theories he based his teachings, or the life of Luther, of Calvin, of Zwingli, or of Wesley.

Even in orthodox Russia, particular interest is attached to the John Hus Memorial Day and the Slav Organisation in Petrograd decided to hold at the Kaxen Cathedral a special requiem in memoriam of John Hus. At first the Russian Synod discussed the question whether such a requiem was admissible in a Greek-Orthodox Church. But Professor J. S. Palmoff of the Petrograd Clerical Academy solved this question, proving that the doctrines of Hus were of purely orthodox character and in consequence the aforesaid requiem will take place.

The meaning of this official acknowledgment of the teachings of Hus by the Russian Orthodox Church must not be underrated. By far the greater majority of the Czechs are Hussites and in this compliment and tribute paid by Russia to their national hero lies a further proof of the unity of the Slav world. It is a recognition not only of the religious rights of the Czechs but also for their strife for political independence, which started through the Hussitic movements.

### The Origin of John Hus.

John Hus was born in 1360, or as other historians put it, in 1373 in the village of Husinec in Southern Bohemia. In accordance with the custom of his time, he took his name from his native place and the real family name of John Hus is not known. He came to the University of Prague after finishing his studies at a school of higher grade at Prachatic and took at an unusual early age his degree as bachelor of arts.

Soon after he received a Master's degree. In 1401, he was made Dean of the Philosophical Faculty and in the following year elected Rector of the University. In other directions his career was opening with bright promises.

This was through his election in the same year as Capellarius of the Bethlehem Chapel, which was endowed by some zealous citizens of Prague for the purpose of providing good popular preaching in the Czech language. This appointment led Hus into earnest and independent study of scripture and convinced him profoundly of the great value, not only of the philosophical, but also of the theological writings of John Wycliffe.

This sympathy with England's great reformer did not, at the beginning at least, involve Hus in any conscious opposition to the established doctrines of Catholicism, but his ministry had wide significance and influence, stirring up in his Czech audience the fierce determination to throw off the undesired foreign bondage. It was only later when Hus (in spite of the Bull of Pope Alexander V. and the renewal of the same by Pope John XXIII., which ordered the abjuration of all theories of Wycliffe), continued to preach in Wycliffe's favour whom he called a pious and orthodox man, that a papal emissary was sent to Prague in 1412 requesting Hus to give up preaching.

He retired to Kozhradec, where he wrote his famous work, *De Ecclesia*, which later furnished

the principal material brought against him at the Council at Constance. The excommunication against Hus was renewed, but notwithstanding this he enjoyed comparative security in Bohemia.

Requested to appear before the Council of Constance, he accepted in 1414 willingly, especially as he received from King Sigismund a "safe conduct" which should enable him, even condemned at the Council, to return safely to Bohemia.

But the written word of a German King had no greater value 500 years ago than the signature of a German Emperor under a treaty in our own days.

On the 6th of July 1414 Hus was declared by the Council to be a "true and manifest heretic" and delivered to the secular authorities for punishment.



JOHN HUS IN THE PULPIT OF BETHLEHEM CHAPEL, PRAGUE. (Ad. Liebscher)

Protesting that he came freely to this Council "with a safe conduct from my Lord the King here present," a deep blush overspread the royal countenance.

A paper cap about a yard high and pictured with devils, was placed on his head and Hus was taken to a stake to be burnt alive. As the flames arose Hus began to sing prayers, dying as a strong and dauntless martyr in the cause of honesty and freedom.

But the memory of this great and good man could not perish. "His is the honour of being one of the chief torch-bearers to kindle the Reformation," as Professor Schwarze of Bethlehem, U.S., puts it. He was one of the principal leaders in the struggle of progress and growth towards the light.

Hus is dead, but the good and the great have an immortality on earth that death cannot touch. His spirit lives in the efforts of humanity to emancipate itself from the chain of spiritual oppression, in the struggles of mankind for soul-liberty, of which he was one of the noblest expounders.

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# THE TRAGIC DELUSION.\*

## A Commentary on the Result of Norman Angellism.

By CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

Continued from last week.

THAT no nation could gain any material advantage by the conquest of the British Colonies is one of the startling propositions made by Mr Norman Angell in *The Great Illusion*, the book by means of which he sought to disarm the British nation, by arguing that we had nothing to fear from German attacks.

Germany would not go to war against Great Britain to get British Colonies, because it would not pay to do so. Such was the belief which Mr Angell wished to plant in the unsuspecting British mind.

Mr Norman Angell by way of explaining why, as he expresses it, "foreigners could not fight England for her self governing Colonies," says:

The British Colonies are in fact, independent nations in alliance with the Mother country, to whom they are no source of tribute or economic profit, (except in the way that foreign nations are), their economic relations being settled not by the Mother country, but by the Colonies, . . .

As England is not able to exact tribute or economic advantage it is inconceivable that any other country necessarily less experienced in Colonial management would be able to succeed where England had failed.

As usual Mr Norman Angell shows a want of logic! That Great Britain is "unable" to do a certain thing, is no proof that Germany would be "unable" to do it. The inability in question is due so far as Great Britain is concerned, to the fact that the British people are more tolerant and more humane than the Germans.

When Mr Angell says, that "as England is not able to exact tribute or economic advantage it is inconceivable that any other country necessarily less experienced in Colonial management, would be able to succeed where England had failed." He leaves entirely out of account, the fact that Germany would not hesitate to make a "Belgium" of Canada, or any territory at present under the British flag.

By the imposition of inequitable commercial treaties upon Russia, Germany has contrived to exact tribute even from that great Empire. Hundreds of millions of tribute have been exacted already from Belgium, entirely against the will of the Belgian people and the Germans say that if they win they will extract further tribute in the shape of an indemnity—this without prejudice it appears to any tribute which they may decide to draw in perpetuity!

We know not what a community of Norman Angells might do, in such circumstances, but it is obvious that a British Dominion after the defeat of the Mother Country and her Allies would not be in the strongest of positions to resist the militaristic despotism rule and the financial and commercial extortion of the German Empire!

A Colony which should rebel against Germany would find itself "up against" difficulties overwhelming and incalculably greater than those which confronted the American people when they revolted against Great Britain, many of whose people were on their side and opposed to the British Government's action.

Remember, too, that it was help from France which was the decisive factor in the American victory in the War of Independence. On the day that Germany should impose its own terms upon Europe, the French would be unfortunately precluded from coming to the assistance of a British Colony defying the Kaiser!

Were a power like Germany (says Mr Norman Angell) to use force to conquer colonies she would find out that they were not amen-

\* Previous instalments appeared in the issues of June 11th and June 18th.

able to force and that the only working policy was to let them do exactly as they did before she conquered them and to allow them if they choose and many of the British colonies do so choose, to treat the Mother Country absolutely as a foreign country.

What an infatuation! Can it be real! It is precisely because of the particular relations which exist between Great Britain and the self-governing British Dominions beyond the seas, that Germany has held the British Empire in contempt.

In the British Colonial system we have before our eyes, an accurate representation of what the Germans would not do, could they change places with Great Britain and fly their flag where ours flies now.

We know perfectly well that the Kaiser would no more tolerate the existing system of government, say in British Australasia, than he tolerates such government on German soil—far less would he tolerate it!

Mr Norman Angell continues:

As to the fiscal position of the Colonies, that is precisely what their political relation is in all but name—they are foreign nations. They erect tariffs against Great Britain. . . . Is it conceivable that Germany, if the real relations between Great Britain and her Colonies were understood, would undertake the costliest war of conquest in history in order to acquire an absurd and profitless position in which she could not exact even the shadow of a material advantage?

What Germany would do if she could (what she would do if Mr Norman Angell's policy and that of his U.D.C. were successful) would be to apply the mailed fist in such a manner as to compel those once under the British flag to obey the Kaiser's will in fiscal matters as in all else; or else to suffer individually and collectively all the penalties which he in his ruthlessness would inflict upon them. Ask the Belgians how it is done!

The government of the territories in question would not be left in the hands of those who had conducted it in the past. No! the work of government would be taken over by hordes of soldier-functionaries from Germany-in-Europe who would deal with such territory according to the manner worse than that pursued in Poland and in Alsace-Lorraine; because German rule, German method, German morals, German ideas and ideals are getting worse, not better. This war marks a hideous development in Germany and German ways.

To show how false the Norman Angell teaching has been, we may give this further quotation:

Englishmen know as informed Germans must know that to attempt now what was impossible two hundred years ago, is sheer midsummer madness. And to suppose that Germany would seriously set about conquering first England and then South Africa, would attempt a policy which all history shows to be doomed to failure, is midsummer madness in still worse degree."

Pointing out that British Dominions overseas are not the "possessions" of the Mother Country, Mr Angell argues that a conquering Germany would not so treat them. But the intention of the Germans precisely is to treat territory which they can grab, as their possession, this we know only too well. The British system the Germans regard as an absurdity.

Here is the fact which underlies this war, one overwhelmingly important consideration that we have to keep before our eyes. Wherever, as the Kaiser would say, the German Eagle thrusts in its talons, there the German system of life and government will prevail as distinct from the way

of free life and government such as we know in Great Britain, France and many other lands—a way of life and government which in the fullest development it has reached, in Australasia and elsewhere, includes the equality of women. Whatever concessions those nations, whose people cherish and ensue the ideal of freedom, may make as among themselves, none of them have any right to surrender territory or populations to the rule of a nation governed and inspired as Germany is governed and inspired.

Why! it is bad enough that the plague-spot of Hohenzollernism and Prussianism should be as large as the German Empire is; and one of the results of the war will be to rescue the Poles and the people of Alsace and Lorraine from this iron grip.

As to the British dominions which Germany might succeed in capturing, they would in all things be made subject to the German will.

The English language would be stamped out, for has not the Kaiser by the pen of Bernhardt told us that "in future the importance of Germany will depend on two points: firstly, how many millions of men in the world speak German; and secondly, how many of them are politically members of the German Empire!"

In the schools Germanised history would be taught. German morality and German political theories would be inculcated.

Instead of the great and free nations of which Australia, New Zealand, Canada, South Africa, magnificent as they already are, are but the early promise, we should have so many subject German provinces. Instead of British rule in other parts of the British Empire, which whatever defects it may still have, is humane and tolerant, progressive in its development and fraught with new possibilities, there would be that relentless, hopeless Prussianism, that is hated and abhorred by the people of all races throughout the world.

The people of the American Continent are more than suspicious that Germany desires to rule in South America. Mr Norman Angell in his *Great Illusion* earnestly strove to put them off their guard, saying:

We occasionally hear rumours of German designs in Brazil and elsewhere; but even the modicum of education possessed by the average European statesman makes it plain to him that these nations are like the others, "too firmly set" for the occupation and conquest by an alien people.

Now no country could have been more firmly set than Belgium the density of her population and the development of her agricultural and industrial activities, being relatively to her size, greater than in any other country. And yet Germany has devastated the Belgian land and has doomed the Belgian people in countless numbers to massacre, starvation, or exile; with the full intention not only of military occupation which is already a fact, but of permanent conquest.

We cannot illuminate the subject matter of this article better than by citing the statement of a leading German newspaper to show what conquered British Colonies, or conquered Britain herself, or any of her Allies who might be conquered, would have to endure.

The *Tag*, of Berlin, says that new territories conquered by Germany in the present war must not be incorporated in the German Empire as States on an equal footing with those already comprised in that Empire, but must be considered as subject countries and treated as colonies in which the inhabitants will not have the same rights as the citizens of the German Fatherland.

To be continued.







## Universal and Obligatory War Service for Men and Women.

The Women's Social and Political Union

Has arranged to hold

# A WAR SERVICE MEETING,

EVERY THURSDAY AFTERNOON from 3 to 5.

The next Meeting will be held at **THE LONDON PAVILION,**  
Piccadilly Circus, W. (Very kindly lent by  
the Management.), on Thursday, July 1st, at 3 p.m.

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

**Speakers: Mrs PANKHURST,**

**Miss ANNIE KENNEY and others.**

## W.S.P.U. RECRUITING MEETINGS.

The W.S.P.U. is holding a series of Patriotic Meetings in and around London, in order to urge a response to Lord Kitchener's Appeal for Army Recruits, at which General Flora Drummond is the chief speaker.

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

Friday, June 25th . . . . .	TOWER HILL, 12.30 p.m.
Sunday, June 27th . . . . .	HYDE PARK, 3.30 p.m.
Wednesday, June 30th . . . . .	ILFORD, 8 p.m.

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