

"The Suffragette," June 18, 1915.

Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper.

The Suffragette

Edited by Christabel Pankhurst

Official Organ of the
Women's Social and Political Union

No. 106—Vol. IV.

FRIDAY, JUNE 18, 1915.

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Review of the Week.

The People's Voice.

ONE of the compelling reasons why each man and woman in this country should, under a scheme for universal national service, be organised and set to his or her appropriate war task, is that such an arrangement will spread public calm and confidence.

As things are to-day, every responsible being, man or woman, suffers intensely at the thought that he or she may not be doing the utmost possible and that the total working and fighting strength of the country is not being utilised to its fullest extent.

When we think of all the suffering that might be spared by a thoroughgoing and therefore speedy prosecution of this war to the point of victory; when we think of the dangers which German aggression represents to our own country; when we think of the price that Serbia has paid and may yet pay; when we think of our Russian Allies unable to do all they might because of deficiencies in their supplies; when we think of beautiful Italy risking all things for our common cause; when we think of the precious blood of France ever the seed of human liberty, being poured out like water in this fight against tyranny; when we think of Poland with her hopes of national regeneration in the balance and her people once again and more than ever cruelly martyred; when we think of Belgium in ruins, in slavery to the German invader—then, as we have a heart, as we have a conscience, we cry out all of us:—

"Let us do more! Where is the directing voice, where is the power which will command us each one to our place and that we may have the privilege of working or fighting, according as we are told by our leaders in this war to work or fight and of doing this with all the strength of our soul, with all the might of our body!"

That is how the British people feel to-day. If any voice is raised in any other sense, it is the voice of a crank or a self-seeker or a traitor.

Danish Women's Rights in Peril.

The great victory in Denmark, as the result of which the women of that country are now voters, comes at this time as a thrice-welcome vindication of the principles of human freedom. It certainly tends to make the enfranchisement of British women all the more certain. But the life or death of the cause of Votes for Women in Europe depends upon the issue of this war.

If Germany were to win, Denmark would not be left in possession of national independence—Denmark would go the way of Belgium! Why! even so long ago as 1864, Germany did not scruple to seize a part of Denmark and all that remains of that country would now, if Germany defeated the Allies, either be definitely annexed, or be turned into a vassal state by Germany.

Votes for Danish women would disappear; for does anyone suppose that the Kaiser would allow the abhorred institution of Woman Suffrage to exist anywhere under the shadow of his might?

Of course he would not; partly because Woman Suffrage is the negation of the might is right principle and partly because the fact of Danish women voting might possibly act as a cause of discontent among German women.

Women's Right to War Service.

The women of the country are still awaiting the call for universal war service; we hope that by the time these words appear in print the Government may have announced a great scheme for utilising their service. By delay or denial of British women's right to war service the task of the Allies is made harder and the strength of the enemy is increased.

To those inclined to argue that universal war service for women is inconsistent with women's voteless condition, we reply that we could have got the vote before the war if women in even greater numbers had stood by the W. S. P. U. and that we can get it after the war if women are united and stand upon their rights in the matter. But the condition of future political liberty for women as for men is to defeat the Kaiser in this war.

Child Care and War Service.

The wives of soldiers and other married women will in many cases need some help if they are to be free to engage in war service. What is necessary is that the public education authorities or in some cases the factories in which married women are employed, shall take over the care of families during the daytime. The schools should provide meals, preferably three meals a day, for the children under their care, the mother paying for these meals. In connection with every school there should be opened a nursery, to which the very youngest members of the families would be admitted. Similar nurseries should be opened in connection with factories. Such a plan would not only liberate a great industrial force, but would have an important and admirable effect upon the health of the children of the country; since every child received into the nurseries would have the attention of experts in child care. Moreover, there would be facilities for the purchase and preparation of food and accommodation in the way of playgrounds and so on, which it is often beyond the power of a working class mother to obtain.

German Bribery—Who is getting it?

The Germans spend a fabulous sum on bribery and their policy of bribery has been pursued in all countries including our own, for years. Just before the war and during the war's continuance, the money spent in this way has been largely increased. Take this passage from the speech of Signor Salandra, the Italian Premier:—

Prince von Bulow thought that Italy could be diverted from her path by a few millions ill-spent and by the influence of a few persons who have lost touch with the soul of

the nation, by contact attempted, but I hope not accomplished with certain politicians.

Then take the following statement made by an influential Swede to the *New York Herald*:—

The Germans have conducted a frenzied propaganda in Sweden; they have spent money recklessly. They bought up newspapers, paid the expense of telegraphing; they have paid pro-German speakers.

In Italy and Sweden, as we have seen, publications have been bought up or subsidised and individuals have been bribed; the same thing is happening in the United States, in Greece, Bulgaria, in Roumania, in Spain. Great Britain has certainly not been neglected. It would be the first rather than the last country to receive this undesirable attention!

Who, if any, is getting this German money? It is a public duty to put forward that question. In view of the revelation that a spy in the pay of Germany got elected as Liberal M.P. for Darlington in 1910, we are entitled to ask: **How many men in the pay of Germany** are active in our public life to-day, trying to influence British policy in the interests of Germany?

A Brave Girl.

Every Suffragette must be filled with enthusiasm for the Belgian Countess de Jongh Gargoye, a girl of only sixteen years of age, who has been sentenced to three months imprisonment by a German Court Martial. Here is the story of the offence for which she has been imprisoned.

She was walking in Ghent with her grandmother and both ladies were wearing medals showing King Albert's portrait. A German officer tore the medals from their breast shouting, "Away with that king without a country!" The young countess picked up the medals and answered proudly: "We Belgians prefer a King without a country to an Emperor without honour." She was immediately arrested.

The incident is of importance, as throwing fresh light upon what it means to the people of Belgium to be under the control of the Germans.

And what a contrast is the attitude of this brave Belgian girl to the attitude of the slavishly minded apologists for the Kaiser, who lead the U. D. C.

A Case of Treachery.

That the Union of Democratic Control and the I. L. P. are pro-German becomes more obvious every day. An I. L. P. member, Mr. J. Walton Newbould, is openly trying to secure the victory of Germany by urging Americans in a letter which has been printed in the *New York Call*, to compel their Government to put an absolute embargo on the export of war materials, munitions, raw cotton, copper, etc., to any of the belligerent nations.

As the Allies have the command of the sea in this war and can prevent munitions of war from reaching Germany, such material exported from America is a strength to the Allies and a help to them in gaining the victory.

Mr Newbould knows this, but nevertheless he wants the Allies to be if possible defeated, by being deprived of supplies from America. Says he—

This war can only be won or lost by ever increasing the supply of shells. That fact is established. American factories are being pushed to complete that supply. Stop them! Stop them! For the love of humanity and the future of civilisation, put an embargo on this trade of hell.

In other words, Let Germany win! Let Germany win, who has not only its own resources to draw upon, but is also exploiting the mineral and other resources of France and Belgium and is compelling French and Belgians in the occupied territory to make munitions of war, to be used in fighting their friends and relatives!

This Walton Newbould and his associates are traitors!

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A Reply to Kindly Advisers.

Kindly advisers, while expressing their admiration of the war policy of this paper, THE SUFFRAGETTE, have suggested that it might be advantageous to change the paper's name during the war. To this we reply, in the first place, that we notice that Unionists have not ceased to use the word Unionist, that the Liberals have not ceased to use the word Liberal, that Nationalists have not ceased to call themselves Nationalists, that Socialists or Labour men have not ceased to call themselves Socialists or Labour men. How then would the nation be served by our abandonment of a distinctive name?

We would further point out that the retention of the word *Suffragette* during the war is in itself a standing example and rebuke to all men malcontents who are attempting or may hereafter, while the country is still in danger, attempt to pursue the controversies of peace time.

Phrases that may Mislead.

It is urgently essential that the public shall not become the slave of phrases which, instead of helping thought, tend to imprison it. For example, there is the saying that "pessimism in the civilian is the equivalent of cowardice in the soldier." The danger of such an expression lies in the fact that the word pessimism is not always given its true meaning.

Where this war is concerned, the pessimists are those who say that this "must inevitably be a drawn war" and that it can have "no conclusive result." Such people, we notice, invariably do their utmost to contribute to the fulfilment of their prophecy, by sitting down and doing nothing or even by trying to hinder every national effort towards a decisive victory.

The British Temperament.

There is another class of people who are often falsely accused of pessimism, who are determined to see and to foresee the very worst, to take into account every weakness on our own side and every strength and every wickedness and treachery on the side of the enemy and to plan and to act accordingly. Not only are such people determined to face facts themselves, but they are determined that everybody else shall face them too.

Where the British public is concerned, this facing of the facts and realising the worst is especially imperative, because the British temperament is to work harder under difficulties than in the absence of difficulties. Hardship and danger and difficulty are a stimulus to the people of this country, who never display their full working and fighting power save in times of greatest stress.

Another Misunderstanding.

Another statement that has been made has also proved misleading to the unwary.

It has been said that the need for more munitions is greater in its urgency than the need of more men and that there would even be difficulty at this moment in equipping any greatly increased number of recruits.

Now this statement does not mean and was never intended to mean, that the country does not need both more men and more munitions. And yet it has been used as an argument against making a great call upon the military service of the as yet un-enlisted male population.

The truth is, that the better organisation would be possible under a scheme of universal national service, would enable us to contribute to the defence of the common cause of the Allies a vastly greater number of men and a vastly greater supply of munitions of war.

The example of France shows that; and even in France they are determined to increase their strength by giving still greater perfection to their national organisation.

GERMANY AGAINST THE WORLD

We reproduce, with acknowledgments to the "Outlook," the following extract from an article by a foreign correspondent which recently appeared in its pages:—

THE present war is not an ordinary war. It is, on the part of Germany, an anarchical attack upon the society of nations, upon humanity and civilisation as a whole.

It is a deliberate attempt to impose upon the world German rule by terror and by unrestrained crime.

All civilised nations are interested in the preservation of human civilisation, in the continuance of progress, in the defence of law and order as established by thousands of years of human advance. Germany's attack upon France, Russia and Great Britain is therefore not merely a fight for territory, a fight which regards other nations but little. It is an attack upon civilisation as a whole and it deeply concerns all the non-combatant nations.

In a war waged by savagery upon civilisation with the object of dominating the world, there is little room for neutral nations. In fact, no other nation contemplates the present struggle with dispassionate equanimity.

To the few nations which have as yet not been drawn into the vortex of war, the constant crescendo of German crimes has demonstrated that a German victory, or a drawn war which would leave Germany in the possession of those Belgian, French and Russian territories which she occupies at present, would be a danger to the world as a whole and to themselves.

Austria-Hungary and Turkey have become Germany's vassals. If the war should end in a German victory, or should be concluded with the preservation of Germany's territorial conquests owing to the mutual exhaustion of the combatants, Germany with her vassals would dominate Europe and the world.

Germany has nearly 70,000,000 inhabitants, Austria-Hungary has 55,000,000 inhabitants, Turkey has 20,000,000 inhabitants and the districts of Belgium, France and Poland occupied by Germany have about 20,000,000 inhabitants. After a German victory or a drawn war a German Empire stretching from Ostend to the Persian Gulf and counting 165,000,000 people, would arise. A military State of 165,000,000 inhabitants would prove irresistible

"Died that we, their friends, might live,
Died to teach us how to give."



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

to its neighbours and it would earlier or later swallow up all the small States in its way. Holland, Denmark, Switzerland and the Balkan States would be thorns in the side of a Greater Germany.

By military action, or merely by economic pressure in time of peace, would they be forced to merge themselves into Germany.

A Greater Germany would, by their acquisition obtain some of the most valuable strategical positions in the world and its population would exceed 200,000,000.

Brandenburg-Prussia-Germany has grown with incredible speed by conquest. The spirit and the traditions of the Great Elector, of Frederick the Great and his successors, animate modern Germany and would animate a Greater Germany of the future.

Modern Germany strives not only for territorial power, but for transmaritime expansion as well. Her future lies on the water, as William II. has frequently proclaimed.

A Greater Germany, dominating Europe, would undoubtedly strive to dominate the world. The British dominions and colonies and the republics of North and South America would become the next object at which Germany would strike after a period of recuperation and preparation similar to that which preceded the wars of Frederick the Great and wars of Bismarck and the present war.

The present war is not an ordinary war. Its extraordinariness lies not in its extent but in its character. It is a deliberate attempt to make the Latin, the Slavonic and the Anglo-Saxon races subservient to the German race by terrorism, by deliberately planned crime on the hugest scale, to destroy civilisation itself.

Italy has entered the war in order to protect civilisation and humanity against barbarism and crime.

For the same reason for which in the past all the Christian nations allied themselves against the conquering and massacring Turk, the civilised nations of the present time should combine against Germany and those Powers which at present are neutral should ponder over the Turkish precedent.

If neutral Powers condemn Germany's career of unrestrained crime and if they wish to preserve their liberty and to defend civilisation, it is useless to utter pious wishes for Germany's downfall. The least they should do is to make arrangements for mutual defence and for combined action. Another Armed Neutrality League is wanted.

The German-Austrian-Turkish combination fights like one man. Its power is great and it can obviously be overthrown not by piecemeal attacks here and there, but only by a combined attack made simultaneously by all its opponents.

Italy has made a splendid beginning, but her exertion should be seconded without delay by Rumania, Bulgaria and Greece if these States wish to intervene. An Italian victory would lose most of its effectiveness if it should not be aided by Rumanian and Serbian operations on the Austrian flank.

If, on the other hand, the fighting on the Italo-Austrian frontier should prove indecisive, those Governments which contemplate action and Serbia and Rumania in particular, would bear a very heavy responsibility. Shortsightedness may induce them to sit still and watch for results, but wisdom ought to tell them that at the peace congress justice will be meted out to all claimants and that belated intervention may very seriously damage even the strongest racial claims.

Germany has made war upon the world. The world should make war upon Germany.

Germany has made war upon the world. The world should make war upon Germany.

MRS BESANT ON THE WAR.

Mrs Annie Besant writes in the *Theosophist* as follows:—

ALL over the world is the tumult of war; the lurid light of devastated homes blazes out from the burning towns of Belgium; the relics of past ages in Louvain and Rheims and Dinant have been hammered into pieces by the new hammer of Thor; hundreds of thousands of men, killed or wounded, strew the fields that should have been yellowing for the sickle; all the fair, peaceful industries of common life are whelmed in one red ruin.

And for what is all this pain, this agony of wrenched muscles and shattered limbs, this blasting of bright young lives, this destruction of glowing hopes? In the pictures of the killed that appear in the illustrated papers there are so many faces glad with the sunshine of life, bright faces of young manhood, dawning into virility, faces that mothers must have loved so dearly, must have kissed so passionately as they sent them forth. As one looks at them, one sees them trampled into crimson mud, shattered by bursting shell, riven by cut of sabre and is glad that the earth should hide the horror of what was once so fair. Clear eyes looking out so brightly upon joyous life, that have gazed unflinchingly into the eyes of death. Lips, still showing the gracious curves of youth, that hardened in the battle-crash, to relax again only in the peace of death.

Mighty Principles Battling for the Mastery.

There have been wars begun for transient objects, for the conquest of a piece of land, for the weakening of a rival, for the gaining of added power, begun because of ambition, of greed, of jealousy, of insult. In such wars lives are flung away for trifles, though the men who suffer in them, or who die, win out of their own anguish added strength and beauty of character, full reward for the pain endured; for they return with the spoils of victory into new avenues of ascending life and with them it is well. Such wars are evil in their origin, however much the divine alchemy may transmute the base into fine gold.

But this war is none of these. In this war mighty principles are battling for the mastery. Ideas are locked in deadly combat. The direction of the march of our present civilisation, upwards or downwards, depends on the issue of the struggle. Two ideals of world-Empire are balanced on the scales of the future. That is what raises this war above all others known in the brief history of the West. To die, battling for the right, is the gladdest fate that can befall the youth in the joy of his dawning manhood, the man in the pride of his strength, the elder in the wisdom of his maturity—ay and the aged in the rich splendour of his whitened head. To be wounded in this war is to be enrolled in the ranks of humanity's warriors, to have felt the stroke of the sacrificial knife, to bear in the mortal body the glorious scars of an immortal struggle.

Of the two possible world-Empires, that of Great Britain and that of Germany, one is already far advanced in the making and shows its quality, with dominions and colonies, with India at its side. The other is but an embryo, but can be judged by its theories, with the small examples available as to the fashion of their outworking in the few colonies that it is founding, the outlining of the unborn embryo.

The first embodies—though as yet but partially realised—the ideal of freedom; of ever-increasing self government; of peoples rising into power and self-development along their own lines; of a supreme government "broad-based upon the people's will"; of fair and just treatment of undeveloped races, aiding not enslaving them; it embodies the embryo of the splendid democracy of the future; of the new civilisation, co-operative, peaceful, progressive, artistic, just and free—a brotherhood of nations, whether the nations be inside or outside the world-Empire. This is the ideal; and that Great Britain has set her feet in the path which leads to it is proved not only by her last interior history with its struggles towards liberty, but also by her granting of autonomy to her colonies, her formation of the beginnings of self-government in India.

Moreover, she has ever sheltered the oppressed exiles, flying to her shores for refuge against their tyrants—the names of Kossuth, Mazzini, Kropotkin, shine out gloriously as witnesses in her favour; she has fought against the slave-trade and wellnigh abolished it. And at the present moment she is fighting in defence of keeping faith with those too small to exact it; in defence of treaty obligations and the sanctity of a nation's pledged word; in defence of national honour, of justice to the weak, of that law, obedience to which by the strong States is the only guarantee of future peace, the only safeguard of society against the tyranny of brute strength.

Great Britain sprang forward—the Protector of Humanity.

For all this Great Britain is fighting, when she might have stood aside, selfish and at ease, watching her neighbours tearing each other into pieces, waiting till their exhaustion made it possible for her to impose her will. Instead of thus remaining she has sprung forward, Knight-errant of Liberty, servant of Duty.

With possible danger of civil war behind her, with supposed possible revolt in South Africa and India, with shameful bribes offered for her standing aside, she spurned all lower reasonings and springing to her feet, sent out a lion's roar of defiance to the breakers of treaties, uttered a ringing shout for help to her peoples, flung her little army to the front—a veritable David against Goliath—to gain time, time, that the hosts might gather to hold the enemy back at all costs, let die who might of her children; called for men to her standard, men from the nobles, from the professions, from the trades, men from the plough, from the forge, from the mine, from the furnace; and this not for gain—she has sought to gain from the war—but because she loved liberty, honour, justice, law, better than life or treasure, that she counted glorious death a thousandfold more desirable than shameful existence bought by cowardly ease. For this the nations bless her; for this her dying sons adore her; for this history shall applaud her; for this shall the world-Empire be hers with the consent of all free peoples and she shall be the protector, not the tyrant of humanity.

The second claimant of world-Empire embodies the ideal of autocracy founded upon force. The candidate proclaims himself War-Lord and in his realm no master save himself; he declares to his army, as he flings his sword into the scales of war:

Remember that the German people are the chosen of God. On me, on me, as German Emperor, the Spirit of God has descended. I am His weapon, His sword, His vicegerent. Woe to the disobedient. Death to cowards and unbelievers.

The thinkers, the teachers of his people have formulated the theory of the world-empire, it recognises no law in dealing with states save that of strength, no arbitration save war. Its own self-interest is declared to be its only motive; its morality is based on the increase of the power of its empire; the weak have no rights; the conquered nations must be "left only their eyes to weep with"; woe to the conquered! woe to the weak! woe to the helpless! All religions, save the religion of force are superstitious, their morality is outgrown. Murder, robbery, arson—all are permissible, nay praiseworthy, in invading hosts. Mercy is contemptible. Chivalry is an anachronism. Compassion is feebleness. Art and literature have no sanctity. The women, the children, the aged—they are all weak; why should not strong men use them as they will? All undeveloped races are the prey of the "civilised."

Germany's "Principles of Colonisation."

And we are not left without signs of the application of the theory. Herr Schlettwein instructs the German Reichstag on the "principles of colonisation":—

The Hereros must be compelled to work and to work without compensation and in return for their food only. Forced labour for years is only a just punishment and at the same time it is the best method of training them. The feelings of Christianity and philanthropy, with which the missionaries work, must for the present be repudiated with all energy.

General von Trotha, tired even of enslaving them proclaims:—

The Herero people must now leave the land. If it refuses I shall compel it with the gun. Within the German frontier every Herero, with or without weapon, with or without cattle, will be shot. I shall take charge of no more women and children, but shall drive them back to their people or let them be shot at.

The proclamation was carried out: thousands were shot; thousands were "driven into a waterless desert, where they perished of hunger and thirst." On this sample, we refuse the goods offered.

Moreover, we have seen the Empire at work, carrying out in Belgium its theories of murder, rape and loot.

The "chosen people of the (German) God" stink in the nostrils of Europe.

This embryo-Empire of the bottomless pit, conceived of hatred and shaped in the womb of ambition, must never come to the birth.

It is the New Barbarism; it is the antithesis of all that is noble, compassionate and humane.

Humanity knows the ways of Goths, Vandals and Huns, the Berserker rage of the Vikings; it refuses to bow down before the idol of force, the negation of law, of freedom, of justice and of peace.

They that make the sword the arbitrament shall perish by the sword.

The war Germany has provoked as her road to empire shall crush her militarism, free her people and usher in the reign of peace.

Because these things are so, because the fate of the next age of the world turns on the choice made now by the nations, I call on all who are pledged to universal brotherhood, all Theosophists the world over, to stand for right against might, law against force, freedom against slavery, brotherhood against tyranny.

The Suffragette

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

PRICE ONE PENNY WEEKLY.
FRIDAY, June 18, 1915.

The Ways of Germany.

THE latest German method of warfare is to point to German frightfulness in Belgium, to the sinking of the *Lusitania* and to the introduction by the German army of new and unprecedented horrible methods of attack in battle and to say to the people of our own country: "You have seen what crimes and atrocities we are prepared to commit. Give in, or we will do all this to you and more also!" This threat is reflected in the minds of certain pacifists who tell us that in view of certain hideous developments of modern warfare (they are very unwilling to explain to whom those developments are due): "The day is coming nearer when the human race will be wiped off the earth."

What does this mean in plain language? It certainly does not mean that the Belgians, having been subjected to something approaching methods of extermination, will hereafter themselves begin a war of extermination against other people. It does not mean that the French whose love of peace is stronger every day, whose supreme battle-cry is not France ueber alles, but Liberty, Equality, Fraternity; who unless perhaps in passing moments of evil leadership have always been crusaders rather than conquerors—it does not mean that the French harbour the intention of destroying the other nations of the earth. Nor does it mean that we are threatened by extermination at the hands of the Italians. Neither they nor the Slav peoples (regarded by Bismarck as being, with the French and Italians, feminine peoples, lacking the virile aggressiveness of the Germans), are going to wipe humanity off the face of the earth. And no one has any such expectation of the easy-going British people who after years of warning and now after ten months of actual warfare are not yet putting forward all their fighting power, even in this, a war of defence.

Then obviously the menace to humanity if it exists comes from the Germany of whom Heine said that they had inherited the "brutal lust, the demonic love of battle such as we find among the ancient Germanic races."

And it was Germany concerning whom Heine gave this warning to the French so long ago as 1853.

Beware! I mean well with you; therefore I tell you the bitter truth; you have more to fear from emancipated Germany than from the whole Holy Alliance with all its Croats and Cossacks. You see that if we should once feel inclined to quarrel with you, good reasons will not be wanting. At all events I advise you to be on your guard. Let what will happen in Germany, whether the Crown Prince of Prussia, or Dr Wirth hold sway, be always armed, remain quietly at your post, musket in hand. I mean well with you; and I almost stood aghast when I learned

lately that your ministry proposed to disarm France.

As, notwithstanding your present Romanticism, you are inborn classics, you know Olympus. Among the naked Gods and Goddesses who there make themselves merry with nectar and ambrosia, you behold one Goddess who although surrounded with mirth and sport, yet wears always a coat of mail and keeps helmet on head and spear in hand. It is the Goddess of Wisdom.

Yes; if any nation is now or ever in the future going to attempt to pursue methods of extermination against the rest of humanity, that nation is Germany!

The poet Emile Verhaeren has declared Germany to be the unexhausted and perhaps inexhaustible reservoir of human ferocity.

Consider all the evil in Europe that is due to Germany!

A hundred years ago the poet Southey writing from the battlefields newly overgrown with grass said:

You will rejoice to hear that the English are as well-spoken of for their deportment in peace as in war. . . . It is far otherwise with the Prussians. Of their intolerable insolence I have had but too many proofs.

That abominable old Frederick made them a military nation and this is the inevitable consequence.

In the war of to-day German methods of warfare are similar in spirit though far more savage than they were a hundred years ago.

The destruction of Poland as a nation is essentially Germany's crime.

The forcible conquest and subjection of Alsace-Lorraine, another European tragedy is the crime of Germany.

The wrongs of the Slav peoples have been maintained and would, unless the Allies were victorious, be increased at the instigation and by the act of Germany.

Anti-Semitism had its origin in Germany and is by Germany fomented in other lands.

The bureaucracy which weighs upon the soul of the Russian people is an institution made in Germany and the political freedom of Russia has been persistently obstructed by the Hohenzollerns in general and by the present Kaiser in particular.

The burden of armaments weighing upon the countries of Europe is the result of German militarism; for every nation in the past and still more in the future unless German militarism is broken, must be able to defend themselves against German attack.

And Germany it was who prevented the Hague Conference from being a conference to consider disarmament in 1909, by refusing to be present if that question were discussed.

Materialism has its stronghold in Germany. Anti-Suffragism has its stronghold there. It is in Germany especially that flourishes the political despotism which reformers in all ages have resisted and given their lives to destroy.

Any gain by Germany in this war, would mean that these evils would spread at the expense of civilisation and freedom.

The war is a war between two civilisations—between freedom and despotism—between Prussianism and humanism.

No insular ignorance, no quailing before German threats of frightfulness must obscure the fact that to a free-souled humanity the rule of Germany is living death. It is worse than bodily destruction for it is the destruction of the soul.

The men and women of Belgium who have died rather than submit to Germany knew this. The free and happy people of France know it and that is why they have staked everything upon victory.

The fathers, the artists, the thinkers who have gone from British homes to die if need be by German frightfulness, know it and feel it.

The threat that the horrors, the martyrs of Belgium have endured that the French people saw coming upon them, when the Germans rushed upon Paris, that our kith and kin have

suffered in the trenches shall come upon us will not terrorise us.

If this is a world in which a nation of barbarians can "wipe out" the rest of humanity (the theory put forward to terrorise non-combatants into compromise or surrender) then let us leave it for a better. All must die but none need live dishonoured or enslaved.

The faith that right will be vindicated if not in this world, then in the next, moved the people of Belgium to stand as one against the German hosts who overran their land. In the moment given them to choose between honour and shame, the Belgians remembered and obeyed the Great Injunction:—

"Fear not them which kill the body and are not able to kill the soul."

When the Italians in their turn had to make the great choice between shameful peace and honourable danger, they too were threatened by the Germans with the destruction of the beauties which have come down to them from their glorious past. They too were threatened by methods of frightfulness and extermination more terrible—if that could be—than those suffered by the Belgians and others. The Germans were already professing to divide up in anticipation Italian lands among German subjects. But the Italians did not flinch. Better they said to suffer the worst Germany can do against us than be their accomplices in this war and their vassals when it is over. We know, they declared, on which side we must fight, if we are to serve the cause of civilisation and of human liberty.

And the threats of German frightfulness now being addressed to the non-combatants of Great Britain through the medium of the pacifists, are as futile as they have been elsewhere. For the British people know that nothing so terrible could befall them, as the victory of Germany and that which Germany represents in the world. They utterly decline to be browbeaten by threats, just as their champions on the battlefield refuse to be terrorised by poisonous gas.

Co-incident with threats comes the rumour that the Germans seeing that their projected world conquest cannot now be carried into effect, may presently suggest peace on the basis of the *status quo*; a suggestion which will be rejected with all the contempt it deserves.

We have all seen the old trick of knocking a man over by giving him two quick pushes in succession. The Germans admitting the impossibility of conquering Europe in one war, are quite likely to try the policy of the double push. According to such a policy the present war would be regarded as having shaken the equilibrium of the Allies and would be followed by another war, five or ten or twenty years hence, designed to complete the operation.

During the interval between this and the next war Germany would pursue a furious intrigue, would make unprecedented and savage preparation for war and would make threats in the hope of cowering her prospective foe and thus decreasing their resisting power.

Now if a private individual is threatened that he will be killed unless he submits to extortion the threatened individual does not, if he has courage and dignity, give in. Instead he relies upon police measures which are physical strength legitimately used in the service of justice.

The nations menaced by German violence must and will act in similar fashion: They will take steps now to prevent future German attacks upon them.

They will so arrange matters as to convince the Germans once and for all that an attack upon all or any one of the nations of Europe is far too dangerous even to dream of.

And they especially must and will secure now and for all time the freedom of the small nations who have in this war endured the greatest suffering and who may even say, have shown the greatest heroism.

CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

THE NEW JERUSALEM. INTO BATTLE.

By HEINRICH HEINE.

Passages from his Essay, "The Liberation."

The deepest truth blooms only out of the deepest love and hence comes the harmony of the views of the elder Preacher on the Mount, who spoke against the aristocracy of Jerusalem; and those later preachers of the mountain, who from the summit of the Convention in Paris, preached a tri-coloured gospel according to which, not merely the form of the State, but all social life should be, not patched, but formed anew, newly founded; yes, born again.

I speak of the French Revolution, that epoch of the world in which the doctrines of freedom and of equality rose so triumphantly from those universal sources of knowledge which we call reason and which must, as an unceasing revelation which repeats itself in every human head and founds a distinct branch of knowledge, be far preferable to that transmitted revelation which makes itself known only in a few elect and which, by the multitude can only be believed. The privileged aristocracy, the caste-system with their peculiar rights, were never able to combat this last-mentioned sort of revelation (which is itself of an aristocratic nature) so safely and surely as reason, which is democratic by nature, now does. The history of the Revolution is the military history of this strife, in which we have all taken a greater or lesser part. . . .

The Revolution Slandered.

Though the swords of the enemies grow duller day by day and though we have already conquered the best positions, still we cannot raise the song of victory until the work is perfected. We can only during the night, when there are armistices, go forth with the lantern on the field of death to bury the dead. Little avails the short burial service! Calumny, the vile insolent spectre, sits upon the noblest graves. . . .

The Revolution itself has been slandered like its heroes and represented as a terror to princes and as a popular scare-crow, in libels of every description. All the so-called "horrors of the Revolution" have been learned by heart by children in the schools and at one time nothing was seen at the public fairs but harshly coloured pictures of the guillotine. It cannot be denied that this machine, which was invented by a French physician, a great world orthopedist, Monsieur Guillotin and with which stupid heads are easily separated from evil hearts, this wholesome machine has indeed been applied rather frequently, but still only in incurable diseases, in such cases, for example, as treachery, falsehood and weakness and the patients were not long tortured, not racked and broken on the wheel as thousands upon thousands of roturiers and villains, citizens and peasants were tortured, racked and broken on the wheel in the good old time.

France, the Land of Freedom— Prussia, the Land of the Philistine.

Seriousness shows itself more majestically when laughter leads the way. And the age in this shows itself exactly like its children among the French, who have written very terribly wanton books and yet have been very strong and serious when strength and seriousness were necessary. . . .

As if freedom were not as good a religion as any other! And since it is ours, we may, meeting with the same measure, declare its contemners to be themselves frivolous and irreligious.

Yes, I repeat the words with which I began these pages; freedom is a new religion, the religion of our age. If Christ is not the God of this religion, He is still one of its high-priests and His name shines consolingly in the hearts of His children.

But the French are the chosen people of the new religion, the first gospels and dogmas were penned in their language. Paris is the New Jerusalem and the Rhine is the Jordan which separates the land of Freedom from the land of the Philistines.

and who have themselves in every age, poured forth princely blood far more abundantly, should not appear solely as accusers.

Only two kings, both of them rather kings of the nobility than of the people, were sacrificed by the people and that not in a time of peace, or to subserve petty interests, but in the extremest needs of war, when they saw themselves betrayed and when they least spared their own blood. But certainly more than a thousand princes were treacherously slain, on account of avarice or frivolous interests, by the dagger, by the sword and by the poison of nobility and priests.

A Messiah Among Centuries.

It really seems as though these castes regarded regicide as one of their privileges and therefore bewail the more selfishly the death of Louis XVI. and of Charles I. Oh! that kings at last would perceive that they could live more safely as kings of the people and protected by the law, than under the guard of their noble body-murderers.

But not only have the heroes of our Revolution and the Revolution itself been slandered, but even our entire age has been parodied with unheard of wickedness; and if one hears or reads our vile traducers and scorners, then he will learn that the people are the *canaille*—the vile mob—that freedom is insolence and with heaven-bent eyes and pious sighs, our enemies complain and bewail that we were frivolous and had, alas! no religion. Hypocritical, sneaking souls, who creep about bent down beneath the burden of their secret vices, dare to vilify an age which is, perhaps holier than any of its predecessors or successors, an age that sacrifices itself for the sins of the past and for the happiness of the future, a Messiah among centuries, which could hardly endure its bloody crown of thorns and heavy cross, did it not now and then trill a merry vaudeville and crack a joke at the modern Pharisees and Sadducees. Its colossal pains would be intolerable without such jesting and persiflage!

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By Captain Julian Grenfell, who has since died of wounds received in battle.

Reprinted from "The Times" of May 28th.

The naked earth is warm with Spring,
And with green grass and bursting trees
Leans to the sun's gaze glorying,
And quivers in the sunny breeze;

And Life is Colour and Warmth and Light,
And a striving evermore for these;
And he is dead who will not fight;
And who dies fighting has increase.

The fighting man shall from the sun
Take warmth and life from the glowing
earth;
Speed with the light-foot winds to run,
And with the trees to newer birth;
And find, when fighting shall be done,
Great rest and fullness after death.

All the bright company of Heaven
Hold high in their high comradeship,
The Dog-Star and the Sisters Seven,
Orion's Belt and Sworded hip.

The woodland trees that stand together,
They stand to him each one a friend;
They gently speak in the windy weather;
They guide to valley and ridges' end.

The kestrel hovering by day,
And the little owl that calls by night,
Bid him be swift and keen as they,
As keen of ear, as swift of sight.

The blackbird sings to him, "Brother, brother,
"If this be the last song you shall sing
"Sing well, for you may not sing another;
"Brother, sing."

In dreary doubtful waiting hours,
Before the brazen frenzy starts,
The horses show him nobler powers;
O patient eyes, courageous hearts.

And when the burning moment breaks,
And all things else are out of mind,
And only Joy-of-Battle takes
Him by the throat and makes him blind,

Through joy and blindness she shall know,
Not caring much to know, that still
Nor lead nor steel shall reach him, so
That it be not the Destined Will.

The thundering line of battle stands,
And in the air Death moans and sings;
But Day shall clasp him with strong hands,
And Night shall fold him in soft wings.

Flanders, April, 1915.

J. G.

WAR SERVICE FOR ALL.

The Principle Involved.

THERE are some who oppose the adoption of universal obligatory military service as a means of shortening this war, as a means of equalising and thus lightening the burdens which fall upon our Allies, as a means above all of insuring the victory of democratic principles over that despotism which has its root in Germany. They profess to base their opposition upon principle. But compulsory military service in a democratic country, as has been truly said, is not a question of principle; it is a question of expediency or rather of necessity.

The Case of France.

France is as democratic (in form, at least, it is even more democratic) as this country, but yet the French have adopted compulsory universal military service.

Their reason for having adopted it is, that only by that means can they protect their freedom against the attack of those who would take their freedom away and impose upon them a very different sort of compulsory military service. This would not be accepted by their own free will and dictated by their reason, as a means of defending their homes and maintaining their freedom, national and individual; it would be compulsory military service imposed upon them by a conqueror, for the conqueror's own purpose; a system under which they could be compelled to fight against their own kin by blood or spiritual affinity. Switzerland, a stronghold of freedom has universal military service to protect her freedom.

Australia's Policy.

Australia is a land not less democratic, but more democratic than the Mother Country (for there women vote!) and yet Australians have obligatory military service.

Why do they have it? Not because they are more docile, or more careless of freedom than the men of the British Isles! The reason is that they believe it to be essential as a means of preserving their national and individual freedom against aggressors who might destroy both by means of armed conquest.

Compulsory Service in America.

The United States of America is a nation as wholly devoted to the cause of personal liberty as we ourselves. This is proved by American history from the days of the War of Independence until now; it is shown in these modern times by the rapid extension of the personal rights, political and economic, of American women.

Yet the American people at a time when they thought their liberties depended upon it, adopted universal and compulsory military service.

Meanwhile Belgium is Martyred.

While a handful of politicians belonging to the Socialists or the extreme wing of the Liberal Party, are misrepresenting the people by opposing universal obligatory war service, which would have the double effect of giving

more workers for the munition factories and more men for the trenches, the unfortunate Belgians for whose individual and national existence we are morally and because of our signed pledge legally responsible, are being literally made into slaves and compelled by the Germans to work in the factories of Belgium at making munitions which are used to kill their brothers of the Belgian army and their champions in the French and British armies. This is what a Belgian recently escaped from this slavery has reported:

Before the war Belgium had more machine workers for its population and more machine shops for its area than any country in the world. All of us whom Germany has not killed, except the few who are still in our ranks on the coast, are to-day being driven like dogs to work at a pressure no human strength can long endure at making shells to kill our own flesh and blood. If the advance does not come soon on the southern front, we shall die. Many of our women have gone mad with suffering and anxiety.

A Liberal Journalist's Inconsistency.

It is noticeable that those newspapers which cry out the most loudly against obligatory national service in the trenches and in the munition factories are the very ones who seem most to admire the efficiency the determination and the power of resistance of Germany.

We reproduce side by side two passages written by Mr Massingham of the *Nation* under the nom de plume of "Wayfarer":—

As to conscription, I fancy the new Government will decide to give it a rest. It is not in the least in the forefront of the scene; it is a fad, not a real national need which happens to centre on a bad piece of industrial organisation and a resulting lack of material and not for any real or proximate defect of men. No Government could dare to risk such a revolution without evidence that it was necessary; or without an appeal to the country to supply a deficiency which at this moment does not exist and is not likely to exist. . . .

What is the point of inviting a new confusion on the part of the old?

Here is a passage from a letter from a very competent and friendly correspondent abroad:

During the past few days I have had frequent opportunities of conversing with Italians of all classes; workmen, business men, consulate staff—returning from Germany. They are in magnificent spirits, but tell me frankly that the Germans are more than ever confident of victory. Every man who can carry a rifle or help to kill will count.

All the male population between 14 and 60 will eventually be called out to fight. The Kaiser has never been so popular and every atrocity is hailed as a new glory.

The greater the number of nations against them the greater the triumph will be. That is the genuine feeling in Germany. Depression and murmuring are unknown. There is no doubt that food is cheaper there than in Switzerland and Italy and we must understand that the job is a stiff one and the end far off even if new countries do intervene.

"Life and Death at Krupps."

Then we have the *Daily News* devoting a column to a description of the feverish activity in making munitions for the German army at Krupps. The headlines of the column are: "Life and Death at Krupps." How every Nerve is strained at Essen."

In its issue of the next day the *Daily News* in an editorial sought to advertise the idea that to introduce obligatory national service to be performed in the trenches or the munition factories according as the nation's needs dictated, would be dangerous to the unity of the nation!

Such statements are singularly like those now being made in the German newspapers. Thus the *Kreuz Zeitung* speaks of "warnings" against obligatory national service given to the British Government by London Liberal newspapers and says:

It is not without reason that these newspapers declare that one cannot in a week catch up the achievements accomplished by Germany in half a century; and that State compulsion will be successful only if it has the approval of the workmen. It is scarcely to be supposed that the working classes would accept measures of the kind that is intended, without a resistance which in present circumstances, might have very serious consequences.

A fine thing indeed it is to find the *Daily News* and the Kaiser's newspapers thinking in unison! It is evident that the Germans are above all things desirous that we shall not as a nation organise ourselves thoroughly for the purposes of the war.

The Irish Nationalists.

The Irish Nationalist Party has, we are aware adopted a resolution on the subject of obligatory national service, in the course of which it maintains that such service is not "necessary."

We have more understanding of the Irish Nationalist Party's position than we have of the position adopted by the *Daily News* and others outside Ireland. But even to the Irish Nationalists we would say: Have you forgotten the cause of Belgium? Have you forgotten your recent visit to France and the words and pledges you then uttered to the President of the French Republic? You said to him:

It is not necessary to recall to you the strong links of friendship and affection which have always so strongly united the peoples of France and Ireland. Constituting ourselves as Irish people, one of the branches of the Celtic race, how could we have forgotten France, which is the greatest of the Celtic countries. This blood-relationship has been fortified by the close association of your people and ours throughout the centuries of their history.

All quarrels between England and Ireland have happily come to an end and also we with all the other nations of the British Empire, the people of Ireland, faithful to its past have risen up to defend the sacred cause of Liberty and of Justice. The Irish people desire to assure the triumph of the principles of nationalities and the rights of small nations for which the Allies are fighting to-day.

When in the past our heroic leaders were obliged to exile themselves from their country, they sought instinctively a refuge in France; and France gave to them a welcome worthy of the greatness of her spirit and the goodness of her heart. She considers our children as her

own children and it is for that reason that many of our people are to be found among your illustrious statesmen. It is a tradition amongst us that more than once the intrepid courage of the Irish exile was able to change the fate of battles.

The affection that we gave to France during the days of glory and continual success, grew in the course of the trials which she suffered during the second half of the last century. The heart of our people was wrung with anguish when we saw that the sacred principles of nationalities and the most elementary rights of men were trampled under foot by the brutal annexation of the populations of Alsace and Lorraine, torn from a country which they adored and which they continue to adore.

We have never ceased to hope that a day will come when the respect of right and of human liberty would be imposed on the world. We salute now the hour when these principles are to be affirmed, as superior to machine guns or to brutal militarism.

It will be the pride of the Irish people for generations to think that soldiers of their race have taken part in this heroic struggle and have spilt their blood side by side with the valorous soldiers of all the Allied nations in order to defend France and assure the triumph of right and of liberty.

The feeling of common danger and common tradition, the consciousness of belonging to the same great civilisation, have united all classes and creeds in this country in which intelligence, nobility, beauty are united. As a people they are fighting side by side at this hour. In truth, never did a nation give to the world a more admirable example.

To-day from every one in France comes the same cry, immortalised by your history. Long live France, one and indivisible! This cry the whole Irish race echoes throughout the world.

A Pledge of Equal Sacrifice.

To the Archbishop of Paris you Irish Nationalists said:

By instinct and without hesitation we have felt that this war was imposed upon France, which is perhaps the most pacific nation in the world, in the same spirit of cruel aggression and arrogance as inspired the annexation of Alsace and of Lorraine. We understood as swiftly as anyone in France that the success of this latest German invasion would mean not only the annihilation of the independence and grandeur of France, but also a mortal blow to all peoples who wish to live in freedom. As Nationalists we therefore could not hesitate to take our place at the side of France.

We look to the Irish Nationalists to fulfil in all things this pledge to France of equal sacrifice in a common cause.

We shall Fight to the End.

And addressing the President of the French Chamber and the President of the Commission for Foreign Affairs and other statesmen, your deputation said:

"We all, including the Nationalists are determined to go to the end of this war whatever it may cost; we are ready for every sacrifice. It is a case of saving civilisation. We shall fight to the end."

Now the position is that France whose population is considerably less than that of the

British Isles is contributing not only more men to the battle-line, but also more munitions of war.

Therefore whatever else may be said against the system it cannot be said that universal national service is unnecessary in the present war; and it has now become for the people of England, Scotland and Wales, a question not of doing as much as they are doing now, not of doing more, but of doing the very utmost that can be done by a population of this size organised to the very last point of perfection. To that end we must strive unceasingly.

If that is all—!

It is argued by the *Manchester Guardian* that:

If any kind of compulsion is applicable to labour at all, it can only be as an accompaniment, or as a consequence of the nationalisation of the workers engaged in the production of the munitions of war. We may conceivably transform the workman into a civil servant, but we cannot impose upon him compulsory service of a private employer.

This is a perfectly sound proposition and if the resistance to obligatory national service rests simply on that point, an agreement can readily be arrived at. For there would be no fairness or justice in applying compulsion to workers, while leaving employers free to manage their business in their own way, a way which might be unfavourable to the interests of the State and while allowing them to make extra profit out of the military necessities of the community as a whole.

A Demand for Financial Equity.

It is a pity that at the very outset of the war, firm measures were not adopted for the purpose of preventing, any except those at the bottom of the industrial scale (of these lowest paid workers being principally women, by the way), from gaining financially during the course of the war. That some have gained and others lost not unnaturally creates a feeling of unrest among all classes.

In the Army there prevails something like financial equity as between its members, but at home, chance and the acquisitiveness of the individual have had too much to say in the matter.

That employers and merchants should gain financially by the war is obviously a more undesirable thing than that the workers shall gain. Firm dealing by the Government where war profits are concerned will have many and magnificent results from the national point of view. Certainly nothing would be more popular and more calculated to inspire public trust in the Government.

The Bidding of Conscience.

It has been very strangely argued, that the system of recruiting in force since the war began has the merit of bringing into the ranks those most suited by temperament and most attracted by their disposition to warfare. This argument does not hold when tested by the facts of the case.

Will anybody say that Lieutenant Gladstone and that the poet Rupert Brooke were those specially marked out by nature and inclination for a soldier's life? No, they answered to the voice of conscience crying "the country is in danger." And the sacrifice and death of these two men and of thousands of others is a crushing rebuke to certain men of military age who stay at home sheltering behind the living wall of defence made for them by the bodies of their braver kindred.

The Old Argument of "too late."

While everyone in Germany who can do a hand's turn of work is inscribed in a card index, we have some people saying in this country (and here again is an argument that the Germans through their Press are trying to get us to accept) that it is now too late fully to organise the nation for war.

Well for us that Lord Kitchener did not use this argument of "too late" when he was called upon at the thirteenth hour to organise a huge new army to stand between this country and devastation and martyrdom such as have befallen Belgium.

"Too late!" is ever the cry of those who do not want to begin.

The Next Ten Months.

Ten months have passed in which much might have been done with a people so gifted as ours. We cannot recover those ten months, but we can resolve to use the next ten months, or if need be the next hundred months, of this war to better purpose. Where there is no beginning there can be no end of a task. So let the beginning be now. We shall be none the worse for the exercise.

To Find Employment!!

What France is doing and every day perfecting in the way of organisation, we also can do. Here is an illustration of the need of a better organisation of our industrial and military strength.

Some days ago a club interested in racing passed a resolution advocating the continuance of racing in war time on the ground that it would find employment for a large number of people.

The idea of providing employment in connection with sport, while every available hand is needed for munition making and other urgent industrial labour, for agricultural work and for the supremely important work in the trenches!

Women and Munition-Making.

Women, especially, take to heart the question of munitions, because they know it is their right and duty to be working in the factories to supply deficiencies in this respect. Almost unendurable is the thought suggested by words such as these by Mr Lloyd George.

Have you read the story of the battle which appeared in all the papers, 200,000 shells concentrated in the course of a single hour, on the devoted heads of the gallant Russians; 700,000 fired away in a single battle.

Had we been in the position to apply such a process to the Germans on our front, broken their line, driven them back the same number of miles as they have driven back the Russians in Galicia, what would have happened? They would have been turned out of France and they would have been driven half way across the devastated plain of Flanders, they would have been well out of the country they have tortured and tormented with a dastardly cruelty; more than that, we should have actually penetrated into Germany and we could have seen clearly in front of us, the end of this terrible war, the only end which is consistent, believe me, with the continued existence of the British Empire as a power for good in the government of the world. More than that, the only end which is consistent with the continued liberties of Europe.

So far as women are concerned, it is not the obligation to universal war service that will stir them to unrest, but rather the denial of the right to perform war service!

A WAR SERVICE MEETING will be held on Thursday, June 24th, at 3 p.m., at the Marlborough Hall, The Polytechnic (opposite Queen's Hall), Regent Street, W.

A COMMON-SENSE VIEW.

Sir Leo Chiozza Money, Economist and Liberal M.P. for East Northamptonshire, writes to the *Daily Chronicle* as follows:

MR LLOYD GEORGE at Manchester has reminded the nation that France is defending its existence and its liberty by means of compulsory service. That is sufficient answer to the Earl of Dysart, who thinks it relevant to the issues of the hour to ask "whether one slave is equal to one free man" and who combines an attack upon compulsory service with a sneer at compulsory education.

The French are not slaves and those who are attempting to excite prejudice against national service by terming it a "German" system, only suitable to men under the Prussian jack-boot, are stupidly reproaching and insulting our own Allies in the field.

As a matter of fact, the French army in the last few weeks has obviously done a good deal better than our own, although it consists of despised "conscripts." The explanation of that fact is not that the conscript is necessarily better than the "volunteer," man for man, but that national service permits and aids general national organisation for war, whereas voluntarism impedes it and may even make it an impossibility.

Arms and Men.

What does Mr Lloyd George's speech amount to? In the tenth month of the war he goes to Manchester to tell the nation that it is in a terribly serious position and that it has failed to do what it ought to have done.

Whose failure is it? Is it a failure of men? Mr Lloyd George's answer is: No, it is a failure of munitions. But a failure of munitions is a failure of men, for munitions are made by men.

The root of the failure is voluntarism, which has recruited the wrong men, as Mr Lloyd George admits and left a great nation to contend hap-hazard with a powerful enemy organised for war. People have no idea to what an extent the evil has been carried. Hundreds of thousands of men essential to the proper organisation of the country are now either at the front or in training to go there, "forming fours" when they ought to be arming the nation.

Simultaneously, not hundreds of thousands, but millions of men of less importance to the nation as workers are still in civilian garb. A country possessing 700,000 male clerks has actually allowed to go to the war a large proportion of its too limited supply of agricultural labourers! We had not enough of these in peace; we wanted more in war. Yet we have had the consummate folly to take off farm after farm its best men, as though the production of food were not one of the most important of war functions. And this in a war the length of which may make the food question very serious indeed.

The Government now tells us, through its mouthpiece, that we are getting as many volunteers as we can arm. What does this mean in essence? It means that because the War Office did not properly organise our suppliers of arms last year, in this year we are not producing enough arms to be able to furnish the men we require.

To say that we are getting as many men as we can arm is to pile excuse upon excuse and to make one deficiency cover another.

What the Government has to set itself to do is to follow the example of Germany and commandeer work. Germany, of course, did it long ago. Germany was turning her sewing-machine factories into armament works before we had even begun to make speeches on the subject and before the War Office had informed us in the House of Lords in January that it had "overcome" all difficulties with regard to munitions. We have such short memories that I venture to reproduce here what Lord Kitchener said in the House of Lords on January 6th, when the war was five months old:

Close and vigilant attention on the part of the War Office staff has served to cope with and gradually to overcome the difficulties of securing supplies and equipment for those new forces to whose future activities we look forward with all confidence.—(Cheers, as well there might be.)

It is almost incredible, but at the very time these words were uttered we were falling relatively further behind in our position with regard to munitions and men who ought to have been making munitions were still being recruited, even as they are still being recruited at this hour.

This is the natural and inevitable result of voluntarism. It is a machine not subject to control. It is a machine which goes when it likes to go; when it sees fit to go. It is a machine which works capriciously and which even when it works, will often give you the wrong kind of work. It is a machine which pours out labour in waste.

A Case in Point.

Is it necessary to illustrate the case? Then let it be illustrated. We have compulsory laws with regard to sewage. Time was when every man did what he pleased with garbage. Every man possessed a nose and every man had health to lose. Every man had some sort of realisation of the discomfort attaching to imperfect disposal of refuse. Yet how did voluntarism work in this connection? Everybody "did their bit" in some sort, but the result was epidemic after epidemic. It was only when compulsion was resorted to that the visitation of death in some of its filthiest and most horrible forms was at last got rid of. And note, too, that as soon as compulsion was effected, everybody agreed to it and no one thereafter dreamed of altering it. It is true to say that compulsion in respect of drains has become "voluntary."

Thus also it is with national service in every country that has adopted it. Every true democracy sees that, if soldiers there must be, soldiers ought to be democratic and not mercenary.

Mr Lloyd George, while hinting that conscription for soldiers may come and while speaking of the necessity for compulsion in regard to the manufacture of munitions, appeared to relegate practical consideration of the subject to some time in the future. I confess that I cannot understand this. It must be repeated that Mr Lloyd George's speech amounted to a confession of failure.

After ten months, with failure admitted, finding ourselves still unable to do what we would like to do for ourselves, to say nothing of our Allies, we are, it appears, to consider compulsion later on.

Even in the presence of terrible danger there is to be further delay. More advertising appeals and (alas!) taunts addressed to women are being printed, employing hundreds of men who ought to be making munitions of war. As a result of these advertisements, men are trooping off who ought to stay at home. Thus weekly the position becomes worse, for every week adds to the terrible armament which Germany is preparing against us. Is not Mr Lloyd George forgetting that two can play at the game of "more shells"?

Although Germany has in the field, with a population only 50 per cent bigger than ours, armies enormously greater than ours, she has yet plenty of men to make munitions. She is pouring out at least twice as much steel as we are. As soon as we cut off a supply of war material she has men ready to put up plant to make a substitute. We shut off nitrates and she sets up factories to make nitric acid out of the atmospheric air.

These are not miracles. They simply result from organisation. I know two men of similar income. The one has a poor home and appears to be a poor man, the other has a fine home and appears to be a rich man. It is all the matter of organisation.

Thus it is with Britain and Germany. We are a great people, with a magnificent Empire, with natural resources infinitely superior to those of our enemy, but we also have men like the Earl of Dysart, ready to pour out appeals to leave things to chance—appeals which would falsely teach us to regard obedience to duty in time of peril as "slavery."

He is no slave who, taking part in a cricket match, does what he is told by the captain of the team and enjoys the game because he is under "compulsion," knowing that if he were fool enough not to obey there would be no game. He is no slave who at this time recognises that a call to common duty is not a call to slavery but to honour and through honour to the means of victory.

What can be Done.

I assert that this country can easily furnish an army of 3,000,000 or even 4,000,000 men; that it can furnish not only those men but our Allies with ample munitions of war; and that it can also pour out an enormous quantity of peace goods.

I say this because, in view of the circumstances of the time, we can call into all sorts of work men, women and young persons to the number of at least 25,000,000 of all ages. So that if we deduct from these an army of 3,000,000 men and 3,000,000 men and women to make munitions, there are left 19,000,000 persons to carry on with "business as usual," or, as I prefer to say, "business more strenuous than usual." Add to this the fact that the 19,000,000 by doing each a bit extra can make themselves the equivalent of 20,000,000, or more, in time of peace and we see our way to possibilities of organisation for war and wealth of a remarkable character.

I thank Mr Lloyd George most heartily and most gratefully for the lead he has given, as far as it goes. Will he not lead us a little further? The nation is not only ready, but waiting for that lead.

A TRAGIC DELUSION.

A Commentary on the Result of Norman Angellism.

By CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

Continued from last week.

AS we showed last week, Mr Norman Angell's book, "*The Great Illusion*," had the effect, if it had not the purpose, of disarming British suspicion of Germany and in consequence of producing a partial disarmament in the military and naval sense which made Germany relatively stronger to carry out her purposes of conquest.

Mr Norman Angell in his book sought to show that Germany would have no material advantage in attacking us or any other of her European neighbours, because the wealth of the conquered territory would remain in the hands of the conquered population of such territory; and Germany as a State and the German people as individuals would be no better off—all this because of what he describes as the impossibility of confiscation.

Now, as we argued last week, the Germans intend to profit from conquest by means of confiscation, or of exploitation—or rather by both methods concurrently, the first method being applied in some places and the second method in others.

This Mr Norman Angell did not understand, or did not admit when he wrote his book "*The Great Illusion*." But he gave his own case away when he said, in the chapter headed "The Impossibility of Confiscation":

In the Roman times—indeed in all the ancient world—it was true that the conquest of a territory meant a tangible advantage to the conqueror: it meant the exploitation of the conquered territories by the conquering State itself, to the advantage of that State and its citizens. It not unfrequently meant the enslavement of the conquered people and the acquisition of wealth in the form of slaves as a direct result of the conquering war.

Then he goes on to say:

None of these conditions is part of the problems that we are considering. We are concerned with the case of fully civilised rival nations, and fully occupied territory.

There Mr Angell made his mistake! When we are concerned with Germany we are not concerned with a fully civilised nation; we are concerned with a barbarous nation which has brought its barbarism up to date and fortified it by scientific means.

Thus turning to the case of Belgium we see that there has been a seizure of all movable property, which the Germans could manage to use or take away and that there has also been exploitation of the mineral wealth of the country and of the agricultural riches of its soil. And further, we see that inhabitants of Belgium have been driven by force to labour in the making of munitions of war for German use.

Many Belgians have been massacred and others are scattered in foreign lands. If Germany were to remain in possession of Belgium at the close of the war, by no means could those who have been driven from their homes and lands establish their right to repossess them unless they had saved their title deeds or other

proof and these the Germans would probably treat as scraps of paper!

We have taken the case of Belgium as one illustration. What of the fate of Italy and the property rights of Italians if Germany were to win!

The *Kölnische Zeitung* has answered that question by saying:

When the war is over and Italian territory goes begging for ownership, each of us who cares to do so will be able to cultivate his own lemon or orange grove, or his almond orchard under the brilliant sky of the land of traitors.

What has Mr Norman Angell to say to that?

The Committee of the National Liberal Party in Germany has passed an unanimous resolution calling upon the Government to acquire in Europe, territory for settlement by German subjects. Does that not mean the very confiscation which Mr Angell has declared to be impossible! And is it not obvious that the people of Germany, whom Mr Norman Angell declared to be unable to benefit as the result of conquest by Germany, are as individuals looking forward, as we expressed it last week, to securing their share of the spoils.

In this book of his Mr Angell poured contempt upon the predictions of those who foresaw the present war. He also suggested that statements of the pan-Germanist policy, which have now been proved to represent the feeling and intentions of Germany as a whole, represented the views of a limited number of eccentrics and would never be carried into practical effect.

Mr Norman Angell, writing in sarcastic vein, said:

One pan-German journalist says, that 'the future of Germany demands the absorption of Austria-Hungary, the Balkan States and Turkey, with the North Sea forts. Her realm will stretch towards the east from Berlin to Bagdad, and to Antwerp on the west.'

This as we know by recent experience is an under-statement of German policy and the consequences that would follow upon a German victory.

Mr Norman Angell continued still satirically: For the moment we are assured there is no immediate intention of seizing the countries in question, nor is Germany's hand actually ready yet to clutch Belgium and Holland within the net of her Federated Empire. . . .

Germany it would seem, has already decided to annex the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg and Belgium, incidentally with of course Antwerp and will add all the northern provinces of France to her possessions so as to secure Boulogne and Calais.

We now realise that this is literally and precisely what Germany intended to do.

Still in satire Mr Angell wrote that the possession of the coasts of France and Belgium would, according to the pan-Germanists, dispose of England's supremacy forever.

The warnings given for years past by some in our midst that Germany would attack us and that we ought to prepare to resist such attack, which it was foretold would, if successful have disastrous consequences, were flatly stated by Mr Angell to be absurd and to be founded on a gross and a dangerous misconception.

He then laid down seven propositions, which we will state and briefly answer.

(1) "*No nation can in our day by military conquest permanently or for any considerable period destroy or greatly damage the trade of another.*"

The fate of Belgium tells us what is the consequence of military conquest by a country such as Germany. Even when liberated from the invading Germans, when would Belgian trade recover unless the Allies compelled Germany to make reparation! At the best a ghastly injury will have been done to the trade and every other interest of Belgium. The prime object of Germany is to dispossess the inhabitants of conquered territories and establish its own subjects there instead, so that they and the German Government may profit by the wealth which such territory is capable of yielding; or, alternatively, German policy is by fiscal measures or otherwise to exploit the natives of non-German lands for the enrichment of the German people and the German State. Where the Germans think it advantageous to themselves to destroy the trade of their neighbours, they will destroy it. Where they think it more advantageous to leave that trade in existence and levy toll upon it, they will leave it in existence.

In this connection it is well to notice the statement of Dr Kaempfs, President of the German Reichstag and of the Elders of the Merchants of Berlin, who has said that in the peace negotiations economic questions will occupy a large sphere!

(2) "*If an invasion did involve—as Mr Harrison and those who think with him say it would—the total collapse of the Empire, our trade and the means of feeding forty millions in these Islands; the disturbance of capital and destruction of capital; German capital would, because of the internationalism and delicate interdependence of our credit-built finance and industry, also disappear in large part and German credit would also collapse and the only means of restoring it would be for Germany to put an end to the chaos in England by putting an end to the condition which had produced it.*"

The irresponsibility of a man who could pen these words is too painfully obvious for comment.

The Germans' policy is to uphold finance and industry in conquered territory to such a point, (but no further) as is necessary in their own interests. The case of Belgium shows what that means to Germany's victims! also we know that preparatory to and at the outbreak of war, Germany deliberately tried to destroy British credit, thinking in defiance of Norman Angellism to be helpful to their cause.

Everything said under this head must be subject to the proviso that Germany will destroy the trade of others when it suits her to do so, or will levy toll upon it where that seems to be the thing most advantageous to the cause of German supremacy political or commercial.

(3) "*In our day the exaction of tribute from a conquered people has become an economic impossibility, the exaction of a large indemnity of doubtful benefit to the nation receiving it, even when it can be exacted.*"

Mr Angell further contends that this view is accepted in Germany. We know his contention to be contrary to the truth, the Germans attributing much of their prosperity gained in the past forty years, to their victory over France in 1871 and their exaction of a huge war indemnity. They are, as they have said, resolved upon exacting an indemnity from Belgium, over and above the money extorted during the war, which

A TRAGIC DELUSION.

continued.

in December last already amounted to four hundred and eighty millions of francs.

(4) "Damage . . . could only be inflicted by an invader as a means of punishment costly to himself; or as the result of a selfish and expensive desire to inflict misery for the mere joy of inflicting it. In this self-seeking world it is not practical to assume the existence of an inverted altruism of this kind."

As a matter of fact the Germans do experience a joy in other people's sufferings, to which they have given the name of *Schadenfreude*, a word which has no counterpart in other languages. And here again the best answer to Mr Angell is, Belgium—and the Bryce Report!

(5) "It is a physical and economic impossibility to capture the external or carrying trade of another nation by military conquest. Large navies are impotent to create trade for the nations owning them and can do nothing 'to confine the commercial rivalry' of other nations; nor can a conqueror destroy the competition of another nation by annexation. His competitors will still compete with him, i.e., if Germany conquered Holland, German merchants would still have to meet the competition of Dutchmen and on better terms than originally, because the Dutch merchants would then be within the German's custom line."

Here and not for the first time we notice a betrayal of a want in this author, of the sense of the human dignity of others and of a wholly materialistic view of life which inspires disgust in the ordinary person. But we will answer him in his own language. To deal with his second point first! We may be sure that Germany feels equal to meeting difficulties and deriving the greatest possible material advantage from conquest, at the expense of the conquered by holding the threat of war perpetually over their head. In some cases this would be done by turning conquered nations into vassals while keeping them outside the German Customs Union. And as to the first point, a victorious Germany would dictate terms to all the rest of the world; forcing by threats of war such other "independent" nations as were left in existence to adopt such a fiscal system and to carry on trade in such a manner as might be pleasing and profitable to the predominant German nation!

We know that Germany had even before the war, already imposed upon Russia commercial treaties advantageous to the Germans and disadvantageous to the Russians. One of Germany's various reasons for beginning the present war was to force Russia to remain in commercial subjection—probably on much harsher terms than in the past.

(6) "The wealth, prosperity and well-being of a nation depend in no way upon its political power; otherwise we should find the commercial prosperity and social well-being of the smaller nations manifestly below that of the great nations which control Europe; whereas this is not the case. The population of States like Belgium are in every way as prosperous as the citizens of States like Germany. . . ."

That was so and will continue to be so if Germany is decisively beaten in this war; but not otherwise. It is partly German jealousy of small nations that have had the audacity to be prosperous and commercially and financially independent, that has caused the present war.

(7) "No nation could gain any advantage by the conquest of the British Colonies."

With this point we shall deal next week.

A Tribute to the W.S.P.U. and "The Suffragette."

From the "Investors' Review," May 29th 1915.

So enthusiastic has a young friend of ours become over the pamphlet "No Deluding Peace," and so alarmed is he by the tactless assiduous of a body calling itself "The Union of Democratic Control," of which Mr E. D. Morel is the hon. secretary and treasurer, that he will have it that a counteracting society must be founded forthwith to propagate our doctrines. That is as it may be; we are too old and far too busy to be able to bestow any spare energy in furtherance of such an object, laudable though it no doubt is. Therefore our friend has been advised to betake himself to Mrs Pankhurst. A circular of hers and a copy of THE SUFFRAGETTE newspaper lately came to us, and after reading them, our admiration for the women, always high, increased much. If the incongruity is permissible, the attitude of Mrs Pankhurst and her society revealed itself to us as being far more manly than that of the body of men assuming to itself the ambitious name, "Union of Democratic Control." The women see clearly both the magnitude and the nature of the stern duty thrown upon us by this war and are as resolute that it should be fought to a finish as any statesman of them all can be, whereas the gentlemen who are guided by Mr Morel lose themselves in a mass of dialectics and pettiness too pitiful for notice at such a time, were they not so insistent. What do they mean by "democratic" and what by "control"? Is theirs a democracy of the type disclosed by Mr Ramsay MacDonald's lugubrious calculations about the sum "labour" has already lost by the war, or is it to be discovered in that supercilious chatter of Mr Bertrand Russell's "War—the Offspring of Fear," so well characterised by Miss Christabel Pankhurst? Supercilious, academic misapprehension of the forces impelling the enemy to force on this war could hardly be made to spurn the earth more contemptuously than effusions of that type. Decidedly, then, we should go to the brave women for help against the twaddlers and hectic tamperers with treason towards civilisation, to real democracy the world over and if "No Deluding Peace" can be of use to the nation's manhood—male or female—it is at their service.

The Children's Home.

We are glad to report that plans for the child adoption scheme promoted by the W.S.P.U. are progressing very satisfactorily and it is proposed to make a practical beginning towards the end of July. Since the meeting at the Palladium further promises of support have been secured, including one from the Rance of Sarawak, who undertakes to be responsible for the expense of maintaining and educating one child.

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Monday, June 21.—The "Era" War Distress Fund.

NINA BOUCCALLET, ROBERT MICHAELIS, AURIOL LEE, LITTLE JUNE, MABEL LOVE, JAMES WATTS, HAYDEN COFFIN, LOUIE POUNDS, SARA ALLGOOD, SUSANNE SHELTON, MME. RATIROVA, SHIRLEY KELLOGG, ELSIE SPAIN, SAM WALSH, etc., etc.

Tuesday, June 22.—The Women's Emergency Corps.

MARY MOORE, CECILIA LOFTUS, MARGARET HALSTAN, IEMMA CONNITT'S DANCING CHILDREN, BEN WEBSTER, PHYLIS BEDELLS, ELSIE JANIS, GODFREY TEARLE, ROSINA BUCKMAN, NELLIE GANTHONY, ALBERT WHELAN, EVA MOORE, ALICE ESTY, etc.

Thursday, June 24.—Serbian Relief Fund.

MARGARET COOPER, MARIE BREMA, MARIE DANTON, CHRISTINE SILVER, GRACE LANE, SARAH BROOKE, GEORGE ROBBY, KENNETH DOUGLAS, CICELY COURTNEY, FLOID ARISTON, etc. SIR JOHNSTON FORBES ROBERTSON will say a few words.

Friday, June 25.—Disabled Soldiers and Sailors (Lord Roberts' Fund).

EDVTH OLIVE, LADY TREE, ARTHUR WONTNER, MARK HAMBROUG, LEWIS WALLER, LOTTIE VENNE, PERCY FRENCH, GWENDOLINE BROGGER, GERVASE ELWES, MARJORIE MOORE, UNITY MORE, etc.

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THE FRANCO-BRITISH PEOPLE*—continued.

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

By JEAN FINOT.

ENGLAND AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

THIS must not be forgotten: it was not only romance and philosophy which went to draw sustenance themselves at the English source, it was also the men of action, the revolutionaries of the future who gained inspiration in the atmosphere created by the invasion of English thought, English ideas of equality and social and political enfranchisement. The memoirs of that time tell us with what piety all the leaders of the great revolution did homage to the English *savants*, English statesmen, English doctrines and the English people. And this admiration was coupled with the ardent desire to transplant to French soil the achievements of the other side of the Channel.

Danton was imbued with English ideas. Before mounting the scaffold he had recourse to Young's *Night Thoughts* in order that he might "die honourably." Camille Desmoulins, Mounier, Lafayette, Mirabeau, Brissot and the other leaders of the French Revolution appear to have been familiar with the language, the literature and the history of England. All those who had not the good fortune to know "this language of liberty" drew from translations a love of the people and the courage to conquer in the battle fought in the name of the people's rights.

It was thus that, little by little, the France of the ancient *regime* was changed. The violence of the eruption of these new ideas was such that all the barriers of the past crumbled. One would say that France changed her soul in the space of fifty years. Formerly respectful of the rights of the Church, of royalty, of the nobility, she began to manifest an independence of feeling which was a presage of the coming tempest.

When one compares the revolution of Cromwell to that of 1789 in France, one is astonished by their manifold resemblances. One would even say that France owes her unlimited faith in the strength and aptitudes of the common people, to the eloquent lessons which had been given to her one hundred and forty years before by the victory of the English people.

It was the English rebels who started this movement which was to shake the edifice of Society and bring to the summit those things which had been underneath. The English people had resolved to break all the fetters which could have compromised the newly adopted laws of Social stability. They thus destroyed the power of royalty and sought to do as much with the House of Lords. Just as in France later on, it was the sons of the people who took possession of the highest positions, and astonished the world by their unsuspected capacities. Ride, a simple waggon driver became a Colonel; Okey a barman obtained the same rank; Whelley a draper became a general; Jones a servant and the brother-in-law of Cromwell was also an eminent soldier; butcher boys Salway, Venn, Tichborne and others were brilliant commanders. Intrepid and courageous chiefs they were a living lesson to the generations to come.

The English people, at the sight of these men sprung from their own ranks, who without traditions nor preparatory education were able in the sight of eternity to hold their own against great warriors, conceived a just pride in its valour and unlimited confidence in its future.

To recall the striking incident of the French Revolution is enough to show how that Revolution followed in many cases the tragic

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

inspiration of the epoch of Cromwell. We shall find that inspiration having its effect in France even to the point of regicide.

To receive inspiration does not mean to imitate. The French Revolution conceived in other times and under other circumstances stirred the whole of humanity because it was above all, *human*; that of England was only English. But even when we look upon the great waters of the sea can we forget the modest rivers which contribute to its greatness!

Now it is incontestable that the English Revolution was in some sort the godmother of the French Revolution of 1789. And thus the contact of the two people had once again results most beneficial for the future of humanity.

In the eighteenth century France continued to suffer from social inequalities, but it was felt that the growing discontent was only waiting the opportune moment to overthrow the privileges, centuries old, of royalty and the three orders.

When America emancipated herself from the English yoke, France was jubilant; not because of the defeat of her neighbours, but because of the triumph of liberty. She was delirious with joy when she heard of the American declaration which reduced the Government to the role of the simple "servant of the people."

The popular impulse in favour of those who were fighting for liberty was such that Louis XVI. found himself obliged to go to the rescue of those which were giving a death-blow to his own divine right.

Intellectual France and the English Influence.

If from the popular ranks one passes to the representative personalities of the eighteenth century, the effects of English influence are seen with even greater clearness and precision. Voltaire, Diderot, Rousseau, the philosophers, learned men, men of letters, all allowed themselves to be penetrated by English ideas and submitted willingly or unwillingly to their influence.

The English letters of Voltaire (according to Condorcet, they mark the epoch of the Revolution), were written only as the result of his voyage to England. It was the decisive moment of his life. From that date the poet was changed into a thinker and philosopher. "The spirit of the century," as J. Texte in his *J. J. Rousseau* truly says, "which was to seek for some thirty years is found in this book. The *English Letters* mark the coming of age of the eighteenth century."

The taste for English things in literature became a rage. The fire lit by the enthusiasm of Voltaire was simply prodigious.

Later on, exasperated in his self-respect as a French writer, Voltaire tried in vain to arrest this movement: the lettered public turned away from its former guide in order to follow the pro-English and their idols. The encyclopaedists burnt incense before the English novel, which they ranked far above the works of French authors.

Buffon went so far as to proclaim that the truth of nature was to be found in Richardson. "Diderot is wholly English," declared Brunetiere (*Les Epoues du Theatre Francais*). He not only spent his life in preaching the *culte* of English thought and the English people, but he appropriated their essential virtues which, in his work, became resplendent with many and new attractions.

However original his genius as a thinker and a stylist may have been, he did not cease to attach it to English roots as though he felt this intellectual descent must enoble the source of his creation. He constantly proclaimed that his masters each in turn were Richardson or Lillo, Sterne, or Moore, Fielding

or Addison. One must read his enthusiastic praise of Richardson in order to understand how under his direct inspiration Diderot came to write the *Heloise*, which one would say was a variation on Clarissa Harlowe. To this work also he owes the *History of Mlle de la Chauv* and the *Deux Amis de Bourlonne*. Let us remember these words of Diderot, "I know the house of Harlowe as my own; the residence of my father is not more familiar to me than that of Grandison (Diderot Eloge de Richardson)."

What shall we say of the other French writers; if one of the most profound and the most original and the most brilliant such as Diderot did not hardly enough to compare the romance of Richardson "to Moses, Homer, Euripides and Sophocles."

The fashion for the English was so irresistible, their influence so overwhelming, that France was invaded by a deluge of romances written in the manner of those of the other side of the Channel. French authors (among others Crebillon fils in order to secure the success of his *Heureux Orphelins*) presented their works as translations from the English. The Abbé Prevost gives an English stamp to his *Memoirs pour Servir a l'Histoire de la Vertu*. Apart from the novelist, the poets, such as Young, Thompson and many others exert their share of influence. Their profound melancholy charms the French soul and gives it hitherto unknown delights.

Never had the world of letters been so unanimous in its adoration. England had accomplished the miracle of leading the sceptical and cynical France to adore the same divinity—the sensibility and the genius of England. Rousseau, the immortal Rousseau, was perhaps more affected than any other by this English influence. "His novel, his *Julie*, its eloquence, its feeling," Freron maintained, "all came to him from Richardson." His genius before taking flight above the world and through the centuries, was nourished on De Foe, whom Rousseau ranked above Aristotle and Buffon. He drew from *Robinson Crusoe* natural philosophy and was filled with enthusiasm for Pamela and Clarissa Harlowe. What Rousseau became later on to Goethe (*Nouvelle Heloise, Werther*), Richardson was to Rousseau (Clarissa Harlowe, *Nouvelle Heloise*), according to the thesis so brilliantly advanced by Marc Monnier "*Clarissa*," said Rousseau, "gives us a complete picture of the human race." (Bernardin de Saint Pierre) La Harpe, Grimm, Diderot, indulged in uncharitable comparisons between Rousseau and Richardson, to the detriment of Rousseau.

Whatever may be the resemblances, however, the genius of Rousseau does not suffer from them in the eyes of posterity. What matters the origin of the materials which served him for the creation of his masterpieces if their divine beauty appears in all the purity of original creation. The fact is that a genius hardly ever invents. If one analyses the works of the most illustrious creators, such as Aeschylus, Sophocles, Dante, Shakespeare, Moliere and so many others, one is astonished to find how little originality there is in the subject of their works.

Without wishing to diminish the immortal glory of their creation, the critic cannot omit to celebrate the virtues of those who helped to build these monuments of beauty and of truth.

The case of Richardson and the English moreover is glorious, in a sense other than that of a modest lender of the tools which will help to an immortal creation.

We owe to them not only the material of the bourgeois romance, but also the understanding of human feeling. They conquered for the humble ones of life, the right of coming out into full daylight and of watering with tears their moral sufferings and the troubles of their heart. A world of new souls was annexed. Rousseau with his acute sensibility and the depths of his profound genius, was able to transform this English conquest into a human conquest. . . . Richardson and his satellites are rather forgotten. Rousseau remains standing in the midst of the writers who in their turn were inspired by him, of the imitators blindly following the interrupted action of his genius.

It is from him that the French literature of our day proceeds, as well as the literature of the world thus tributary to France, while adoring one of the most glorious of her children and while France cannot forget those who contributed to his birth, merits and his glory.

W.S.P.U. War Service Meetings.

A meeting will be held at the Marlborough Hall, the Polytechnic, Regent Street, W., on Thursday next, June 24th, at 3 p.m.

Speakers:—Mrs PANKHURST, Miss ANNIE KENNEY, C. F. WYN, Esq., Secretary of the London Czech Committee.

The object of these meetings is to demand universal and obligatory war service for men and women and to consider various means of helping the country in this time of danger.

A few seats at 1s. can be reserved on application to Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

W.S.P.U. RECRUITING MEETINGS.

The following meetings will be addressed by General Flora Drummond: Sunday, June 20, Hyde Park, 3.30; Tuesday, June 22, Regent's Park, 7.30; Wednesday, June 23, Hyde Park, 8; Friday, June 25, Tower Hill, 12.30.

War Service Jumble Sale.

A Jumble Sale will be held at the Elysée Galleries, Queen's Road, Bayswater, at 2 p.m. on June 28th.

Members and friends are asked to send without delay parcels of goods to Miss March, 57 Bedford Gardens, Campden Hall, W.

VOTES FOR WOMEN IN DENMARK.

The following comment appeared in the *Lady's Pictorial* of June 5th:—

This is no time for political discussions. Both sexes have but one thought and one desire and beside it all else sinks into insignificance. Nevertheless, we can keep a watchful eye on straws which indicate the direction of the wind in quarters other than our own and though at this present moment there is no woman in the kingdom who bothers herself to think about the Suffrage, yet surely it cannot but be of intense interest to all thinking women throughout the land to know that from this Saturday, June 5th, the franchise will be extended to their sex in the State of Denmark. Henceforth electoral rights to both Houses of the Rigstad will be granted to women and thus a very important step forward is taken in the world of women.

Apparently the Danes, like the Finns, are persuaded that women are as capable and as trustworthy as men in dealing with public affairs. As we say, this is no time to argue the pros and cons of female suffrage. We can only note what the enlightened Danes have done and watch developments. At the same time, even with our minds as fully occupied as they are with the awful struggle which our country is making for her freedom, we cannot help feeling that Denmark's move is one which must surely be ours in the near future. During these past few months women have proved to the hilt that they are in every way worthy to possess that for which so many have fought at such heavy expense. They have shown how far they can be trusted, they have given magnificent

proof that they are not likely to misuse power, to act rashly or without intelligence. They have been indispensable in the present crisis; they have done men's work and women's work faithfully, untiringly, efficiently, selflessly. Never a word has been heard about women being "unsexed" during these past few months; yet, strange to say, they have been and are being called upon to fulfil duties which were not even arrived at by the Suffragists a year ago. So we may regard it as certain that though Denmark to-day leads, Great Britain may follow in happier times. Women will have fully earned the right to have a say in the conduct of the country by the time the war is over.

Memorial Service in Memory of Emily Wilding Davison.

On Tuesday afternoon, June 8th, a Memorial Service was held at St George's Church, Bloomsbury, in commemoration of Miss Emily Wilding Davison, on the second anniversary of her death. The Rev. Orde Warlow preached an eloquent sermon on the beauty of self-sacrifice, drawing a parallel between Miss Emily Davison's heroic action and the splendid spirit of self-sacrifice witnessed on the battlefields to-day.

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MOLINARI is still giving the best attention to Suffragettes at his Restaurant, 25, Fifth Street, Shaftesbury Avenue. Lunch, Dinner, or Theatre Supper, 1s. 3d., 1s. 8d.; also à la carte.

OLD FALSE TEETH bought up to 6s. each pinned tooth on vulcanite, 10s. 6d. silver, 14s. gold, 36s. platinum. Prompt cash or offers by return; satisfaction guaranteed.—I. RAY-BURN & CO., 105, Market Street, Manchester.

SALE OF PIANOS FOR FLATS.—Chappell, 105a, Broadwood, 17s. 6d.; Gramer, 12s. 6d.; others, 8s.; Uhlens Overstrung, 20s., any reasonable offer accepted.—11, Parkhurst Road, Holloway.

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THE AUSTRO-SERBIAN WAR.

By VICTOR BÉRARD.

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

ALTHOUGH reduced by the creation of the Albanian State, although menaced and ruined by Austrian policy, the Serbia of 1913, Serbia national and victorious, independent and Parliamentary, tolerant and democratic, remained a terror to the feudal, oppressive and inquisitorial Austria-Hungary.

Serbia, victorious but exhausted, dreamed only of peace and repose. She had lost men by tens of thousands. She had not gathered in her harvest of 1913 (and this people of peasants draw from the earth all their revenues). She had spent millions of francs on armaments and munitions and expenses of war. She was in need of fifty years of peace in order to recreate her people, her army and her finances; in order to organise and assimilate her recent acquisitions of territory.

But Austria was firmly decided to profit by Serbia's exhaustion in order to realise the great scheme which so early as 1906, one of the Austrian military papers, *Danymers Armees Zeitung*, had publicly announced.

The Levantine to be under Germanic Control.

This semi-official paper had demanded the occupation by the Austrian Army of the Serbian towns and fortresses of Belgrade and Nisch. The annexation of Serbia to the Austro-Hungarian Empire seemed to this paper necessary in order to open to the House of the Hapsburgs, the route of the Vardar, the conquest of Macedonia and Salonica, the "push towards the East and the South," to which the people of Vienna had aspired for three hundred years.

The financiers of Vienna said with the militarists that it was necessary to annex Serbia in order to make of Salonica an Austrian and German port and in order to put the Levantine Mediterranean under Germanic control.

In the month of May 1914, the Emperor of Germany, William II, and the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne Francis Ferdinand, met and drew up the plan for this operation which the Austrian and German generals regarded as swift and easy of accomplishment as well as indispensable. The Albanian kingdom, which had been artificially created in 1913, was already moribund... the German prince of Wied who had been installed there as *mpret* (king) was despitely entreated by his indomitable subjects. It was a question whether Serbia and Montenegro would not retake these territories of Scutari and Durazzo which Austrian diplomacy had torn from them in 1913.

Ever since the spring of 1914, some months after the establishment of the Albanian kingdom, revolution seemed inevitable. It might provide the Austrians with a pretext for invading the new Serbian provinces, under cover of a temporary passage through them in order to re-establish order in Albania.

In June 1914, being in accord with William II,

the German Emperor, the Archduke Francis Ferdinand went to Bosnia Herzegovina in order to verify at the Serbian frontier the completion of the Austrian preparation and to announce to the troops that in the near future Serbia would have to reckon with their bravery. A fanatic named Prinzip then assassinated him at Serajevo.

Prinzip was a Serb by race, but he was an Austrian subject. He was not a Serb of Serbia, or of Montenegro. He belonged to Herzegovina and was born on Austro-Hungarian territory of an Orthodox Christian family. In Bosnia-Herzegovina the Orthodox Christians have always been harshly treated and even persecuted by the Austrian bureaucracy because they are of the same religion as the Serbs of Serbia and of Montenegro and Austria would have desired to convert them to Roman Catholicism in order to put them willy nilly under the supervision of her Clergy. In all the southern provinces of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Catholic is favoured, the Mussulman is protected, but the Orthodox Christian is oppressed.

What Prinzip had seen.

The people of Herzegovina were still more harshly treated than the other Orthodox Christians. They detested Austria and dreamed only of deliverance as did the Italians of Lombardy or of Venice in the time of Silvio Pellico.

Prinzip was the incarnation of all the anger and all the hatred of the people of Herzegovina against the abuses of the Austro-Hungarian Government. He shared the hopes of all the Serbo-Croats of a coming liberation. He lived, as they lived, only in the dream of national union. Prinzip had been expelled from the *lycée* of Serajevo and he had seen a number of his comrades infamously treated by the officers of the Austrian garrison.

In 1908, a Serbo-Croatian agitation had already broken out in the Austrian provinces of Croatia and the Government of Vienna had accused Serbia of fomenting the revolution.

A trial celebrated under the name of the Agram trial, had been conducted and judgment pronounced on Austrian territory. It had proved that Serbia had not had the least share in these events.

In 1909—the second attempt—a Viennese professor, one Dr Friedjung, had published documents which proved, so he said, the existence of a secret understanding between the Serbo-Croatian agitators and Serbia. Upon the application of Croatian Deputies a new trial, known as the Friedjung trial, was opened in Vienna. It demonstrated the documents produced to be forgeries and proved also that these forgeries were the work of the Austro-Hungarian Minister in Serbia, Count Forgach. At the trial Dr Friedjung publicly admitted his mistake and declared that the forged documents had come into his hands from "the highest source."

In 1914—the third attempt—the author of these forgeries, Count Forgach, was at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Vienna! As soon as the assassination of the Archduke Ferdinand was known, the newspapers of Vienna accused the Government of Serbia of being the instigator of the crime and for a whole month the Government inspired journals of Austro-Hungary repeated this accusation without giving the least proof in support of it.

After this campaign of calumny, at the end of July 1914, the Government of Vienna sent to Serbia an ultimatum, which exacted under a

threat of war that the military and civil authorities of Austria-Hungary should have the right to penetrate into Serbia in order to seek out and bring to trial the guilty whom they did not indicate. It was in disguised form an act of conquest on the part of Austria, the subjection of Serbia by the functionaries and the armies of Vienna as the first step towards annexation.

In spite of the two previous wars which had exhausted and ruined her (1912-1913), Serbia preferred a third war to this degrading subjection. But as in 1909 and as in 1913, Russia, France and England interposed and wished to negotiate an acceptable *entente* between Vienna and Belgrade. It seemed that Austria would again yield to the just remonstrances of all the civilised peoples. She was offering new conditions when brusquely the German Emperor, William II, declared war upon Russia, in order as he said to defend Austria his ally, who on that same day was in the act of agreeing entirely to the Russian proposition.

Thus was Austria thrown by Germany into this war in which the Serbs have been defending themselves for many months, in which the Triple Entente has intervened in order to defend the rights of all independent peoples against the bad faith of the two Germanic Empires.

The Heroic Defence of the Serbian Peoples.

On the 29th of July 1914, the Austrians opened hostilities by the bombardment of Belgrade, an open town. Belgrade, being within the range of fire from the Austrian batteries and flotilla, had been abandoned by the Serbian Government who had gone into the heart of the country to Nisch. Belgrade was defended at first only by one regiment of the Territorial Reserve. During one hundred and twenty-seven days (August to December 1914), the Austrians bombarded and attacked the town into which they were unable to penetrate until December 2nd, when they were immediately driven out.

During these hundred and twenty-seven days, the Austrians on two occasions tried to invade Serbia by her western frontier. In the middle of August, an Austrian army of 200,000 men came by way of Bosnia, crossed the Drina, but were stopped upon the slopes of Mount Tser in the valley of the Yadar, where a hundred thousand Serbs put them to flight after four days of assault with the bayonet (15th-19th August).

In October a new army of 250,000 Austro-Hungarians came again by way of Bosnia and crossed the Drina.

The Austrians having been reinforced, rushed forward, believing that they could capture the single arsenal of Serbia and the seat of Government, while their other Army occupied Belgrade. But French munitions having arrived, the Serbs resumed the offensive and between the 3rd to the 7th of December, they drove back these three hundred thousand Austrians across the Drina and the Save and drove out the enemy from Belgrade also. By the 14th December, the whole of Serbia was freed of the invader. An immense quantity of arms, cannon, munitions and provision with 60,000 prisoners remained in the hands of the Serbs.

The assaults of the Austrians against the other Serbian kingdom of Montenegro had no better success.

Thus two little peoples who between them number no more than 5,000,000 had put to flight the armies of an Empire which has 50,000,000 subjects.

A MESSAGE FROM MRS PANKHURST.

(Re-printed by special request.)

I ask the support of all who read these words, for two great undertakings. One is the work of National Defence; the other is a work of Social Reform.

I.—NATIONAL DEFENCE.

Our work in the cause of National Defence consists largely in the publication of this paper, "The Suffragette."

During the present great crisis, the mission of "The Suffragette" is to do its part towards maintaining the unity of the nation—the sacred union, as the French call it—and towards confirming the resolution of the people to pursue our righteous warfare, above all to expose all suggestions of dangerous compromise advanced by persons claiming to be upholders of the cause of peace, until the existing menace to our country and to the other nations of Europe and to civilisation, has been swept away once and for all.

Germany, in deciding to make war, counted upon the disloyalty of all those, including the Suffragettes, who had been trying to bring about a change in our national laws and conditions. Never was their reading of human nature so grossly at fault, as when they imagined that the militant women would be prepared to see the British citizenship for which they had been fighting destroyed or even weakened by a foreign enemy.

As one who, in common with many others, have done what I could to uphold freedom within our own national borders, I say that to me, this war of Great Britain and her Allies against German aggression—and the Hohenzollern and Prussian tyranny—is part of the same struggle as that in which all fighters for freedom have been engaged right down the ages.

If Prussian ideals and ways of living which have already enslaved and demoralised the German nation of more than sixty millions of people, were to be imposed upon the rest of Europe and ultimately upon the world as a whole, (as imposed they would be, but for the resistance of the Allies), then indeed the struggles of those who went before us, for individual and national liberty, for freedom of spirit, for grace and beauty of life, would be undone. To women especially, any spread of Prussian influence or power would be an unspeakable disaster.

German ferocity and cruelty in making war on land and on sea, which have roused the horror and indignation of the whole world, are the most significant warning we could have of the nature of what we can only call the GERMAN PERIL—a peril greater than any that has ever threatened human progress and human ideals.

But we must remember that there are methods more deadly in their ultimate effect even than these are—namely, methods of intrigue.

In our very midst are living people, including subjects of Germany, whose object it is to confuse the public mind, to exploit good in the service of evil and thus snatch for Germany after its necessary and well-deserved defeat some sort of advantage. That would be a terrible calamity for ourselves, our Allies and the whole world, in this and all future time.

Undoubtedly women, with the quickness and keen intuition which have always been admitted to be theirs, are specially well-equipped for seeing through and coping with these very dangerous methods of intrigue. Women have a way of knowing instinctively what arguments ring true and are the outcome of sincerity and what arguments are, on the contrary, tainted by disloyalty and a desire for compromise with Prussian militarism and all that it represents or are actually launched by agents of the German Government.

Certain arguments concerning the war, though they originate with the enemy, are often adopted and put into public circulation by others, some of whom are acting in perfect good faith and only need to have explained to them the deception of which they have been made the victim.

"The Suffragette" will continue to take its share of exposing such intrigues, which are in their way more dangerous to our country than German shot and shell and asphyxiating gas outrage and murder on land and sea.

It has often been said, that our position as an island prevents us from understanding the needs and conditions of our neighbours in Europe. Here again "The Suffragette" takes its share in bringing home to the minds and imagination of its readers the situation of the other countries not less menaced than we ourselves by German attempts at world supremacy.

All this has the effect not only of strengthening the appeal for the needed volunteers for the Army—because the more clear are made the reasons why the present warfare is necessary, the more ready men naturally are to risk their lives in the trenches—but it helps also to maintain and to heighten the indispensable *morale* and enthusiasm of the non-combatants of the country.

The W. S. P. U. through its paper and by other means has, during the past few years, roused a great enthusiasm for votes for women, which cause had fallen into a moribund condition.

We believe it to be equally our duty to take our share in tending the flame of enthusiasm, for what is in its essence, the same cause—namely, the cause of Belgium, Serbia and other peoples to whom this war is a life and death struggle.

I therefore ask all who desire to help and encourage this work to make it possible to spread the paper, "The Suffragette," broadcast throughout the length and breadth of the land.

The readers of this paper should be numbered by many hundreds of thousands. That means a large expenditure of money, because (and

especially at short notice and under present conditions), it is, as all who are experienced in such matters know, impossible that the paper shall be financially self-supporting.

I know that "The Suffragette" fills a special place of its own and has a special work to do, whose effectiveness will be increased in proportion as the paper is financially supported by all those who realise the necessity of keeping certain facts and ideals constantly in the forefront of the public mind.

As the war approaches its end and the time comes for the making of peace, which shall be a real peace and not a dangerous truce, the importance of the work of "The Suffragette" will become increasingly great.

That is why I ask you to contribute to the fund for increasing the circulation of "The Suffragette."

II.—A WORK OF SOCIAL REFORM.

Turning from this work of National Defence, I ask you next to consider a most important piece of social work, which the Women's Social and Political Union has in view.

We have decided that it is our duty to make some practical contribution to solving the problem of rearing and educating the illegitimate child.

This problem is not a new one. It is as old as civilisation. The war has called attention to it and by rousing public interest has made it possible to do something towards dealing with it effectively.

It is said and I think with truth, that the difficulty due to the war has been exaggerated, but whether or no there has been exaggeration as to the extent of the evil, the principle at issue is not affected, because this evil exists in normal times; (about 37,000 illegitimate children are born in every ordinary year) and there is no doubt that the abnormal conditions now existing have, however little, increased its extent.

In proposing to adopt a number of illegitimate children the Women's Social and Political Union considers first and foremost the interest of the child and of the State. From that point of view every child has the right to be loved and cared for and to be prepared for the work of life. Yet the illegitimate child is by law and custom denied its full birthright.

Ever since there has been a woman's movement and perhaps longer, the problem of the illegitimate child has weighed upon women's mind and heart.

The wrongs that these children have suffered through no fault of their own ought no longer to exist.

We need a change in the law, making *both* parents more fully responsible and providing where necessary for the assumption, by the State of full responsibility for these young citizens. Here we strike one of the fundamental reasons for claiming for women a direct voice in the control of national affairs.

In the meantime, something must be done for the individual children concerned and all the more must it be done because, even allowing for exaggeration, the problem is at present especially acute.

The Women's Social and Political Union wishes to set to work at once.

Again I appeal for the financial support of those who, reading these words, feel them to be in accordance with their own wishes and ideals.

J. Pankhurst

Lincoln's Inn House,
Kingsway,
London, W.C.

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Edited by CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

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