

The Suffragette

Edited by CHRISTABEL PANKHURST

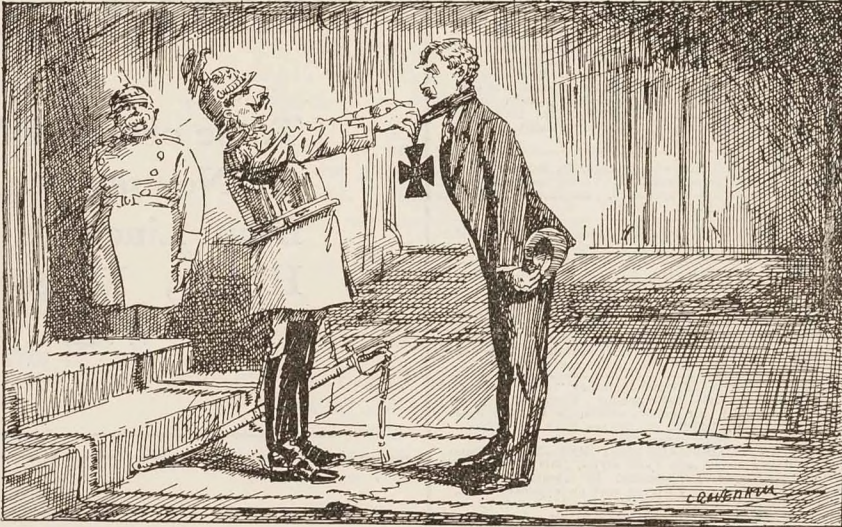
Official Organ of the Women's Social and Political Union

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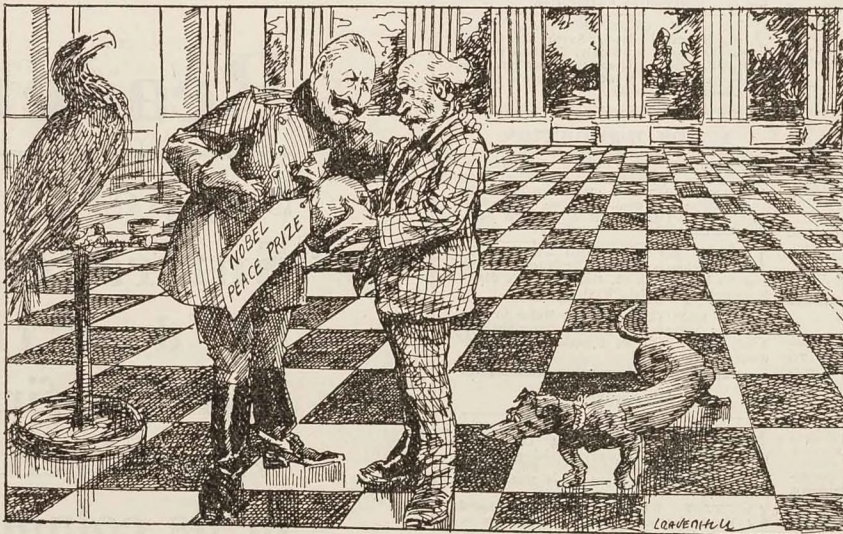
FRIDAY, JULY 30, 1915

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Review of the Week.

Germanism in Office.

Last week we said: The enactment in 1913 of a German law enabling the secret assumption of German nationality by men who profess to be British subjects was an act of war on the part of the Kaiser the only response to which is the exclusion from employment in the War Office and other Government Departments of men of German birth or descent.

We further said that any in Government service who are of German birth or descent who are loyal ought to lead the way out of public or quasi-public positions because none know better than they what are the dangers of giving the Kaiser any opportunity of undermining the British nation by allowing men of German blood who have insinuated themselves into official positions who may there work in Germany's interests.

What the Public Thinks.

All this we now repeat with if possible greater emphasis. We know that we are justified in stating that the public object on principle to the employment of men of German blood in Government Departments and above all in the War Office, the Admiralty and the Foreign Office. The public is not greatly impressed by testimonials to the effect that this one is "perfectly loyal" and the other "absolutely indispensable" or "altogether irreplaceable." Ministerial judgment of human nature is not infallible and the public prefers to run no risks. The public cannot understand why there are not enough Britons through and through to fill the positions in question, leaving the persons ineligible by birth or descent

for Government service, to find some other sphere of usefulness!

Not a Honeycomb of Personal Privilege.

The public is of opinion that the public service is not a honeycomb of personal privilege from which a German by birth or descent once appointed cannot be removed. The public holds that the national interest transcends the susceptibilities of individual Germans by birth or descent and it also transcends the objection that those who appointed them may feel to requesting their retirement and thus seeming to put themselves in the wrong.

A Time Dishonoured German Method.

The public is realising that to weaken a nation from within by getting Germans appointed to its public service is a time dishonoured German preliminary to German conquest and the public therefore expects that the principle of Britain for the British shall henceforward be rigorously applied in Government Departments. Our country needs not merely officially loyal service, she needs enthusiastic and single-minded, singlehearted service. For such service we must look to those whose body and the heart within it are All British!

The Gravity of the Position.

Though it was addressed to the Welsh miners in particular there is meat for everybody in Mr. Lloyd George's latest speech on the war:

There is plenty of valour in this land still. We have plenty of courage, plenty of patriotism. We want the system, we want the unity, we want the action together, we want the common purpose and then we will have castles of freedom that no enemy can make breaches in. We need all our strength, all our energy and all our enthusiasm for the purpose of fighting the common foe.

These truths we must realise and by them be inspired to action if we are—as Mr. Lloyd George expresses it—"to make it impossible for the ruthless Germans to trample our coalfields and cornfields as they are trampling those of France." He went on to say:

Ah, yes, I am sick at heart at having to call attention to the gravity of the position. I have done it for months and even my friends get angry. I am sorry, but I have done what I conceived to be my duty.

Who are Angry and Why?

Who, we wonder, could possibly get angry because the truth is told! The general public have only one form of criticism to level against the Government—namely, that the full truth has not always been told, that the real gravity of the situation has not always been explained, that a strong and decisive lead has not always been given, that a thorough going policy of attack, especially in the matter of cutting off cotton and other supplies, has not always been adopted at the enemy's expense. Without further enlightenment as to who the friends may be who get angry because Mr. Lloyd George does the people of this country the service of telling them the truth, we cannot identify them of course; but whoever they may be they are

wanting in good sense if not in patriotism itself!

The situation is sufficiently serious, said Mr. Lloyd George again, to call for the united and concentrated action of every man and woman throughout this land. Well, the women are ready to give their strength and to render their service to the country and they are looking to the Munitions Minister and to the Government as a whole to utilise their work in the interests of national defence.

The Patriotism of Militant Suffragists.

In this time of imminent peril to our liberty, to our country and to Europe, we militant Suffragists often think, if only we had had the vote even ten years ago. If only the energy expended by us in winning the vote could have been expended by us in using the vote for the country's good; for the protection against the storm that has now burst upon it. If only the Government, instead of working so hard to penalise the militants, had enfranchised them and used the energies thus liberated in counteracting, in preparing against the coming German peril, how well it would have been.

In this connection it is interesting to notice that the official organ of the Women's Social and Political Union called attention on April 26, 1912, to the comparative neglect of aviation, pointing out that the Government had allowed other countries to gain an immeasurable superiority in the matter of aircraft for use in time of war and protesting against the reasons given for this neglect.

No New Thing for Militant Suffragettes.

If only to disabuse certain minds of the illusion that interest in the safety and honour of the nation is a new thing for militant Suffragettes, we publish the following extracts; the first is taken from the official organ of the W.S.P.U. for April 26 of 1912, the second is a report of observation made by Miss Christabel Pankhurst on her release from Holloway Prison nearly seven years ago. It will be noticed that they both have reference to the all-important question of aviation.

It is characteristic of our highly intelligent Liberal Government that while carefully providing an abundance and as some people argue, a superabundance, of Dreadnoughts they had allowed other countries to gain an immeasurable superiority in the matter of aircraft for use in time of war. This may be the result simply of stupidity and fossilism, but what are we to say of the manner in which they try to excuse their neglect? Say the Government in the recently issued Memorandum on Naval and Military Aviation: "There are admittedly advantages in a policy of postponing the development of aeroplanes for military and naval purposes and of leaving pioneer work to private enterprise and foreign nations." The italics are ours. This contemptible plan of picking other people's brains and of contributing nothing to the risks and costs of what is (quite apart from its connection with warfare) a great new departure in human activity, fills women, at any rate, with shame. In the days when Britain's name was established men must surely have been free from the degeneracy implied in the use of words such as we have quoted. Even if the nation in the present, women's help is now urgently needed to maintain it in its original grandeur. It is of interest in this connection to notice that the most vigorous and public

spirited of the associations engaged in promoting aviation is the Women's Aerial League.

I noticed that in the two months in which we were in prison airships came out of the region of theoretical and problematical things into being something quite practical. They are to be as useful to us as motor cars, or even more so. Now, a thing like that means that the work is going to be far different in future from what it is today and it means, above all, that our own national conditions are going to be changed. It means that we in this country will have to rise to new occasions and will have to base our place among the nations on a different foundation. We shall have to readjust ourselves. Other countries are wealthy, other countries have greater territory than ours and other countries have far greater national resources; if we are to hold our own in the world in future we men and women of Great Britain, we have got to be well equipped, ours must be an Empire of mind and intelligence and spirit, or we shall be left behind. Other countries will hold the place that we hold to-day. Now think, we are all enough of patriots to want our country to stand high. We are the heirs of a great past; what are we going to hand on to posterity, what are we going to hand on to the Great Britain of the days to come?

Women and War Service.

We understand that the Munitions Department is making progress with the scheme for employing women which was outlined by Mr. Lloyd George in reply to the women's deputation on July 17. We hope that before our next issue appears, fuller and more definite facts will be available. Women are in a hurry to get to work. Their right to serve has been admitted and they want to possess the right in real earnest.

Lord Haldane and the Cotton Question.

Sir William Ramsay, speaking of the tragically mistaken belief that it was not essential to deprive the Germans of cotton, says:

The origin of this belief is Lord Haldane. At the beginning of the war he gave as his opinion that it would be useless to make cotton contraband as there were so many substitutes for it that Germany could use. This is absolutely incorrect.

This long-suffering country. It has been led from one dangerous misapprehension to another. It is especially hard on the young. For while their fate is decided by the "experienced politicians" of older growth, they have to pay the penalty of the mistakes these politicians make. They have to reap the harvest sown by the older generation.

The Question of Cotton.

We receive very many letters, especially from women with husbands or sons at the front, urging us to do all that we can to prevent cotton from reaching the enemy. One woman writes that her young son, who has given up his career to join the Army, spoke to her most earnestly of the cotton danger as he parted from her perhaps for the last time. We can only say to our readers we will do our best.

We now draw special attention to the following words from an important article by a *Times* correspondent:

What is suggested is that the Government should first put itself right with American legal and official opinion by placing cotton on the contraband list and secondly purchase on the Southern cotton exchanges the amount of cotton that would normally have gone to the Central Empires. This would involve an outlay of £50,000,000; if we bought up at the same time and on the same pre-hellum basis the exports of American cotton to Holland, Denmark, Sweden and Switzerland, another five million pounds or so would cover the total expense. For cotton so purchased—the South would inevitably insist upon this stipulation—would have to be stored by the British Government and could not be re-

sold to our own spinners until the close of the war. If it were used simply to take the place of the similar amount that would otherwise have been imported by British mills, the cotton growers would gain nothing and the whole purpose of the plan would be defeated. It must be additional to and not instead of the orders placed in the Southern States by our private manufacturers.

This plan which is on the lines of that suggested twelve months ago by Sir Charles Macara, a leader in the British cotton world, would, as will be seen, involve an expenditure no greater than that of ten days' warfare; and not only should we get good value for our money in the shape of this large supply of cotton, but also we should be bringing nearer the end of the war, save ourselves an untold expenditure of life and money. Yet only a few days ago the Government suggested in the House of Commons that for us to buy up the cotton which would otherwise reach Germany was a course which had objections on the ground of expense.

The Germans and the Suffrage Movement.

In an article on the question of the German spy and of Germany's attempts to foment trouble in other countries, Mr. William Le Queux says:

It would be extremely interesting to know whence came certain handsome anonymous donations for the purpose of enabling the Suffragettes to harass the Government.

The Suffragettes themselves had no knowledge of the source of these donations, honestly believing them to be from British sympathisers who desired to remain unknown.

We wish to inform Mr. Le Queux and all others who may be interested in the matter, that the anonymous donors of money to the W.S.P.U. funds are not and never have been anonymous, to the officials of the Union, but have been anonymous only so far as the public and especially the Government are concerned. The prime reason why some subscribers to the W.S.P.U. have preferred anonymity is that they were threatened with prosecution, confiscation of property and imprisonment as a penalty for supporting the militant movement.

Inquiry Welcomed.

Had Mr. Le Queux and others given themselves the trouble to call at Lincoln's Inn House before publishing any statement on the subject it might have been better. However, it is not too late and their visits of inquiry will still be welcome. If they can give information proving that any supporter of the Union has any connection with the German authorities such person will at once be required to sever all connection with the militant movement. But we are convinced that no such information will be forthcoming. We will state further that the militant Suffragists required no incitement, German or otherwise, to follow in the rebellious footsteps of their ancestors who by militancy fought and secured the existing liberties of this land.

Always the Same Principles.

In supporting the present war against the Kaiser, the Suffragettes are actuated by precisely the same patriotic motives and principles that in the past prompted them to conduct their militant campaign for freedom and when this war is concluded they will, unless justice be done, renew that campaign.

For let no one suppose that Suffragist militancy is dead. It sleeps only and when

this war is over it will be resumed unless women get the vote.

The Only Way.

M. Vandervelde, the Belgian Socialist leader and Minister of State, has just paid a visit to Soissons and the French trenches near that place. To find out how the moral of the French soldier stands, M. Vandervelde asked a "poilu" what he and his comrades thought of another winter campaign. "Why, it's the only way to beat the Boches!" was the immediate reply. After spending several hours in the trenches M. Vandervelde said he could not prophesy how long the war would last, but, with such soldiers as he had seen, victory was the only possible result.

It is not to be Thought of that the Flood.

It is not to be thought of that the flood Of British freedom, which, to the open sea Of the world's praise, from dark antiquity Hath flowed, "with pomp of waters, unwithstood,"

Roused though it be full often to a mood Which spurns the check of salutary bands, That this most famous stream in bogs and sands

Should perish; and to evil and to good Be lost for ever. In our halls is hung Armoury of the invincible knights of old: We must be free or die, who speak the tongue

That Shakespeare spake; the faith and morals hold

Which Milton held. In everything we are sprung

Of earth's first blood, have titles manifold.

WORDSWORTH.

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



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

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

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FRIDAY, JULY 30, 1915.

Humanity Against the Germans

IN anticipation of the coming German defeat the Germans themselves and pro-Germans are talking of a peace settlement on the basis of the *status quo ante bellum*.

Such a settlement is a physical and a moral impossibility, if only for the reason that the *status quo ante bellum* has been for ever destroyed by the acts of the Germans themselves. The world as it existed when the Kaiser sprung this war upon us has gone and cannot by any peace terms be restored. We must have a new and better world in its place.

To all thinking minds it has been made perfectly evident that if what the Germans term *status quo ante bellum* were accepted as the basis of peace, they would at once begin to prepare for another war in twenty years. A settlement on such terms would be in effect a partial German victory, if only because the Allies have been involved in a huge debt, if only because Belgium and the richest part of France have been devastated and their mineral resources ravaged. No, one of the main objects of the Allies in resisting the German aggressor is to make another German attack

impossible. Simply to return to the *status quo ante bellum* even if that were possible, as it is not, would afford no adequate guarantee against a second German attack. Moreover another main purpose of this war is to liberate and to guarantee liberty to peoples subjected or threatened by subjection by the Germans and their associates in this war.

Alsace-Lorraine, violently and unjustifiably torn from France in the Franco-German war, must be reunited with France. The Poles whom Prussia tore asunder in the past must become again one and indivisible. Every just demand of Italy must be satisfied. The Serbs and all the peoples ruled or menaced by the Germanic coalition must once and for all have their freedom assured to them.

The *status quo ante bellum* forsooth! Away with any such pernicious theory!

The Kaiser and his aiders and abettors the German people have long been paying and preparing for their attack on world freedom. Twelve months ago they took the course of submitting their ambitions to the arbitration of the sword and they must abide by the verdict of the sword.

This war has shown how not only in Europe but in every other continent German rule, German kultur, German thought and action are abhorred by the rest of mankind without distinction of race.

In South Africa the Dutch actively object to Germanism and all its works.

The native races detest German rule and in the *Nineteenth Century and After*, Mr. John Harris in an article on Germany's treatment of native races quotes the following words from the letter of a native of Togoland:

The Lord has hearkened unto our cry and we are for ever saved from the clutches of the German Eagle. Do fight for us that Togoland may never be given back to the Germans. Where shall we be we who hate the Germans so much? Let their coming back be impossible!

As the Belgians in the invaded territory say in a chant they have made and as all the world says with them, "Better be dead than German."

The position therefore is that as the conquering ambitions of the Germans in Europe and the world at large are contrary to the unanimous will of humanity, they must be abandoned.

It is suggested in pro-German quarters that if we do not humiliate Germany—whatever that expression may mean—"the German military system will no longer be able to resist the democratic flood and then Kaiserism and militarism overthrown, we may look for the diversion of the German current into the stream of Western liberalism." Tell that to the marines! is the most appropriate answer to such an argument.

The French would be capable of overthrowing the Hohenzollerns, except that they are incapable of accepting for five minutes the rule of such a House. But the Germans, if we are to judge by their history remote and recent, cannot and do not even want to overthrow the Hohenzollerns.

It cannot be forgotten with what contempt Karl Marx, the German Socialist leader, hailed the establishment of the French Republic in 1870 and with what contempt too his Socialist friend Engels wrote that they have a Republic "they think we ought now to have a revolution in Germany!"

The German Socialist leopards have not changed their spots as is proved by their conduct in the present war. It is idle to pretend, as some do, that the German people as a whole, or the Socialist section of it, believe that the war was "thrust upon them." If they did really so believe that would show that they are dangerous ignoramuses whom the Kaiser at his pleasure can dupe and dupe again for purposes of aggression.

In the days before the war the organs of what may be called the Kuhlmannised Press purveyed news and argument which caused their readers to live in a dangerous fool's paradise. From this they were awakened only by the shock of the Kaiser's attack. Such newspaper-created illusions cannot be created again and those who should make the attempt to create them would only be advertising their own incurable incapacity and gullibility.

The suggestion of the *status quo ante bellum* as a basis for peace is a German attempt to sow dissension among the Allies. It is a proposal meant for the delusion and seduction of Great Britain whose acceptance of such a proposal would be a betrayal of her Allies, a betrayal we may add, such as would never for one moment be considered by the British people. For example, it would be a betrayal of France and the people of Alsace-Lorraine whose "inconceivable attachment to France" Bismarck admitted in so many words at the time of the German conquest of the French provinces.

It would mean the betrayal of all the other peoples who are fighting with us and are fighting for us as much as they are fighting for themselves.

It must not be supposed that we are the only people to whom the Germans are already making overtures; knowing their defeat to be inevitable, they would be ready now to make peace with France on conditions which if the French were unwise enough and disloyal enough to accept them, would seem at the moment very favourable conditions for them. But they would leave this country open to immediate German attack and conquest. France is not only intelligence, but also loyalty and chivalry personified and therefore all German overtures (the first of these was made before the battle of the Marne in the moment of deadliest peril to France) have been and will be rejected with vigour and contempt.

With the same vigour and contempt will the British people reject any scheme for establishing peace on the basis of a past which Germany has deliberately destroyed. Silence! Germans and pro-German compromisers.

CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

BELGIAN FAITH AND HEROISM

The Burgomaster's Vision.
"Through all this carnage to the triumph of Right,"
"Building a better Europe."

M. ADOLPHE MAX, the Burgomaster of Brussels, who is a prisoner in the German fortress of Glatz, has written verses of which a translation appears below in acknowledgment of a pack of Patience cards sent to him by Mme. Paul de Mot, daughter-in-law of his predecessor in the office of Burgomaster of Brussels.

Of a useful virtue let us make a science;
Your charming action invites me to patience.

Thanks to your goodness, from to-day I know

The surest way of breaking my ennui.
I shall console me for my luckless fate

And every evening spreading out the cards;
I'll be no longer lonely and your cards will do

What is forbidden here—they'll speak to me.

Even now they raise their voice and fill the silence,

The living tomb, wherein the great dream I dream,

Of seeing on the horizon reddened by blood
The sun rise ending these long nights of hell.

Your cards I read as one who reads the stars;

Thrilling with joy, I see our disasters' end,
The splendid hope that we are marching on

Through all this carnage to the triumph of Right:

That all these heroes sublimely offering themselves,

Will build a greater Europe.

And as I listen to those unseen voices
In the calm of evening, I distinctly see

The faces of women bending over the dead,
Resuscitating them by the living flame

Of their divine regard, that speaks
The goodness that in these days of mourning

saves humanity.

Belgian Independence Day, 1915

The anniversary of Belgian independence secured in 1830 fell on July 21 and in celebration of the day the Belgian *Courrier de l'Armée* published under the title "1830 to 1915" a special issue containing articles by members of the Bel-

gian Government. M. Carton de Wiart, Minister of Justice, whose wife is a prisoner in Germany, wrote:

On this twenty-first of July our King will not figure in official ceremonies, nor popular rejoicing; he devotes the day to his noble career as a soldier, surrounded by our army, upon the inviolate corner of our territory where Leopold I. came to Belgium in July 1831. The salvees which wake you to-day, dear children of the Nation in Arms, are those which in the distance bring death into your ranks or into the ranks of the enemy. Instead of the flon-flon of the fanfares you will hear the orders that are whispered to you in the trenches. The ascent that your eyes will follow into the blue will be the audacious flight of the aviators throwing bombs. The fires of Bengal that you will see will be perhaps the asphyxiating gases let loose by Kultur at bay.

As to the combatants of 1830, they have obtained from heaven their great and unending *congé*. Only a little while before this war the last of them fell into his last sleep. He rests with his companions under that soil which their common efforts had made independent, free and happy.

The last combatants of 1830 are no more. Behold you are here, heroes of Liège, of Haelen, of Hofstade and of the Yser!

Ah, thanks to you, what a noble national fête Belgium celebrates to-day; yes, more beautiful than our famous *omnegenck* and *landjuwel* of the past; more beautiful than the *chanson de Roland*; more beautiful than the epics of antiquity.

How different she is from the pacific image we had of her hardly a year ago, this Belgium to-day arising in your midst as a loving mother who having nursed you in her arms, watched then over your childhood and your adolescence, over your homes, over your fields, over your work, over your griefs, calls you now to her aid in order to avenge the outrage committed upon her, to save the citadel, to reconquer the overturned altars, the tombs of your ancestors, the cradles of your children.

The President of the Council, M. de Brocqueville, wrote:

The records of history tell us that at the approach of great battles, the Belgians, one knee on the ground, used piously to raise to their lips a little of that sacred soil for whose liberty they were about to fall and, the living sanctuaries of that which they loved, they swore to die in order to keep a free soul in a free country.

Centuries have passed and the dignity of the race has not grown less. Then how shall we be surprised that in the midst of the present sorrows faith in the future wells up in every Belgian heart and casts upon the face of all the ray of Divine hope.

To-day as yesterday the flag of Belgium flaps in the wind for the ideal of centuries. As in the past, as always, it bears upon its folds Right, Honour and Liberty. From their glorious tombs the martyrs for our great cause call to us: Already retribution is at hand; avenge the dead, magnify the *patrie*.

A Prisoner in Germany

Mme. Carton de Wiart, the wife of the Belgian Minister of Justice, is still a prisoner in Germany, her release being refused because she will not ask the Kaiser's pardon! For what should she ask it, seeing that he is the criminal and she and her compatriots the victims of his crime?

THE TRUTH WILL OUT!

German Mobilisation Papers were being signed in Alsace on the night of July 24, the day after the Ultimatum to Serbia.

Yet our pacifist pro-Germans say that Germany mobilised only on August 1!!

The Abbé Wetterlé, formerly a representative of Alsace in the German Reichstag, who is now in France hoping for and working towards a French victory and the full and final liberation of Alsace and Lorraine, has recently told in *La France de Demain* the story of his escape into France on the eve of the war. He says:

On July 25, 1914, in the morning the moment when I went to the office of my newspaper, the small son of a German official said to me in a mysterious way, "they were working all night at the Place filling up mobilisation papers."

This information was all the more interesting to me because the language of the German newspapers was altogether bellicose. At ten o'clock that morning, when the proprietor of the printing works went to the local branch of the Imperial Bank in order to take out some money, he was told that the bank was giving out no more gold. At the same time Helmer telephoned to me that two German officers who lived in the same house as himself had suddenly returned from a tour which was to have lasted some days longer. He then came to see me in order to persuade me to go away at the earliest possible moment.

"You know," said he, "the theory of the sudden attack. If war should break out the campaign will begin without any warning. If you were arrested you could do us no service; in France you will be able to take useful action. I am going this evening to Belfort, come with me or go into Switzerland."

At five o'clock I left in a motor car which was going to Bâle; passing by Kembs I had the opportunity of shaking hands once more with Mgr. Kannengieser in the charming house which the spiritual and delicate writer had built there ten years before and the Germans were to blow up with dynamite some days later, after having threatened with death the delicate and gentle prelate, a man of about sixty years old almost blind who had never taken any active part in politics.

From Lausanne I sent articles to my newspaper until July 31. As nothing had happened I had written to my colleagues that I should return to Colmar on Thursday morning and I was about to set forth when I received at the same time the news of the proclamation of the "state of war" and a telegram which contained the two words, "Don't come."

The next day I learnt that my newspaper had been suppressed and that a picket of soldiers had arrived at my private address and at the office in order to arrest me, whilst they carried through a minute search of my two domiciles.

I had had a lucky escape for the very day on which I had thought of returning to Colmar my colleague Bourson was arrested in Strasburg, while they led away handcuffed my colleagues of Lorraine members of the Chamber of Alsace-Lorraine, the Abbé Hackspill and M. Muller Walscheitt; the deputy who had taken my hand at the moment of my departure, whom I had urged to come with me to Switzerland was arrested at the same time, at the moment when he was delivering up his motor car on requisition to the military authorities. I was apprised later on of the fate which befell the people of Alsace-Lorraine, whom the Germans considered as unsympathetic. Never did any people called civilised, degrade themselves to this point by maltreating people whose only offence is that they do not love their rule.

THE WOMEN OF FRANCE

Victor Hugo's Tribute

THREE years after the close of the Franco-German War, Victor Hugo delivered an oration at the funeral of Mme. Paul Meurice and in the course of it paid a tribute to the greatness displayed by her and French women in general during the Franco-Prussian War. He said:

The woman to whom we have come to make the supreme salutation was an honour to her sex. She was valiant and gentle; for loving she had every grace, for suffering she had every strength. She leaves behind her the companion of her life, Paul Meurice, a spirit luminous and brave, one of the noblest men of our time. Let us bow before this honoured tomb.

I was the witness of their marriage. Thus do the days pass. I saw them both, young, she so beautiful, he so radiant, unite their future before law human and law Divine and join their hands in hope and in the dawn. I saw this entrance of two souls into love which is a beginning of life. To-day is it an ending of life that we see? No, for the heart which stays behind continues to love and the soul which takes its flight continues to live. Death is an entrance, not into more love, for the love here below is complete, but into more light.

"These two beautiful souls leant one upon the other"

Since that radiant hour of the beginning to this stern present hour, these two beautiful souls leant one upon the other. Life, whatever it may bring is good, travelled in this way. She, that admirable woman, painter, musician, artist, was herself endowed with every gift and was made for every triumph; but she was above all proud of the reflection of his renown. She took her share in his success; she felt herself happy in the applause which saluted him. She came smiling to those splendid performances at the theatre at which the name of Meurice was cried out amid acclamation and enthusiasm. She had the joyful pride of seeing unfolding for the future and triumphing before the crowd, that series of strong and exquisite works which will take in the literature of our century a place of glory and of light.

Then came the days of trial. She met these with stoicism. In our time the writer must be in case of need a soldier. Woe to the talent through which one cannot see a conscience. Poesy must be a virtue. Paul Meurice is one of those transparent souls at the depths of which one sees duty. Paul Meurice desires liberty, progress, truth and justice; he suffered the consequence of this. That is why one day he became a prisoner. His wife understood this new glory and from that day she who until then had been only good, became great.

Then later on when disaster came, when trials took on the proportions of a public calamity, she was ready for every abnegation and every devotion.

The history of this century has unforgettable days.

The Soul of Woman wishes to set the Example to the Soul of Man

At times in the history of humanity there is manifested a certain sublimeness of the woman. At the hours when history becomes terrible one would say that the soul of woman seizes the opportunity and wishes to set the example to the soul of man.

Antiquity had the Roman woman; the modern age will have the woman of France.

The Siege of Paris showed us all that woman can be: dignity, firmness, acceptance of privation and misery, gaiety in anguish. The soul of the French woman is a heroic mixture of family and of country.

The generous woman who lies in this tomb showed all those greatnesses. I was her guest in those tragic days, I saw it. While her valiant husband performed his double and hard task of writer and of soldier, she also rose before the dawn. She went in the darkness, in the rain, in the cold, tramping through the snow, to wait long hours, as did the noble women of the people, at the door of the butchers and bakers and she brought back to us bread and joy—for the truest of all joys is duty fulfilled.

The Courage of the Women of Paris

There is one ideal of woman in Isaiah and there is one also in Juvenal. The women of Paris realised both those ideals. They had the courage which is more than bravery and the patience which is more than courage; they had in the hours of peril, intrepidity and gentleness. They gave to despairing combatants the encouragement of their smile. Nothing could vanquish them. As did their husbands, as did their children, they wished to fight to the very last and in the face of the savage enemy, under shot and shell, under the icy winds of a five months' winter when the Seine was floating with ice, they refused even before hunger even before death, the surrender of their city.

Ah, let us venerate this Paris which has produced such women and such men! Let us go down on our knees before the sacred city. Paris by her wonderful resistance saved France whom the dishonouring of Paris would have killed and saved Europe whom the death of France would have dishonoured.

In spite of what the enemy was able to do, there is perhaps a mysterious re-establishment of equilibrium in this fact—France is less, but Paris is more great.

Let the beautiful soul that has gone, yet is present and hears me at this moment, be proud; all the veneration surround

her tomb. From the height of the serenity of the unknown she can perhaps see around her all these hearts that are full of her, these respectful friends who glorify her; this admirable husband who mourns her. Her memory at once sad and charming will never be effaced. It will illumine the evening of our life. Memory is radiance.

"Life is the problem, death is its solution"

May the eternal soul take to itself this immortal soul. Life is the problem, death is its solution. I repeat it and it is with that I wish to end this farewell full of hope. The tomb is neither dark nor empty; it is there that shines the great light. May the man who speaks at this moment be permitted to turn towards that light. He who, as it were, lives no more in this world, he, all whose ambitions are in death has the right to salute at the depths of the infinite in the awful sublime light of the sepulchre the immense star, God.



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THE PACIFIST HOUSE OF CARDS

By CHRISTABEL PANKHURST

IN a preface to a pacifist pamphlet a certain Socialist M.P. says:

All forms of militarism belong to the past. It comes down to us as a relic of the days when kings and nobles ruled as well as reigned.

Here is an interesting sign that the I.L.P. and U.D.C. so closely allied in their present pro-German activities base their contentions and work upon a lie. The lie in question is that "the day is past when kings ruled as well as reigned." The German Kaiser both reigns and rules. The German Constitution, even in the letter of it, is a sham, giving supreme power to the Kaiser and no real power to the people. Consider in addition the spirit in which that Constitution is worked and the servility of the German people who by its means are kept in political impotence and we see that the case of the I.L.P. and its associate the U.D.C. falls to the ground like a house of cards.

This country in fighting the Hohenzollern despotism is fighting in the same cause that prompted our ancestors to rebellion and warfare over and over again in past centuries.

Only the political degenerates in our midst fail to understand that. The conduct of these degenerates who fly the banner of peace is enough to make those who fought against absolute monarchy and other constitutional evils, turn in their graves.

"Did we," they might ask, "fight and overthrow royal despots within the nation's borders, simply that our posterity might yield to a despot from over the seas?"

The Divine Right of Kings very much Alive in Germany

The Divine Right of Kings is a doctrine long since overthrown in this country but it is very much alive in Germany! The present Kaiser boasts that at the coronation of his grandfather who became German Emperor as the sequel to the Franco-Prussian war, "my grandfather by his own right set the Prussian crown upon his head, once more distinctly emphasising the fact that it was accorded him by the will of God only and not by Parliament or any assemblage of the people, or by popular vote and that he thus looked upon himself as the chosen instrument of Heaven and as such performed his duties as Regent and Sovereign."

And of himself the Kaiser has said:

I took up my heavy charge knowing well that the Army was the main support of my country, the main support of the Prussian throne to which the decision of God had called me.

When a British Sovereign comes to the throne his accession is proclaimed and his first words are addressed to civilians. King George V. in his first utterance as King pledged himself

"to endeavour to uphold the constitutional Government of these realms; knowing that I can rely on Parliament and upon the people of these

islands and of my Dominions beyond the seas, for their help in the discharge of these arduous duties."

The Kaiser on the contrary addressed his first words on his accession to the Army, saying "God's will places me at the head of the Army and it is from a heart filled deeply indeed, that I address my first words to my troops."

Since then he has said that the Army is the only pillar on which the German Empire rests.

On the tenth anniversary of his accession the Kaiser said that just as when his reign began he first turned to the Army, "so I therefore turn to you first to-day."

And what British monarch would wish or venture to say as the Kaiser has said:

It is the soldier, it is the Army, not Parliamentary votes that have welded the German Empire together. My confidence rests upon the Army!

To Criticise the Kaiser Means Imprisonment

The degenerates in our land surely must know and so evidently do not care, that in Germany to criticise the Kaiser, or to criticise his Government, means for the Press or for private individuals fine and imprisonment. And that not only in time of war, when, for urgent reasons of national defence, ordinary laws, rules and customs may have to be modified—but in time of full peace!

The crucial evil by which the despotic power is conferred upon the Kaiser is that Ministers instead of being responsible to Parliament as they are in our own country, are responsible solely to the Kaiser.

As the present German Chancellor has said: If a vote of censure is passed upon the German Government by the German Legislature, it means nothing except that there is a difference of opinion on some particular and perhaps not very important matter between the Reichstag and the Imperial Chancellor. On the other hand if a vote of censure is passed by the British Parliament upon the Government, the Government is obliged to resign.

If within the small limits of the power it possesses, the German Reichstag does not decide any particular matter in accordance with the Kaiser's wishes, he can at once dissolve it with a view to securing the election of a more complacent Reichstag.

All Ministers Appointed and Removed by the Will of the Emperor

In his book, *The Evolution of Modern Germany* Mr. W. H. Dawson sums up the situation as follows:

The Executive is entirely beyond the Reichstag's control; all Ministers are appointed and removed by the will of the Emperor and no combination of parties is able to shake their position either collectively or individually. The result is that although the nation is entirely responsible for the election of the Legislative Assembly, it is still to all intents and purposes outside the Government of the country.

Another writer on German institutions, the late Price Collier has said:

The Reichstag is really only nominally a portion of the governing body. It has the right to refuse a bill presented by the Government, but if it does so it may be summarily dismissed; that has happened several times and another election usually provides a more amenable body.

Bismarck candidly explained that:

Even since the constitution the Prussian monarchy does not stand on the same level as the Belgian or English monarchies.

It has been many times pointed out and with much reason that struggles for constitutional liberty have singularly little place in Prussian history. As Bismarck said to the Emperor Napoleon III. who believed that there would certainly be a rising in Berlin before long and a revolution all over the country: "Our people do not throw up barricades and revolutions in Prussia are only made by the Kings."

Certainly Mr. Lloyd George could not possibly say of Prussia, as he so truly said of France the other day, "the most fruitful vines of liberty are impressed upon her soil."

If our degenerates are indifferent to the liberties of the French, of the Serbs and of other foreign peoples they surely might be mindful of the liberty of their compatriots. But they are not. They are ready, for example, to see the young liberties of Australia stamped out and they are ready to see the liberties of the British Isles disappear.

Even if the Kaiser victorious should leave to this country some shred of an appearance of a fiction of national liberty—which is not likely since his hatred is especially of us—he would not tolerate the continued political freedom of the individual inhabitants of these Islands.

The Hohenzollerns a Menace to Liberty

For have we not seen how the Hohenzollerns have blocked the way to liberty of the Russian people, have we not seen how the Hohenzollerns have made war upon the freedom of the Poles? With the gain of greater power, the German war on the political liberties of others would be waged in the West of Europe as for so long it has been waged in the East of Europe.

If certain men, calling themselves Democrats or Socialists, are too blind to see this, women are not too blind. Although we have never entered into our inheritance, we prize as dearer than life itself, the liberties won for us by our forebears in centuries past; and we are resolved at all costs to preserve those liberties from destruction by the Kaiser and by his people, that "horde of slaves" who, unable to win their own political liberties, are their despotic Kaiser's accomplices in his attack upon the liberties of other peoples.

But though by the noise they may succeed in heartening and deceiving the enemy the degenerates are happily few and far between. The mass of the British people hate Kaiserism and all its works, knowing them to be the greatest menace to national and individual liberty that the world has ever had to face.

What a pity it is that those to whom Kaiserism is acceptable do not betake themselves to Germany. If they feel a need of the "strong" rule of the Kaiser and the companionship in subjection of the German people, there is a shorter and a less tragic road to such "benefits" than the attempted betrayal of their compatriots and of the peoples of the world in general.

PATRIOTIC MEETING AT BEDFORD

Speech by Mrs. PANKHURST

THE Town Hall, Bedford, was crowded on Tuesday, July 20th, when an address was delivered by Mrs. Pankhurst, the subject being "Patriotism and Recruiting." The Mayor (Mr. H. Browning) presided, and was supported by Mrs. Pankhurst, the Mayoress, Mr. Guy Pym, Mr. G. Royle, Captain Taylor and many others. Letters were read from the Lord Lieutenant (Mr. S. H. Whitbread), Lieut.-Colonel Aubrey, Mr. F. Kellaway, M.P. and Major Orlebar, regretting their inability to attend.

The Mayor said that Mrs. Pankhurst had done remarkable work endeavouring to get recruits. He had pleasure in taking the chair at that meeting and would do so at any meeting that was for the purpose of recruiting.

The Mayor read the letter from Major Orlebar, of the 3/5th Bedford Regiment, as follows:

"I am exceedingly sorry to find that I shall not be able to attend the meeting to-night owing to the sudden departure abroad of the 1/5th Territorial Battalion and to my having urgent military duties, which I must attend to at St. Albans. Still, I hope I may join in the thanks which I am sure will be given to Mrs. Pankhurst for the patriotic effort she is making to get recruits."

Mrs. Pankhurst said that was a remarkable meeting in more senses than one. It was the first since the war began at which speakers could appeal equally to men and women for war service. Last Saturday, in the office of the Minister of Munitions, Mr. Lloyd George intimated to a deputation of women that so far as his department and the Government were concerned, he meant to enlist women in large numbers for making munitions of war which are now so sadly needed if the war is to be brought to a speedy and successful end. Being a woman, she had perhaps seen that more clearly from the beginning than even some of our statesmen. That was the first public opportunity she had had since the previous Saturday of expressing the profound gratification shared by all thoughtful women in the country that Mr. Lloyd George had taken the initiative in this matter and had made it plain that he recognised the services women were rendering to the country. He was going to set on foot at once a system for training women for making munitions and was going to enlist and enrol them exactly as the recruiting authorities had done in the case of men ever since the war broke out. That was one of the most hopeful things since the war began. If the women's war paper had done nothing else than secure that, it had done its bit towards making the war a success. She would say to any man in the meeting with all the earnestness in her power, if there were any men doing work which could be done by women, after being trained, those men were guilty of a crime against the country. (Applause.) If we were to maintain our national existence and our Empire intact, every man who could fight had to prepare himself to do so. It needed all our self-sacrifice, patriotism and stubborn determination, which we so often said we possessed, in order to win this war.

Mrs. Pankhurst proceeded to say she

had had an interview a fortnight previously with the French Minister of Munitions and she had learnt that thousands of women in France and half a million women in Germany were doing work which men were doing in England. The women learnt quickly because they knew that every shell made might mean the saving of the husband's life. She had mentioned this to Mr. Lloyd George and he agreed that women should be installed in men's places. Mrs. Pankhurst referred to the attitude of members of the Union of Democratic Control. She considered them apologists for the Germans. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald must have known what was going on, or he was not a fit man for his position. All these pacifists seemed to be pro-Germans and were more likely to serve the enemy than their own people. She did not know what men called that, but to her mind it was something like treachery. (Hear, hear.) Peace time was the time for internal reforms and when an enemy came they should suspend criticism of each other and combine against the enemy. The Kaiser, she believed, actually counted on family dissensions to help him in this war. So far as women were concerned, he had made a very great mistake. If he had been a serious-minded man he ought to have realised that the fighting spirit of the women proved that this country was not the decadent country he thought and that there was a good deal of life in it.

An overflow meeting, at which about 2,000 people were present, was addressed on the Market Hill by Mr. Seamark and Captain Taylor prior to the arrival of Mrs. Pankhurst from the Town Hall.



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COTTON IN WAR

Why it Should be Kept out of Germany

THE following letter from Sir William Ramsay has appeared in the Press:

Sir,—The Marquess of Crewe, in replying to Lord Charnwood's question regarding supplying cotton to the enemy, said:

Knowing what we do of the extraordinary skill and pertinacity of the German chemists it would naturally not do to assume that no substitute, even if less convenient, can be found in all cases. I do not say that to minimise the importance of keeping raw cotton and cotton waste out of Germany, but I do not go so far as my noble friend in speaking of its necessity.

The origin of this belief is Lord Haldane. At the beginning of the war he gave as his opinion that it would be useless to make cotton contraband, as there were so many substitutes for it which the Germans could use.

This is absolutely incorrect; and it is well that the nation should understand the matter, which is not difficult to state simply.

There are two classes of explosives—propulsive explosives, which expel a bullet from a gun; and explosives used for charging shells fired from a gun. The propulsive explosive consists mainly of nitro-cellulose; "cordite" is the British propulsive ammunition and that used by other nations does not essentially differ from cordite; all contain nitro-cellulose. Now any form of woody fibre can be converted into a nitro-cellulose by appropriate chemical treatment. But powder made, say, from bale-cotton develops a much higher pressure and causes a much higher muzzle velocity in a bullet than powder made, say, from straw. Powders made from wood pulp have an intermediate position. Powders made from "artificial silk," i.e., cellulose squirted into fibre, would also differ from cotton-powder. On the other hand, the filling of shells consists either of picric acid or of trinitrotoluene—substances not so easily detonated, which can, therefore, stand the concussion of being fired in a shell without exploding, but which explode either in the air, when set off by a fulminate detonator (a time-fuse), or on impact with the ground or other solid object.

Picric acid and "T.N.T." are impossible for propulsive ammunition, for the explosion is so violent and uncontrollable that if used as a substitute for gun-cotton the gun would burst.

Now, having fixed on its propulsive ammunition, each nation has designed its gun accordingly. The cartridge must be of a definite size, in order to hold the appropriate charge of explosive; and the sights must correspond. If nitro-cellulose made from material other than cotton is substituted for gun-cotton a weaker explosion will result; the bullet will not be propelled with the same velocity, the charges being equal. This involves altering the sights of every gun which uses the weaker explosive. If, on the other hand, a larger quantity of the weaker explosive is employed, the chambers of the rifles, field pieces and other guns must be enlarged, the sights being left unaltered.

It is not denied that such alterations can be made; but it is obvious that it is impossible to make such alterations on guns in use on the field of battle; it would mean practically re-arming the whole armies of the enemy.

Altering the raw material for propulsive ammunition would also involve altering all the plant in the factories which produce gun-cotton.

British men of science, too, while not denying "skill and pertinacity" to German chemists, would object to the use of the word "extraordinary." Their skill is less rather than greater than that of the French, Italian and British chemists; but their pertinacity often leads them to an appalling waste of effort, seeing that their lack of original thought often causes them to be pertinacious in wrong directions. However, this is a trifle. But it is a pity that Lord Crewe should have made a bugbear of what our Allies and ourselves assess at its proper value.

I have confined myself intentionally to one aspect of the cotton question; but undoubtedly we have been supplying our enemies with the means of destroying our troops ever since the beginning of the war.

Yours faithfully,

WILLIAM RAMSAY.

Beecheroff, Hazlemere, Bucks, July 16.

ECONOMY: TRUE v. FALSE

TO women no less than to men it is very obvious that economy in public and in private expenditure is needed in order to enable the country to bear the cost of this war. The question is where economy should be effected. It should not, as Mrs. Fawcett very wisely pointed out the other day, be allowed to interfere with the education of the rising generation. To take the girls especially away from school has in the past been regarded as a permissible means of saving money. Nothing could in fact be more wasteful and extravagant from the point of view of the individual, of the family and of the nation. The individual, being deprived of the full measure of education, will probably find himself—or more frequently herself—sooner or later stranded because of her inability to maintain herself; the family owing to this misjudged economy will perhaps be burdened by keeping for life instead of for a few years of education, an unproductive and more or less useless member of the community. The nation which more than all else needs intelligent, well-educated, useful citizens capable of valuable work either on the mental or the material plane, will find itself saddled with a number of parasites or semi-parasites. Therefore we must henceforward spend more not less on education, but not Germanised education, some people need reminding.

Save in Luxuries First!

Except among the very poor, a certain economy in the matter of foodstuffs is no doubt possible, especially in military camps; though at the same time it is vitally important to keep up the physical, mental and nervous energy of the nation by means of good feeding, so long as that is possible. Economy should be brought about primarily in the realm of luxuries. The consumption of alcohol and tobacco is one of the chief forms of luxury. Instead of beer, whisky and mineral waters, let plain water be consumed. Why should not smoking be more or less confined to soldiers? Motoring for pleasure with its employment of many able-bodied men as drivers and repairers, and with its large consumption of petrol which may be a decisive factor in settling the war, is another luxury. Taxation of luxuries is far safer than increased or new taxation of small incomes, because taxation of luxuries is the best means of procuring wise as distinct from unwise economy. Large incomes should be more heavily taxed of course. By the way, why has the Government not been hoarding our gold supply instead of letting it circulate in private hands—and perhaps reach Germany?

What we need, men and women alike, is definite guidance and advice as to how to save with the greatest benefit to the nation.

Separation Allowances

As the Financial Secretary to the War Office has informed the House of Commons, the separation allowance paid to the British soldier's wife and family is considerably larger than the allowance paid in Germany. We do not know whether certain "democrats" regard that as one of the disadvantages of British rule!

There seems to be in some quarters a feeling of uneasiness with regard to the very large sums for whose payment the

country will be responsible henceforward, in respect of allowances to wives and families of soldiers during the war and to widows and orphans when the war is over. Undoubtedly this expense will be a very heavy one. That is part of the price that we are having to pay for remaining a free nation and after all the money spent on maintaining families and rearing up new workers and citizens is productively spent. A far greater loss to the nation even from the financial point of view is a depleted population. Every healthy citizen who reaches womanhood and manhood is apart from all else a financial asset to the nation.

Economic Independence Withheld

Suffragists in general have long preached the gospel of the economic independence of the married woman. They have been condemned for doing so. But the logical alternative to giving economic independence to married women is, to maintain them at the expense of the State when in the absence or death of their husband they are not able to be maintained by him. The life and organisation of the community so far as Great Britain is concerned has been built up on the principle of the economic dependence of the wife; therefore the men who stay at home in war time and the men who return alive after the war will, by working to pay the allowances granted by the State, simply be fulfilling the responsibilities which they have always insisted were theirs.

Domestic Work Deserves Remuneration

Certainly the woman who does domestic work and especially cares for children, has a right to financial remuneration; and it is not her fault if owing to the somewhat rudimentary organisation of domestic life, the energy she expends does not always produce its full return in the shape of work accomplished.

Reorganisation of Domestic Industry

The supporters of the idea of co-operative housekeeping believe that without any loss of domestic privacy it would be possible so to organise domestic work that a greater result could be produced by a smaller expenditure of energy on the part of a smaller number of women than are at present engaged in this largest of all industries.

In food and living accommodation better value could be obtained at a smaller cost.

But there again men have always insisted upon the retention of the present wastefully expensive system of housing and domestic industry; and this again means that in the absence of husband or father the State must pay out to the wife and mother the money she needs to enable her to feed and care for her children.

The Task of the Unmarried Woman

One thing is certain, in order to help to discharge the national duty towards the women and children who have given husband and father for the liberty of the country, the unmarried women will have to enter into professions and industries on a far larger scale than in the past in order that they as well as the men of the country may not only maintain themselves but help to keep the national coffers full.

Co-operative Housekeeping

We reprint the following from an article which appeared in THE SUFFRAGETTE in the days before the war. The importance of the subject of co-operative housekeeping has grown with the new circumstances of the present and future.

"A woman's work is never done," the saying goes and where the married woman is concerned it is a sadly true one. All day and every day her work goes on—no eight hours day for her. Whether she is a wage-earner (when she has at least the advantage of having money of her own) or whether she is not, the working class wife is always on duty. No man would keep his health under these conditions.

To free the working class wife means a complete reorganisation of domestic work. Under the present system there is a tragic waste of human energy. Every woman has to be a Jill of all trades. Every woman her own laundress, cook, housemaid, marketer and so on means that too many tasks are undertaken and none are done well enough. The needless drudgery on the part of women involved by all the separate little cooking kitchens, cooking stoves, washtubs and so forth is enough in itself to provoke a women's revolution. Many of the housing reform schemes bring no real hope to the women drudges of the land. They simply mean the perpetuation of a bad old system.

Co-operative housekeeping is the hope of married women!

Let it not be said that women would not like it! That is the parrot cry of those who would like to see women always chained by the neck to the hearthstone.

The French reformer and economist Fourier more than a hundred years ago rightly proclaimed the system we know as co-operative housekeeping to be one of the chief means of women's emancipation. Mrs. Perkins Gilman has written in powerful advocacy of this system.

Mme. Montessori, the great educationalist, in her book tells of the work in this direction which is being done in Rome largely under her inspiration. There, for poor working class families there exist blocks of private apartments with an infant school, hospital and baths attached. The infants under school age are cared for during the day by a directress and nurses. The mothers have a weekly conference with the directress concerning their children's welfare and they may visit the school daily. As Mme. Montessori says:

Until the present time only one class in society has had this advantage. Rich women were able to go about their various occupations and amusements, leaving their children in the hands of a nurse or governess. To-day the woman of the people who lives in these remodelled houses may say like the great lady "I have left my son with the governess and the nurse." More than this, they may add, like the princes of the blood: "and the house physician watches over them and directs their sane and sturdy growth." These women, like the most advanced class of English and American mothers, may possess a "Biographical Chart" which, filled for the mother by the directress and the doctor, gives her the most practical knowledge of her child's growth and condition.

The hospital attached to this block of family apartments permits isolation of infectious and contagious disease.

It would also serve to overcome the difficulty arising at the present day in thousands upon thousands of homes (and not only in the poorest) at the time of child-birth. The want of due care in child-birth, the fact that the mother is immersed in family cares during the whole course of her illness and that in consequence she leaves her bed dangerously soon after her baby's birth is a very large cause of grave and permanent illness among married women.

The co-operative kitchen where meals are prepared by those with a talent and training for cooking and sent to each apartment or, at will, eaten in a common dining hall, would be one of the greatest blessings to married women.

Co-operative housekeeping means that food can be bought better and cheaper, that women's work can be skilled and properly organised, that married women can have a short working day and that married women can be paid a money wage instead of working as so many of them now do, under the truck system.

The present isolation and overwork and waste of energy of the domestically employed wife must be ended. Nor can we tolerate the system whereby the wage-earning wife is obliged to do at the end of a day's work for an employer hours of additional work in her own home. Co-operative housekeeping is the only solution of the problem of how to give wives a life really worth living, of how to employ without waste that most priceless thing—the energy of women; and of how to enable wives to reconcile their duty to the family and their duty to themselves.

THE PATRIOT'S CREED

By HENRI LAVEDAN, of the Académie Française.

(TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.)

Reproduced by special request from "The Suffragette" of April 16.

25th August 1914.—Our offensive has failed to break through the German lines.

We have had to retreat, and we await better fortune. But all of us, who, day by day, breathlessly watch from afar the mysterious march of fate—how are we for weeks, perhaps for months, to meet the furious attacks that, as it were from the field of battle, are made upon our thoughts!

These attacks we must answer by this article of Faith, upon which all who have no share in the fighting must take their stand as though clad in armour—

I believe in the courage of our Soldiers and the ability and devotion of our Chiefs.

I believe in the strength of Right, and in this crusade of the civilised peoples—I believe in France eternal, imperishable and necessary to the world.

I believe in the reward of our grief, and in the worth of our hopes.

I believe in confidence, in concentration, in good daily labour, in order, in militant charity.

I believe in the holy wishes of the aged, and in the almighty ignorance of children.

I believe in the prayers of women, in the heroic vigil of wives, in the devout calm of mothers, in the purity of our Cause, in the immaculate glory of our Flag.

I believe in our great past, in our great present, and in our still greater future.

I believe in the living Champions of France, and I believe in her Dead.

I believe in the hands that grip the sword, and I believe in the hands folded in prayer.

I believe in ourselves; I believe in God.

I believe...! I believe...! I believe...!

And to the very end, whatever may happen, I shall not cease from repeating this article of Faith, which is my canticle, my litany, my Allelujah.