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The Suffragette

Edited by Christabel Pankhurst

Official Organ of the
Women's Social and Political Union

No. 99—Vol. IV.

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Review of the Week.

Alsace and Lorraine.

A large part of this issue, we devote to the question of Alsace and Lorraine; reprinting the historic and moving protest which the representatives of those two provinces made, against being separated from France, to whom they were bound by every tie of love and association, and common idealism, with whom they felt that identity of culture and aim, which has been maintained with a glorious fidelity until the present day.

Their coming Re-union with France.

France was in the cruel dilemma, of having to choose between losing the two beloved provinces, and sacrificing the life of the whole nation. No wonder that neither France nor Alsace-Lorraine have ever forgotten that tragic episode in their common history, no wonder they have suffered during the long forty-four years that have gone by since then, and no wonder that in spite of the appalling sacrifice that Germany has forced upon them they are now rejoicing in the prospect of re-union. Germany has asked the judgment of the Sword upon this issue, and now it is going to be settled, and settled once and for all, by the restoration of the two stolen provinces to their Mother Country.

What German Rule Means.

In an interesting volume published before the war "Alsace under the Yoke," Emile Hinzelin, of Alsace gives a picture of the situation of the two provinces under German rule.

"That in the scale of civilization they were far above the Germans, and above all that they possessed a sentiment of their liberties and their human dignity, almost unknown in the country across the Rhine. This superiority strikes everyone in the incident that occurred at Zabern, in the sight of the whole world."

Dealing with the conduct of the officers of the German army he says:—

"Let the world now judge the stage of civilization by which the dominant class in Germany has been arrested; and let it judge of the servility of that whole Germany, which daily, without protest, endures being treated in this fashion."

He reminds us that, Alsace-Lorraine has been for Germany, a veritable European colony. "The Germans have crushed under their armed forces, little towns, which formerly were nothing more than a small dot upon the strategic map and are now armed camps." But they cannot terrorise the free spirited French men and women of Alsace and Lorraine. These formidable German armaments and the methods of persecution, by which German rule is maintained, have from the point of view of Alsace and Lorraine, this one advantage; they constitute an admission by Germany that the two provinces are unconquered, and untamed, and still in revolt against the separation from France.

A European Colony.

"This country, in which the Germans pretend to find only brothers, is," says M. Hinzelin, "treated as a conquered country. It is for Germany a European colony, to which she has sent in hundreds, greedy, light-fingered [*aux dents longues, aux mains crochues*] and insolent officials. Everything that the people of Alsace-Lorraine love and venerate, tradition, memories, language, are pitilessly proscribed. They go to the length of persecuting the inscriptions in the graveyards. They make war upon words. . . . For a witty word, for a caricature, the most honest people are thrown into prison among common criminals. The German officers, the highest officials, at the smallest manifestation of Alsatian conscience, burst into oaths so gross that, they cannot be translated into French."

People longing to be free of German Rule.

The analogy between the coming re-union of France and the two lost provinces, and the enforced surrender by Germany of these two provinces, is an utterly false one. France has not mourned Alsace and Lorraine because of false pride or baffled greed, she has mourned them, because to them and to her, separation was a lasting grief; because the appealing protest against separation made by the provinces in 1871, has never ceased to ring in her ears. No such situation will arise when Alsace-Lorraine is taken from Germany; and when other subject populations are set free. None of the peoples who at the end of the this war will be separated from Austrian and German rule, will shed a single tear; on the contrary, they long for this separation, this liberation as being for them the beginning of life itself.

A Fine Bit of Militancy!

The following from the German newspaper, the *Strassburger Post* circulating in the annexed provinces, speaks for itself and is a significant admission that German rule is hated in Alsace.

"What was to be feared, has unfortunately happened: the monument in memory of Bismarck erected at Colmar, Alsace, has been stained in a horrible fashion with ink. The side on which the dedication appears, is blotted almost all over, as well as the side on which is the laurel wreath. Up to the present it has been impossible to discover any trace of the author of the offence. It is beyond doubt that someone has taken advantage of the darkness of the night, to express in this fashion his anti-German sentiments. As may be supposed there is great distress at seeing at this time of hard trial the spirit of Wettler and the Hansi and their associates incessantly manifesting itself.

Every Suffragette will rejoice in sympathy at this fine act of militancy. Our hearts are with the brave men and women of Alsace.

Unwelcome Cajoling.

It appears that the Germans do not hate us quite as much just now. Hatred of England being no longer the Kaiserly order of the day (though it may be the order of to-morrow), the obedient German populace seems to be regulating its sentiments accordingly. Dr Lyttelton will no doubt feel greatly comforted by this change in the wind, but for our part we infinitely prefer German hatred to German flattery, and German attempts to find out some weakness in us which they can exploit in order to divide us from those to whom our loyalty is pledged. But it is some consolation to know that we are not singled out by Germany for this treatment; France too is having a share of flattery, and Russia is no longer, it would seem, so impolitely alluded to as in the early days of the war.

The Germans are greatly deluded if they suppose that we shall not be even more on our guard when they flatter us than when they happen to be hating us. We shall not be cajoled by flattery any more than we shall be bluffed by hatred. This "hatred" of England is by no means new, and by no means the result of our alliance with other Powers.

"Hating the English" is a very old German trick with which Bismarck very often made great play in order to coerce this country without the expense of going to war with us.

The Anti-English Mania.

Just as the Germans now hate Great Britain because we are not neutral in this war but are helping France, so they hated us in 1870 because we were neutral and would not fight with them against France. The Crown Princess, afterwards the Empress-Frederick, wrote from Berlin:—"The English are more hated at this moment than the French."

In the eighties Bismarck applied the hatred policy in order to force our hand with regard to his colonial enterprises. Our ambassador wrote from Berlin in August 1884, after the British Government had thought all trouble cleared away:—

"I am in despair at Bismarck's present inclination to increase his popularity before the general election, by taking up an anti-English attitude; he has discovered an unexplored mine of popularity, in starting Colonial policy which public opinion persuades itself to be anti-English, and the slumbering theoretical envy of the Germans that our wealth and our freedom has awakened and taken the form of abuse of everything in the Press. My hope is that this anti-English mania may not last longer, but my fear is that it will increase until the General elections are over."

And he wrote again:—"Bismarck's attitude is disagreeable; he hates England." The fact is that the Germans turn the tap of hatred off or on as suits their book at the moment.

Russia Leads the Way Again.

Not only has Russia without fuss and with great dignity, settled the question of prohibiting Vodka, but we now learn that a great scheme is in process of application throughout the country, for substituting for the Vodka shop, people's palaces and smaller buildings, where people can meet and be

entertained. The vastness of the undertaking the report states, can best be shown by the fact that in the Government of Poltava alone, no fewer than three hundred such buildings have been opened or are projected; they include reading rooms and halls where lectures and such lighter entertainments as concerts and cinematograph exhibitions can be given. This is real reform of a constructive nature. The public house, under another perhaps (for the present one has associations which are not altogether pleasant) is a vital national necessity. Any temperance reform which means the abolition of places of public recreation is mischievous and foredoomed to failure. The first necessity is to get rid of the drinking-resorts in which the public can remain only while they are standing at a bar consuming liquor.

"You will be wrong if you regret my coming, for I am very glad and proud to have got to the front. It is not the length of existence that counts, but what is achieved during that existence, however short."—*The late Lieutenant W. G. C. Gladstone, in a letter to his mother.*



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.

NO PEACE WITHOUT JUSTICE.
Historic Manifesto of the Women of France.

Last week we published statements made on behalf of French women's organisations expressing their refusal, to have any dealings with the "Women's Peace Conference in Holland." We have received from the Conseil National des Femmes Francaises a copy of their letter declining the invitation to attend the conference. They say in the course of the letter.

"This is perhaps the first time that a congress of Peace has met without France being represented, but while we feel the gravity of French abstention from the present conference, it is yet with unanimity that the French feminine and Feminist societies have decided not to attend the conference, nor to accept the programme to be discussed there.

How would it be possible at the present time for us to meet with women from the enemy countries and to resume with them the work that has been so tragically interrupted. Have these women disavowed the political crimes the crimes against human rights, committed by their Government!

Have they protested against the violation of the neutrality of Belgium against the attacks upon international law, against the crimes of their army and their navy! If they have raised their voices in protest, they have done so too feebly for us to hear it in this violated and devastated land of ours.

"We cannot resume collaboration with them until for them, as for ourselves, respect for justice becomes the basis of all social action."

Their devotion to the cause of peace is affirmed by the signatories of this letter, and they continue:—

"All you who know France know the fruit that has ripened our country as the result of our action. We dreamed of peace of an *entente* if not universal at least European. We would not believe those who showed us the menace increasing in magnitude on the other side of the frontier. How have we been wakened to the reality! You know how, and the diplomatic documents will bear eternal witness to it before history.

Since present events have proved to us that a one-sided pacifism would be useless if not dangerous, we shall not resume our peace propaganda until the peace that will be made at the close of this war has given us sufficient guarantees against the spirit of domination of a certain people.

But is this the moment to speak of that peace? Not one of us believes so. It is with mournful astonishment that we have found in your programme a demand for an armistice. How could we dream of an armistice while our provinces are under the yoke of the enemy, and when Belgium is being martyred before our eyes.

And do you not know what France expects of this peace? She expects the liberation of the future. Compelled to recognise it by their defeat, our enemies will recognise that their material force has broken against the heroic defence of the nations.

Until then the women of France refuse to speak of peace. Truly, grief has entered many of our homes, and anxiety reigns in all of them. But what are these sufferings compared to the bitterness of an incomplete peace!

Such a peace would render all our suffering useless. It is with pride that we mourn our dead, with gratitude shall we perpetuate the remembrance of them. It would be treachery to them even to think of peace before a peace can be made that will consecrate right and justice.

In order that future generations may reap the fruit of this magnificent impulse of self-abnegation and of devotion unto death, the women of France will uphold the fight as long as it is necessary.

At this moment, united to those who are fighting and dying, they are incapable of making a sign for peace.

You will understand then why, while respecting the generosity of your of your intentions, we cannot and will not break this union. You will respect the feeling by which we are prompted. It comes from the depths of our conscience."

For the Conseil de Femmes Francaises;

- La Présidente—JULIE SIEGFRIED.
- La Secrétaire Générale—G. AVRIL DE SAINTE-CROIX.
- MMES. DE WITT-SCHLUMBERGER, Présidente.
- LE VERRIER, Vice-Présidente.
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ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Our next issue will contain a further article on "The Union of Democratic Control," by Christabel Pankhurst.

Some Facts about German Socialism.

Why Serbia Triumphs.

The Kaiser's Socialist Tools.

WE FOLLOW THEIR LEAD.

By CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

Belgium's heroic struggle to keep body and soul free from being Germanised, has won the passionate admiration of us all. But it must not be forgotten that Alsace and Lorraine have for forty-four long years, been making the same fight, have been resisting and defying Germany, who, although it has kept them under the yoke in a material sense, has never conquered, has never Germanised their soul.

Torn away from France by sheer force, in 1871, in spite of their heart-broken and indignant protest, Alsace and Lorraine declared their refusal to consent to German rule, and pledged their everlasting love to France. They have kept the faith!

Their Beloved lost Provinces.

France at that moment, beaten down to the very ground, and ever since then menaced night and day by another German attack, could not liberate their beloved lost provinces.

Europe watched impassively while the armies ravaged and stormed through France. When Germany ignored the protest of Alsace and Lorraine—one of the most noble and tragic cries that any people has ever uttered, and rent them from the living body of France—then again Europe, for the sake of a sordid peace, said and did nothing.

Alsace and Lorraine were the sacrifice to the Prussian War God. They were the ransom of France. Their lost liberty was the means of "localising the conflict!" It was the price of a so-called peace for Europe.

But the two provinces have never yielded; French they were in 1871, French they are to-day.

One of the Greatest Victories in History.

Persecution, flattery, discouragement, and the heart-sickness of hope deferred, none of these have broken the spirit of the two provinces. Theirs is one of the greatest victories in history!

For the first years after the war they lived in expectancy of deliverance by the strong arm of champions. Then they saw how pacific was the policy of France, and how enormous would be the danger to the Mother country as a whole of making their restoration to France the cause of another war such as that which led to their seizure by Germany.

Yet still they remained true to their ideal and united in spirit with France.

"They were Deceived!"

Well may it be said by M. André Hallays in his book on Alsace:—"One is staggered by this example of fidelity unique in historic annals; above all when one reflects that in order to mould intelligence and form customs, a modern State has at its disposal two powerful auxiliaries—the school and the army. The Germans counted upon both of these in order to overcome the Alsatian determination. They were deceived!"

It is easy for us to rejoice in the magnificent resistance of Alsace and Lorraine. It is harder perhaps to realise all the suffering, all the mortification, the darkening of a people's

life, that this forty-four years' defiance of the tyrant Germany represents.

But at last the day of liberation, the day of glory is here!

The two lost provinces had renounced the definite idea that their freedom would come through the taking up of the sword, upon a war of rescue by France. Theirs had come to be a mystical faith in the liberation through the working out of human affairs to some ultimate end of justice.

Our Duty as British People.

But now that Germany has pronounced for war—has unchained war—their faith has found a tangible, a concrete vindication, and just as this war shall not end until Belgium is free, so it will not, and shall not end until Alsace and Lorraine are also free, and again united with France.

Our duty as British people towards Alsace and Lorraine, is second only to the duty owing to them by France, because our national responsibility for their long subjection by Germany is very great.

Our politicians of the nineteenth century allowed themselves to be tricked and be fooled by Bismarck; and being so tricked and befooled they connived at Prussia's repeated assaults on Europe, referred to by Sir Edward Grey in a recent speech.

Great Britain deserted the cause of small nations in 1864, when, deplorably blind to the growing Prussian menace to Europe and hypnotised by Bismarck, we left Denmark to resist Prussia single-handed.

An Incredible Thing.

The Emperor of the French, Napoleon III., who was alive to the danger, could not, as he said, challenge Prussia unless he had the help of British troops.

There was in the British Cabinet, a "War Party," as it was called, that wanted to fight for Denmark, but it was overruled. Lord Morley, in his *Life of Gladstone*, castigates this War Party by saying:—"It seems almost incredible that a Cabinet of rational men, could have debated for ten minutes, the question of going to war with Austria and Prussia, when they knew that twenty thousand men were the largest force we could have put into the field when the war began, though moderate additions might have been made as time went on."

To us at this day it seems incredible and an appalling thing that European liberty should be sacrificed because only twenty thousand British men out of millions knew how to fight for the freedom of ourselves and our weaker neighbours.

Prussia's Way.

If in 1914 the inheritors of this peace at any price policy had had their way, history would have repeated itself, and Britain by remaining neutral as in 1864 would have allowed the Prussian despotism to spread still further so that nothing could have prevented it from covering the face of the earth. Having defeated Denmark, Prussia at once broke faith with those who had been lulled into false security and neutrality by the Bismarckian intrigues. As one British authority then expressed it,—“Prussia has been guilty

of an unblushing violation of every assurance and pledge that she had given." That is now and always has been Prussia's way!

Prussia having fought and defeated Austria, it was, as Bismarck said in 1867, "the turn of France next."

And sure enough, in 1870, as a sequel to Prussian lies and intrigue, of every kind, France was lured into the trap of war so carefully set for her.

Prussia, swollen by three Savage Attacks.

Again Great Britain, duped by Bismarck and by him blinded to the true interests of our country and of Europe, was neutral.

Prussia, swollen by three savage attacks upon its neighbours, and having finally secured domination over the various German States, now strutted forth as the "German Empire."

France having been brought low, it was next the "turn of Great Britain." Only a few weeks after the treaty of Frankfurt was signed, the British Ambassador in Berlin (Lord Odo Russell, afterwards Lord Ampt-hill) reported to the British Secretary for Foreign Affairs, a conversation in which Bismarck said, that he wanted peace to carry out his policy—that policy being THE SUPREMACY OF GERMANY IN EUROPE AND OF THE GERMAN RACE IN THE WORLD. It cannot be said that British statesmen have not had repeated and early warning.

Steadily, craftily, since then Prussia has been getting ready to carry out this scheme of dominating the world.

The Prussian Cuckoo in the Nest of Europe.

Great Britain by the three neutralities of the nineteenth century (not to speak of other kow-towings and complacencies) has enabled the Prussian cuckoo to wax and grow fat in the nest of Europe, so that not only have some European nations been already conquered or mutilated, or terrorised, but all are now in danger.

Gladstone had an inspiration which if he and the country had acted upon it, would have saved humanity much blood and many tears.

In 1860, four years before Prussia made war on Denmark, Gladstone laid before the Cabinet a memorandum affirming that British alliance with France "is the true basis of peace in Europe, for England and France will never unite in any European purpose which is radically unjust."

Franco-British Alliance the Cornerstone.

If a Franco-British alliance had then been made and had ever since remained the cornerstone of British foreign policy, Prussia would have been kept in its place, and powerless to deform and corrupt the German people as a whole. German unity, if it really answered to any national ideal—as does, for example, the unity of the Serbs—would have come about in a manner good for the German people themselves, and good for humanity as a whole. It is now late, but not too late, and that alliance whose precious gift to

Continued on page 42.

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FRIDAY, April 30, 1915.

The Union of "Democratic" Control.

It is time for a stand to be made against the little clique which so absurdly calls itself the Union of "Democratic" Control. Who are the moving spirits in this Union, which seeks by playing upon sympathies of the well-intentioned to conceal its own insignificance, and futility, by covering itself in a cloud of names?

They are Mr J. Ramsay Macdonald, M.P., Mr Arthur Ponsonby, M.P., Mr Norman Angell, Mr Charles Trevelyan, M.P., and Mr E. D. Morel. These five are the founders, and they have, immediately associated with them as leaders, the following amongst others. The Hon. Bertrand Russell, Mr H. N. Brailsford, and Mr Israel Zangwill.

By the fruits of their past work, we may know what the future work of these men is likely to be. It is well, therefore, to pass them in review.

This week we will deal with Mr J. R. Macdonald!

Mr Macdonald is, apart from the more serious points to which we shall have to refer,—one of those dangerous persons who are without a sense of humour. Otherwise he would never have said, as he said the other day, that "the only section of opinion in this country that can crush Prussian politics, and thereby abolish Prussian militarism, is the I.L.P.!"

The fact is that under Mr J. R. Macdonald's leadership the I.L.P. cannot make a fly move unless in the wrong direction. And this Mr J. R. Macdonald is the man who presumes to ask the country to place confidence in his judgment with regard to foreign affairs and our very national existence itself!

No! we have had our warning. Mr J. R.

Macdonald it is who led the Parliamentary Labour Party, some forty strong, to defeat and humiliation in the House of Commons and in the country. He it is who made of this political force (which when it first arose, excited the hopes of its friends, and the respect of its foes) a thing of insignificance and futility. He would seem to desire a like fate for the nation as a whole!

The Labour Party under his leadership, was not only plunged in humiliation, but he dictated to it a policy which meant the desertion of those whose interests he had been elected to defend. His mandate from his supporters in the country was to influence the Government's policy for their benefit. With every day that passed, the influence he exerted became less. We know from bitter experience how he deserted the Cause of Votes for working women; how he connived at and upheld everything which blocked the women's way to enfranchisement. We have not forgotten his refusal to champion those who were sacrificing liberty and risking life, in the cause of freedom. We remember only too well his small-minded and cold-hearted denunciation of militancy as "antics." Yet it is this very man who to-day is whitewashing appalling violence, whereby the Kaiser and his people are trying to reduce Europe to subjection.

The fact is that Mr Macdonald has no feeling for, no sense of identity with those who revolt against injustice.

It is only those who are using force, not in order to free themselves and others, but to subjugate others whose Cause he champions, who appeal to his sense of chivalrous protection.

There is historic warrant for saying this. It is enough to contrast Mr J. R. Macdonald's attitude towards militant women fighting for freedom with his attitude towards the Kaiser fighting against freedom. It is enough to contrast his charitable view of the slaughter and devastation wrought by the Kaiser, with his harsh abuse of the methods of those women who throughout have drawn the line at injury to human life—whose attacks upon property have been trifling indeed, as we realise when we think of Belgium and the Provinces of France in ruin.

It is true that he is now saying, what everybody knows to be true, that Germany cannot win.

But that Germany cannot win, and Belgium will consequently be saved, is no thanks to Mr J. Ramsay Macdonald. On the contrary, he has done everything that one man can to help the Kaiser to enslave Belgium and destroy the liberties of Europe.

For example: he is the anonymous author (or if he is not actually the author, he is fully and jointly responsible for it) of a pamphlet entitled, "How the War Came," published by the I.L.P., of which he is one of the leaders. The pamphlet has been reviewed at length by the *Nation* and the *New Statesman*, who both declare it to be a grotesque travesty of the facts."

Says *The Nation* :—

It may be divided into two parts: a rough summary of the events which led up to the crisis of last July, and a detailed day-to-day record of that crisis. The first may be passed over briefly, merely with the comment that it bears no relationship to the actual facts of the European developments of that time. It commences, for example,—the history of modern Europe in 1879, without any allusion to 1870-1, to Alsace-Lorraine, or to Bismarck's threat four years later to destroy France for ever.

It makes no mention at all, of all that Serbia has suffered from Austria, or that all the Serbs still unliberated have suffered, from Austro-Hungarian rule.

Even German militarism is excused, as being no different from, but only more efficient than the militarism of France, England, and other European countries.

With the excision of half a dozen sentences condemning militarism, all this fantasy might have been issued as a German pamphlet explaining how France, Russia, and Great Britain had driven on an innocent and peace-loving Government into war.

Here is another quotation from *The Nation's* review :—

On July 29, the German Ambassador came bidding for our neutrality at the price of the abandonment of Belgium, to the German invader, and the possible annexation of French colonies when the German victory was complete. Two days later, on Friday, July 31st, the German Minister in Belgium, was assuring the Belgian Foreign Secretary that Germany had no kind of intention of violating Belgium's neutrality! This fact is not mentioned in the pamphlet of the Independent Labour Party.

"A comparison with the Independent Labour Party with the facts will show," says the *Nation*, "how remote from the facts is their reconstruction of history."

The indictment by *The Nation* proceeds :—

Some of the statements are quite untrue—as that "Germany suggested before England moved, that a conference of the four Powers might effect a settlement." Some are facts distorted out of their meaning.

And here is something for all who are asked to join the U.D.C. to ponder! *The Nation* says: "It is difficult to see why the author should go out of his way to be more German than the Germans themselves."

We then have the following summing up :—

"In any case *How the War Came* is a discredit to the Independent Labour Party, whose impress it bears. It has no right to garble the facts, to publish false history, to give its readers under the appearance of knowledge and reference, statements which are not borne out, or are directly contradicted by the very papers to which it refers. That it has done, and in doing so it has made an attack upon that Truth "which forgives no insults, and endures no stain."

We need look for no words more severe than these to apply to the policy and methods of Mr J. R. Macdonald.

The *New Statesman*, in condemning the pamphlet in terms equally strong, says, "The endeavour of the German Ambassador in London on August 1st., to secure the neutrality of Great Britain, is actually represented as the last despairing efforts of the pacifists!"

The pamphlet in saying this, doubtless speaks truly, and we have here a valuable admission that certain people who arrogate to themselves the name of pacifist were hand in glove with the German Ambassador! The Kaiser must have felt that his imperial attentions to Mr Macdonald (they met in London) had not been thrown away. To make a British M.P., the Labour Leader, too! more German than the Germans, and ready to be a spreader of Krupp lies certainly would seem to be no small achievement. But things are not always what to the German observer and intriguer they seem to be, and the Kaiser is destined to discover that this Mr Macdonald he has so led astray is but a small force and a spent force at that.

CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

THE LAST LESSON

A Little Alsatian Boy's Story.

Translated from the French.

By ALPHONSE DAUDET.

That morning I was very late for school, and I was afraid of being scolded, especially as M. Hamel had told us that he would question us on the participles, and I did not know a thing. For a minute I thought of missing school and going for a walk in the fields.

It was such a warm, lovely day. You could hear the blackbirds singing at the edge of the wood, and you could hear the Prussians drilling in the Ripperts' field behind the saw mill.

All that was a bigger temptation to me than the rules about participles! But I had the strength to resist, and I ran as hard as I could to school.

As I was passing the Mairie, I saw there were some people standing in front of the notice board. For two years, that is where we have got all the bad news—lost battles, requisitions, orders from commanding officers—and I thought to myself, without stopping to look—

"What is it this time?"

Then, as I was running across the square, Wachter the blacksmith, who was there with his apprentice reading the notice, called out to me—

"You needn't be in such a hurry, laddie, you'll be at school quite soon enough."

I thought he was making fun of me, and I got to M. Hamel's all out of breath.

Usually at the beginning of the school, there was so much row, you could hear it from the street. Desks opening and shutting, and we shouting out lessons altogether with our fingers in our ears, so that we could hear ourselves think, and teacher's big ruler knocking on his desk for silence.

I was counting on that all the way along, to let me get to my desk without being seen. But just that day, everything was quiet. Through the open window I could see the others all sitting in their places, and M. Hamel walking up and down with the terrible iron rule under his arm. I had to open the door and walk right into the middle of this great stillness. You can think how red and frightened I was.

But M. Hamel wasn't a bit angry, and said to me very gently, "Go to your place quickly, my little Franz, we were going to begin without you."

I sat down at my desk at once. It wasn't until then, when I had got over my fright, that I noticed that our teacher had on his grand green frock coat, his fine pleated shirt, and his black embroidered skull-cap, that he only wore on inspection days, and prize-giving days. Also, there was something strange and solemn about the whole school. But what surprised me most was to see at the back of the class-room, in the seats that were usually empty, the village people, sitting as silent as we were. There was old Hauser with his three-cornered hat, and the man who used to be the mayor, and the man who used to be the postman, and other people too. They all seemed very sad, and Hauser had brought an old alphabet book all ragged at the edges, which was open on his knees, with his spectacles lying on top of the pages.

While I was wondering what it all meant, M. Hamel got on to the teacher's stand, and in the same grave, gentle voice he had spoken to me in, said to us:

"My children, this is the last time that you will have lessons from me. The order has come from Berlin that nothing but German is to be taught in the schools of Alsace and Lorraine. The new teacher is coming to-morrow. To-day is your last French lesson; I want you to be very attentive."

These words upset me dreadfully. Oh, the wretches, so that is what they had posted up at the Mairie! My last French lesson! And I had hardly learnt how to write! And was I never to learn? Was I to stop there? Oh, how sorry I was about the time I had wasted, the days I had missed school to look for bird's nests, or slide on the ice on the Zaar! My school books that used to seem so dull, and so heavy to carry, now seemed like old friends that I could not bear to part from. It was the same about M. Hamel. The thought that he was going away, and that I should never see him again, made me forget the punishments and taps with the ruler. Poor man!

It was in honour of this last day of school that he had put on his best Sunday clothes; and now I knew why the old people from the village had come to sit at the back of the class-room. It was as though they were saying they were sorry they hadn't come to school oftener. Also it was a way of thanking our teacher for his forty years of good service, and of showing honour to *la patrie* which was passing from us—

That is what I was thinking when I heard my name called out. It was my turn to recite. What wouldn't I have given to be able to say the rule about participles, right through without a mistake. But I got all mixed up at the first words, and I stood there nearly crying, with my eyes on the floor, afraid to look up.

Then I heard M. Hamel say: "I won't scold you, my little Franz, you will have punishment enough—That's how it is. Every day one says, 'Pooh! there is plenty of time! I will learn it to-morrow.' And then you see what happens—Ah! that has been the great misfortune of our Alsace—always to put off learning until to-morrow. Now these people have the right to say to us, 'What! you pretend to be French, and you don't know how to speak or write your own language!' Where that is concerned, you, my poor Franz, are not the greatest sinner. We have all reason to reproach ourselves.

"Your parents have not cared enough about having you educated. They preferred to see you working in the fields or in the mills, so as to have a few extra sous. And I myself have something to reproach myself with. Haven't I often set you to watering my garden instead of doing your lessons? And when I wanted to go fishing trout, did I think twice about giving you a holiday?"

Then after going from one thing to another, M. Hamel began to talk to us about the French

language, saying that it was the finest and most beautiful language in the world, the clearest, the strongest. He said we must keep it up among ourselves, and never forget it, because when a people falls into slavery, so long as it keeps a firm hold of its language, it is as if it held the key of its prison.

Then he opened the grammar book, and gave us a lesson. I was astonished to find how well I understood. Everything he said seemed so easy—so easy! I think, too, that I had never listened so carefully, and had never paid so much heed to his explanations.

You would have said that the poor man wanted to teach us everything he knew, and get it all into our heads at one stroke.

When that lesson was finished, we had a writing lesson. M. Hamel had got ready for us for that day some new copies with these words in beautiful round hand—FRANCE, ALSACE, FRANCE, ALSACE. The copies, pinned to the rails on our desks, were like little flags waving all over the class-room.

You should have seen how hard we all worked, and how quiet we all were! You could hear nothing but the scratching of our pens on the paper. Some cockchafers came into the class-room, but no one took any notice, not even the very little ones who worked away making strokes as if they were writing French too.

On the roof of the schoolhouse, the pigeons were cooing quite softly, and I said to myself when I heard them, "Will they make *them* sing in German too?"

Now and again, when I looked up from my copy book, I saw M. Hamel sitting perfectly still at his desk, with his eyes fixed on the things all round, as if he wanted to take away a picture of his little school. Think of it! For forty years he had sat in that same place, looking out on to the courtyard, and his class sitting opposite to him. The only change in all that time was that the forms and desks had got polished by use, and the walnut trees in the court had grown bigger, and the hops he had planted himself had grown all round the windows, and up to the roof. What a heart-breaking thing it must be for that poor man, to leave all these things and to hear his sister walking about in the room upstairs, packing their trunks. For they were to start the next day—leaving the country for ever.

All the same he had the courage to go through with the lessons. After the writing, we had our history lesson; then the little ones sang their Ba, Bi, Bo, Bu altogether. There at the back of the room, old Hauser had put on his spectacles, and holding his alphabet in both hands, he said his letters with them. You could see that he was going at it as hard as anyone, and it was funny to hear him. It made us laugh and cry at the same time. Oh! I shall always remember that last day.

All at once the church clock struck noon, and then the Angelus, at the same minute the trumpets of the Prussians who were on the way back from drilling, blew outside our windows. M. Hamel stood up, very pale. He had never looked so tall. "My friends," he said, "My friends, I—I—"

But something choked him, he could not go on. Then he went to the blackboard, took a piece of chalk, and pressing it on with all his might, he wrote as big as he could :—

"VIVE LA FRANCE!"

Then he stood there, with his head leaning against the wall, and without saying a word, he signed to us, "It's all over . . . you can go."

THE TRAGEDY OF ALSACE-LORRAINE.

Torn from France in Spite of Protest.

ALSACE AND LORRAINE SACRIFICED IN 1871.

They appeal against being handed over to Prussia.

After the German Armies had overcome the resistance of the French in 1871, Bismarck required as the condition of concluding peace the payment of an indemnity of five million of francs, and the yielding up of the two French Provinces—Alsace and Lorraine. He further required that the conditions of peace be ratified by a National Assembly. The Assembly was elected, and at once proceeded to discuss Bismarck's conditions of peace. The representatives of Alsace and of Lorraine appealed and protested against being surrendered to the enemy.

From documents collected by M. Henri Welschinger, of the Institut de France.

On Friday, the 17th of February 1871, at Bordeaux, Emile Keller, elected first upon the list of the deputies from the Haut Rhin department of Alsace by 68,864 votes, rose to speak.

The clock had just struck three. There was dead silence. The speaker sat wearing his officer's uniform, held in his hand a paper containing the celebrated Declaration of Protest. M. Keller was grave and sad. His tall erect figure, dominated the Assembly. His emaciated face, his skin bronzed and weather-beaten, his war-worn uniform, all seemed to make him the incarnation of Alsace, who, for herself and her sister, Lorraine, came before the representatives of France to claim her rights, after having maintained a desperate resistance to the Prussian enemy.

It had been evident during the past five days, that the Provinces menaced by the terms of the coming Treaty would find faithful defenders in the Assembly. The Alsations, and the people of Lorraine, wanting to have as spokesman, one of their most valiant, had chosen Emile Keller. They could not have made a better choice.

At this first meeting of the Assembly, on the 17th of February, M. Keller, before reading the Declaration of those whom he represented, said: "I am convinced that the proposition that I am going to lay before you will have your unanimous assent, for it concerns our national honour, and our national unity. Upon such a point there can be no difference of opinion in a French Assembly."

Then slowly, and in a firm voice, he read the following declaration:—

DECLARATION.

I. Alsace and Lorraine will not be given up to the enemy.

United with France for more than two hundred years, in good as in evil fortune, these two provinces, unceasingly exposed to the blows of the enemy, have constantly sacrificed themselves for the national greatness; they have sealed with their blood the indissoluble compact that binds them to the French unity. Threatened at this present day by the pretensions of the foreigner, the two provinces affirm, in spite of every obstacle and in spite of every danger, and even under the yoke of the invader, their immovable fidelity to France.

Every one of us, the non-combatant citizens who have stayed in their homes, the soldiers who have flocked to the colours—the first by voting, the others by fighting—we all declare to Germany, and to the world, the immovable will of Alsace and of Lorraine to remain with France.

II. France cannot consent to nor sign the cession of Lorraine and of Alsace. She cannot do it without putting in peril the continuity of her own national existence, without striking a mortal blow at her own unity, by abandoning those who have won, by two hundred years of patriotic devotion, the right to be defended by the whole country against the enterprises of victorious Force.

An Assembly, even though elected by universal suffrage, cannot invoke its sovereignty to condone or ratify exactions which are destructive of the national integrity. In doing that, the Assembly would arrogate to itself a right which does not belong even to the people assembled in Council.

Those guilty of thus exceeding their powers, and thereby mutilating our common Mother, would be denounced in the just severity of history.

France may suffer the blows of Force, she cannot sanction its decrees!

III. Europe cannot permit nor ratify the abandonment of Alsace and of Lorraine.

The civilised nations, who are the guardians of the rules of justice, and of international law, cannot any longer remain indifferent to the fate of their neighbours, except under the penalty of becoming in their turn the victims of the crime that they have tolerated.

Modern Europe cannot allow a people to be seized like a herd of cattle. Europe cannot remain deaf to the repeated protests of threatened populations. Europe owes it to her own preservation to forbid such an abuse of Force.

Europe knows, moreover, that the unity of France is to-day as in the past a guarantee of the general order of the world—a barrier against the spirit of conquest and of invasion.

Peace made at the price of this cession of territory would be only a ruinous truce, and not a final peace. It would be for all the cause of internal agitation, and a legitimate and permanent provocation to war. And as to us, the people of Alsace and of Lorraine, we should be ready to begin the war again, to-day, to-morrow, at any hour, at any moment.

In short, Alsace and Lorraine protest resolutely against any cession. France cannot consent to it. Europe cannot sanction it.

In faith of which we take our fellow-citizens of France, and the governments and the peoples of the whole world to witness that: we declare in advance as null and void, all acts and treaties votes or plebiscites, which might consent to the abandonment in favour of the foreigner of all or any part of our provinces of Alsace and of Lorraine.

We hereby proclaim forever inviolable the right of the people of Alsace and the people of Lorraine, to remain members of the French nation. And we swear as much for ourselves as for those who have sent us here, for our children and their descendants, to claim this right eternally and by every means, against all usurpers."

When he had finished the reading of this Declaration, Keller painted in brief, arresting words, the grievous situation of the two provinces.

Said he, "It is evident that this proposition is one of urgency, and that you cannot refuse to examine it at once. You know how mournful the situation is. You know the anxiety in which these provinces are living, which have not only had to endure the evil of the war, but are daily menaced by the foreigner, with being torn from the mother country. Put yourselves for an instant in our place.

"Ah! I know that at the bottom of your heart you feel as we do. You love Alsace and

Lorraine, as they love France. Then dare to say so! Dare to say it in the face of Europe! And then, instead of that material force which claims to impose its detestable laws upon the world, you will give us the moral force which always triumphs in the end."

And in the last appeal, which was a cry at once of anguish and of hope, he said.

"Look! we are like the sailor who has seen his ship sink, rather than give up his flag. We hold out our hands to you. Do not refuse to give us yours!"

His hearers burst into applause and cheers. Their hearts were wrung with grief. If the cruel necessity of signing the preliminaries of

1871



The Provinces of Alsace and Lorraine torn away by Germany from France, to whom they are saying farewell.

peace had not been imposed in order to save the little that remained to France, and to safeguard the future, everyone would certainly have voted for the continuance of the war.

The distress and uneasiness were such that Thiers rose in order to deal with the situation. He spoke a few words, which were listened to in the most solemn silence. He said that he shared all the feelings of M. Keller, and it was easy to see that by his emotion, for the tears were flowing behind his spectacles; but he said also that he must know the mandate that the Assembly would decide to give to its negotiators.

"The Assembly," said he, "must understand that in a matter so grave, we must act as serious men. We must know whether you intend to give to your negotiators an imperative mandate, or whether you will give them freedom to negotiate. As to myself, I share all the sentiments of M. Keller. But, and I say it with whole-hearted resolution, we must act as enlightened citizens who know their own mind. We must not be carried away by words; we must know what it is that we are prepared to put behind our words. I believe there is only one thing worthy of you, and worthy of France, worthy of a true patriotism, and that is to make up your minds at once, in order that we may know what you all desire. I believe that to postpone your decision even until to-morrow would be, if I may say so, a puerility. Let us say immediately, what each one of us desires.

"For, understand this, you cannot hide yourself behind the Government you are going to create. Have the courage of your opinions. Shall it be war—or shall it be peace? All that is a very serious question; no puerility when it is a question of the fate of provinces very dear to us, as against the fate of the whole country. I ask you to decide quickly. I promise you, if I can in any way influence your destinies, to devote, as so many others are doing, all my strength to the service of the country, as long as I can be useful to it. But I will not accept any mandate which, as an honest man and good citizen, I cannot carry out. We must know—we or others, it matters little—what you want.

"Before wanting anything, it is necessary to have thought it over. With regard to the question of Alsace-Lorraine, that is now submitted to you, there is no one here who can say that there is need to think about it until to-morrow, for you must all have been thinking about it for many months. Then let us say immediately what we think, and not hide ourselves behind a delay of twenty-four hours."

The Assembly then passed the following resolution:—

The National Assembly, having received with the deepest sympathy the declaration of M. Keller and his colleagues, puts its confidence in the wisdom and patriotism of its negotiators.

Some moments after having adopted this motion, the Assembly almost unanimously elected M. Thiers as chief of the executive.

At the meeting of the Assembly on the 19th of February, M. Thiers thanked his colleagues for this sign of their confidence, but he did not hide from them the fact that he was appalled by the overwhelming burden they had laid upon him. He expressed at the same time his desire to obey the orders of the country, which must be all the better served, and all the more fondly loved because of its misfortunes.

"Alas!" said he, "our country is unhappy, more unhappy than it has ever been at any time in its great, eventful, and glorious history, during which we have seen it so many times precipitated into the abyss of misfortune, in order to rise suddenly to the pinnacle of power and glory, having ever a hand in whatever is great and beautiful, and useful to humanity. Our country is unhappy without doubt; it remains one of the greatest countries in the world. Still strong, proud, and inexhaustible in its resources; above all, still heroic. Witness

this long resistance of Paris, which will ever be one of the monuments of human constancy and energy.

"Full of confidence in the future of our dear country, I bow hesitatingly to the national will as expressed by you; and here I am, at your call, at your orders, ready to obey you with one only reserve, that of resisting you if led away by generous but unreflecting sentiments you ask me to do that which political wisdom would condemn, as I resisted eight months ago, the fatal impulses which were to drag us into a disastrous war. France, precipitated into this war, without serious reason, without sufficient preparation, has seen half her soil invaded, her army destroyed, her fine organisation broken, her old and powerful unity compromised, her finances crippled, the greater number of her children called from their work in order to go forth to die upon the field of battle. After the forced surrender of Paris, the war is suspended for a few days only, and ready to break out again, unless Government, having the confidence of Europe, courageously accepting power, taking upon itself the responsibility of these mournful negotiations, puts an end to these appalling calamities.

"Alas! peace could be consummated only at the price of the grievous cession of Alsace and part of Lorraine, and according to the official report that our military forces, our arms, ammunition, supplies were in such a condition as to make an effectual resistance impossible, however much the country might have desired to attempt such a resistance."

On March 1st were discussed the preliminaries of the Treaty of Peace. The discussion lasted six long hours.

Keller came one last time to beseech the Assembly not to abandon Alsace and Lorraine. He protested proudly against the treaty, which, for him, was nothing but a lie. Said he, in words that made his audience tremble, "He who was to-day to have spoken in my place, the Mayor of Strasbourg, the doyen of our deputation, at this moment is dying of grief; and his grief is the more eloquent than any speech. Well, how do matters stand? I hear it said on all sides, 'You deputies of Alsace, you can vote against the Treaty, but we shall vote for it.' It is true that there is something special in our case, for our honour rests intact. In order to remain French, we have made all possible sacrifices, and we are ready to make them again.

"We wish to be French, and French we shall remain, and there is no power on earth, there is no signature, either of this Assembly nor of Prussia, that can prevent us from remaining French.

"Well, then, as a Frenchman I come here, not so much to make further protest against the fate of Alsace; I come here to claim my share in the honour of France, and for my part I say, that this Treaty is an outrage upon the honour of France, and it is not only as an Alsatian, it is also as a Frenchman that I suffer for my country.

"Is it honourable to cede populations who desire to remain French, and who will remain

THE TRAGEDY OF ALSACE-LORRAINE.—continued.

French in spite of everything? I understand that one might give up bricks and mortar, fortresses, ships, but what would you say if with those ships, which are only wood and iron, you also gave up the crews, if you forced the sailors to become Prussian sailors, and make war against France?

"Yes, that is what your treaty does! You deliver up to the German Empire whole populations, whose children will be obliged to serve the ambitious and despotic designs of the German Empire—obliged, at least by the text of the Treaty, because I tell you beforehand there are many who, at the peril of their life, will escape the servitude which you have decreed for them. The Treaty which you ask me to ratify is an injustice, and at the same time it is a lie.

"They say that Alsace is to be ceded to Germany in perpetuity. I declare to you that Alsace will continue to be French!

"At the bottom of your hearts, you yourselves think so. Yes, you also think that Alsace is French. You want to re-conquer it as soon as possible; you want it to become French again, and I defy any of you to contradict me.

"Before quitting this place I have felt it my duty to protest as an Alsatian, and as a Frenchman, against the Treaty which is in my eyes an injustice, a falsehood, and a dishonour. And if this Assembly is to ratify it, I appeal against it to God, the Avenger of just causes. I appeal against it to posterity, who will judge between us. I appeal against it to all the peoples, who cannot indefinitely let themselves be sold as are the beasts of the field. I appeal against it finally, to the swords of men of heart, who, as soon as maybe, will tear to pieces this detestable Treaty!"

Thiers answered by a brief and decisive speech.

When they had the mandate to declare war in 1870, France, according to him—and the evidence showed it—was not prepared. They had continued the war without cadres, without officers, bravely, heroically, it is true, but without success. The military organisation had been broken at the beginning of the campaign. Could they at present resist an army of more than half a million men regularly constituted? That would be to bring ruin upon France without any hope of resurrection. As for him, he wanted to safeguard the present, for the sake of the future.

Submitting to the consequence of facts, of which they were not the author, the Assembly voted the preliminaries of peace by 546 votes against 170.

Then followed the last incident of this tragic meeting, and not the least mournful. A representative of the lost provinces, read this supreme protest in the name of all his colleagues:—

"The representatives of Alsace and of Lorraine, before any negotiations of peace began, laid before the National Assembly a declaration affirming in the most formal manner in the name of these two provinces their will and their right to be and to remain French.

"Delivered up in defiance of all justice, and by an obvious use of force, to the domination of the foreigner, we have a last duty to accomplish.

"DECLARATION.

"We declare once more to be null and void, a compact which disposes of us without our consent.

"The demand for our rights remains forever on record, and will be sustained by each and all of us in the manner that our consciences dictate to us.

"At the moment of leaving this place, in which our dignity does not allow us to remain any longer, and in spite of the bitterness of our grief, the supreme thought in the depth of our hearts is a thought of gratitude to those who, during six months, have not ceased to defend us, and of unchangeable attachment to the country from which we are violently torn.

"We shall follow you with our hearts, and shall wait with complete confidence in the future, until France, regenerated, shall resume the course of her great destiny.

"Your brothers of Alsace and of Lorraine, separated this moment from the common family, will maintain for France, from whom they are now divided, a filial affection until that day when they will again be united to her."

This was the last sob of the two provinces, torn from France. Vainly the Assembly besought the valiant protesters to remain. They left sad, silent, and followed by unanimous regrets.

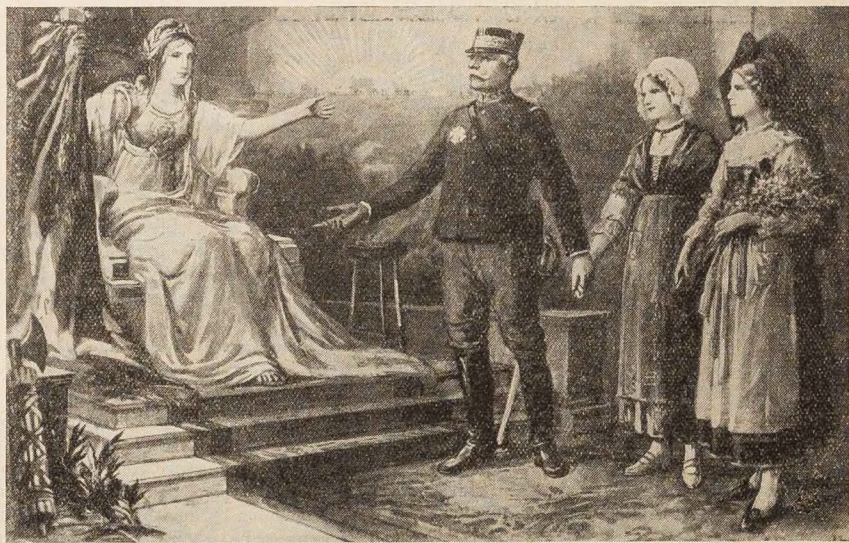
Next morning, all the newspapers in Bordeaux appeared bordered with black. They were in mourning for the country.

After forty-three years, the attachment of the people of Alsace and of Lorraine, which had been solemnly witnessed at the sittings of the 7th of February and the 1st of March 1871, remain as sincere and as deep as it is indomitable.

The Zabern incident brought even the representatives of Germany to confess in the Reichstag that there was no more hope of the Germanisation of Alsace-Lorraine, and that all attempts made in this direction by the German authorities had failed. Does not this show to the entire world, that, in spite of intrigue, menaces and violence, right finishes always by overcoming might?

Let us then have confidence in the patriotic determination of our dear compatriots! Let us have confidence in God, and in His immanent justice!

1915



The Lost Provinces returned to their Mother Country after 44 years of exile and subjection.

WE FOLLOW THEIR LEAD. (Continued from page 37.)

humanity Gladstone foresaw, exists and has even been sealed by the blood of his descendant, who lately fell in battle.

British Freedom bound up with the Freedom of the World.

Where Alsace and Lorraine have led, the rest of us this day are following. Those gallant daughters of France unfurled the standard forty-four years ago—'We will not be Prussianised'—and they have held it high ever since. Honour to them, reverence to them! They shall have their reward.

When we let them be conquered we ourselves, as it were, suffered conquest, and our case was worse than theirs, for we compromised with the enemy; they never did.

When they have been set free, then we too may hope to be free, now and hereafter.

This war has once and for all taught the British people that their freedom is bound up with the freedom of the world, and that only by defending nations who are subject or are menaced by subjection, can they themselves remain free.

CONCERNING "HUMILIATION."

By ALEX. M. THOMPSON.

(Reprinted from "The Clarion," the Socialist Weekly.)

After reading the full report of the Primitive Methodist Party's recent Conference, I am bewildered, dumb-founded, amazed.

There was one goblin—he could not have been real—expressed the fond hope that the Germans might now be induced to return to the state of things which existed before the war; and the weird stuff inside his head suggested to him that a return to that precarious time of menace and peril, with a bigger and keener Dionysian sword over our heads, ought amply to repay the Allies for all their suffering and sacrifice.

Another spook, boggart, or flibbertigibbet advanced the supernatural idea that if, after the war, we abandoned every kind of armament and stood facing the world with nothing on but our native innocence, von Tirpitz would be so deeply touched that he would torpedo himself with one of his own submarines and go to heaven to love England.

SAVE THE FEELINGS OF POOR GERMANY!

Even more surprising, because spoken by a man who has travelled and is not untutored, are certain sentiments about the war attributed to a *Manchester Guardian* interviewer to Mr Philip Snowden, M.P.

Two or three weeks ago Mr Snowden had written in the *Sunday Chronicle* that "the democracies of the British Empire have not yet realised the possibilities for good which such a great and powerful instrument as the British Empire is capable of exercising," and that "here we have the material at hand for the creation of a great United States," in which could be "exemplified the possibilities and blessings of co-operation and peace between nations as opposed to competition and war."

Instead of which, on his return from the I.L.P., Mr Snowden babbles the anti-British Party Abracadabra devotions. The war, he repeats, is all due to undefined, esoteric, "secret commitments" that no man may explain and live; and "WE"—that is, the Party of Bidad the Shuhite, Zophar the Naamathite, and Eliphaz the Temanite—"WE don't feel called upon to support the action which has followed as a consequence." They will therefore sulk in corners, pull faces at their country's defenders, and do their utmost to help and hearten the dastards of Scarborough and the "Falaba."

Their chief concern is not to save Britain from Belgium's fate, nor to restore that foully martyred land, nor to clear the blood-sucking invader from the throat of France. Their chief concern is that we should "get out of the war as quickly as we possibly can," because, "the present moment is more favourable for the consideration of such terms of peace as will remove causes of future wars than if one of the parties were humiliated."

This anxiety and fear lest "one of the parties" should be "humiliated" cannot clearly refer to Belgium or France. They have been so cruelly trampled, beaten, bruised, bled, mutilated, and spat upon, that they could not easily suffer greater indignity. The only country whose "humiliation" the Borioboola-Ghang would resent is evidently Prussia—the country whose oracles told us four years ago that France was to be "so

completely crushed" as to lose forever her "position as a Great Power," and that as a condition of the subsequent peace, Belgium with her colonies and Holland, were to be incorporated in the German Empire.

Mr Snowden further says that: "Peace suggestions should certainly come from the Allies. If Germany were to make any offer it is probable that it would stiffen the backs of the Allies. They would say it was because Germany's resources were becoming exhausted, and she was anxious for peace. But that would not have the same weight if an offer came from the Allies."

SAUCE FOR THE GOOSE, AND GOOSE FOR THE FOX.

What this cryptic utterance may precisely betoken, it is not given to the normal mind to unravel. Why should an offer from Germany "stiffen the back of the Allies," while "that would not have the same weight if an offer came from the Allies?" Would there be no suggestion that we were anxious for peace, and would it not stiffen the backs of the Germans if we respectfully approached the Kaiser and von Tirpitz to treat a nice little patching up which would enable them to repair and prepare again? If not, why? In the name of Kultur, Kant, and Pure Reason, why?

If there be any meaning in the distinction at all, the meaning suggested must be that we are shamefully in the wrong, and that we ought to make haste to apologise to our innocent victim before we have added "humiliation" to his injury. Discarding quibbles and pretences and cant, that is what the I.L.P.'s damnable faces really mean.

In order not to "humiliate" the butchers of Belgium, we must humbly beseech them to be so kind as to restore that country to its surviving owners.

Because the I.L.P. have been blind, ignorant, and incredibly stupid—because they could not induce Sir Edward Grey to conduct the foreign policy of the United States of Britain according to the mumbo-jumbo ex-sufflations of their little tin tabernacles—because they did not understand "secret commitments" which never existed—because they were cocksure and were wrong and are beastly wild—because "no doubt they are the people and wisdom shall die with them"—therefore we are to get down on our knees and beg for peace to the bullies whose blustering greed and truculence have kept Europe alternately fighting and trembling for half a century!

Except in the perturbed Balkans, only one European Power has disturbed the European peace for fifty years. Four times in fifty years the same European Power has attacked its neighbours for lust of conquest and dominion. All through the fifty years the philosophers, professors and ruling classes of that one Power have ceaselessly preached the virtue of war, the ignobleness of peace, and their people's mission of over-lordship.

PRUSSIAN FEELINGS AND PLANS.

Even now, those few amongst the Germans who have begun to doubt whether they will win this time, only speak of peace as a preliminary and preparation to more successful war. The pacifist *Manchester Guardian*

printed an article last week by "An American Citizen" who had just returned from a tour of German towns, and who reported "the head of a Leipzig engineering firm of world-wide reputation," as expressing these views:

"Though we cannot conquer, we cannot be defeated. Look at the position in the west. In six months you have hardly shifted the line a yard. We hold nearly all Belgium and a big slice of France. We shall require a lot of driving back to the Rhine, and even then your task of crushing us would be only just begun. Your losses would be stupendous—something which would stagger your peoples, French and British. And after all that our defence would prevail. So there will be a patched-up peace. Germany would then go on, with her population increasing very rapidly, grimly and unceasingly to prepare for the next war. We shall not always have to meet Russia, France, and Britain in combination. And any one of these three Powers singly we could smash as one cracks a nut."

Of the prevalence and universality of German hatred, our American informant reports:

"That hatred is the most astonishing thing in its indiscriminating fury, of all the phenomena which have struck me in the last six months in Germany. It is universal, implacable, of the foaming-at-the-mouth variety. I have never seen anything like it. If you people in England look upon it as confined to a small section in the Fatherland, you will be woefully deceived. Lissauer's 'Hymn of Hate' is truly representative of the people as a whole. It is not a bit of good regarding it, for instance, as only carrying a few hotheads with it, in the same way that Kipling only spoke for very few Englishers in some of his empty-headed jingles about foreigners. It is universal. In all my travels I have only heard about three men disown or discourage it. One was a clergyman, one was a journalist, and the other was a Leipzig engineer. . . .

"I have not written a word about this side of the business more than the facts warrant. There is no 'hot air' about it. And I am sure that whatever the issue of the war, and whatever the final terms of peace may be, you won't get rid of this hate for fifty years. It is now in the very blood of the German people. You will only fan it by making 'easy terms of peace.' They would not understand any such motive on your part, and would simply attribute it to weakness. You and your Allies must crush them; that's all there is to it. After that they will at least respect you."

Professor Haecckel admits that "the entrance of Great Britain into the conflict had the most serious consequences for us," and threatens that if Germany "should be unable to secure the victory, we would seek to free ourselves from the tyranny of Great Britain with as much perseverance as our fathers showed in freeing themselves from the Napoleonic yoke."

Mr Jerome K. Jerome reports in the *Sunday Herald* a talk he has lately had in Switzerland with "a leading German" who "had been in America quite lately."

"We made one miscalculation, and one only. We convinced ourselves that England under a Liberal Government would never fight. . . . The one thing that upset our whole plan was the intervention of England. . . . The war would have been over by the spring but for the intervention of England. . . . England has robbed us of three-quarters of our victory. We shall have to be content with the remaining quarter."

Being asked what "the remaining quarter" would be, the German "replied quite frankly that it would consist of Belgium."

This man further thought that when France and Russia were exhausted, Germany's growing navy, combined with the pressure of neutral countries, would persuade Britain to "an honourable peace."

"For the time being?" questioned Mr Jerome.

"For the time being," laughed the German.

Another testimony is that of Professor Hoersch, who writes in the *Kreuz Zeitung* that Germany will never give up Belgium. "This is certain," he says; "after this war Belgium must never again be a bridge head for England or a gate for the invasion of Germany by France."

A fortnight ago I quoted the Berlin *Tages Zeitung* to the effect that the conditions of peace must provide for the cession of a portion of France to Germany, and the whole of Belgium. As to the latter's rights, "no reasonable man," said the Berlin paper, "could think of giving Belgium for a long time to come the right of being represented in the Reichstag."

Herr Lohmann, the president of the Bremen Chamber of Commerce, tells the readers of the Berlin *Vossische Zeitung* that:

"We are no longer fighting with a civilised State; we are confronted by the violence of a mere robber horde, which has already dug the grave of its own power. . . . England's power is broken for ever; by her own piratical actions she has forfeited her place among the civilised nations."

The *Kölnische Zeitung* offers Gibraltar and Tangiers to Spain, together with the supreme command over the Mediterranean, as the price of intervention.

The *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* says:

"Our victorious armies hold the hostile territories in Belgium and France so firmly in their grip that no Power in the world can snatch them from us. . . . The English Empire is cracking at all its joints."

Such are the mood, temper, and purposes of the enemy, whose nice delicacy we are entreated not to "humiliate."

For years past Prussia's deliberate, obvious, and vaunted purpose has been the smashing of the British Empire. Their philosophers, professors, and rulers have printed and circulated books showing how it was to be done, and now that they have failed the same writers are officially explaining that they were only joking, and so—'we shall have to be content with the remaining quarter . . . for the time being.'

"There will be a patched-up peace," and "Germany would then go on, with her population increasing very rapidly, grimly and unceasingly to prepare for the next war."

And that is the prospect and policy that our I.L.P. Conferencers ask us to accept and acclaim! "We must try to get out of it as quickly as we possibly can," cries Mr Snowden; and we must reserve our efforts and ingenuity to save the Prussian buccaners from being "humiliated."

That this should be the chief care and concern of men who draw their country's pay for their country's service seems to me one of the strangest and most wonderful mysteries in this time of stress and peril and mourning.

Further Appreciations of "The Suffragette."

Many letters congratulating "The Suffragette" on its re-appearance have reached us, and we quote below some of those received.

Mrs Cecil Chapman.

I desire to add my word of congratulation and welcome to THE SUFFRAGETTE on her return to the scene as a war paper for women, and to hail the note she has struck, which finds a deep response in many hearts.

We rejoice to think that suffragist women are taking their share in the responsibilities of citizenship, and giving all the support which it is in their power to give to those upon whom falls the terrible task of carrying through the present war to a satisfactory issue.

Last summer our country was called upon to make its choice of Hercules—whether to slip along the path of sloth and ease or to take up arms in defence of those wrongfully attacked, and for the preservation of its own existence as a free nation.

Miss S. Wyllie.

Up to to-day, Tuesday, I myself have sold 14 dozen copies of this week's SUFFRAGETTE, and two dozen more were sold by two other members, making a total of 192 copies.

In phoning to Smith's head office for next week's supply I pointed out to them that it would be well for them to send more papers to their different branches, as several people wanted papers on Saturday and Monday and they had sold out.

Miss Balgarnie.

In answer to the letter you sent with a copy of THE SUFFRAGETTE, I have pleasure in enclosing cheque to help your movement. My 80th birthday is past, and I am very feeble, and not able to take an active part as formerly, but of course I get all your papers, and send them about, and feel as keen as ever about securing the vote.

Mr Cloudesley Brereton.

Now that all hatchets are buried in this country, at least temporarily, and, I hope, permanently, and we are all (or nearly all), first and foremost just patriotic Englishwomen and Englishmen, I should like unfeignedly to congratulate you on the splendid fighting number you have brought out, and I should like to add that however opinions before the war may have been divided on the question of your Association, I think there is little doubt that most impartial people would agree that it has done at least as much as, if not more than, any other organisation, both through the platform and the public press, to keep steadily before the country and in America the big things and the issues that really count in this war.

Anyone who has had the satisfaction of hearing Mrs Pankhurst's fine speeches, or reading Miss Christabel Pankhurst's most able pamphlets, must have remarked their splendid statesmanlike note, and of view which occasionally amuses and often distresses our continental friends. As a mere Englishman, I cannot help admiring their high courage and clear leadership—qualities which always appeal to the English mind.

If I might conclude on what seems a flippant, but is really a serious note, I would say, there must be many parts of the country to-day in which the most unlikely of people are saying when they read your paper, "Thank God for the Suffragettes!"

Mrs GRIEVE.

It is a great number of THE SUFFRAGETTE, full of impressive and instructive reading. Everyone should read it. I hope it will have a large circulation.

Mrs Powell of Penzance writes:—

We were delighted to see THE SUFFRAGETTE again. I, however, had got it before the ones you kindly sent me and my daughter arrived. I will do all in my power to help the circulation. Miss Blanche Powell will go her usual rounds with the paper, and we hope to have our old customers again.

Thirty-Three New Readers.

Miss FRANCES KING writing on the 16th April, the first day of the re-appearance of "The Suffragette" says:—

WHAT THE PRESS SAYS.

We congratulate THE SUFFRAGETTE on its revival, and on the excellence and interest of its contents, and wish it all success under the able editorship of Miss Christabel Pankhurst, whose splendid efforts in the United States for the cause of the Allies have been inestimable and far-reaching.

PETTICOATS

Owing to the remarkable change of fashion that has recently taken place, underskirts have again become an absolute necessity. We have now in stock a very large variety of dainty and inexpensive Petticoats, all cut in the new full shape.



NEW ROUND PETTICOAT, as sketch, cut quite full, in semi-fitting yoke, in good quality Chiffon Taffeta Silk. In Black, White, Navy, and colours.

Length 35 and 37 inches.

15/9

Also in Satin, at the same price. Or in White Japanese Silk with a Pleated Frill, 14/9.

Debenham & Freebody. Wigmore Street. (Covendish Square) London W.

Famous for over a Century for Taste, for Quality, for Value

Real Internationalism.

The Secretary of the W. S. P. U. writes:—

27 MURILLO ROAD, LEE, S.E., 18th April 1915. I need hardly say how welcome THE SUFFRAGETTE was to our members. Our Editor's able views and the glimpses into the thoughts and aspirations of our Allies will be most helpful to us, and should form the nucleus of real internationalism.

We have started our local pitch again, and one newsagent has shown the poster without request. I gave an order also to Smiths.—

Mrs Powell of Penzance writes:—

We were delighted to see THE SUFFRAGETTE again. I, however, had got it before the ones you kindly sent me and my daughter arrived. I will do all in my power to help the circulation. Miss Blanche Powell will go her usual rounds with the paper, and we hope to have our old customers again.

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HERR BALLIN EXPOSED.

THE STORY OF A TELEGRAM.

DOCUMENTARY PROOF.

The Times has made a remarkable and complete exposure of an attempt by Herr Ballin, the head of the Hamburg-America line, to influence British public opinion through its columns, on the eve of war.

So remarkable is the evidence, and so thoroughly is German intrigue exposed, that we reproduce facsimiles of the official documents published in The Times of April 23rd.

In a lengthy statement The Times explains that on August 2nd an important communication from Herr Ballin was received by Mr John Walter, one of their proprietors, through Count Wengersky, Herr Ballin's agent in London.

The Times decided to defer publication, because the assertions it contained were in contradiction with the facts of the international situation as then known by them.

Later, however, in view of the statements made by Dr Bethmann von Hollweg, The Times published the original communication which Mr Walter had received from Herr Ballin.

Nothing further was heard of the matter until Herr Ballin, in an interview with a representative of the New York World, sought to cast the whole blame of the war upon England. The Times, in recording this interview, again published extracts from the original communication by Herr Ballin to them, and shortly afterwards The Times was accused by the Cologne Gazette of attributing false utterances to him. In support of these accusations, the Cologne Gazette produced the text of a letter which it declared Herr Ballin had written to Mr Walter on August 1. The Times had no knowledge of this letter, and was at a loss to understand the references in the Cologne Gazette. There has lately, however, come into the possession of The Times the original telegram addressed in German to Count Wengersky, and as stated above, was published in its columns of April 23rd.

TRANSLATION.

HAMBURG, Aug. 1. (11.20 p.m.) (To) Count Wengersky, 71, Cornwall-gardens, London.

Translate the following article into English, and take this translation to Mr Walter, the publisher of The Times; give him my best compliments, and ask him to print this statement in Monday's Times.

If Walter declines, you must induce another first class newspaper to publish the article in a prominent position. Report to me by wire in German, as telegrams in foreign languages are no longer transmitted in Germany.

There has as yet been no declaration of war, and there is still some hope.

The letter for Walter, which Knuth was to bring, is therefore superseded by this telegram, and the letter for Lord Haldane I am sending direct, by post; so Knuth is not coming.

Now follows the German text of the article you are to translate into English:—

August 2, 1914.

I hear with astonishment that in France and elsewhere in the world it is imagined that Germany wants to carry on an aggressive war, and that she had with

this aim brought about the present situation. It is said that the Emperor was of the opinion that the moment had come to make a final reckoning with his enemies; but what a terrible error that is! Whoever knows the Emperor as I do, whoever knows how very seriously he takes the responsibility of the crown, how his moral ideas are rooted in true

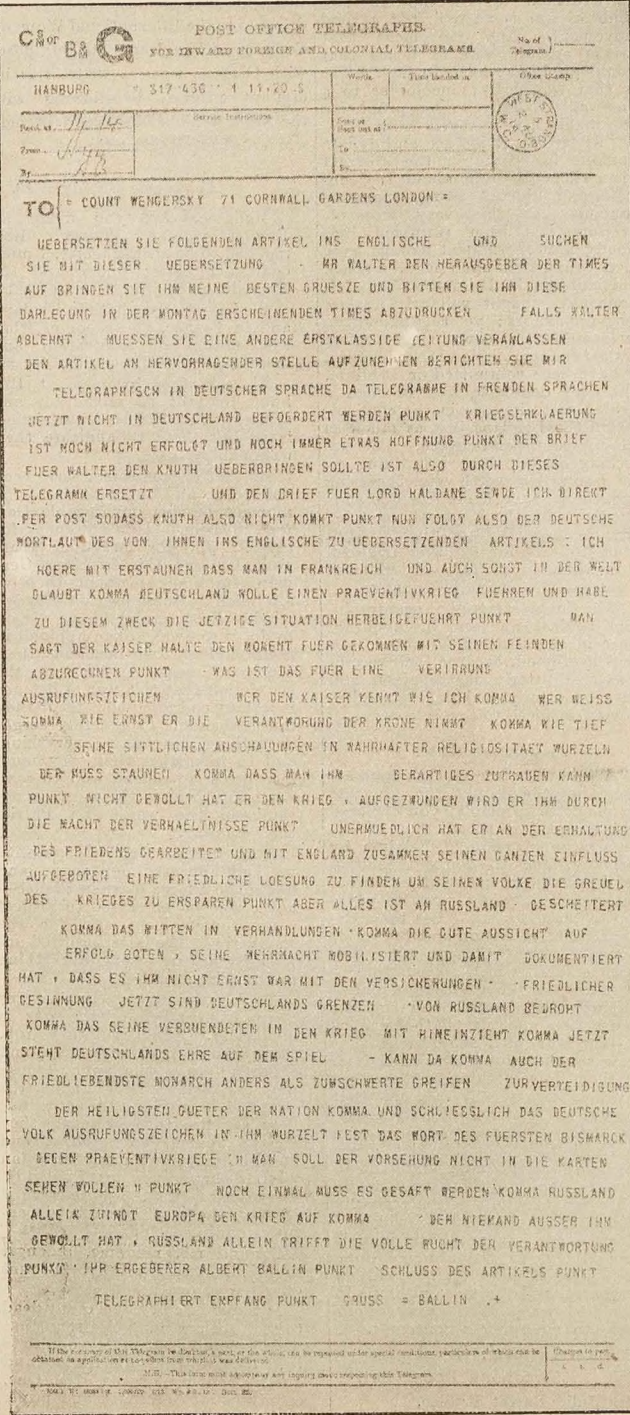
religious feeling, must be astonished that anyone could attribute such motives to him.

He has not wanted the war; it has been forced upon him by the might of the circumstances. He has worked unswervingly to keep the peace, and has, together with England, thrown His whole influence into the scales to find a

HERR BALLIN'S MESSAGE.

FACSIMILE OF THE ORIGINAL TELEGRAM.

We reproduce below, in facsimile, the original text of Herr Ballin's message of August 2 to "The Times," purporting to explain the attitude of the German Emperor towards the war. This communication is embodied in a telegram of 436 words addressed to Count Wengersky, the London representative of the Hamburg-America Line, at the latter's private residence, 71 Cornwall-gardens.



peaceful solution, in order to save His people from the horrors of war. But everything has been wrecked upon the attitude of Russia, which, in the middle of negotiations which offered good outlook of success, mobilised her forces, wherewith she proved that she did not mean in earnest what her assurances of peaceful intentions indicated.

Now Germany's frontiers are menaced by Russia, which drags her Allies into the war; now Germany's honour is at stake. Is it possible under these circumstances that the most peace-loving monarch can do otherwise than take to the sword in order to defend the most sacred interests of the nation?

And, finally, the German people? In them is firmly rooted the word of Prince Bismarck against aggressive wars: "One must not try to look into the cards of Fate."

It must be stated again: Russia alone forces the war upon Europe (*which no one but Russia wanted) Russia alone must carry the full weight of responsibility.

Yours faithfully, ALBERT BALLIN.

End of the Article. Acknowledge receipt by wire. Greeting. BALLIN.

*These words were omitted from Count Wengersky's translation.

THE REVOKED LETTER.

My dear Mr Walter,

On my return from a journey, I found your friendly letter of July 6, for which, pray, accept my thanks. In the few weeks which have elapsed since the sunny days of Kiel week, a change of such incalculable significance has been effected that one can hardly grasp it. Perhaps only a few hours will still elapse before the last fatal decision, and yet one still cannot believe that, only because Austria was compelled by year-long provocations to undertake a kind of punitive expedition against Serbia, Russia and Germany, and perhaps also France and Italy, and possibly even England, will become involved in a world-war by which none of these countries can gain anything, but through which values, to an extent of which human mind is unable to form a conception, would be destroyed.

It is not my task to investigate individually the grounds for this sudden change in events. I would only emphasise one, and I should be grateful to you if you would find room for this, my view, in your valued paper, as I see the opinion is disseminated that Germany wishes to wage this war, not as a war of defence, but as a war which, without any special cause, is conjured up only with the thought that the time for waging a war is favourable. I hope the people of England will not give credit to so slanderous an opinion, for it is known in England, through numerous personal relations to leading men in Germany, that the German people can see that its great interests in world trade and world commerce will thrive and flourish only with peace.

It is equally well known that all the efforts of the German Kaiser and his Chancellor are directed towards rendering our relations to foreign peoples peaceable and friendly. Every one who knows the German Kaiser will share my opinion that it most grossly contradicts his religious views to draw the sword unless it be for the honour and welfare of his people, and that the thought of a preventive war is inconceivable for a man of his views.

May diplomacy succeed in this last hour in the great work of the maintenance of peace.

I am, dear Mr Walter, Yours very sincerely,

BALLIN.

Peace Talk Strongly Condemned.

Mr ROOSEVELT ON THE PEACEMONGERS

SCATHING LETTER.

"SILLY, BASE, COWARDLY."

GERMANY'S CRIMES.

Mr Theodore Roosevelt, writing to a Washington lady, who recently asked his advice regarding the wisdom of associating herself with the "Woman's Party for the Constructive Peace of America," sent a reply, from which I quote, in which the former President of the United States describes the peace clamour as base, and expresses his views regarding the United States and Belgium. He says:—

"I emphatically advise you not to join such an organisation. The platform of principles enclosed in your letter seems to be both silly and base. Fifty years ago the Copperheads of the North held exactly the views about peace which are set forth in the platform you enclosed, and to a man they voted against Abraham Lincoln. They did all they could to break up the Union and to secure the triumph of slavery, because they put peace as the highest of all gods, just exactly as it is put by the people who have constructed that paper you sent me.

"Moreover, a very large proportion of the peace-at-any-price or Copperhead sympathisers were undoubtedly physical cowards, and equally undoubtedly a very large proportion of the ultra-pacifists of to-day who uphold such views as those outlined in the paper you enclosed in championing peace without regard to righteousness are really most influenced by physical cowardice. They fear death or pain or discomfort beyond everything else, and like to hide their fear behind high-sounding words.

Professional Pacifists.

"I speak with scientific accuracy when I speak of this movement as both base and silly. It is silly because it is absolutely futile. It proposes to go on with just the same kind of futile agitation which, by the experience of a century, and above all, by the experience of the last thirty years, has proved wholly useless and on the whole, slightly mischievous. Not one particle of good will be obtained by any such action as that outlined in that paper you sent.

"But this is not all. It is base as well as futile. There is nothing more repulsive than to see people agitating for general righteousness in the abstract, when they dare not stand up against wickedness in the concrete. On the whole, there is nothing that does so much damage to a church as to have a minister who thunders continually against wrong in the abstract, or against the wrong committed by the Pharisees a couple of thousand years ago, but who cannot be persuaded to stand up against present-day wrong in the concrete, and the professional pacifist leaders in the United States are in exactly this position.

"I assume, of course, that you are for peace in reality, and not merely for the name of peace, and that you are for peace based on justice and right, and not for a peace that con-

secrates successful wrong, for the peace that consecrates wrong may be actually worse than any war. Well, the paper you enclose is in effect exactly as much an endorsement of the 'peace' once obtained in Warsaw by trampling liberty and humanity under foot, as our 'peace' obtained at the same time in the United States by restoring the Union and freeing the slaves.

Hideous Wrongs.

"Any movement that fails emphatically to discriminate between the two kinds of peace and the two kinds of war is an evil, not a good movement. Any movement that speaks against war in terms that would apply as much to such a war as that waged by Lincoln, as to a war waged to destroy a free people is a thoroughly base and evil thing.

"Above all, it is base and evil to clamour for peace in the abstract when silence is kept about the concrete and hideous wrongs done to humanity at this very moment. Belgium has been trampled into bloody mire; frightful wrongs have been committed upon men, women, and children in Belgium. The Belgians have fought valiantly against their oppressors; yet this paper you enclose does not contain a protest against the commission of such wrongs as have been committed on Belgium, and does denounce war in such a fashion as to include in the condemnation the Belgians just as much as the oppressors of Belgium. There is nothing easier, there is nothing on the whole less worth while entering into, than vague hysterical demands for right in the abstract, coupled with an unworthy and timid refusal even to allude to the frightful wrongs that are at this very moment being committed in the concrete.

"The Congressmen that pass resolutions against war and in favour of peace in the abstract do not do one particle of good, because their resolutions are utterly meaningless, and must be utterly meaningless, unless they are reduced to concrete cases.

A Concrete Case.

"We have before us that concrete case. Let the people who advocate the platform principles you enclosed hold a meeting specifically to denounce the invasion of Belgium by Germany, and to demand that in the interests of peace the United States shall do what it can to put a stop to those wrongs. Let them denounce Messrs Wilson and Bryan for trying to force through the Ship Purchase Bill, which was in the interest of the Power that wronged Belgium, and in spite of the fact that their action might tend to bring us into the war with the Powers that have sought to defend Belgium. Let them do something to show that they mean what they say, and that they are really striving for righteousness.

"Until they do this, let every wise and upright man and woman refuse to have anything more to do with a movement which is certainly both foolish and noxious, which is accompanied by a peculiarly ignoble abandonment of the national duty and which, if successful, would do only harm, and the mere attempt to accomplish which rightly exposes our people to measureless contempt.

"Sincerely yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

"Mrs Julie Barret Rublee, Washington, D.C."

"A SACRED WAR."

Mme. Juliette Adam's Reply to English Invitation.

Mme. Juliette Adam, the famous French writer, replying to an invitation from Mrs Eleanor Fell, a British delegate to the International Women's Congress at The Hague, to talk peace with German women, writes this indignant protest, overflowing with the spirit which fills every Frenchwoman at the present time:—

Abbaye de Gif, April 19.

Madame.—Are you really an English woman? Though little inclined to be a Suffragette, I must confess I better understand the Englishwomen who wish to fight!

We have to-day, both in England and in France, the proof of what this notion of arbitration and mediation would have done for us. To ask Frenchwomen at this hour to talk of mediation and arbitration, to discuss an armistice, is to ask them to abdicate their nationality.

All that Frenchwomen have been able to do and ought to do at the moment of this unnameable German invasion—I do not speak for myself, who for forty-four years have foreseen this ferocious German attack at a moment when we are lured by humanitarian ideas—all that Frenchwomen have wished to do, is to awake or to applaud in their children, their husbands, their brothers, even their fathers, the conviction that this war of defence is a thing so sacred that for it they must abandon everything, forget everything, sacrifice everything, and to remember that they must face death to defend and to save what for them is the most sacred thing in the world—La Patrie, their country.

With our customary generosity we had appealed our anger, and had made a large place in France—not I who never ceased to protest—for forgetfulness and for the conqueror. The latter profited unworthily by preparing everything to annihilate us.

To-day every act of the Germans apart from those of the war is monstrous. They lie, they rob, they burn; they kill women and children; they pile up hostages; they assassinate the wounded, the stretcher-bearers and the surgeons; they set fire to hospitals; they violate women, young girls, and nuns. And how many Belgian victims have you in England? They destroy for the pleasure of it all that the most uncivilised centuries had respected.

Around me, madame, amongst my friends and my relatives, I count only heroic deaths.

It would be a betrayal of my dead to seek for anything else than that which is and that which ought to be, if the God of Right and Justice, enemy of the Evil One, enemy of mad strength and pride, is the true God.—JULIETTE ADAM.

"AN IRRETRIEVABLE MISTAKE."

Mrs Pankhurst, interviewed by the *Daily Graphic*, said:—

"We are not criticising the actions of the Government. What we criticise is the holding of a Congress at all. We are perfectly satisfied and we have information which supports that belief, that the whole thing has been engineered by agents of Germany. Well-meaning, honourable women have proved to be no match for wily German agents. I am very glad that the cancelling of the service has made it impossible for Englishwomen to attend, and I think as time goes on they themselves will be very glad that a fortunate accident has spared them an irretrievable mistake. They have been saved from themselves. The presence of Englishwomen would be entirely misunderstood by our Allies and neutral countries. I felt it my duty at a certain stage to make it clear that those ladies who wished to countenance if represented themselves, and did not represent English feeling in regard to the war. Germany made the war, and it must go on until German militarism is crushed. It is to the interests of Germany to have an active peace movement now; that is the one object of the agitation in America and elsewhere. And it might be arranged that the whole trend of the Congress should go against Germany so as to throw dust more completely in the eyes of the public. I am glad to say that no one officially connected with the W. S. P. U., or prominent in it, has had anything to do with the Congress."

DENMARK GRANTS VOTES TO WOMEN.

The Danish Parliament has adopted the new Constitution, by which all sex privileges are abolished and women equally with men have the right to vote.

This change will operate gradually. The age minimum for voters is 25. Under this Constitution women may also become members of the Rigsdag, and the qualifications hitherto necessary for election to the Landsting are no longer needed. The new Constitution will have to be passed once more by the new Rigsdag to be elected next month. It is hoped that the King of Denmark will definitely sign the new Constitution on June 5, the anniversary of the establishment of the first Constitution in 1849.

THAT IS ENDED! The Queen of the Belgians and Bavaria.

The following incident is recorded in the French Press:—

"Remembering that the young martyred queen is a Bavarian princess, I alluded to the report that the Bavarians of the German Army are restive at the persecution directed against this Queen, one of their own race. . . . But the Queen, raising her hand with a gesture that signified something irremediably final, and speaking in a low, grave tone, uttered these words, which fell upon the silence with the solemnity of irrevocable decree: "That is ended. Between them and myself, there is a curtain of iron that has fallen forever between us."

SUCCESS OF WOMEN'S WORK.

AMMUNITION NEEDED. Women Ready to Work!

Cannot more women be called in to work at making ammunition? Thousands and hundreds of thousands of women are ready to put their hands to the task; where are the people to train and organise them, and set them to work?

If only men had not monopolised so large an industrial field before the war, women would not now be compelled to wait upon men's initiative to make their readiness to serve available.

The need is great, as is proved by the following letter from Colonel Arthur Lee, M.P., who writes:—

I have never felt so more quietly optimistic about the final outcome of the war than I do at this moment. That the Allies have it in their power to win, and to free Europe from the German peril once and for all, is now certain beyond question. But vast German armies still continue and devastate a large part of France, and nearly the whole of Belgium, and they still threaten our own safety at home. They are held in check it is true, but in no sense are they defeated, and until they are routed and crushed, there can be no safety or peace for any country in Europe.

To this end our splendid Allies are fighting with all their might, and making sacrifices which we can hardly imagine. Our army too is doing its little bit, but it could do a great deal more if it were supplied with sufficient men and ammunition.

I see a great deal of our men at the front; they are keen, skilful, and determined. The fine victory and still more, the encouraging lesson of Neuve Chapelle, has filled them with confidence and enthusiasm. They are not in the least depressed by their losses, and, unlike most people in England they fully realise that the casualties already incurred must be doubled before the victory is finally won.

What they cannot understand is why the greatest manufacturing country in the world, should not be able to supply them with sufficient shells eight months after the outbreak of war, and they express themselves freely about it. Men and shells in ever-increasing streams, that is the prime need of the hour.

EQUAL WORK—EQUAL PAY.

The need of equal pay for equal work, as between men and women, is an imperative one, not only for the sake of women, but for the sake of men themselves, and as a means of maintaining a high standard of living, for the community at large. The matter is especially important just now, because of the enlistment of women for industrial war service, which service, as the Prime Minister declared at Newcastle, is just as important in its way as actual military service, so that the women who are working in our factories are, again to quote Mr Asquith, "serving their country just as well as the men who are lying in the trenches."

This difficulty of procuring equal pay for equal work, makes women deplore that the vote was not procured before the war broke out. The

difficulties of the position are accentuated, too, by action such as that of Mr J. J. Mallin, of the Anti-Sweating League and other movements avowed working in the interests of working women. Mr Mallin opposes equal pay for equal work (save where piece rates prevail), on the grounds that this might mean equal pay for unequal work. The contention is groundless, because save where the crudest form of physical labour demanding mere muscular strength rather than other qualities, is concerned, women's output of work is equal to that of men. The higher in the scale any given work happens to be, the more evident it is that women's work as regards both quality and quantity, is equal to the work of men.

A WOMAN COLONEL IN RUSSIA.

At the outbreak of the war a Russian woman, Madame Koudasheva joined the Cossack Regiment in which her husband had served years ago. She was wounded twice in encounters in East Prussia, received the Cross of St George, the V.C. of Russia, for bravery, became a lieutenant, and finally a colonel. She is at present in command of the 6th Ural Cossack Regiment. She has also been promised a military pension.

BOARD OF TRADE APPEAL.

Satisfactory Response.

Over fifty thousand women have already sent in their names to the Board of Trade as willing to take the places of men, so that they may be free to enlist.

This response to the Board of Trade's appeal must be regarded as satisfactory in every way.

During the last month situations have been found for many of the women in the following positions usually held by men:—

- Railway clerks.
- Night telephone operators.
- Booksellers.
- Bookstall clerks.
- Motor-van drivers.
- Stationmasters.
- Pithead labourers.
- Farmhands.
- Lift attendants.
- Milk purveyors.
- Grocers' assistants.
- Packers.
- Messengers.

GERMAN ALLOWANCES TO DEPENDANTS.

Dependants of soldiers in Germany are being treated by the German Government in a most niggardly fashion. The official separation allowance in Germany is only granted to wives and children, and is in itself very small—12s. a month for the wife and 6s. a month for each child. This is supplemented by an equal allowance from the municipal authorities. But the position is aggravated by the fact that, owing to the universality of military service in Germany, it is thought fit to give an allowance only in the case of actual necessity, and as far as possible wives are urged to go out and work and earn the usual pittance paid to female labour. The result of this system is the common one of bitter poverty—or the demoralisation which follows the distribution of doles.

WAR OFFICE APPOINTS LADY RECRUITING OFFICER.

An auxiliary recruiting station was opened on Saturday at Chester by Mrs Norman Wyld, who has been appointed a recruiting officer. She wears a uniform and recruiting ribbons in her cap.

MAORI WOMEN OFFER TO FIGHT.

When the Maori warriors were accepted for the New Zealand Expeditionary Force recently, among the volunteers were a number of stalwart "wahines" (native women), who became quite indignant when they were told that their sex could not be accepted. "I can shoot as well as any man who ever stepped," declared one Maori woman, who expressed utter scorn for the incomprehensible ways of the pakeha (white man) in despatching an army of men to fight without their women being there to look after them.

AUSTRALIA APPOINTS WOMEN MAGISTRATES.

A Bill enabling women to be appointed as magistrates in children's courts has been passed by both Houses of the Western Australian Legislature.

"THE SUFFRAGETTES."

"When our men took to hand grenades," a non-commissioned officer of the Royal Fusiliers writes, "we were for a while at a loss to know what to call the men who were kept for throwing these. Then one day a chap, who is a bit of a wag in his way, had an idea. He started calling them 'the Suffragettes,' and the name has stuck ever since so far as that part of the front is concerned."

Mrs PANKHURST SPEAKS AT SHEFFIELD. Hundreds Turned Away. Overflow Meeting in a Church.

Mrs Pankhurst had a rousing welcome at Sheffield, where she went to address a patriotic meeting organised by the W. S. P. U. at the Victoria Hall. Amongst those who occupied seats on the platform were General Bowles, Colonel Branson, Major Goodfears, Councillors Appleyard, Ashmore, W. F. Jackson, and Oram. A correspondent sends us the following account:—

Long before the doors were opened, hundreds of people began to gather, and form up in long queues outside the several entrances to the Victoria Hall, Sheffield, on the occasion of Mrs Pankhurst's meeting here. It was very soon apparent that by the time announced for the opening of the doors, many hundreds would be unable to gain admission.

Within ten minutes of the opening of the doors, 4500 people had filled the hall, and the crowds were pushing their way into an already overcrowded hall, refusing to go away, and calling for an overflow meeting.

The nearest available place was the Congregational Chapel, and the managers of this were prevailed upon to grant the use of the Chapel. This building, holding about 700 people, was promptly filled to overflowing. General Drummond, who was presiding at the Victoria Hall, later vacated the chair, and hurried across to speak at the overflow meeting. General Drummond spoke from the pulpit to an enthusiastic audience, and a large number of the first re-issue of THE SUFFRAGETTE were sold from the pulpit.

Mrs PANKHURST TO SPEAK AT A LONDON CINEMA.

Mrs Pankhurst has accepted the invitation of the management of the Picture House, Oxford Street, to make a short recruiting speech on May 1st, when the film, "Wake up," is to be shown, with a view to stimulating recruiting. Others who have decided to be present during the three days devoted to this campaign are the Mayor and Corporation of Westminster, Mr Burdett Coutts, M.P. for the Division, Sir Edward Carson, and Lord Desborough.

W.S.P.U. RECRUITING MEETINGS.

Recruiting meetings are being arranged in the following towns:—Blackburn, Bradford, Leicester, and Norwich. General Flory Drummond will be the speaker. Miss Olive Bartels will be in charge of these meetings, and those residing in these districts, and who are able to help, are asked to communicate with her at Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, London, W.C.



First Woman Van-Driver, who is a member of the W.S.P.U.

