

"The Suffragette," September 3, 1915.

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The Suffragette

Edited by CHRISTABEL PANKHURST

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Women's Social and Political Union

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Review of the Week.

Our Great Russian Ally.

ADMIRATION and respect for Russia grow every day. There is the Emperor's loyal and noble message to France given at the time of greatest trial for him and his country. There is for example also the demand made by leading members of the Duma for a Prime Minister and the strong and energetic adoption of a Government programme in accordance with the exigencies of the national situation. We believe that Russia will find her place among the great constitutionally governed countries of the world and that belief is strengthened by the fact that the Slavs are fraternal and democratic by their very nature. They may yet show the way to the goal of mingled co-operation and liberty as distinct from the system of despotic organisation presided over by the Hohenzollerns.

A Confession of Guilt.

Take this from Professor Schumacher's statement of Germany's objects in waging this war:

Above all Germany must ensure her possession of all raw material necessary for the industries of war and must take them from her enemies. In the first place as regards iron ore, without the minerals of Lorraine we could not furnish the production of iron and steel necessary. Thanks to the war of 1870 we are happily the richest country of Europe in minerals. The Treaty of Frankfurt should have given us the whole of Lorraine. A mistake was committed, because the geologists consulted by Bismarck were at fault. We have known, in fact, since 1880, that the basis of Longwy, which is a continuation of that of Briey, is one of the richest parts of France. To-day we can correct our mistake of 1871, because since the beginning of the war we have occupied and we hold firmly in our possession the second of the raw materials of our industry. Just as we could not pursue the war if we had not the wealth of

the soil of Lorraine, so we could not pursue it victoriously if we had not the coal supply of Belgium and the North of France. Knowing as we do to-day what munitions mean in a war, we must say to ourselves that it is necessary to the life of our people in peace and in war to possess these sources warlike and commercial.

Vive la France!

Robbed of their coal supply by the Germans, our brilliant Allies, the French, are now turning to their mountain torrents for water-power. As the *Matin* says,

The waters of the eternal snows falling without ceasing in white cascades and then in blue torrents over rocks and stones were captured before the war—barely ten years ago—by audacious engineers, who turned them into electricity through movement and heat through electricity. Hydro-electricity became from the year 1900 a young industrial glory of France. A veritable miracle is unfolding itself in our South-Eastern France—a miracle of scientific reason and human will born of French genius and which will wrest once again from the ancient soil of France the secret of conquering by its own resources, by its own independence.

And now those greedy, rapacious Germans will no doubt extend their plans of conquest, so as to include the theft from France not only of her coal and iron but of her mountains and mountain torrents. But they will fail. Germany's schemes of plunder cannot get the better of French inventive genius and passionate devotion to liberty. Darkness cannot defeat light. Evil cannot vanquish good. Spirit must conquer. *Vive la France!*

The United States and Germany.

What will be the final outcome of the *Arabic* affair as between the United States and Germany is not known at the moment of writing. Germany is said to be offering some sort of promise applying to the great passenger-carrying ships. That this promise will be kept longer or otherwise than suits German convenience is of course not believed and in any case the promise does not seem to apply to merchant vessels in general.

Even if the particular matter in question should be settled, the war creates a serious problem for the United States. That country cannot be indifferent to the result of the war in Europe. If the Allies should be defeated, the United States would quickly be brought under—perhaps without a blow.

Whatever the result of the war, mere peace conferences and peace machinery will not prevent another war, for in German eyes all that serves the sole purpose of stifling the suspicions of other countries and preventing those other countries from preparing to defend themselves from attack and it will for many a long year have to be evident to the defeated aggressor that no subsequent attack could have any greater success than that of 1914-15.

The First Line of American Defence.

It all comes back to this: The armies and navies of the Allies are the first line of American defence. The defeat of the Allies would literally be the defeat of the United States and the victory of the Allies will be the victory of the United States. A practical difficulty arises which hitherto has not perhaps received the attention it deserves and it is this—the Allies' defence, which is the defence of the United States, is being conducted at the sole cost of the Allies in life and in money.

The Renewed Trouble in South Wales.

We feared that new trouble might arise in South Wales and this because we believe that Mr. Runciman is not the right man for dealing with such questions. Apart from his own temperamental and other disqualifications for the position in question there is the fact that his father Sir Walter Runciman, himself a member of the Advisory Committee of the Marine Department of the Board of Trade, voted in the House of Commons against the National Register Bill.

This is plain speaking, but the fate of Europe weighs heavier in the balance than any personal consideration! Moreover, and the point is important, the trouble in South Wales injures our reputation as a nation.

Why do people want to retain any position when they are not the best fitted to fill it?

To the Coal Owners.

To the Welsh coal owners we would say:

You will be among the first to be plundered by the Germans should they land here. Moreover, do you realise that a growing number of persons are questioning by what right, Divine or human, you enjoy the ownership of the mineral resources of the nation, above all in war time? Do not therefore press the exercise of your "right" (wherever you get it from) too far! That way revolution lies, as you will see.

You will not find the great public so tender of your pocket as the Government have so far been. The nation is fighting for its life and will stand no nonsense from you. You must therefore convince the nation that you are in the right and that you are faithful to your trust.

To the Miners.

To the miners we would say:

We do not forget that your work is hard and trying and that in getting the coal which is the industrial life blood of the nation you spend your life during peace as during war in a sort of trench warfare with nature. But you are not the only workers whose toil is hard and dangerous. There are the stokers in ships, there are the hospital nurses, there are the soldiers and the sailors of the Navy and the merchant marine, there are the railway workers. From miners the country naturally looks to see the same spirit precisely as is shown by these others.

And remember that if the Germans come the miners of South Wales will be among the first to suffer as the civilian people of Belgium have suffered! You miners will either be assassinated at sight, burnt alive in your home, perhaps after you have seen your wife violated and your baby stabbed by a bayonet, or you will be compelled to choose between being shot against a wall or working to get coal for the Germans and against your own liberty. And if, partly by your enforced labour, the Germans should be victorious, then after the war you would have to work at lowered wages with a higher cost of living to pay tribute to Germany and its people.

The "Labour Leader" Case.

With respect to the decision in the *Labour Leader* case we have this to say, that we should greatly have appreciated a display of judicial charity so great as was displayed in this case in the days when this paper, THE SUFFRAGETTE, was the object of legal prosecution. But then the quality of mercy is apt to be more strained in the case of unfranchised than in the case of the enfranchised.

A Conscript Appanage.

The question of National Service cannot be viewed in its completeness unless it is viewed in the light of the fact that if the Germans should be victorious, they would

impose conscription upon all conquered countries. Sir Edward Grey, whose statements are not to be charged with exaggeration or overcolouring, has spoken of our becoming "the conscript appanage" of Germany in the event of a German victory.

A Question!

The *Daily News* had better put to itself and answer in its columns this question—whether is it better for the British people to follow the example of France and Switzerland and voluntarily take upon themselves the burden of universal service in defence of their Motherland or to wait till the Germans come and impose conscription upon them for the purpose of enslaving them to the Hohenzollern dynasty as well as using them for the purposes of German Imperial aggression?

France and the United States.

The breath of real America is in the following passage from the *Courier Journal* of Louisville, Kentucky:

Rather than let France die if she were menaced by such a fate we ought to declare war on America. We owe everything that we are as a Republic to France. Without her we should not be a nation. As we are, she is a Republic. In our hearts the tricolour flag and our Stars and Stripes are united. The "Marseillaise" moves our hearts equally with our own sacred hymn like the celestial trumpet call.

"The Freedom of the Seas"!

The leading article deals with the freedom of the seas and Sir Edward Grey's reference to that question—a reference which we hold to be dangerous—but we add this further comment. Here we have, as Sir Edward Grey himself has clearly shown, a nation, Germany, guilty of the following offences:—Of bad faith; Of a shameful attempt to bribe Great Britain to betray her ward Belgium; Of making a false charge against Belgium, thus insulting and vilifying the victim already robbed, assaulted and wronged in every conceivable way!

And then we are to sit round a table and hand across it to this same nation a present of the "freedom of the seas," thus enabling a repetition of such infamies—attended by greater success owing to our agreed inability freely and rightfully to use our Navy!

A Dangerous Proposition.

What would be the result of a German victory now or in a future war?

It has not often been better stated than by Sir Edward Grey. Here are his words:

An iron peace and a freedom under a Prussian shield and under German supremacy. Germany alone would be free; free to break international treaties; free to crush when it pleased her; free to refuse all mediation; free to go to war when it suited her; free when she did go to war to break again all rules of civilisation and humanity on land and sea; and while she may act thus all her commerce at sea is to remain as free in time of war as all commerce is in time of peace.

We print in black type the last words. They completely prove the absurdity and the danger of the freedom of the seas in war time.

To Guarantee Peace in Future.

True, Germany is going to be defeated, but that defeat will not guarantee peace in future if by an agreement between nations the conditions of future warfare are changed as they would be by the freedom of the sea, i.e. the freedom of German com-

merce and import of war material in war time.

For the Germans will argue to themselves that although victory over their neighbours was not possible without the freedom of the seas in war time, yet with the freedom of the seas it will be possible.

Cotton as Absolute Contraband.

There is as we write a very prevalent feeling of uneasiness on this question in spite of the recent Foreign Office announcement. There were passages in that announcement which have excited doubt as to the thoroughness of the policy to be pursued in this regard. The influences that for a year kept cotton off the absolute contraband list will not subside of their own accord and continued watchfulness is necessary. The following report is a sign of the dangers of the situation:

Washington.

Mr. W. G. Harding, a member of the Federal Reserve Board, addressing a meeting of Southern merchants, predicted a German competition for the American cotton crop, despite the contraband declaration.

"Germany," he said, "is as anxious to have cotton as the Allies are to prevent her. It is not inconceivable that before long there will be international competition for the possession of this great staple. It is at least a possibility that cotton will be purchased in large quantities for foreign account and stored in Southern warehouses for shipment as needed and as opportunities arise."

It is understood that the main contention of the forthcoming Note to Great Britain will be that cotton, having more extensive uses than the manufacture of explosives, cannot lawfully be regarded as absolute contraband.—Reuter.

Weakness and Compromise a Great Danger.

In an illuminating letter from an American citizen, which will be found on page 301, it will be seen (as indeed from much other evidence that is available) that the difficulties of the situation have actually been aggravated by the year's delay in declaring cotton absolute contraband. The same important letter draws attention to certain practices resorted to by Germany and contains the warning that by displaying weakness and readiness to compromise at the expense of our own cause we should suffer irreparable moral injury as well as material injury so far as the United States is concerned. But so long as Sir Eyre Crowe is at the Foreign Office, the position is grave and there are many and those the best informed among the public who will not know peace of mind until this official and his policy have ceased to influence the course of events.

The German View of the Duty of an Ally.

It is not after all surprising that the Germans should have hopes of concluding a separate peace with one or other of the Allies, thereby strengthening themselves to fight the rest, for they judge other peoples by themselves. Bismarck's pronouncement on this subject may be cited here:

At a given moment, a member of an Alliance may abandon his ally; even in the middle of a common action if the advantages of the result cease to be in proportion to the sacrifices or if his share of glory and benefit do not answer to his expectations.

Facts Wanted—and a Lead.

It is perfectly true, as Lord Hugh Cecil has said, that the public has not for purposes of forming a judgment on national service the aid of all the facts which are at the disposal of the Government. That

does not necessarily mean that the public has not nevertheless facts enough. What, in any case, is the public to do? For it has to bear the ultimate responsibility of a right or wrong decision of the matter. Our Lord Haldanes will see to that! And even if politicians do not, reject responsibility for the nation's plight—as Lord Haldane has recently done—still it is the mass of the public of this and future generations who will suffer if a mistaken decision is made. The situation would be simplified if the Government would make a definite decision and announce it to the public in a definite way. But the country is naturally perplexed and uneasy when one Cabinet Minister says that many more men are wanted for the Army and that he cares not whether they are secured under a voluntary or compulsory system, while other Cabinet Ministers maintain a mysterious silence on the question.

It is all very well to accuse those who urge the adoption of national service of disturbing national unity, but the attitude of Cabinet Ministers in general is more an encouragement to the national service advocates than a deterrent. It has happened before that certain Ministerial action has been taken while those who have advertised the need of such action have been condemned from first to last as disturbers of the peace.

This at least is plain: Only traitors, with a few fools thrown in, desire anything but the complete victory of the Allies and therefore if the need of obligatory service is proved, opposition to it will disappear before the paramount necessity of victory.

No member of the Government should be influenced by certain pre-war notions many of which put to the test of fact have already proved seriously wanting.

What a Neutral Says.

A Dutch professor, writing in the *Amsterdammer*, says:

Germany pursues her task with tenacious perseverance and believes in her Divine mission. Her adversaries make less noise and speak less of the greatness of their character. They say nothing about the mission which God has confided to them. They simply do their duty.

Among the peoples whom the war has made greater one must place in the first rank France. The best in this nation has been manifested since the declaration of war. Her whole attitude is that of complete devotion for the safety of the Motherland. Certainly those who knew how to use their eyes understood before the war that France was not the decadent country that many Dutchmen supposed. But to-day everybody realises that the soul of the French people is healthy and possesses the heroic virtues of a history that numbers thousands of years.

Women's War Service.

An important development of women's war service is announced in the report that the War Office has called for 200 voluntary aid women orderlies to work in the military hospitals at Malta. For months past many such workers have been working in the base hospitals of France and England. A very conspicuous and valuable act of war service is that performed by a French girl who has been mentioned in British despatches. This brave young girl, by name Renée Robin, aged sixteen years, placed in the hands of the British Army a plan of the positions at La Bassée and helped in an effectual bombardment of the German positions.

In connection with women's war service we draw attention to page 306, on which will be found particulars of the various classes of workers included in the W.S.P.U. Register.

IMPORTANT FACTS!

Concerning German Manœuvres.

THIS Letter from an exceptionally well-informed American citizen states facts and opinions of so much practical importance that we feel it a duty to publish it.

We call the attention of the Government and the public to this letter assuring them that it is written by one who knows so well that of which he speaks that his warning cannot without danger be disregarded. We print in black type the most significant phrases.

As regards the cotton question, my personal opinion is that it has been somewhat muddled by England. There was ample warrant for putting cotton on the absolute contraband list, to which place it belonged. American precedents are so strong in support of that view as to forestall all argument. The question, however, was handled without resoluteness and has been envenomed rather than improved by that treatment. Lately there has been a disposition to deal properly with the situation by putting cotton on the absolute contraband list. Better late than never.

In dealing with the **Allied blockade against German commerce** certain fundamental considerations should be borne in mind:

FIRST: Germany has to pay **cash on the nail** for everything she buys in the United States, and undertakes **all risks of shipping**. She strives, however, to maintain the **appearance of neutral ownership** of goods on the high seas whose ultimate destination is Germany. She does that through the employment of **neutral "dummies" who will swear to anything**.

SECOND: Germany cannot get anybody on this side to **pay** for German goods unless and until they are **delivered here in America**.

THIRD: From the first two points it follows that all goods of **German ultimate origin or destination are always of ultimate German ownership when found on the high seas**; that the employment of neutral "dummies" claiming ownership of the goods is merely **part of a scheme of deception which fools no one except those who insist upon being fooled**.

FOURTH: Germany has **shifted her business organisation to adjacent neutral countries and to America**. She is endeavouring to organise a **merchant fleet UNDER THE AMERICAN FLAG**.

After the failure of the bill providing for a government-owned American merchant marine, a scheme of purely German conception, the Germans are trying to constitute a so-called German-American merchant marine owned by **"dummies" in this country for German maritime interests**.

These "dummies" are of the so-called German-American type. **No money passes** on the acquisition of the ships by such "dummies." The ships are for the most part flying some neutral flag or other, but are of **German ownership**. It would be extremely dangerous for both this country and the Allied Governments to encourage that scheme. A hyphenated American merchant marine will work the same sort of damage to America as a hyphenated political machine. **It will be working for German interests and against American interests and this will continue when peace is restored**.

FIFTH: The United States, as the leading neutral nation is bound to litigate all questions of neutral rights. It will continue to do so in good faith. There is just one way in which the Allied Governments can in the course of such litigation win the **thorough contempt of the American people** and that is by **yielding any point involving any advantage, however slight, in the struggle against Germany**.

If they should do that, I would simply despair of seeing their cause prevail, and I feel quite sure that **AMERICANS GENERALLY WOULD COME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT THE ALLIES DID NOT HAVE THE WILL, AND THEREFORE DID NOT DESERVE, TO WIN**.

The Suffragette

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

PRICE ONE PENNY WEEKLY.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1915.

A Fatal Proposition.

WE are alarmed by Sir Edward Grey's reference to the "Freedom of the Sea" in his letter to the Press.

These are the words in question:

Freedom of the sea may be a very reasonable subject for discussion, definition and agreement between nations after this war, but not by itself alone, not while there is no freedom and no security against war and German methods of war on land. If there are to be guarantees against future war let them be equal, comprehensive and effective guarantees that bind Germany as well as other nations including ourselves.

What is the point of all this?

What does it mean? To whom is it acceptable save the Germans and perhaps Sir Eyre Crowe?

Who is for one moment deceived by the German whine about the freedom of the seas?—who fails to understand what is the real significance of that whine?

Why should our Government condescend to argue about the freedom of the sea even in this indirect way, with the assassins of the *Lusitania* passengers, with the foul fighters by land as well as sea that the Germans have shown themselves?

And this question sums the matter up—**"Are we going to be taken in again by Prusso-Germany when this war ends?"**

Surely the Germans' game is obvious enough by this time!

They hoped that by mines and submarines they could destroy the naval power of the Allies in general and of Great Britain in particular. Now the practical experience of this war has disillusioned them.

So the Germans are now concentrating upon robbing the Allies of their naval strength, not by destroying their navies but by chaining those navies up, fettering them by means of agreements entered into at an International Congress to follow the present war. But Prusso-Germany will not feel bound by those agreements, any more than by agreements relating to wars on land. That Prusso-Germany cannot be

bound by treaties and pledges all history shows! And in any case to fetter the use of sea power in war time will mean as this war shows an advantage to Germany and an injury to Germany's foes.

"Freedom of the sea"—what do its authors mean by that expression? They mean freedom for the Germans to do business as usual while fighting their neighbours on land—while ruining their neighbours' trade, stealing their neighbours' property, destroying their neighbours' lives.

Freedom of the seas also means that Germany, in addition to the productions of Krupp increased by the plunder of the coal and iron riches of France and Belgium, would be able to import war material from oversea and thus make the death of European liberty swift and sure.

No! No! No! Germany cannot and shall not have the freedom of the sea except on the terms of keeping the peace on land.

The power of navies to attack the commerce of that aggressive nation must be retained and held ready for use in case Germany should strike again as she struck in 1914.

The British people will not allow the renunciation of one jot or one tittle of our right of naval self-defence, which includes the right of warring upon the commerce of the Germans in any future war they may make.

In fact, what is needed, is this—that the right of making war on commerce by sea as an answer to German aggression on sea and land ought to be more clearly defined. For example, the Declaration of Paris of 1856 has proved to be contrary to the spirit and letter of the law of nations as well as contrary to international equity. As for the Declaration of London, not only Great Britain but the whole Alliance has reason to be thankful beyond the power of words to express that the Declaration of London never came into effect.

If Germany were to induce the nations to make any slightest move in the direction of the so-called freedom of the seas, Germany would to that extent secure a victory.

Countries that are neutral in this war ought just as firmly as the Allies to reject the idea of the freedom of the sea. Their most vital interest, their very life as nations (and therefore their commercial interests too) is at stake.

And apart from that they may one day be belligerents themselves, fighting to save their liberty and life from destruction by Germany as we Allies are fighting to-day.

This is certain—the one infallible way to produce another German-made war is to establish the freedom of the sea in war time!

On the other hand, the naval strength and liberty of attack on German sea-borne commerce, possessed by those the Germans might wish again to attack, is the strongest guarantee possible of future world peace.

Why! the Germans make no secret of the fact that the freedom of the sea in war time would be a weapon in their hands to be used in waging another war.

It seems to be thought that for our politicians to coquette with the freedom of the seas is to make some sort of propitiatory offering to the United States. We should like first of all to know what right the United States has to expect Europe to commit suicide for the sake of American commerce! But as a matter of fact the United States expects no such thing, whatever may be said in documents that from time to time cross the Atlantic.

In the Civil War the American people showed once and for all what choice they make when the pockets of traders in other lands and the vital interests of America come into conflict.

Notice well what is said in the American letter on page 301, for it is true!

There is just one way in which the Allied Governments can win the thorough contempt of the American people and that is by yielding any point involving any advantage, however slight, in the struggle against Germany.

We must be on our guard against the German tactics of trying to use the opinion of the United States, as reported by themselves or their friends, as a means of pressure upon us. The Germans have done that in regard to the cotton contraband question, thereby keeping cotton off the contraband list for twelve months!

This particular trick can be played all the more easily because many of the political leaders of this country have never been to the United States or have not been there for years and so are easily deceived as to what Americans really think and feel regarding the war and its incidents. It has happened in the past—but it must not happen again—especially where the vital question of sea law is concerned—that this country has actually been far behind its friends in America and thereby has rendered it inevitable for the United States Government to make concession to the demands of the German-Americans.

Some of us have a devotion to the United States, and all it represents and promises for humanity at large, which is at least as great as the devotion of Sir Edward Grey or anyone else in the Cabinet, but those who best love America and the American people, are firmest in the belief that it is disastrous to them and disastrous to ourselves to allow their minor interests to conflict with their and our supreme interests, which are the liberty of the individual and the independence of our respective nations. And the personal liberty of Europeans and Americans is threatened by Germany and by Germany is threatened also the independence of the nations of America north and south and of Europe.

So the Allies, who are nearer to the German Volcano and have their vision and prevision cleared by suffering and sacrifice, must stand firm as a rock against that mockery, that peril, that fatal proposition, the so-called freedom of the seas in war time.

CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

THE HISTORY OF A CRUSADE

A Great Frenchwoman's Book

GERMANISM finds perhaps its most resolute foe in Woman. There is a twofold reason for this. Germanism glorifies to excess the male as male, woman's position being correspondingly debased. There are no women of normal intuition and perception who do not realise that the victory of Germanism and the consequent growth of German power in the world would be disastrous to women even more than to men.

And the further reason why woman is the foe of Germanism is that woman, as history shows, is the Priestess of Nationality—and Nationality is threatened by Germanism which seeks to denationalise the peoples, reducing them to indiscriminate subjection to a victorious and dominant Germany.

Who, for example, have kept alive and radiant the spirit of Polish nationality, of Serb nationality? It is above all the women who have done this.

And it is the women, if possible even more than the men, of Alsace Lorraine, who have by teaching and example filled their children with passionate loyalty to their mother country France, from whom, protesting, the two provinces were torn away in 1871.

So it is not surprising that one of the most poignant books on the war, one of those inspired by the deepest feeling, has been written by a woman.*

She is Mme. Juliette Adam, one of the greatest citizens of France, whose citizenship, with that of her magnificent sisters of all classes, will, we may hope, be crowned by legislative recognition when peace returns.

Mme. Adam's political memory takes her back to the days before the Franco-German war of 1870. After that calamity, which the world knows now, and ought in those days to have understood, was undeserved by France, Mme. Adam devoted years of her life to a stern political fight against the infamous Bismarck with a view to preventing him from dealing her beloved France another terrible blow.

Indeed, apart from the preface and a dedication to Alsace, her book (and its interest is all the greater on that account) consists of passages from her writings which appeared in successive years in the *Nouvelle Revue*, which, as she says, "I had founded for this warfare against Prince Bismarck and in which I wrote the 'Foreign Policy.'" . . . She adds:—

"This warfare I sustained without a pause until the fall of the Iron Chancellor and continued vis-à-vis his 'creature' (I can find no other word) William II. in *La Nouvelle Revue* and in *La Parole Française à l'Étranger* during a period of twenty-five years."

The present Kaiser, Mme. Adam affirms, is the beneficiary of the work of Bismarck and many of their crimes are common to them both. Part of the Kaiser's punishment, she observes, is his punishment in his son.

True, no doubt! But if that same son should be allowed to succeed his father on the Imperial or even merely the Prussian throne, Europe, and not the Kaiser, will eventually suffer the major part of the punishment!

In the course of the dedication to Alsace, Mme. Adam speaks of the long-continued attempts of the Germans to substitute their

* *L'Heure Vengeresse des Crimes Bismarckiens*, published by the Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, Paris.

"heavy conceptions" for those native to the French:

In our blindness we suffered the deforming of our discoveries of every kind which came back to us bearing the Prussian hall-mark. In the arts, pedantic heaviness was by ourselves baptised "power." In the domain of history, only German historians were entitled to admiration.

She mourns the decline of French conversation during the Germanising epoch now closed, the delivery of ponderous professorial monologues having more and more taken the place of the free and equal, witty, brilliant interchange of ideas.

"I tried to prove," says Mme. Adam, "with what patience, with what learned cunning, with what continuity the German works of approach were dispossessing us of the qualities of our race."

The first of the extracts, so great in their historic, political and human interest, of which the book is composed, is from the *Nouvelle Revue* of January 1880. In the main it deals with Bismarck's career until that date. Of him we read, as we might have read with truth of Germany as a whole at any moment preceding the outbreak of war, that

"he pursues his work of war by means always the same, always deceitful and, incredible thing, provoking the same surprise and meeting with the same credulity. . . ."

While he devotes himself passionately to the organisation of the Army he pursues a foreign policy instinct with trickery. "He secretly encourages the Polish insurrection while he makes a treaty with Russia to crush it." Then he concludes an alliance with Austria for the despoilment of Denmark.

He ripens his plan of battle against his Ally of the day before [Austria]. He has long since prepared France by showing himself to her in the guise of a sham weakling. Poor deformed Prussia—it is his expression—only asks to straighten herself out. She needs the line of the Mein. The good France can take Belgium, that home of demagogues; Luxembourg which has no *raison d'être*; she ought to re-establish her natural boundary at Sarrebruck.

And so it all goes until the day arrives when Bismarck decides to draw together the Germanic States by a common hatred of and the prospect of a war against France. He therefore works to isolate France and to trouble her internal peace.

After France, despite her heroism, was vanquished because he had willed that she should be unaided by other Powers and betrayed from within, did Bismarck, the author asks, settle down to enjoy the blessings of peace? No.

"The man of war immediately uses the peace-money—the indemnity—to prepare for other wars. Hardly has he been gorged when he contemplates future misery and prepares another lucrative promenade to Paris."

But at the first indication of an attack upon France an old diplomat already suspicious, if not enlightened, Prince Gortschakoff warns Europe and Austria, England, guilty as is Russia of having allowed the Prussian dictatorship to grow in Europe, all declare to Bismarck that that is enough, perhaps too much.

The trickster seeing his calculations upset, is enraged and exclaims that another time people will not know that he is making war on France until they hear the sound of cannon in Champagne."

The following calls for quotation:

The women in Austria have more divination than the men—as sometimes happens elsewhere.

Maria Theresa, at the moment of the partition of Poland, at first refused to sign, repeating "It is impossible that from the King of Prussia anything good can come for Austria."

Even in Prussia, a woman, the Empress, one day had an intuition of the future when, speaking of the man who has used and abused all Governments, all nations, she said: He is the gravedigger of the dynasty.

At the end of this chapter, written thirty-five years ago, Mme. Adam asked:

Has not Europe at last worked enough for the King of Prussia? Does not Europe understand what Prince Bismarck has

desired and desires now? The armaments of Germany, the augmentation of effectives that she exacts of her Allies, her rage when her adversaries fortify themselves, does not all that abundantly prove to those who are impassioned for peace that there is only one danger of European war—Germany?

Contrast those words dating back thirty-five years with the weaknesses of omission and commission for which certain men politicians in our own country are responsible—weaknesses that have encouraged and enabled Germany to carry on this present war—and some justification will be found for Mme. Adam's observations above quoted as to superior powers of divination sometimes possessed by women!

Eleven months later, in March 1881, Mme. Adam wrote of the "Germanic unity founded in militarism" as follows:—

This unity is perpetuated by hatred of the hereditary enemy and pride in common conquest.

It will end, if history gives life to Prince Bismarck, in the collectivist dream of a monarchy of soldiers and an army, without Parliament, without liberty, without initiative—a barracks-phalanstery under the guard of a jealous aristocracy and a bellicose reigning family—such will be the aspect of the great Germany.

Pretty accurate prophecy that! Except that Mme. Adam seems hardly to have foreseen the importance of the rôle to be played by plutocrats, such as Herr Ballin and others belonging to the "great middle party," as one of their British admirers expresses it.

Two years later, in 1883, Mme. Adam writes of a "threatening article in the *Gazette de l'Allemagne*, which has not surprised us," and she adds "the most violent aggressions of the German Press during this last fortnight have been reserved for France." Then she continues:—

The work undertaken by the Iron Chancellor under cover of completing the unity of the Germanic Empire is the most disturbing and the most dissolving that a statesman has ever attempted.

To turn nations aside from their natural course, to paralyse progress and liberty, to keep a whole Continent in arms in the constant perplexity of imminent wars . . . becomes dangerous. . . . But he deceived himself if he sought in an imprudence on the part of France the pretext for a violent solution in default of the pacific solution with which his diplomacy could not furnish him. The provocation of the *Gazette de l'Allemagne* leaves France indifferent.

Bismarck's ambition to form a coalition of interests against Great Britain is alluded to by Mme. Adam in December 1884—thirty-one years ago!

Bismarck kept Europe in a state of latent war, declared Mme. Adam in November 1886 and in the early part of 1887, an especially critical year in which the Bismarckian, the German, desire for another war against France seemed as though it would express itself in actual aggression. Mme. Adam said:—

"France, brutally attacked without having given a single pretext for such attack, would defend herself to the death and would sell her life so dear that perhaps it could not be taken."

We shall say more of this book in a future issue. But we hope that many of our readers will buy it and travel its pages for themselves, for we have touched only upon the early part of the book, which from the first word to the last is a rich store of fact and political philosophy.

GERMANS IN THE CAMP

The Enemy's Undermining Policy

THE danger of employing persons of German descent in Government departments is proved by the fact that, according to pan-German reckoning, the Germans living outside the German Empire include not only Germans who have become naturalised as citizens of other countries, but also persons of German descent!

This method of calculation received legal sanction by a law enacted shortly before the outbreak of the present war. The law in question includes a provision that the descendant of a German can become a German subject, even if the said descendant lives outside Germany and has never set foot in that country. Moreover, German nationality can be acquired by such a person without the knowledge of the country in which he lives and whose citizen he continues to be.

And here is another most interesting provision: German nationality can be acquired by non-Germans who are in the service of the German Empire (whether paid or unpaid), but have their professional domicile abroad—i.e., who work for Germany in foreign lands.

So that Great Britain, for example, may be entertaining many German subjects unaware! The Kaiser spreads his net wide!

The discussion on the Delbrueck Law concerning nationality is not less interesting than its provisions. Herr Delbrueck, the Minister who introduced the measure, said:

We recognise that it is quite possible that the German who establishes himself in a foreign country may have reasons for acquiring, apart from his own nationality, a second nationality which will not prevent him from being a fervent representative of his first country. . . .

Are not a great proportion of those who emigrate from Germany moved to do so by the irresistible desire to work actively abroad for the political and economic development of their country beyond its borders?

Herr Delbrueck was followed by leaders of various political groups. One of these said:

The old law permitted renaturalisation only to persons living abroad who having lost their German nationality had no nationality at all. The measure now before us permits the renaturalisation as Germans of those who have already acquired a foreign nationality.

In the past it was necessary for a person living abroad to be a former German subject in order to be able to resume German nationality. This measure accords that facility to all the descendants of former Germans.

These provisions will help, let us hope, to conserve and to consolidate Germanism in foreign lands. May the German abroad always bear in mind his quality of German and say with pride *Civis Germanus sum!*

A particularly significant speech was the following:

It is greatly to our interest that Germans abroad shall remain faithful to their former country.

German commerce has made a remarkable advance in the last decades and the best pioneer of Germanism is incontestably the German merchant.

It is all to the interest of this country, therefore, that German business men shall retain their nationality.

Germanism cannot but gain in prestige if the number of Germans engaged in commerce abroad grows from day to day. We are therefore convinced that it is absolutely necessary to make the loss of nationality difficult and we approve the provisions designed to preserve the German nationality of those who find themselves obliged for economic reasons to acquire a foreign nationality. I would remind you of the fact

that in England admission to the Stock Exchange is forbidden to foreigners who have not been naturalised.

It is evident that countries which require the possession of their own nationality for the practice of certain branches of industry or commerce view with an unfavourable eye the conservation of German nationality, but I do not think we need feel any exaggerated anxiety on that account.

Here is another significant utterance:

This measure has our complete sympathy. It is moreover necessary that the Imperial authorities shall give to the measure its full effect by defending our compatriots abroad in such a way that it will be really to their interest to solicit the protection of the German Empire. We would say also that the German authorities in foreign countries ought to do their best to uphold all the associations tending to favour the organisation of German schools, whether they be Catholic or Protestant institutions, which are destined to propagate Germanism and the German language and customs. It is thus that the law will have the success that we expect.

A representative of Lord Haldane's precious German Centre Party, though he admitted that it might lead to international complications, conferred his blessing upon the measure, saying:

The measure corresponds to the desire of a great number of our fellow citizens, especially those living abroad and I am confident that its provisions will completely satisfy modern requirements and that Germanism at home and abroad will, as a result of its provisions, be consolidated.

The German Socialists as usual were docile agents in the cause of pan-Germanism, while a representative of German National Liberalism expressed the hope that Germans living abroad would make an effort to propagate German customs and ideas and that the links of solidarity uniting them to Germany would remind them in whatever country they might be that they were born and ought to remain German.

To sum up the discussion on the measure and the provisions of the measure itself—the German policy has been and is to use the services of Germans by birth or descent who profess to be loyal citizens of another country for the purpose of undermining that country's strength.

A tunnelling process goes on. Germans by birth or descent living, say, in England or in Russia work ostensibly as British or Russian subjects, but really as German subjects. In order to avert suspicion of their German nationality they are actually allowed to assume that nationality without undergoing military training. The new law exempts such a man from the liability to visit Germany for purposes of military service "if the settled situation which he occupies would be compromised by the accomplishment of the ordinary military obligations."

As THE SUFFRAGETTE has persistently maintained, the enactment of the law whose objectionable provisions are here set forth was tantamount to an act of war against other nations by Germany. It is a challenge which ought to have been taken up by our Government. Lord Haldane especially must have known all about the matter. Yet he has, it is understood, been a chief offender in the matter of appointing and procuring the appointment of men of German descent on the paternal or maternal side to positions in the Government service. Even the Foreign Office, that most vital part of our Government service, is not free from this danger.

It would in any case have been a mistake in principle to appoint persons of German birth or descent to such positions, but in view of the German law on nationality it is a crime.

No Minister or Government has any right to stake the safety of the nation and the Empire upon their judgment of the individual loyalty of Government servants of German birth or descent.

By excluding from Government departments all who are of German birth or descent no injustice is done, because there exists no individual right to such appointments, which must be made with a view solely to the interests of the nation.

On the other hand, grave and perhaps irremediable injustice is done to the nation by appointing to Government departments men of German birth or descent—and especially is this true considering, in the first place, the German nationality law and in the second place the revelations of German duplicity and calculated treachery afforded by the events of this war.

Three decisions at least should be made without delay:

(1) To cancel certain naturalisation certificates already granted, on the ground that German naturalisation law and policy compel us to assume bad faith on the part of Germans applying for naturalisation as British subjects.

(2) A new naturalisation law which will protect us in future against the effects of the German naturalisation law and policy.

(3) Rigorous exclusion from Government employment of persons of German birth or descent. This, as stated above, involves no injustice even to those British subjects of German birth or descent who may be individually and heart and soul loyal to this country. They, indeed, should be the first to recognise the fact that their tenure of positions in the Government service makes the breach in our national defences through which the German-British, the hyphenated agents of Kaiserism, can enter the Government service stronghold.

Persons of German birth or descent who occupy positions in Government departments are in a terribly false position and resignation is the only way out of it.

The duty of the Government is to see that public confidence is no longer undermined and national safety no longer threatened by a system which gives to our German foes the opportunity they seek—the opportunity of being represented in our Government service by men who are in reality German subjects and agents.

In Russia, the presence of German agents in Government service has been disclosed as a warning to other countries.

From the United States comes the news that hyphenated German agents have been discovered in Government departments.

Are we so foolish as to imagine that Great Britain has been left out of German calculations and that the Germans have not for years past made it part of their policy to place their friends and agents within the British camp!

Of course they have! And it is not to the perspicacity of Lord Haldane, or indeed some others, that we should trust for protection against the introduction into our Government service of persons whose sympathies are at any rate "divided"!!

THE GERMAN PERIL

An Exile's Testimony.

AN exile from Belgium, M. Raymond Colleye de Weerd, makes an important contribution to our knowledge of the German peril by his book *Supermania**. His explanation of the German peril is that we are fighting a nation of madmen and that if we cannot contrive to put them under restraint Europe will be completely crushed under the heel of Germany.

The cure for the German peril, as our author in common with most other people believes, is the overwhelming military defeat of Germany and in the second place the building up of permanent political and economic defences against infiltration and "peaceful" attack by Germany in the days to follow the present war.

This last named method of cure and prevention of the German peril depends for its application upon the public as well as upon the Legislature.

M. de Weerd asks in words that are even more justified in their application to British politicians than to those of Belgium, a country smaller, and nearer to Germany than ours—a country, moreover, less free in its diplomatic action because of that very treaty of perpetual neutralisation broken by Germany at the outbreak of the war. Here are the words in question:

What have our legislators ever done to safeguard their country against the German menace? Nothing. . . .

If they had braved the Imperial wrath and demanded an explanation of the German exploitation of Belgium; if they had adopted a policy of protection; if they had protested against the strategic works of the Germans on the Eastern frontier; if they had torn the mask from the face of Pan-Germanism, there would have been an end to the Kaiser's dreams of conquest.

But our legislators kept their mouths shut. How, then, was the Public to know its peril?

Our legislators kept their mouths shut in Belgium—as everywhere else—and Germany prepared for this war under cover of a vast conspiracy of silence. Europe let herself be meshed by the tireless German spider; to-day she is struggling in the marvellously intricate toils.

This criticism, as will be recognised, applies with a hundred times more force to British politicians than to those of any other land, because

(1) British politicians during the past hundred years have shown a complacency and inertia in the face of Prussian dishonesty and rapacity of allowing wrongful aggrandisement of the Cuckoo State of Prussia which makes them to a large extent responsible for the present tragedy; and

(2) because Great Britain, owing to her history, geographical situation, wealth and circumstances generally, was in a stronger position than any other country to call and compel a halt to the Pan-Germanism which is now at death grips with Europe.

Referring to "the German thesis that the German is a superman by virtue of his dolichocephalic type whence is deduced the claim of the German people to moral and physical predominance," M. de Weerd quotes M. Jean Finot as follows:—

The famous "narrow skull," consisting of a cephalic index below 76 which so enraptures the Pan-Germanists because they attribute it almost solely to the Germans, is in reality a characteristic of several primitive tribes, uncivilised in every instance.

* 2s., to be obtained at the London Office of the Belgian Anti-Pan-Germanist League, 346 Strand, W.

"As soon as they were in possession of anthropological proofs!! of Teuton superiority," says M. de Weerd, "it was quick work for the German savants to analyse the general superiorities of the German brain and to teach the younger generation of Germans the social duties which thus devolved upon them." These "duties" are in brief to rule the world. A Germanist writer, Thorman, is quoted as follows:

In a short space of time the world will see this: the German flag will shelter 86 millions of Germans and they will govern an Empire of 139 millions of Europeans.

A highly significant statement made to his pupils by the Principal of the Technical School at Charlottenburg is given by M. de Weerd. It is as follows:

My pupils, you are going to leave us. Go abroad. God has given you ears and eyes, but above all things do not forget your notebooks. When you are abroad, use those eyes and ears and take notes and when you have collected enough information come back to us. Then between us we shall be able to divert what is left of foreign trade to Germany, Deutschland ueber Alles!

That is plain enough! After reading such words, will any British manufacturer, merchant, shipper, stockbroker, or banker employ Germans—however cheap they may be! Above all, will any British Government employ German officials or clerks? If they do, then they will injure not only private interests, but the interests of the nation.

How poor-spirited, how short-sighted it is to pass by the innumerable loyal British subjects (women if not men!) prepared to fill certain positions and work loyally and honestly—and to employ in their stead "cheap" Germans, who by their "cheap" services, subsidised for a purpose by Germany, lower British wages and salaries and undermine British prosperity as a whole!

We maintain that if British men are not prepared to qualify by learning several languages and by other study to qualify for certain positions, there are plenty of British women that will do so—some of those women, for example, who have been left to face poverty because they have given the life of husband or father in this war!

The German Spider's Web is the title of a chapter in which the author describes the audacious measures taken by Germany during the years preceding the war to establish political and economic domination over the various countries of Europe (including the Allied nations and the nations still neutral) and the United States.

This chapter supplies ample evidence that the Germans' breach of the hospitality hitherto shown to them by all the nations of the world has been grossly betrayed. Well may M. de Weerd speak of "the German Eagle poised over the earth with claws outspread."

Belgium in the German grip is the title of another important chapter, in which is given an account of German pre-war manoeuvres in Belgium.

The first measure was, he says, the industrial exploitation of Wallonia and the reason is evident, for:

Wallonia sapped by German industry, sold to spies and betrayed to the German hordes is the gate of France flung open to her inveterate

enemies as I wrote in the *Revue de Paris* in 1909 and I think I was right. . . . In the heart of Wallonia lies Liège, one of the keys of Europe. It deserved to be better defended. General Braillmont quite saw that and the fortifications he had designed to defend Liège were to have been very different from those which stemmed the German flood last August."

That it was the Liberal Party of Belgium which especially strove for stronger armament (the Belgian situation in this regard having been more or less the reverse of that in our own country) is a fact of which we are reminded by M. de Weerd.

Then we are told:

Germany, who has never scrupled to make use of any strategic advantage, took care to make herself master of Wallonia. . . . When she had broken down the resistance of Liège it was remarkable how ready everything was to receive her.

The officers of her reserve, former employes in our coalmines and factories, guided the troops with the utmost ease and callousness. The number of German workmen who went home to kiss their wives and returned as conquerors is simply astonishing.

Every factory, every industrial concern was earmarked. To-day they are all working for the Germans, whether they like it or not. Their Teuton hands had no difficulty in making them work.

It is horrible to think that our Walloon coalmines are actually exporting goods to Germany to serve the enemy's needs and that our factories are turning out war material for the Huns.

This will not be such a shock when I tell you that the *Fabrique Nationale d'Armes* at Herstal belonged largely to the firm of Loewe at Berlin.

The Belgians themselves will be horrified when the list of factories is published whose German owners have concealed themselves behind some Belgian name.

The military advantage taken of German ownership of positions of military importance is described and the story of guns and ammunition concealed on German owned premises is told.

We are informed also of the German attack made, in preparation for this war of conquest upon Belgian trade. One method of attack already referred to was the placing of German spies in Belgian business concerns. M. de Weerd gives us this account of German psychology:

The German is an obsequious servant and an arrogant master. He is cowardly, selfish and dogged; insensible to any of the scruples that restrain others from embarking on a shady enterprise.

So the German found his way into Belgium as an ordinary clerk, punctual, industrious, sober and extraordinarily economical. Most young Germans who get into Belgian business houses actually offer to work for nothing for three or six months under pretext of learning the language.

So far so good, but at the same time the young man with his extraordinary powers of assimilation is studying the intricacies of his master's business. Its complications have no terrors for him. He has no hesitation in copying papers which are entrusted to him or fall into his hands. He takes notes. The advice of the Director of the Technical School at Charlottenburg is no dead letter to him. He has ears and eyes and a note-book and he makes admirable use of them. A year afterwards he starts an opposition business in Belgium or Germany.

In the opinion of M. de Weerd strong and persistent action will have to be taken by the Government and people of rescued and re-established Belgium in order to protect the country from a revival of the German peril.

And so say all of us where the question of protecting our own country is concerned!

FRANCE AND ALSACE

How Alsace became French, both legally and at heart, is told by M. Paul Deschanel in the following words taken from the "Temps":

ALSACE—with the exception of Strasbourg—was ceded to France by the Germanic Empire in 1648, when the Treaties of Westphalia were signed. Alsace was the price of interventions demanded by the Germans themselves, of the protection afforded to the Protestants of the North against the House of Austria. Fifteen years earlier, in 1633, the Elector of Brandenburg, soliciting from Louis XIII the alliance, the price of which was to be Alsace, had made supplication to the King "to take in hand the work of protection and of mediation that he asked of him and to begin it with a salutary promptitude." The cession of Alsace had been confirmed in 1679 by the Treaty of Nimeguen.

Thenceforward it was easy to foresee that Strasbourg, one day or another, would end by detaching itself from the vast Empire without homogeneity in order to fall like a ripe fruit into the French unity.

One knows what happened. Louvois had made in secret great military preparations. They were useless. For on September 30, 1681, the representatives of Strasbourg brought the capitulation to him at the camp of Illkirch; and the King, who had prepared for a siege and a victory, was surprised, a little disappointed even, by the event and was obliged to content himself with an entry in grand style on October 23.

The conditions obtained by the representatives of Strasbourg; the hopeful prospect thereby opened up were such that the town accepted the French occupation without regret and accommodated itself immediately to its new fortune. It kept its municipal institutions, its civil and criminal jurisdiction, its privileges in regard to taxation, its faith and its religious establishment. The Catholic Bishop and the clergy re-entered into possession of the cathedral, but the Protestants conserved their churches, schools and ecclesiastical property in general.

Louvois, who had just adopted in France the system of the dragonnades, resisted in Alsace the sometimes excessive zeal of certain Catholics and opposed conversions by force. "His Majesty desires that liberty of conscience shall be complete in Strasbourg." (December 11.)

A striking contrast between the persecutions which afflicted France and the religious peace which reigned in Alsace! The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes was not extended to this province. Never were the Protestants there troubled in the exercise of their faith.

At the first moment, the occupation of Strasbourg by French troops had disquieted Germany. Louis XIV. soon dissipated these apprehensions. He ordered

it to be repeated on all hands that he did not think of extending his dominions across the Rhine and that he held Fribourg at the disposition of the Empire and of the Emperor, in compensation for their abolished rights over Strasbourg.

The German historians Schmidt, Ranke and Droysen have maintained silence upon this proposition. Nevertheless it is true that the emotion excited across the Rhine by the surrender of Strasbourg was of hardly any duration. When in the middle of October the Duke of La Roche-Guyon, son-in-law of Louvois and his brother the Marquis of Liancourt, who had parted company with the King upon his departure from Alsace in order to visit Germany, presented themselves at Cologne in company with several friends; the magistrate (Communal Council) honoured them at a splendid feast, to which was invited the Minister of France. Some months later this same Minister invited the peasants to drink and dance on the banks of the Mein in order to celebrate the birth of the Duke of Bourgogne.

At Ratisbonne the representative of France held magnificent fêtes on the Danube in celebration of the same event, in which the Bavarians did not scruple to participate.

A future Field-Marshal of Brandenburg, the Baron von Natzmer, who came the following year to visit Strasbourg as a tourist, does not show in his *Memoirs* the least annoyance at this change. Such was the state of the public mind in Germany at that epoch.

When in 1684 the Treaty of Ratisbonne ratified possession of Strasbourg by France; when in 1697 the Treaty of Ryswick ceded it finally to France in exchange for Kehl, Freiburg and Brisach—they have always pretended in Germany to forget these compensations—the town was completely French at heart. A century before the Revolution its moral conquest had been achieved.

The régime of gentleness and the economic prosperity to which France had accustomed the Alsatians from the seventeenth century lasted during all the eighteenth century. In 1781 Strasbourg celebrated the first centenary of its reunion with France. The manifesto drawn up by the magistrate said:

All the orders and citizens of the town of Strasbourg having under the dominion of France rejoiced for the past hundred years in a tranquillity and a felicity unknown to their ancestors, have expressed a unanimous desire to bear public witness of their gratitude and their attachment.

That is what had been done in one century by a policy of respect for institutions, customs and beliefs and that is what explains the persistent affinity of Alsace with France throughout all the vicissitudes of her history. "Do not interfere with the affairs of Alsace"; such was the maxim of French royalty. There was the secret of its strength.

On the other hand there for forty-four years has been the weakness of the conquerors of 1870, by which is marked this profound difference not only between the French character and the German character, but also between the German character and the Alsatian character. The soul of Alsace has never found except in France the genius apt to fertilise it.

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IN MEMORY OF MISS GRAILLY HEWITT

AT this time when so much pain is being suffered and so many precious lives sacrificed in the cause of national freedom we realise more fully than ever the debt of gratitude that is owing to the women who in obedience to their love of liberty and their devotion to country endured imprisonment and risked their life in the suffrage fight of the past few years.

Her sister militants mourn to-day the death of Miss Grailly Hewitt, who died at Hampstead on August 11. Miss Hewitt was in prison in March, April, May and June, 1912. She endured the hunger strike and the torture of forcible feeding during the last eight days preceding her release on June 29, 1912.

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"A DYNASTY OF FRAUD AND FORCE"

A German historian's indictment of the Hohenzollerns—(Continued from last week.)

Under the title "Who is the Real Enemy of Germany?" the historian ONNO KLOPP, an old-time non-Prussian and non-Prussianised German, wrote in 1868 an indictment of the Hohenzollerns and Prussianism which was veritably and tragically prophetic. We here reproduce a fourth instalment.*

WITH that hope the better part of the so-called National Liberals consent to join the wish that Prussia's violent annexation of the countries of Schleswig-Holstein, Hanover, Electoral-Hesse, Nassau and Frankfurt may be a permanent one and also join in the notoriously false assertion that the Hohenzollern State with the so-called North-German Confederation represent Germany. They even themselves try to cooperate, in order that those parts of the former German fatherland, which do not appertain to that North German Confederation, may also join it; the object being to strengthen the German element so as to form not only an equivoque to the Prussian, but also to make the German element predominant over the Prussian.

The intentions of that party are often of a well-meaning character. Its followers are to be met with not only in the Hohenzollern State and in those forming the so-called Northern Bund, but also in the South-Western States and even with less frequency in Austria.

Let us therefore examine the foundation upon which that party build, not so much their hopes, but rather their aims and desires.

The first and most important, nay, even the decisive task of that party, would consist in strongly opposing and entirely abolishing the really constitutive element of the Hohenzollern State—viz., its military absolutism. This military absolutism is not inherent to the soil upon which the Hohenzollern State was at first erected. It has been forced upon the inhabitants in contempt of all rights, by the energy of the Hohenzollern dynasty.

In the year 1828 the Estates of the Margrave Brandenburg still possessed the right as well as the power to refuse to supply the means for the support of a standing army of even less than one thousand men. The third generation afterwards supported in times of peace a Brandenburg-Prussian army of eighty thousand men, without having either the right or the power to refuse the means for its support.

With that army King Frederick II. invaded the Austrian territory against all justice and honour. He was victorious. But over whom? He was victorious not only over Austria; but by inaugurating in his State, the system of military despotism with a baptism of blood, he conquered at the same time and put on one side every legitimate claim and pretension of his own resisting people to right and liberty.

They may have been honest people as well, who at the time hoped that by the addition of fresh members to the State of the Hohenzollerns, the terrible military system would become modified in its character, but unhappily they also were in error. King Frederick II. inherited from

* Previous instalments appeared in the SUFFRAGETTE of August 13, 20 and 27.

his father the dominion over 2½ millions of people, who in times of peace supported eighty thousand soldiers. He left to his successor the dominion over 5½ millions, who were compelled to support in times of peace the still greater number of one hundred and eighty thousand armed men.

In other words: the dynasty of the Hohenzollerns has forced upon their original subjects a military despotism. The addition of fresh subjects has not produced the desired effect, it has not weakened nor moderated that system. On the contrary the fresh subjects are compelled to submit to it and thereby to strengthen and extend it.

The consequence of this system for all the other relations of political life in the State of that dynasty, is a sharply defined absolutism in its most pregnant form from above, with corresponding servility from below.

On that account LESSING called this Prussia, which he so well knew, the most slavish land in Europe. For the same reason the English Ambassador at the time in Berlin, felt as if he were in the frosty atmosphere of a prison, and saluted the Polish frontier (it was before the partition of Poland) as he would have the first dawn of spring after a tedious and hard winter.

This absolute military Monarchy presented a less arbitrary aspect after the year 1815. The spirit of the time was different from that crude brutality of the past century. The stern forms had become still more modified through the circumstance that the newly acquired countries (by means of the Russian alliance) had first to be assimilated. And again at that time there were many Germans who hoped that the acquisition of Saxony, of so many parts of Westphalia and of the Rhenish provinces, would prove beneficial and of a salutary effect upon Prussian politics, in regard to the general interests of Germany.

It was a mistaken notion. The spirit which animated the dynasty never changed; whether it ruled with or without a Constitution; whether that Constitution had been sworn to, by oath, to be upheld or not; whether or not from the walls of the Diets resounded empty phrases of the debates of the deputies, the dynastic spirit remained the same.

Whenever the occasion seemed favourable, a war of conquest was undertaken.

The sympathies or antipathies of the cities of Cologne, Munster, or Erfurt, for or against such a war, no more affected the policy of the Hohenzollern dynasty—for which the inhabitants of these countries were forced to sacrifice their blood, their lives and their treasure—than did the opinions of such places as Gumbinnen or Pasewalk. All of them must have had, be it willingly or unwillingly, only one object before their eyes—the *nudi obsequii gloria*.

That is the object of human existence in the Prussian State. "Ye vagabonds, do you intend to live for ever?" said once in anger the Prussian King Frederick II., to his retreating grenadiers. And who after all has conquered at Königgrätz?

The case is about the same as it was with the first victory of Frederick II. at Molwitz. The Austrians were defeated then; so they were at Königgrätz. That cannot be denied. But at Königgrätz as well as at Molwitz, there were also beaten and con-

quered the human rights of every single man that belongs to the Hohenzollern State, the right to refuse to be led to the slaughtering field in the service of the Moloch of Hohenzollern rapacity.

Conquered and beaten were also at Königgrätz all ideas and sentiments of a liberal tendency in the interior of the Hohenzollern State; conquered and beaten were even beyond the frontiers of the Military State the confidence of the peoples in regard to the security of peace and the protection of their rights, whenever a stronger Power should feel inclined to attack them and trample them under foot.

It was not the will of the people; let it be viewed in whatever direction it may, it was not a cause of any kind for which the human mind could feel sympathy or enthusiasm, that had triumphed at Königgrätz; it was the dynasty of the Hohenzollerns and their principle—that of absolute Military Monarchy with its attendant consequences of complete slavery at home and avidity for conquest abroad.

This energy has quickly borne fruit. First abroad. It has swallowed up countries to which, even according to the right of conquest of former barbarous times, it had not the shadow of a claim. It refused to conclude a treaty of peace with the Princes and with the subjects; it exiled the former and enslaved the latter. It acknowledged no other claim to its violent annexations than fear of its own safety, or as Count Bismarck in his Parliament, in order to defend the retreat of the Prussians from the German territory of Luxemburg, has said with exquisite though perhaps unwilling irony:

"It was only a tribute of justice paid to the Prussian policy, when it was said in a prominent place that the Prussian policy endeavours to soothe the susceptibilities of the French nation, of course only as far as consistent with its own honour."

Prussia has further forced the smaller States, north of the Main, to conclude, what may be considered a satire of every true Federal Alliance, the so-called North Bund, according to the regulations of which, these countries are allowed to keep meanwhile their Princes as Prussian Civil Governors, as it were, being however at the same time in duty bound to assist the Hohenzollern dynasty in their future plans of conquest with their blood.

Not less quickly was the fruit gathered in the interior. The war was undertaken by Prussia against the will of the Diet which had refused the necessary supplies. It was undertaken by treason, by violating her Federal ties, and by breaking and rending asunder the former German Bund. . . .

But it was a victory; not only over Austria, but at the same time over all rights of humanity—and before that idol SUCCESS, the "Representatives of the People" knelt down in the dust in adoration, to show to the world that the servility from below duly corresponded to the absolutism from above, and that the judgment, which Lessing had pronounced on the State of the Hohenzollerns one hundred years ago, is, on account of the skillful art of training of the dynasty, as true now as it was then.

(To be continued.)

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