

"The Suffragette," October 1, 1915.

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The Suffragette

Edited by CHRISTABEL PANKHURST

Official Organ of the
Women's Social and Political Union

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Review of the Week.

For an Important Announcement see the middle pages of this Paper.

Serbia for Ever!

BULGARIA, at the moment of writing, has not taken the decisive step, but her attitude implies a menace to Serbia towards whom our thoughts are directed, to whom the utmost aid of the Alliance must necessarily be rendered and with promptitude. Serbia and her people have compelled the admiration and love of this country. Their heroism and their golden-hearted loyalty have dispelled the mists that Germanism for purposes of its own had tried to interpose between ourselves and Serbia. The long Serbian struggle for freedom, independence and right is one of the most glorious in human history. We are glad that our country is helping to write this last and triumphant chapter of Serbia's centuries-old crusade for national liberty.

The American Loan.

The last news available as we write these words is that the American loan is to be for £100,000,000, not £200,000,000, as had been rumoured. We see, at the same time, a statement in the Press, that Great Britain is to make the following concession to Germany. Goods of Austro-German origin, to the value of about £35,000,000 are to be allowed to be shipped from the United States. Is that the price of the American loan? For if so, we have paid dear for it. If it is desired to raise later on another £100,000,000, what further concession shall we be asked to make? It is of course stated that the goods of German origin have "become

American property," but we would remind our readers of the statement made in these columns a few weeks ago by a well-informed American correspondent, as follows:

All the goods of German ultimate origin are always of 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.

The real Americans, as distinct from German-Americans will think no better of us if we compromise our belligerent right of answering Germany's war upon life and commerce on land by making sea war on German commerce.

Votes for Canadian Women!

The great news comes from Canada that the Government of the Province of Alberta have decided to carry a measure of woman suffrage. This will make the first breach in the anti-suffrage wall in Canada. It means that eventually and perhaps very soon, Canada as a whole will take its place by the side of New Zealand, the pioneer, and of Australia, another Dominion to give a lead in this matter, as lands of equality for women. The decision of the Government of Alberta is a fit tribute to the women of Canada who have so bravely made their sacrifice for the British flag by giving those dearest to them to fight in Europe. This same decision, brings the vote nearer to the women of the mother country, not more, but also not less deserving of this right. The whole cause of votes for British women (the women who have the vote already as those who are still waiting for it) depends upon defeating Germany. For neither British men nor British women would keep or gain their political rights if the Kaiser had his way!

Premature Marriages in Germany.

The declared German policy of encouraging the marriage of girls under sixteen, such marriages being declared to be of the greatest importance for the future, should be carefully noticed by women, especially by those who do not yet understand the full significance of the German peril. The German Government's encouragement of the marriage of girl-children under sixteen, is reactionary and barbarous in its effect upon women's welfare. One cannot do better than turn for light on this subject to the recently published work of Expectant Motherhood: Its Supervision and Hygiene, by J. W. Ballantyne, M.D., F.R.C.P., Edinburgh, physician to the Edinburgh Royal Maternity Hospital. Under the heading "Nubility and the Marriage Age," he says:

Nubility is the time in a woman's life when she is marriageable; to be nubile is to be of an age or condition suitable for marriage. It is not the earliest age at which conception may occur, for a pregnancy may occur as soon as the time of puberty has arrived; it is rather the earliest age at which conception may occur with safety to the mother and with full and healthy development of the offspring. At puberty a woman may become pregnant; at nubility she may safely become pregnant. . . . She does not do so with the fullest physiological possibilities, or, so to say, with Nature's complete sanction, until she is from twenty to twenty-five.

The first, therefore, of the more immediate preparations, for successful motherhood is the postponement of marriage, until the age of nubility. . . .

There can be no doubt that early motherhood, by which I mean the carrying of children in the womb, before the age of twenty years is far more apt to be dangerous or disastrous to the woman and her infant than that which follows the attainment of nubility. . . .

Apart from obstetric catastrophes, pregnancies in the early years of adolescence have often abnormal occurrences associated with them. . . . There is evidence that the proportion of miscarriages is higher; that the confinements are apt to be followed by inflammatory affections of the womb, and of the neighbouring parts, and by displacement to the former.

Apart from the fact that marriage under sixteen is a physiological crime against the girl and her children, there is the further fact that premature marriage and maternity arrest a girl's development, intellectually as well as physically and that as well as becoming old before her time, a girl, by being married and becoming a mother, as it were, in her own childhood, is robbed of her full birthright.

Why do the Germans regard the marriage of mere children under sixteen as important to the future? This policy of theirs completely destroys the excuse made by themselves and echoed by some others, that they must have wars of conquest, because of the unavoidable pressure of their increasing population. The truth is that the big increase of the German population, just as the German increase of armaments, takes place in accordance with the thoroughly organised German scheme of world-conquest. Not long ago one of the German newspapers actually uttered a boast to the effect that in the years following the present war, the Germans would increase their population to such a degree that their military might would become irresistible. Thus we see that the encouragement of premature marriage in Germany is equivalent to a declaration of future war.

A Budget Danger.

The great danger is that as the result of the increased taxation upon small incomes, the education of the rising generation will suffer. The experience gained by the W.S.P.U. in connection with its War Register, reveals anew the distressing fact that there are thousands upon thousands of women who are untrained or imperfectly trained, and therefore find themselves unable to secure employment and condemned to be unwillingly a burden upon the community. If by extra taxation which reduces the family income, the Government at the same time make economies in the Education Department, the result from the national point of view will be most serious. If small incomes are to be more heavily taxed, then the State must come to the aid of parents and their children in order that the new generation of citizens, may be not less educated, but far better educated than their predecessors. A nation whose people are for the

How to Win the War.

The first of a series of Patriotic Meetings will be held at the LONDON PAVILION, PICCADILLY CIRCUS, On TUESDAY, OCTOBER 5, at 3 o'clock. MADAME CLARA BUTT will sing.

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Reserved Seats may be booked for 15s. the series of ten meetings, or 2s. for a single meeting. Unreserved Seats at 1s. can also be obtained from the Ticket Secretary, Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

most part under-educated and unskilled is a nation which cannot hold its own for very long.

Education as a Measure of National Defence.

The truth is that the education of children and adolescents is on the same footing of necessity as is our present expenditure on munitions of war and the training of soldiers. For apart from its other manifold importances, education is literally a measure of national defence.

The prime lesson of this war is that our national system of education must be such as calls for the expenditure of more money, for the application of better methods and, in a word, all children be educated in such manner and for so many years as may be necessary to bring their individual powers to the fullest point of development, so that during adult life they may render to the nation to which they belong the maximum service in quantity and quality.

German Voters in the United States.

Last week we drew attention in our leading article to the danger that, in the absence of some new preventive measure, Germany may, by sending more representatives to the United States and by organising those already there, gain great influence in the conduct of the political affairs of the United States. We notice in the *New York Times*, a telegram from Chicago to the following effect. The Chancellor, J. J. Tobias, of the Chicago Law School and an official of the Chicago branch of the "Friends of Peace," in discussing the objects of that Society said, in answer to the question, what are the Teutonic Nationalities going to do at the polls next election?

They are going to raise hell with any party that is not in our favour. The Teutonic Nationalities will muster fully five million votes, and they will vote solidly, and I do not think any sympathiser for the Allies will be able to muster votes enough to counteract this influence.

These words are exaggerated, no doubt, but they show the direction of the German mind.

Last week, in drawing attention to the matter emphasised by the words above quoted, we pointed out the very great danger that would attend the establishment of a British-American Prize Court or other so-called tribunal for the decision of matters affecting this country as well as the United States. For as we pointed out, using all the political power he could secure in the United States, the Kaiser would endeavour through the medium of a British-American body of the kind in question, to exercise an influence upon the policy and destiny of our own country!

A Candid Admission.

The remarkably candid statement concerning German policy with regard to the United States appears in the *Gazette of Frankfurt*, which says that if the Imperial German Government has declared itself ready to make concessions, it is "because our unique object in this war is to conquer and to follow the route to success without being disturbed." In other words, the Germans, having so much else on their hands at present, are not ready to try conclusions with the United States just at present, but who has the faintest doubt as to what would happen to the United States on the morrow of a German victory?

THE EXTERMINATION OF A PEOPLE

"THE Extermination of a People." Thus does a neutral observer, to the *Journal de Genève*, describe the fate to which the Armenians have been doomed by the Germanic alliance.

The *Journal de Genève* says:

A fact which surpasses in horror all that humanity has contemplated during the past year is being accomplished at this hour—the violent and systematic extermination of a whole people. The act is perhaps without precedent in history. When the Assyrians reduced the Jews to slavery, they left them their life, and later on permitted them to return to Jerusalem and there reconstruct the Temple. Under Abdul Hamid the massacres were limited to certain localities. To-day it is the entire people wherever it is lived, throughout the whole territory of the Ottoman Empire, whose extermination is in question. Enver Pasha has declared it himself with a smiling cynicism.

The people concerned are of a superior cultivation, who hold almost all the commerce and the greater part of the manual trades in Asia Minor. Among those young girls and those women doomed to the most shameful treatment, thousands have frequented our European schools in Switzerland, in France and in Germany, and the European and American colleges in Asia Minor.

We know that in the hope of preventing this crime from being accomplished to the very end, Lord Bryce has written on the same question, declaring that with relentless cruelty Christianity is being exterminated by killing off the Christians of the Armenian race, adding that the massacres of this year have gone far beyond even those of 1895-96. The men of military age have been killed and the younger women have been seized for Turkish harems and compelled to become Mohammedans and kept with their children, also forcibly converted, in virtual slavery.

In one appalling case cited by Lord Bryce, more than 10,000 Armenians were hunted by the armed troops to the shores, placed in sailing boats, taken out to sea and then thrown overboard and all, men, women and children drowned.

Lord Bryce appeals for a cessation of this persecution and massacre, saying: Only one Power can take action for that purpose; it is Germany.

Lord Bryce, chairman of the commission that investigated the German atrocities in Belgium, surely does not doubt that Germany is directly jointly guilty with the Turks for the Armenian massacres.

Does not he recognise in the ruthlessness and thoroughness with which these have been carried out, a touch of German efficiency itself?

Is not Germany known to be guiding, directing and dominating Turkey in all things? Germany is simply taking advantage of Turkey's own not too savoury reputation in the matter of massacres, to cloak the fact that this latest Armenian massacre is primarily a German enterprise. Have not the Armenians, as above recorded, held almost all the commerce and the greater part of the manual trades in Asia Minor? How can Germanistic kultur on the water tolerate that!

Has not German experience in Alsace Lorraine taught the Germans that the easiest way to rule a conquered territory would be to exterminate its inhabitants, whose hatred of German rule can in no other way be got rid of?

A little while ago the *Daily Chronicle* put the truth into a nutshell by saying: "Regarding the terrible fact of these massacres, greater than any that occurred

under Abdul Hamid, there is now no room for doubt. The Germans who are masters of the Central Administration, have to their everlasting shame, not only permitted, but rather encouraged these horrors."

And the writer of a letter to the *Times* has pointed out that German complicity in atrocities committed by the Turks is no new thing and affirms that in 1903, he himself saw atrocities committed by the Turks under the direction of the German officer, von Goeben, lent by the Kaiser to the Turkish Army headquarters at Monastir, adding:

Villages were destroyed wholesale, old men, women and children were mercilessly slaughtered, and in the most disgusting manner. Following in von Goeben's tracks I found, for instance, Bulgarian children mutilated or half burnt, but living, and on more than one occasion Bulgarian women who had been partially skinned alive. I saw other and worse sights which cannot be described in print.

Under the heading "Our Seventh Ally," a correspondent of the *Daily Chronicle* urges that the Armenians too are fighting the battle of the Allies, "staking all they have, possessions, home, life, country and national existence, in the sacred cause of the Allied Nations."

They began to fight on the side of the Entente from the very beginning; they did not wait invitation, they did not bargain.

Over a hundred thousand of them are fighting in the Russian Army, about 20,000 Armenian Volunteers are also fighting in the Caucasus. Armenian Volunteers are also fighting even in France in the ranks of the Allies.

The righteousness of the cause for which the Triplice began the war attracted them from the beginning and full confidence in the Allied Powers for their future remuneration moved them to action and so they fought.

The same correspondent maintains that especially great is British responsibility, for the Armenian tragedy, considering the fact that "it was owing to Britain's unfortunate intervention that Armenia was condemned to remain under the Turkish misrule in 1878 and consequently, to undergo the present misery."

For by the Treaty of "San Stefano" Turkey had pledged herself to Russia to carry out reforms in the provinces inhabited by the Armenians and to assure their safety from attack by the Kurds and Circassians. The Treaty of Berlin, 1878, set aside Turkey's agreement with Russia, substituting for it an agreement between Turkey on the one hand and the six signatory Powers on the other, and by the Cyprus Convention of June 1878, the Sultan pledged himself to Great Britain to bring about reforms for the protection of Christians in Turkish Asiatic territory.

By insisting that Russia should evacuate Turkish territory before the introduction of reforms took place, the British representatives destroyed the only guarantee that Turkey's pledges would be carried out. The *Daily Chronicle* correspondent, pleading the case of the Armenians, speaks of our country as the principal author of the Treaties of Berlin and Cyprus, but forgets that the moving spirit at the Congress of Berlin was really Bismarck, who was crafty enough to get German chestnuts pulled out of the fire by British fingers.

Now that Italy has flown away like a bird escaped from a cage and Turkey has come to take the third place, what an example we have in the Germanic Alliance of birds of a feather flocking together!

OUR NATIONAL DUTY

A Speech by Mrs. PANKHURST delivered in the Park Hall, Cardiff, on September 22nd, 1915

WORKING men and women in France have asked me how it is that at a time of war like this, when our very existence as a nation is at stake, we have internal strife. I have answered them, "We do not realise the war as you do." That is the real reason and the only reason in my opinion. If we did realise the war we should be just as the French people are, because we are every whit as patriotic, we love our country just as much, but we do not realise the danger in which it is placed as they do. We have not had war in these islands for hundreds of years. In order to realise the war we must, at any rate in imagination, see the mines of Wales, of Durham and Northumberland in the hands of Germans; we must see great manufacturing centres such as Manchester, Bradford and Leeds in the hands of Germans; we must see Cardiff, like Antwerp, in the hands of Germans. Then we should really understand and there would be no internal dissensions, no strikes, no difficulties, no employer denouncing his workman and no workman denouncing his employer. Our only thought would be how to get the Germans from amongst us, how to get back our land which is as dear to us as theirs is to them. (Cheers.) Well mercifully, for some reason which I shall deal with later on, that is not yet our fate and if we are wise in time, if we learn the lessons we have to learn, it never will be our fate. But—and I am no pessimist—if we do not learn our lesson in time, we must expect after all these hundreds of years to know what invasion means. (Hear, hear.)

Honour and Liberty are at Stake.

Let me say that in all my appreciation of the sacredness of human life, and I do not think I have ever failed to try and make my audiences realise that there is something more sacred than human life, precious and valuable as it is, there is something infinitely more valuable than life. That is honour and liberty and the keeping alive of the great traditions handed down to us by our forefathers and maintaining all that they sacrificed so much to win. (Cheers.)

Life is precious, life is dear, but it seems to me that the things unseen, the things spiritual, are of infinitely more value than even human life itself. And it is these things that are at stake in this fight. There are people who have said to me, "Why I thought that you were against war, that women were against war and that you had denounced war." Well, so I have and so I do. But you cannot have a one-sided bargain about these things. But it is no use saying "We won't fight" to an enemy determined to conquer us. We have not that choice. There are wars in which nations make a choice, wars of aggression, as to which a nation can say, "I will not fight, I will abstain from war."

But this is not a war of that kind. It is a war waged against us by a nation who makes war an ideal, who believes that the finest thing human beings can do is to conquer and force upon other people their ideas of civilisation. This war is a war waged by people who worship force. Well, we have done many things

which were wrong in the past, we have committed many sins, but we have never yet found justification for warfare in war itself. We have never had the wickedness to say that might is right and that to have power to force a thing justifies it and makes it right. (Cheers.)

A War of Liberation.

And so this war above all others is entitled to be classed with those wars, both civil and international which are rightly called wars of liberation.

Now to pursue this idea of realising what this war means, I want to say a few words to you about the part we are taking in this war as compared with our Allies. I do not know what you think about it ladies and gentlemen, but I am far from satisfied that we are taking the part which our greatness as an empire warrants. I do not overlook the fact that our Navy is doing a tremendous part of work in maintaining the real freedom of the seas. But giving its full value to that—and we cannot over-value it—I still believe that we shall have to undertake a very much bigger share of this war than we have hitherto done. (Cheers.)

I had gone over to France two days before war was declared and so I was there two days when the thunderbolt fell. I was sitting on the promenade in a little watering-place on the Brittany coast and an old French woman sitting on the seat beside me was saying to me, "Do you think there is going to be war?" and I said to her, "It looks like it." She said, "I remember the war of 1870 and it was very terrible!" and just as she said it we heard a bugle-call and we saw everybody hurrying to the centre of this little town and we followed. The Mayor was reading out an order for mobilisation. People looked at each other, women with tears on their faces, men very grave. Nobody spoke loudly; there was no wailing or anything of that kind; everybody realised what had happened. There was no doubt about it, in that remote little Brittany watering-place they realised in an instant what the war meant.

Small posters no bigger than those you see in this hall printed in plain black and white, but meaning a great deal, were posted on the walls in every town and village of France. Martial law was declared and then followed a list of things which the public might and might not do. Everything was laid down with a view to saving the nation in its hour of danger and the French people, knowing this, willingly assented. It seems to me that if we had had something like that at the beginning we should have realised the war much sooner. I think we needed it more than the French people, because you see, they had the memory of 1870 and by their system every man from his earliest childhood is taught that in return for the services his country renders to him he has to render service to his country. It is the part of the duty of a man to defend his country and he grows up quite naturally to it, whether he is a Conservative, or whether he is an extreme Socialist.

They all accept it as the duty of every

man to be trained to serve his country if the safety of his country is imperilled. There is no arguing about it. Everybody agrees that it ought to be. And in addition to that they had, as I have said, this declaration by the heads of the Government that peace had ceased for a time and war had begun and that the rules governing human conduct in peace-time did not apply to war-time. Yet France is a most democratic country, a mother of democracy because France started the democratic idea and to a very large extent carried it out, and has made great sacrifices for it ever since.

National Service for Women.

I believe in National Service for women as well as men. I believe that it would be a good thing as part of our national education to make provision before a terrible thing like this came upon us. Then the men would quite automatically come and do the work which is properly theirs. Since they have not the responsibility of bringing children into the world and caring for them, they would naturally come and do their share by fighting and women would have been trained, whether rich or poor and of no matter what class, to render some useful service to the State and take the place of the men at the Front. (Cheers.) If we had had that the war might have been by now over.

But I want also to put before you this thought, which has been with me ever since war broke out:—Had our Allies, the French, the Russians, the Italians, in fact all those countries with whom we are fighting, had they our system of national defence, the war would have been finished—not with victory for us, but complete defeat!

We should all by now have been provinces of the German Empire. If our Allies had been in the position of having to get a Kitchener's Army together and begin at the very A.B.C. of the whole thing, they would never have been ready and the Germans would have won hands down.

We are waiting to hear what the Government have got to say. I understand that within a week we shall hear how the Government propose to deal with the present difficulty. I want everybody in this hall, men particularly, because being men you have tremendous political responsibilities, I want you to ask yourselves, "Is it right that we should have this war won by people who make a heavier sacrifice than we do?" If I were the Government I will tell what I would say to you:

"Gentlemen, we shall need within the next few months so many men to prepare to renew the fighting forces, to fill up the ranks, and we shall need so many human beings, whether men or women, to keep up the supplies of munitions. We give you a month to get them and if you have not got them you must accept some other system which will fulfil the necessities of State demands." (Cheers.)

It is no use to make objection to national organisation simply on the ground that it is thought to be Prussianism. When people talk of Prussianism in this country I think it is a grave insult to our Allies, who believe

(Continued on page 354)

The Suffragette

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

PRICE ONE PENNY WEEKLY.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1915.

Britannia

BRITANNIA will, when the next issue appears, become the name of this paper.

That is because the time has come to give the paper a name meaning not only all that the original name means, but still more.

Our ideal is that this paper shall deserve a place among the upholders of Britannia's right and duty in the national sense as also of the political right and duty of her sons and daughters.

We hardly realised, when we began to work for the political liberty of our countrywomen, that one day we should have to share in the task of protecting from destruction, the liberty also of men—that is to say, of the whole people of this country.

To-day the house of British liberty is on fire and in danger of being burnt to ashes before women's dream of entering into it has been fulfilled.

Yes! each and all the liberties, which through centuries of hard, hard fighting and very bitter sacrifice have been gathered together by the Hampdens of each passing century—all these liberties are now at stake.

This nation, this people, who have broken down the tyranny of kings and have, as regards the men, won the right, if they know how to use it, to govern themselves, are now in peril of subjection, more terrible by far than any they have ever known.

Did we dethrone our royal tyrants simply to make room for the Hohenzollerns? That is the question which the British people have to answer, and not by words only, but by deeds.

Personal liberty, national liberty, are at stake.

The Hohenzollerns, using the German nation as their instrument, would destroy both.

Deeply attached to our political rights as well as to our country, we of the Women's Social and Political Union, have pledged ourselves to resist the enemy which menaces rights and country too.

The name BRITANNIA, stands for political liberty, of which the freedom and independence of our country, are the guarantee.

The name BRITANNIA stands for the welfare, the highest traditions and the ideals of the National community to which we belong.

The name BRITANNIA sounds the keynote of that service which the British people collectively owe to the other Nations of the world.

Our choice of the name BRITANNIA represents also a protest against that sham, that falsely-called "internationalism" which denies Nationalism and is really

cosmopolitanism. And cosmopolitanism implies the most dangerous, because the most unrestrained, form of selfishness of which human beings can be guilty.

Down with that criminal falsehood, according to which love of other nations requires coldness towards our own nation!

The dealers in that falsehood are in reality people in revolt against the duties and obligations which loyalty to a Nation imposes.

It is those of us who are most passionately Nationalists who have the deepest love for countries other than our own.

Mazzini was right when he said that "cosmopolitanism indicates indifference rather than universality of sympathy."

He was equally right when he said:

Nationality is the conscience of the peoples which by assigning to them their part in the work of association, their function in humanity, constitutes their mission upon earth, that is to say, their individuality; without which neither liberty nor equality are possible. The sacred motherland, the cradle of nationality, is the altar and workshop of the individuals of which each people is composed. The peoples of every State are the sole master, sole sovereign and sole interpreter of the law of humanity, which governs every national mission.

Let there indeed be love and not enmity between nations—always provided that a nation, to win love, should be loveable and not the stronghold of political tyranny, not the fountain spring of armed aggression and not a menace to the freedom of the world.

Friendship between the nations has as its proper foundation the liberty and the independence of nations, just as friendship between individual human beings demands self-respect and personal dignity in each.

When we are asked as the price of international peace to forgo our nationalism, we decline, because we know, in the first place that a Nation whose people are held together, not merely by common commercial interests or a desire for aggrandizement, but by spiritual bonds, is a spiritual entity which must not be dissolved.

We hear a great deal in certain quarters purely academic and in other quarters purely pro-German, of the need of "a new machinery," to ensure the peace of the world.

Vain imagining! Machinery will never bring about peace. Peace is a child of the spirit, not of machinery. It was not for want of machinery but for want of goodwill that Germany went to war.

Warfare of aggression is horrible (although the alternative to defence against aggression is even worse), but by bringing the nations into subjection to a "World Council" we should produce the result of putting humanity under the yoke of Kaiser William and a crew of German "international" financiers and other Kaisers of capital, Ballins, Speyers and the like, who would reduce humanity, (at any rate non-German humanity) to a state of degrading subjection.

"A world council sitting in Berlin, with the Kaiser as president at its head!" Such is admittedly a plan which the pan-Germanists hold in reserve—the plan which they will attempt to put into operation when their ambition of out-and-out conquest has failed of success.

Our national abdication in favour of a "World State" so-called is asked by none save the Germans and even by them is regarded as only a second string to their pan-Germanist bow, to be resorted to if the first string of military conquest breaks.

We decline such abdication which in no

way answers to the real interests of the twentieth-century world.

Humanity's sole defence against economic exploitation and political subjection is the existence of strong National Governments able to exert, in the interests of the people, control over the would-be tyrannical few.

Our bulwark is Britain.

Britain and a British Government dependent on the popular will is the bulwark of the political liberties of the people, is our protection against uncontrolled and uncontrollable exploitation by world-financiers, world-capitalists, far more formidable in their power than those purely national in their sphere.

Looking back upon all that Britannia, our country has achieved, we have the right to feel proud—if only because we have planted the flag of free institutions and self-government in far lands across the sea.

But the past is little, compared to the ideals we have for the future. Britain shall be still greater and more deserving of honour. One of the blots upon our national scutcheon is that we have sometimes, whether by sin of omission if not of commission, gone to the rescue of the stronger against the weaker and of the unjust against the just. Thus we have, usually in the name of peace, now and again helped and we have now and again not impeded the progress of those veritable bandits who have demoralised and organised Germany for the purpose of conquering Europe and then the world.

This war, thank God, finds Britannia where she ought to be, defending the national freedom of the peoples and especially the smaller peoples.

And now it is for every patriot, not only to help towards the victory of our country and of the Great Alliance, but also to watch and pray and strive against any faltering in the mission we undertook last August; against any compromise at the expense of our own right and above all at the expense of smaller nations.

There is only one pit into which we might fall, one rock upon which our honour might be shattered; that pit, is compromise, that rock is compromise.

A great good has come to us since the war began! As a people we have renewed our Nationality and we have lost our insularity. We have learnt over again how dear is our own country and we have had revealed to us more clearly than ever before what is our duty towards other nations.

Home and foreign policy forms itself before the eyes of the people with a new distinctness.

Our home policy is to prevent those extremes of wealth and poverty which make material things an obsession with rich and poor alike. It is to get rid of extravagant luxury on the one hand and squalid poverty on the other hand and to assure to all, conditions of life which are worthy of and in fact essential to the people of a nation really great. And first of all and above all, we must protect the children, assuring to them a physical and a spiritual well-being that shall make them worthy sons and daughters of the nation.

It is, in short, the spirit of the trenches, of fraternity and mutual service that, expressed in civil life, whether in peace or war, will regenerate and preserve our country.

(Continued on page 351.)



BRITANNIA

(Continued from page 350.)

And no one supposes, surely, that once the enemy is repulsed, British women, with all the work of national reinforcement to be done, will tolerate the further denial of the vote, even should such denial be attempted.

The last straw, to the disfranchised British woman has been to see British citizenship sold to and bought for a five-pound note by Germans who care nothing for British ideals save to blot them out, who care nothing for British liberties save to destroy them; who care nothing for our country save to exploit it, then to betray it and finally to conquer and enslave it!

There must be an end of a system which gives British citizenship to German spies and withholds it from the mother and the widow who have given the life of child or husband to the country.

Women, the chief guardians of nationality, will not in future be content to be powerless onlookers while hostile invaders "peacefully" undermine and devour our country—whether in the name of "commercial advantage" or "internationalism," or any other verbal disguise for sheer and crude aggression.

As to our foreign policy it is and must be in peace as in war to march straight forward along the path we are treading now—that is to say to remain faithful to the ideals with which we entered into this war.

But, all the more because we accept responsibilities towards other nations, we must maintain British power and especially the power of our Navy and its freedom to act in time of war.

The duty Britain owes to other nations can be performed only through the retention of that naval might that is at once the condition of our national existence and a trust to be fulfilled for the protection of the world's liberty.

Just as in the war we as a nation must not allow ourselves to be outfought, so at the end of the war and thereafter we must not allow ourselves to be outwitted into surrendering the naval power that guarantees British constitutional rights and British national independence, and goes far to protect the liberties of other peoples and by being a terror to transgressors is one of the most convincing and practical arguments in favour of world-peace!

CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

HAIL TO THEE MOTHER OF NATIONS

Freedom wears

Our English Rose for her peculiar crest,
Whoso dares touch it bleeds upon the thorn.
It may be that the time will come again
For one more desperate struggle to the death:
The devil's eye upon our England looks
With snaky sparkle still. . . .
Great starry thought grow luminous in the dark!
The bird of Hope goes singing overhead!
We cannot fear for England; we can die
To do her bidding, but we cannot fear;
We who have heard her thunder-roll of deeds
Reverberating through the centuries;
By battle fire-light had the stories told,
We who have seen how proudly she prepares
For sacrifice, how radiantly her face
Flash when the bugle blew its bloody sounds,
And bloodier weather fluttered the old flag;
We who have seen her with the red heaps round!
We who have known the mightiest power dashed back
Broken from her impregnable sea-walls;
We who have learned how in the darkest hour
The greatest light breaks out, and in the time
Of trial she reveals her noblest strength;
We cannot fear for England; cannot fear,
We who have felt her big heart beat in ours.

There's sap in the old oak! She lives to sow
The future forests with her acorns still.
Hail to thee Mother of Nations; mighty yet
To strive and suffer and give overthrow!
For all the powers of nature fight for thee.
Spirits that sleep in glory shall awake,
Come down and drive thy car of victory
Over thine enemies' necks.

GERALD MASSEY.

With acknowledgements to J. and J. Bennett, Ltd.

FOR FRANCE AND EUROPE

Final Review of Mme. Juliette Adam's War Book

By CHRISTABEL PANKHURST

CONTINUING the review of Madame Juliette Adam's book, a collection of her writings of several years upon foreign affairs, we come upon her reference, in February 1889, to the death of the heir to the Hapsburg Crown, whereby we are reminded anew that the Archduke, assassinated at Serajevo in June 1914, was not the first heir of the Emperor Francis Joseph to meet a violent end.

Prince Rudolph, Madame Adam affirmed in 1889, did not kill himself because of a love affair but was probably assassinated, adding:—

One or many women may have been mixed up in the affair as instruments and not as cause. As to a suicide, if it happened, love may have been, together with disgust with life, one of its motives, but not the principal and determining motive.

Having described Prince Rudolph's policy as one which contemplated the renaissance of Austria and the conciliation of all the living nationalities under the Hapsburg Crown, Mme. Adam goes on to refer to his letter to a friend written not long before his death in which he said, alluding to the present German Emperor, "William and I love each other no longer and our policies being not to love each other." She proceeds:

If the young Archduke submitted to the Triple Alliance as a consequence of the defeat of Savova, too humbly accepted by Austrian diplomacy, he did not intend to bow, without an awakening of pride, under Prussian insolence. None, more than he, suffered from the protective tone of the German Press *vis-à-vis* Austria and the injunctions of the Wilhelmstrasse. The disdainful hauteur of Prince Bismarck revolted him and it is known at Vienna and at Budapest that more than one of his intimates has seen tears of anger come to his eyes and the flush of indignation rise to his brow when the Bismarckian sheets repeated to their heart's content that "Austria is nothing and can be nothing without Germany."

Prince Bismarck triumphs again by the death of the Crown Prince of Austria. Already he found in him an insubordinate; before long he would have found an adversary.

Soon afterwards Madame Adam drew attention to the coldness beginning to show itself between the new Kaiser and Bismarck, whom she characterised as

A sort of modern Anti-Christ, driving the peoples to hatred and kings to the ruin of their kingdoms, who without pity, without generosity, without greatness, by lies and by force pursues the final object of the extermination of races to the profit of one single race.

A little later (over a quarter of a century ago) she wrote:

William II. intends that the German Navy, just as the German Army is the first in the world, shall become the first in Europe. . . .

Another reference to William II., written soon afterwards, is as follows:

William II. in exchange for these measures of another age [measures of political repression] promises to his people an industry as flourishing as before the Thirty Years' War. It seems to this mind, idolatrous of the past, that to march backwards can alone protect modern nations against the dangers of progress.

While Bismarck was ready to encourage revolutionary movements abroad, he was determined to secure popular submission to his own will and congratulated himself

upon taming the German class with the aid of State insurance schemes.

"A very meagre palliative these constitute," said Madame Adam, "to the ruin of a whole continent, a ruin due to the policy of the German Chancellor, for he alone has delivered the industries, the commerce, the agriculture of Europe to the competition of the other continents who have none of the burden of taxes necessitated by armies on a war footing in time of peace."

Bismarck had for twenty years made history gravitate round Prussia, she contended. Europe must according to him judge everything in the Bismarckian fashion. Thus:

At the present time every military review, every reception of a monarch, every speech or every Governmental toast, which has not as its object to receive and to glorify William II. in person or are not *vis-à-vis* Germany of a perfect platitude, become menaces of war: whilst the most enthusiastic review held by an Ally of Germany, who is being urged towards war, the most offensive receptions, with most significant discourses, toasts which are cries of defiance, if they have Berlin as their theatre, must be considered as the bleating of lambs, sentimental romances, litanies of peace.

"The Triple Alliance," wrote Madame Adam, in words which would have well applied to the situation which developed into war a year ago, "the Triple Alliance, whose pivot is Germany, has not ceased, and will not cease to be a menace of war and, more than that, but for the wisdom of Russia, but for her calm, but for her effort not to let Europe lose its equilibrium still further, war would have long since broken out."

And these further words are interesting:

The German Chancellor has not ceased to point to Russia as the great agitator, the great disturber of the peace, when, up to the present day, she has proved that she is resolutely pacific. It is true that her Tsar has never ceased to have his eyes open and that the reserve of Russia has had the air of an abdication.

As in 1914, so the *National Gazette* of Berlin, the wish being father to the thought, affirmed that "an understanding was certain between the English Cabinet and the League of Peace, that Lord Salisbury even had gone as far as to engage in the Alliance the Cabinet which should succeed his own."

Very up-to-date twenty-five year old statement by Madame Adam! The character of the Prussian policy can no more be defended:

The avidity of Germany needs no more proof. The generosity, chivalry and complete abandonment on the part of Russia have had as their harvest no reciprocity on the part of her Teutonic neighbours. What Prussian Germany wants is absorption. Is not its emblem the large hand of the Chancellor, always open to take and to strike. Every German says to himself that Providence has given him as his mission to devour Prussia within and to annihilate her abroad.

Considering the present day importance of Bulgaria's attitude, it is interesting to follow in the pages of Madame Adam's book her exposure of the Bismarckian policy of demoralising Bulgaria and Germanising Bulgarian policy. She said:

The Prince of Coburg who is the Chancellor's man will be more than ever upheld in secret,

nursed by him; . . . never will Prince Bismarck let go of the Prince of Coburg unless he is visibly caught in some trap and publicly unmasked.

And notice this:

How many times I have written to my friends in Athens. The interest of Greece and of France is to seek and combine their convergent diplomatic actions with those of Russia. . . . Germany is the enemy of Greece. She is by her alliances forced to push Austria to Salonica and the Bulgarians into Macedonia. The Russian dangers to Greece are imaginary, the German dangers are tangible.

Germany is fatal to her Allies. What wrongs has she not inflicted upon Russia when Russia believed in her fidelity. What expense does she not impose upon Austria and upon Italy. Russia to-day becomes greater according to the square of the distance which separates her from German influence.

Austria and Italy ruin themselves without any profit in order to be ready to wage the wars of Germany.

Of the Germanic Alliance Madame Adam wrote at the same time:

The Triple Alliance—I do not believe in its fortune. Not that my reasons are dominated by the supreme interest of my adored country in seeing its rupture or its defeat, but because it is not in the moral order that that Alliance should succeed.

The policy of the Triple Alliance, directed by the Chancellor, is made up of dupery, lying, treachery, and egoism. It is therefore struck at the heart by immorality, and cannot, without destroying the laws of justice, eternally triumph.

Speaking of the German Empire, she said:

This unity was created as much by means of conquest as by the political feelings aroused in the German people by the victories of Prussia and the federation, whose form is maintained up to the present, may be disunited as the consequence of an unsuccessful war.

Anxiety, heart-stricken apprehension of the fatal results of certain policies, are behind the following words:

When one is a woman and has as one's passion and one's interest, one unique object, the greatness of one's country, which, despairing, one has seen, at grips with defeat; when one sees acting and agitating the majority of the political men charged with the raising up of the Patrie; when one has among them neither father nor husband nor brother whose situation or influence can blind one or fetter one; and when one judges these men coldly for what they do and for what they are, it happens sometimes that one finds oneself face to face with unexpected things so bizarre, with contradictions so flagrant, with misunderstanding so strange and so deliberate, that one stops short and asks oneself if in truth it is any good to bring day after day warnings and proofs into the common stock of national lessons and experience.

The book ends with the prediction that William II., the accomplice, the imitator, the beneficiary of the Bismarckian crimes, will reap the punishment of those crimes.

Either that or European liberty will perish!

There is, at any rate, one mercy for the British people, one factor making for the triumph of the Allies' cause. It is that we as a nation, upon the outbreak of this war finally cut ourselves free from the Bismarckian-Hohenzollern-German influence, which, while exploiting us to the injury of Europe, had at the same time long plotted our own ultimate destruction.

THE CASE OF SIR EYRE CROWE.

MANY times have we pointed to the amazing and we consider alarming fact that in our Foreign Office is a man half German and married to a German.

This although we are fighting a life and death war with Germany! This although we have had a thousand warnings that Germany regards as German the descendants of Germans—many of such descendants, while ostensibly British, or Russian or Italian citizens as the case may be, being actually and according to German law, citizens of the German Empire!

On principle Sir Eyre Crowe's presence at the Foreign Office is to be condemned. Even if he were the most ardent, whole-hearted supporter of the British cause imaginable, his employment at the Foreign Office would be wrong because it would make a gap in our national defences through which others partly German could pass and so work mischief in Germany's interests.

Remembering Sir Eyre Crowe's double link with Germany, that of blood and marriage, we protest against staking the safety of the British Empire and of our Allies upon the loyalty of this man.

Considering the tragic cost in life of any least departure from the right course of policy or of any even brief delay in taking needful action; considering moreover the grave peril of the general war situation, it is madness and nothing short of it to admit to service in the Foreign Office men whose sympathies may be divided even as between the Allies and Germany. And if a British Foreign Office official should even be definitely for the Germans, what then!

In Parliament, the other day, the case of Sir Eyre Crowe was raised by Mr. Hogge in connection with the non-appearance in the Press of a report of a speech concerning Sir Eyre Crowe's presence at the Foreign Office made at a public meeting by Mr. William Le Queux.

Sir John Simon, the Home Secretary, stated that he had requested the newspapers to whom the report of Mr. Le Queux's speech was sent not to give it publication. To this the newspapers assented. We regret it! The public have a right to know to whose hands their fate is entrusted.

For what came out in Sir John Simon's speech is this very important fact that **Sir Eyre Crowe is the Foreign Secretary's "principal permanent servant."**

This is news to most of those even who have noticed and condemned the inclusion of Sir Eyre Crowe among the permanent officials at the Foreign Office. There is nothing in the lists of names in official publications to indicate that Sir Eyre Crowe is Sir Edward Grey's "principal permanent servant."

The power, the very great power, which a "principal permanent servant" and all the more a "principal" permanent servant may and often does exert is known to all who have kept their eyes open and observed human affairs!

The speech of the Home Secretary, far from bringing reassurance has simply fanned the flame of the anxiety of those who realise that the Foreign Office is no place for a man disqualified for service there as Sir Eyre Crowe is disqualified.

OUR NATIONAL DUTY

(Continued from page 349)

in the organisation of all their forces; and it is a grave insult to ourselves, for like the Swiss and the French for example, we are too great individualists to be turned into Prussians simply because we adopt a reasonable and a sensible system of training ourselves to defend ourselves when the occasion arises. (Cheers.)

Take Women into Account.

There had been a good deal of talk lately about Conscriptors' plots. All I can say is that I have not been a party to any plot. Ever since last September, when I came home from France because I believed we could do something to help to make our countrymen realise the position in which we found ourselves, because I thought we could help to do something to organise the country and utilise its great reserve forces, I have been urging the Government to tell us all what was wanted and to set to work to organise us. I have also been putting before audiences my ideas as to how the country could be effectively organised from a women's point of view. Well, I do not know that there is much gratification in being in a position of saying "I told you so," at any rate I do not derive much satisfaction from it, although there is no doubt we Suffragettes can say it. (Cheers and "Hear, hear.") Ever since the war broke out we have been saying to the Government, "Will you, in counting up the forces available to carry out national affairs and to win the war, will you take women into account?" Well, I only wish they had taken our help at the beginning and tried to enlist us as they have tried to enlist the men. (Cheers.) If we had had our house in order, and the women as well as the men had been fully organised we should never have had any shortage of munitions. (Cheers.)

In talking of realising the war we cannot ignore the fact that early in the day thousands of men of all ages realised the war and that their country needed them, and made the tremendous sacrifice willingly and cheerfully, in fact, I do want my men friends to realise that whatever criticism we women may offer we have the very greatest admiration for those men who have responded to their country's call. (Cheers.) I go further and I say I do not believe that in any of these countries of our Allies, had the position been the same, there would have been any greater response, and perhaps not so great a response. (Hear, hear.)

It is not that we do not appreciate to the full the sacrifices that so many thousands of men

have made. What we do feel is this, that that system has now reached its limit. Unless my friends the voluntarists have discovered some new way of bringing home to a very large section of the manhood of the nation the duty put upon them of defending their country. Well, I leave it to them to find out how to do it, simply saying that the time is very short now in which it has to be done. Unless it is done very quickly we are going to have a very serious situation.

I know there are men who say, "My employer cannot spare me." Or if in business for himself a man says his business would go to ruin if he left it. The answer to that objection is that if the Germans come there won't be any business for you to attend to, at any rate it will be so transformed and so different that you will cease to have any personal profit out of it. The only interest you will have is probably that you will be ordered to do this and that while the German Governor will see that the profit goes into the German exchequer. You have only to look at Belgium and the invaded provinces of France to find that out.

Let me deal with another kind of objection much more easily dealt with. Some time ago a woman went into a provision shop and in that shop she saw several well-developed stalwart young men. She, being a very ardent patriot, having several brothers in the Army, felt it her duty to say something to these young men about their duty, and they said, "Oh, no, we cannot be spared. We are wanted here." "But," she said, "women can do what you are doing quite well." "But no," they all said, "we have these very heavy cheeses to put on the top shelf and women are not strong enough." (Laughter.) So for a moment she was non-plussed. Then she said, "Could not you keep the cheeses on the bottom shelf?" (Laughter.) Since that day a great many cheeses have had to be put on the bottom shelf. (Cheers.)

Women and Munition Making.

There is a certain resentment of the coming of women into anything. Consider the difficulties about the making of munitions that women have to encounter! Some weeks ago we had a great procession in London and a deputation to wait on the Minister of Munitions with regard to this question. For many months we had been agitating for women to be allowed to do what women are doing in France and what women are doing in Germany. It was appalling to women who wanted to help to know that five hundred thou-

sand women in Germany should be making munitions, and that women in England who had registered themselves at the Labour Exchanges were not being utilised at all. Finally we had this deputation to the Minister of Munitions. He received us very kindly and gave us to understand that he was anxious to employ women, that he realised that a great deal of the work, notably the making of fuses, was eminently suitable for women to do, that women's fingers were indeed better adapted to that kind of work. But he said that there were considerable difficulties to overcome—including difficulties raised by the Trades Unions. He also said that he thought our procession was going to help to overcome those difficulties. Well, I am glad to make the announcement this evening that many of these difficulties have been overcome—that is to say the difficulties concerning the employment of women as unskilled workers—and it is said that quite soon in the various new arsenals that are being erected to turn out an immensely increased quantity of munitions, women are going to be employed. (Cheers.)

A Few Words to the Trades Unions.

I want to say a few words to my Trade Union friends. As far as I understand, and I believe I have got the truth, the Trades Unions are making difficulties about women being trained to become skilled workers. I say that a man who puts difficulties in the way of a woman, or of any intelligent human being, being trained to do any kind of skilled work in time of war is not a patriot, but is something like a traitor to his country. (Loud cheers.) Even in time of peace it is very wrong to limit the power of usefulness of any human being.

You have got to learn a great deal of co-operation, a great deal about national life, and perhaps you will never learn it until women have more power and influence. (Cheers.) And so you get these regulations for the restriction of liberty to become skilled. You condemn thousands of your fellow-countrymen and women to lives of unskilled drudgery. We will have to find some better way after the war. (Hear, hear.)

If we are not only to win this war, but to build up our country after the war, if we are to progress along the paths of civilisation, if indeed we are not to be destroyed, we cannot afford to neglect any intelligence in the country, whether in a man's or woman's body. (Cheers.) We must use it all.

This is a great commercial centre. I have been asking myself since war broke out whether

we are preparing ourselves to take advantage of opportunities we ought to have of greater trade with the Allied Nations, because none of these Nations will want to have anything to do with Germans for a long time to come. Are we preparing ourselves to do it? There are mechanics and manufacturers here. I want to suggest to them that, if they have daughters, that they have their daughters trained to take up some branch of their business. We women are better linguists than some of the men, we learn things quickly and we are said to be more persuasive than men. (Laughter.) Why then, don't you prepare women to go out to foreign markets and open up these markets? They could do such work splendidly. (Cheers.)

To the miners I would say: "Your part in the war is very much greater than you realise. If our Navy is crippled and paralysed there is an end of the country and you will sing no more 'Land of our Fathers.' There will be no more liberty or freedom for us. We shall be all in the same boat, employers and employed together, working under German overseers.

Forget Your Grievances.

No doubt you have your grievances, but you should have settled them in time of peace. That was the time to set your house in order. It is to a very great extent your own fault. You must be content with things as they are until the end of the war, and then when we have repelled the German danger and the war is over we will have things out." We will try to make a better country for our children to live in than we have ever had before. That is our mission here to-night. It has been our mission ever since war began. We militant women were people who kept the fighting spirit alive in the country, but we are among the first to put our grievances aside and to be ready to face the common enemy, and that gives us the right to say to other people "Forget your grievances in war time, as we have forgotten ours, and let us remember only that we are British men and women and that we mean to keep this country free for the generations to come after us."

We do not mean our forefathers to turn in their graves with shame at the thought of their degenerate descendants. We mean to revive the best traditions of the race. We mean to fight for freedom and right and we mean to keep alive the ideals of civilisation attained so painfully and so slowly through the course of centuries and hand them on unimpaired to those who are to come after us. (Cheers.)

"A DYNASTY OF FRAUD AND FORCE"

A German historian's indictment of the Hohenzollerns—Final Instalment.

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 final instalment.*

There exists at present (as the Prussian semi-official newspapers rather prematurely proclaimed as early as June 1866 immediately after the destruction of the German Bund by Prussia) no longer a Germany in a political sense but only a middle-European group of States the inhabitants of which speak German.

Now, although through the treason and violence of the Hohenzollern dynasty, the bonds that held the great Fatherland together have been for the time broken, there still remain the duties towards the smaller and properly native country inviolably in force.

Here it is necessary and important in reference to the question of right to hear Count Bismarck's own words.

This gentleman commenced, on the first of April 1867, in the so-called Diet of the North German Confederation, the exposition of his opinions in regard to the Luxemburg affair with the following words:

At the dissolution and through the dissolution of the former German Confederacy each of the States which took part therein regained its full sovereignty, just as they possessed it before its formation, but which they had voluntarily limited by the obligations they had contracted in entering the Bund.

After the dissolution of the Bund, the Grand-Duchy of Luxemburg and its Grand Duke enjoyed the same sovereign characters as did the kingdom of the Netherlands and its King. The great majority of the former members of the Bund, as well as Prussia, made use of their liberty to form immediately, upon a national foundation, a new League, etc.

These are the legal views of Count Bismarck. We adopt them so far, but with the proviso that not through the Prussian desertion of the Bund on June 14, 1866, did the re-establishment of the original sovereignty of a European character take place, but only in consequence of Austria leaving the Bund by virtue of the treaty of peace of Prague. Since that time the right of a German sovereign to enter into peace or war treaties is, according to the law of nations, subject to no limitation whatever.

Let us now consider the case in its single points. The King of Prussia, immediately after his rupture with the Bund, made war upon a number of German Princes who had equal rights with himself; he exiled them (and although the King of Hanover even then was so far master of his feelings as to offer him the palm of peace, he rejected it) and took possession of their countries by a supposed right of conquest. There exists no precedent, which can form a basis according to the law of nations, for such a state of affairs. There has been made a separate treaty as regards the fortune of the Royal Hanoverian House (since private property can never form the object of a supposed conquest) which treaty repudiates in dis-

* Previous instalments appeared in the SUFFRAGETTE of August 13, 20, 27, September 3, 10, 17 and 24.

ting terms the recognition of the right of Prussia to the possession of Hanover. The relation of Prussia towards the other deposed Princes is a similar one.

The King of Prussia himself designated this relation in May, 1867, in a letter to the Queen Maria of Hanover with these words: "We are still in a state of war." If we join these arguments it results therefrom, according to the expression of Count Bismarck and the King of Prussia, that even from the Prussian point of view the deposed Princes are to be considered as European Sovereigns who, according to the law of nations, are still in a state of war with Prussia and perfectly free in the choice of their alliances for purposes of peace or war.

What is true of the Sovereigns is also true of their subjects. They have not entered the servitude of the despotic Crown of Prussia by virtue of a treaty, which could form a basis according to the law of nations, but they have been forced into it. They have towards it no other obligation than such as is imposed by mere force. The duty ceases as soon as the pressure of the extraneous force ceases to exist.

We speak here of the case from a point of view according to the law of nations and not according to human feelings. If these were consulted the case would be quite different. Whoever expects that a native of Schleswig-Holstein, of Hanover, of Electoral Hesse, of Nassau, or of Frankfurt, who is free from Prussian fetters, can wish and try for anything else than for the liberation and salvation of his country from the brutal and at the same time hypocritical and tyrannical yoke of Prussia or that he could have any more ardent desire than to see the ruin and dissolution of the Hohenzollern State—that curse of his homestead and of the German Fatherland?

In these endeavours and efforts no one will allow himself to be led astray by the pretence that the Hohenzollern State signifies or represents the Fatherland of the Germans. Their own experience keeps it still vividly in their memories that they have been made war upon by the Hohenzollern State, that they have been cruelly oppressed, because they have, as becomes Germans, been faithful and true to their rights and governments. They know that they are destined henceforth to sacrifice the blood of their children only in order that this Hohenzollern dynasty may bring upon other nations the same calamities which it prepared for them.

They do not deny that the Germans who are under the sway of the Hohenzollern dynasty stand nearer to them than the French nation. But the brother, who first raises his felonious hand against his brother, ought to be admonished by the voice of his kindred blood to let fall his hand, but the malefactor has no right to ask from his victim upon the score of consanguinity that he should submit patiently to be beaten and not accept any help whatever it be offered to him.

A number of governments of other States have joined the Prussian North German Bund. "They made use," said Count Bismarck, "of their liberty like Prussia to form a Confederacy on a national basis." No doubt some of the governments may have merited this rude irony, but the people have by no means deserved the moral and material injury to which they have been subjected. They were compelled to submit to the power of superior force; but by far the greater number harbour in their hearts the sincere and

fervent wish to see that terribly oppressive Prussian power collapse.

The South German States have been placed in a similar position by the treaties of August 1866. All depends on what position they will take in the hour of trial.

If we judge rightly they will all take the conduct of Prussia in 1813 as an example.

The Hohenzollern dynasty concluded the treaty of peace of Tilsit in the year 1807. In the year 1812 it concluded the alliance with France against Russia. It supplied an army of twenty thousand men. When the unexpected blows of misfortune fell in rapid succession upon the French army in Russia there rose in the people's breast the ardent wish for delivery. The Hohenzollern dynasty refused its consent because it feared rather than it hoped. The people rose all the same. The Russians approached. Then only, confident of success, the Hohenzollern dynasty broke the treaty of alliance with France and made forthwith the treaty with Russia for a war of conquest to the detriment of its German brethren and neighbours.

The Hohenzollern dynasty cannot expect that the example of those days, which it generally considers as the most glorious of its history, will be entirely lost to the other States. The great difference no doubt is that the Prusso-French treaty of alliance of 1812 was concluded months before the breaking out of the war and therefore with considerably more freedom on the part of the Hohenzollern State than was the case in the year 1866 with the August treaties forced upon the South German States during the war, and that at a time when, so to say, the knife was at their throat. But we allow this advantage to the Hohenzollerns and will only point to another fact, namely, that immediately after the first shock which the Hohenzollern State will suffer, if not the Southern Governments, at least the South German people, will break the fragile bonds of the alliance with the Hohenzollern dynasty.

CONCLUSION.

When, after all that proceeds, the question is openly put to us: What is it you desire? We shall answer just as openly: War against the State of the Hohenzollerns, war against that terrible principle which has created that State and which continues to animate it!

We desire this war without mistaking the disastrous consequences of this wish. It lies certainly clear before our eyes that this war will above all bring indescribable misery, immediately and next, upon Germany.

And yet we do wish that war because it is the lesser of the two evils which are menacing us.

The greater of the two evils is the propagation of the principles of the Hohenzollern dynasty in the old as well as the new provinces; the acquisition of fresh countries by its well-known means of violence and deceit and the infusion of its pernicious system into them, the necessity of the rest of Europe to imitate them and then—after all—still war, a war more terrible, more devastating and more destructive than ever.

This Hohenzollern State has torn asunder and dismembered our German fatherland; it has despoiled and crushed our just feeling of independence (Sondergefühl) and our national peculiarities in order to force us to put on instead a Prussian uniform.

THE DYNASTY OF THE HOHENZOLLERN IS THE VERITABLE AND HEREDITARY ENEMY OF GERMANY!

THE END.

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