

"The Suffragette," October 8, 1915.

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The Suffragette

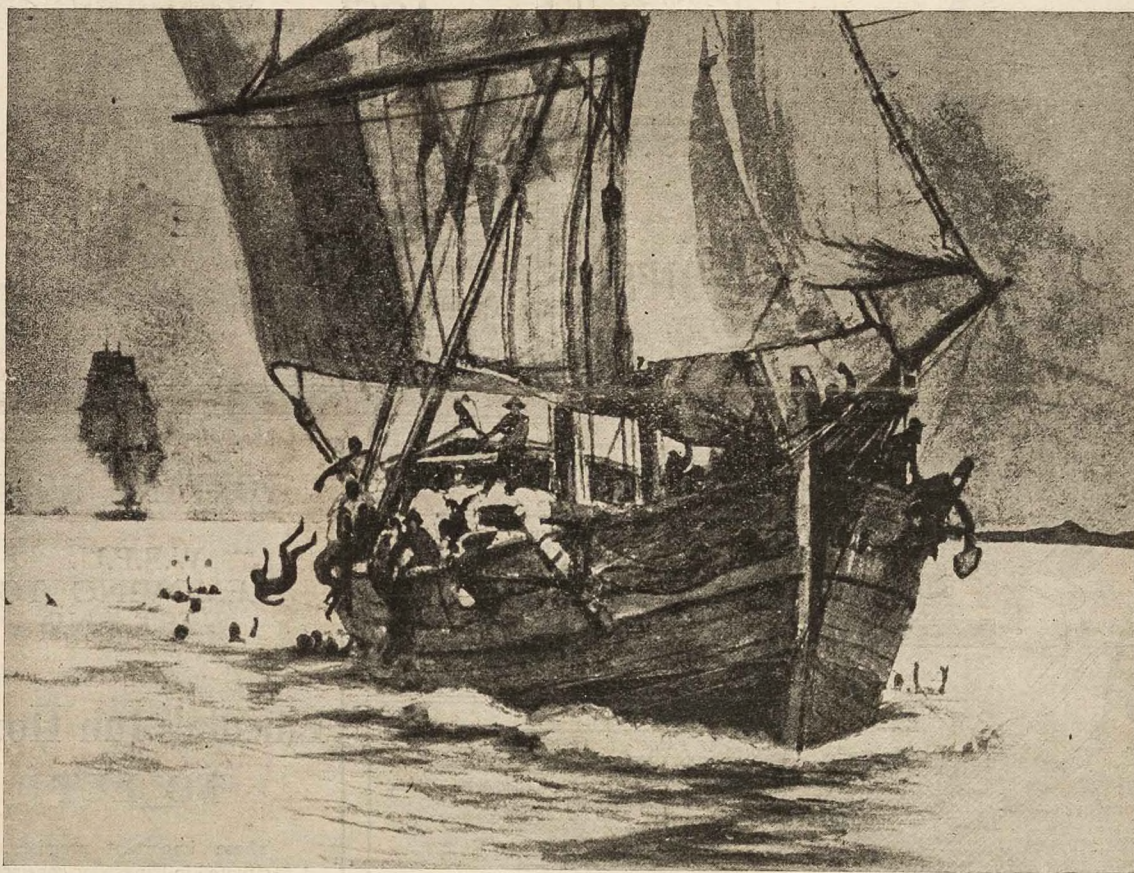
Edited by CHRISTABEL PANKHURST

Official Organ of the
Women's Social and Political Union

No. 122. Vol. IV.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 8, 1915

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SLAVE-SHIP CHASED BY BRITISH MAN-OF-WAR

O who is he the simple fool
Who says that wars are over?
What bloody portent flashes there
Across the Straits of Dover?
Are you ready, Britons all, to answer foes
with thunder?

Arm! Arm! Arm!

Nine hundred thousand slaves in arms
They seek to bring us under,
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Are you ready, Britons all, to answer foes
with thunder?

Arm! Arm! Arm!

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Review of the Week.

Owing to unavoidable publishing difficulties it has been decided to postpone the change of the name of the "Suffragette" until next week.

The Good News.

THE news from the Front has disposed of the fallacy that the German line cannot be pierced and that the war must consequently end in deadlock. Imagine the joy of the people in the invaded French provinces and in Belgium at the news of the Allies' progress! As for the civilians who are in uninvaded country, their business is not so much to rejoice as humbly and gratefully to do more!

More Munitions Wanted—Women's Help Needed.

The recent successes on the Western front have but emphasised the overwhelming importance of an increased supply of munitions. The Engineering Correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, under the headings "Women Engineers," "Successful Shell Makers," "Vast Potential Output," maintains that it is to the women of the nation that we shall have to look for the tremendously increased output of shells, necessary for the satisfactory prosecution of the war, adding that women themselves are exceedingly anxious to help the country in this way, as was made clear by the demonstration that took place in London of 30,000 women, some of whom interviewed the Minister of Munitions and asked him to arrange for the extensive employment of women in shell factories. The argument continues:

"It is safe to say that of the millions of women in this country there are at least two million who could give the whole of their time to shell making.

"Assuming the low output of only one shell a day, we should then have the enormous output of two million shells a day, a figure far beyond Mr. Lloyd George's most extravagant estimate of our requirements. It is a wonderful thought that it lies within the power of the women of this country to achieve this astonishing result, an achievement which assuredly would not be long in bringing the war to a satisfactory conclusion."

Women Can Use Heavy Machine Tools.

"Then why, it may be asked," continues the *Telegraph's* Engineering Correspondent, "have not women been employed on this work in the past to a greater extent than has been the case? The answer to this question simply is that engineering employers have been dubious about employing women for work that they considered heavy, as well as extraordinarily responsible." The writer of the article then shows that not only fuse making and light electrical work, but the use of heavy machine tools is quite within women's capacity. The experiment has, he says, been tried in a comparatively small way in one or two factories in the Midlands and on the Clyde and in every case the results have far surpassed all expectation. "The women did their work with an exactitude, thoroughness and conscientiousness that could not be excelled. They used their brains as well as their muscles in carrying out the work in the machine shop and were not slow at suggesting detail improvements which might still further increase the output.

"In fact, in one factory, where the workers consisted entirely of women, the output from the machines has far surpassed that for which they were designed, and one result of this has been that the owners of the factory have been able to achieve a larger output than they had expected."

Women Can Make Machine Tools.

Another very important point is raised in the following words:

"It may be stated that not only do we require national and other shell factories in almost unlimited numbers, but we also require additional factories for supplying the shell factories with the necessary machine tools. Here too women could come to the rescue. They have proved that they can use machine tools to produce shells satisfactorily and expeditiously; it is clear, then, that women could also operate the machine tools in a factory set up for producing the machines needed in the manufacture of shells."

Equal Pay for Equal Work.

In the case referred to by the *Daily Telegraph's* Engineering Correspondent the women were receiving equal pay for equal work and receiving willing tuition from those whom their patriotic action liberates for other important national duty. He concludes with the words, "When the final history of the war comes to be written, there will assuredly be recorded the enormously important part that the women of Britain played in bringing about the overthrow of the Germanic attempt at world domination."

British Business Men Complain.

It is not surprising to see the following letter addressed to the *Morning Post* on the subject of the concession made by our Foreign Office to German-American commercial interests:

"It is inconceivable to business men that the Foreign Office should grant permits to American merchants to obtain German goods of the value of 167 million dollars now detained in Rotterdam. The Foreign Office has been petitioned by the

London Chamber of Commerce not to grant such permits. To do so will flood the world with German toys and fancy goods to the detriment of British industry, and will help our enemies by turning their goods into gold. To say that these goods have been already paid for by German-American merchants is nonsense, as such men are too 'cute' to pay for undelivered goods. The Foreign Office is maintained by British taxpayers, and Sir Edward Grey should look after their interests and leave Germany and her friends in America to look after their own.

Yours, etc.,
ORMISTON AND GLASS, LIMITED,
James Glass, Managing Director."

A Friendly Hint from America.

Again we will quote from the letter from an American correspondent which appeared in our issue of September 3rd:

"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 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 should simply despair of seeing their cause prevail and I feel quite sure that Americans generally would come to the conclusion that the Allies had not the will and therefore did not desire to win the War."

British Organising Power.

It is quite refreshing to notice the following words uttered by Mr. Butcher, M.P., in the House of Commons the other day: "I have never seen anything in which we ought to imitate Germany, except in making provision for what we know to be inevitable." For these words are a counterblast to the exaggerated talk heard in some quarters on the subject of German organisation—talk which sometimes to have the object of deafening the public ear to the voice of conscience, which says that it is not want of the power of organisation, but bad leadership and consequent want of preparation to meet that German peril which Lord Haldane, for one, knew threatened us. On this same question of German organisation, we notice too the observations of a Labour Deputation to Newcastle which has just returned from a visit to the Front. In their report they say:

"We may take this opportunity of remarking that the sight of this home or camp confirmed the opinion which had been growing in our minds as we went round, namely, that a little too much has been made of the superiority of German organisation and that rather too little has been said of the remarkable work done by our own army and its organisers. If some of the people who croak over our lack of organising capacity could be shown the things that we were shown in our two and a half day travels, and particularly the convalescent camp, we cannot but think that they would have the grace to be silent."

The British people can carry things through as well as any when they begin, but they must not be dragged into inaction by false statements!

Germany and the Armenian Massacres.

Evidence of the terrible massacres in Armenia accumulates. The *Times* correspondent in the course of a report of the massacres, says:

"Some German Consuls directed, or encouraged, the proceedings—thus Rosler, the Consul at Aleppo, a fitting companion to his colleague at Haifa, went to Aintab to superintend in person, and the notorious Baron Oppenheim suggested the removal of women and children of the Allies to Urfa where they could not fail to witness the barbarities committed by the troops in the streets, which literally ran blood."

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By
CHRISTABEL PANKHURST

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The *Daily News* publishes an article by Sir Edwin Pears on the massacres, in the course of which he says:

"The army of Turks which is fighting the Russian invaders is under German officers. It has been widely proclaimed that the Kaiser has become a Moslem, and if, as is asserted, the Turkish soldiers are taking part in the massacre of Armenians, it is because they have been led to believe that the present war is between Moslems and Christians. In other words, it is German influence that has introduced, or at least largely augmented, the element of religious fanaticism into the struggle with Armenians. It is German influence which has supplied a more complete organisation for carrying out the work of destruction contemplated by Abdul Hamid. Germany even now could stop the most fiendish part of the present persecution. But to do anything to save the Armenians we must act quickly. There is grave reason that many Germans will endeavour to hide their misdeeds and those of their Allies."

The recent action of the German Ambassador at Washington is another proof of German responsibility for the massacres. This German responsibility must be borne in mind by the Allies in formulating their conditions of peace at the close of the war. In other words, we must be guided by the evidence which the massacres afford of the nature of the people with whom we have to deal.

The Latest German Manoeuvre.

That the Germans have approached each of our Allies in turn in order to cajole them or terrorise them into a separate peace, is a well-known fact. The moment chosen for these overtures has generally been one of utmost peril for the Nation concerned. For example, the Germans made such overtures to France before the battle of the Marne.

With a profound understanding of their own highest interests and with a loyalty to us for which the British people can never be too grateful, our Allies have on every occasion rejected the German advances. Now, unabashed by the honourable rejection of their dishonourable proposals by our Allies, the Germans, acting through their usual discreditable intermediaries, are trying to sow confusion among the British public, for whose intelligence they seem to have little respect, by saying that the war has become an "Anglo-German War," and suggesting that the settlement of the peace terms depends "primarily upon Berlin and London." Berlin and London, forsooth! The world has seen the last of plots hatched in Berlin and imposed by all manner of wire-pulling upon politicians in London! The German mind is nothing if not "historic" and where this matter is concerned, harps back to the occasions on which in the past British insularity has been imposed upon for the benefit of Germany and to the injury of Britain and of Europe as a whole. No more of that! Any British politician who should dream of repeating the Berlin-London performances of bygone days would be hounded from public life and the Germans had better realise that and save themselves the trouble of further intrigue.

A Great Sale of Stolen Goods.

One among the innumerable other indications of what a German-made war means is provided by the letter which has fallen into the hands of the French Government, according to which the writer, a German holding official position, informs a German prisoner of war in France that at Wertheim's, one of the great shops in Berlin, are publicly offered for sale goods plundered by the German troops at Lille.

False Economy.

Quality is better than quantity where population is concerned and our country will not follow the German example by bringing about the marriage of girls under sixteen years of age. But the German policy in this regard is a warning to those false economists of our own land, who in order to escape the payment of allowances to widows and orphans, are crying out at the burden to be imposed upon our national finances, by the payment of allowances to the widows and orphans of men who have laid down their lives for the country in this present war. Yet every healthy boy or girl, whom the country rears to take his or her place in the adult ranks of the citizens of to-morrow, is worth far more to the country than the cost of maintaining orphans out of the national exchequer under a pension scheme. And in this connection we would say that soldiers' widows and their children ought to hold their pensions on the same secure tenure as pensioned Judges or Cabinet Ministers. If we cannot trust the mothers of the country in such a matter as this we can trust no one.

MRS. PANKHURST'S MISSION

UNDER this heading the *Western Mail* says:

The speech which Mrs. Pankhurst delivered at Cardiff was so full of political understanding and statesmanlike quality that we may hope for the best results from the campaign which she intends to conduct in the colliery and other industrial areas of South Wales. She complains, as so many of us have to complain, of a popular want of apprehension of the nature of war, and a popular want of understanding of underlying causes and of menacing results. We do not want to have the war brought nearer to our doors, but if our people are to have a proper understanding of what war means then we must choose the only alternative means of enlightenment and moral stimulus and avail ourselves more freely of the help of people like Mrs. Pankhurst, who are able to impart to others that quickening of imagination and of moral consciousness without which we shall not be equal to the efforts and the sacrifices which the war demands of us.

An account of the campaign in Wales will appear in our next issue.

MADAME CLARA BUTT AT THE LONDON PAVILION

AN enthusiastic and crowded meeting was held at the London Pavilion last Tuesday, October 5th, when the speakers were Mrs. Pankhurst and General Flora Drummond. Madame Clara Butt also spoke and delighted the audience with her singing. Great enthusiasm was shown and over £100 was raised towards the W.S.P.U. War Fund, to which Madame Clara Butt generously contributed £5.

Further meetings will be held each Thursday afternoon, and on October 14th Mrs. Pankhurst and Miss Annie Kenney will address the meeting, at which Madame Marchesi has very kindly consented to sing. Admission to these meetings is free but reserved and numbered seats may be booked for 15s. the series of ten meetings, or 2s. for a single meeting. Orders for tickets should be sent to the Ticket Secretary, Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

THE CASE OF SIR EYRE CROWE

Reprinted from our issue of October 1st.

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 "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.

TO OUR COUNTRY

O ENGLAND! long, long may it be ere the sun of thy glory sink beneath the wave of darkness!

Though gloomy and portentous clouds are now gathering rapidly round thee, still, still may it please the Almighty to disperse them, and to grant thee a futurity longer in duration and still brighter in renown than the past!

Arouse thee, whilst there is yet time, and prepare thee for the combat of life and death!

Cast from thee the foul scurf which now encrusts thy robust limbs, which deadens their force, and makes them heavy and powerless!

Cast from thee thy false philosophers, who would fain decry what, next to the love of God, has hitherto been deemed most sacred, the love of the motherland!

Cast from thee thy false patriots, who, under the pretext of redressing the wrongs of the poor and weak, seek to promote internal discord, so that thou mayest become only terrible to thyself!

And remove from thee the false prophets who have seen vanity and divined lies; who have daubed thy wall with untempered mortar, that it may fall; who have strengthened the hands of the wicked, and made the hearts of the righteous sad.

O, do this, and fear not the result, for either shall thy end be a majestic and an enviable one, or God shall perpetuate thy reign upon the waters, thou old Queen!

By GEORGE BORROW.

From "The Bible in Spain."

The Suffragette

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

PRICE ONE PENNY WEEKLY.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 8, 1915.

Freedom or Slavery!

"This war is a conflict between Freedom and Slavery."—Mr. J. H. Choate, formerly American Ambassador in London.

THESE words should be pondered by those in our midst who do not yet realise what this war means. It is in very literal truth a conflict between Freedom and Slavery.

If our non-realists cannot believe that when Mr. Choate tells them so, perhaps they will allow German testimony to convince them that only by the victory of the Allies can British freedom be preserved and that German conquest means slavery.

Long ago Bismarck gave us our warning when he declared his policy to be to establish the supremacy of Germany in Europe and of the German race in the world. Prince Bülow, one of Bismarck's successors in the Chancellorship of the German Empire, said in 1904: "The King must be at the head of Prussia, Prussia at the head of Germany and Germany at the head of the Universe."

Other Germans less official, but not less authoritative, because their utterances are made with official German approval and encouragement, have been even more explicit. One of the leading writers on Pan-Germanism has said:

"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."

And how will the 139 millions of Europeans be governed?

The same Pan-Germanist gives the answer saying:

"Without doubt the Germans will not people the whole of the New German Empire that constitutes it, but they alone will govern, they alone will exercise political rights. They alone will be able to acquire the land. They will have, as in the Middle Ages, the feeling of being a people of masters, while they will condescend to allow inferior work to be executed by the foreigners subject to their domination."

Yes, it is slavery—slavery conducted on barbaro-scientific lines—to which the Germans have condemned the world and this war is their attempt to execute the

sentence. Our American sympathiser, Mr. Choate, is indeed right when he says: "This war is a conflict between freedom and slavery."

Gallant men offer their bodies as a barricade to defend this and the coming generations of mankind from German Slavery. But for their sacrifice, liberty were dead.

For should the Germans win we should be free in nothing. Our speech, our work, our life—all would be, not as we will, but as willed by the Kaiser, with his professors, his judges, his financiers, his policemen, his soldiers carrying out his orders.

Some British working men have hesitated to work and fight with might and main to drive the Germans back, fearing thereby to lose rights which labour in this country has acquired, or hopes to acquire. But have they read Herr Ballin on the British Labour question! He says that the German workman works longer and harder than the British workman does, who, compared with the German workman, is idle.

In fact, what the German people of all classes desire is to work less and grow richer by exploiting the non-German populations of the earth.

British working men may think that their present difficulties in safeguarding and advancing their position are great enough. But they may be quite sure that if their labour were exploited by a united and victorious and all-powerful Germany, their last state would not only be immeasurably worse than their first, but also there would be no hope of release from their subjection.

The British people as well as the other peoples of Europe are faced by the peril of being conquered by the German nation which, under the Hohenzollerns, has become a huge military caste.

Since they succumbed to the tyranny of the Hohenzollerns, the German people have entered into criminal conspiracy with their ruler and constitute a menace to the freedom of the rest of the world.

Those who are themselves unfree are often the worst enemies of the freedom of others, for it is one of the most elementary facts of human nature, that those who have resigned themselves to subjection resent the freedom of others.

It is equally true that those who have not the courage to assert their own independence as against their masters are generally anxious to find someone else over whom they in their turn can tyrannise.

It is precisely there that we have one of the reasons for the willingness of the German people of all classes to co-operate with their Kaiser in establishing a German domination over the rest of humanity—a domination according to which the most humble German victim of Hohenzollernism

can yet feel himself lord over the non-Germans!

But now comes the news of the turn of the war-tide in the Allies' favour and if munition making goes forward on a scale and at a pace worthy of our fighters, the German war-conspiracy between the Kaiser and his people will fail.

Still the Germans will try, if not by warlike means, then by "peaceful" means, to impose their domination upon the world.

The German pedants, ever the prime exponents of Hohenzollern policy, have let the cat out of the bag.

Thus Professor Ostwald says that there ought to be a United States of Europe with the Kaiser as President at its head.

In fact, the Germans hope that though defeated they may be able to inveigle the Allies into creating a European system in which Germany, with its favourable geographic position and its capacity for intrigue, would manage to secure predominance.

We can just see it all! A committee of the Haldanes and Crowes of all nations, dominated by the Kaiser and his Ballins, Bethmann von Hollwegs, Lichnowskys and the rest.

A new name, but the old, old story—only infinitely worse!

The peoples of the world would, in fact, find themselves governed by the Kaiser as Arch-Internationalist presiding over a handful of bureaucrats of whom, judging by our present experience where the British Foreign Office is concerned, some might even be half German, though representing our own, a non-German nation!

No, there is not any spoon long enough to make it safe to sup with the Kaiser and if the Germans and their friends in this country imagine that as the outcome of this war, the affairs of the world are going to be controlled by the Kaiser and certain other persons sitting round a table in Berlin, they are greatly mistaken.

If the Germanised dream of the pacifists were realised and their "world council" established, the nations would be in a flame of revolution in a very short time.

The British people are certainly not fighting to establish government of the people, by the bureaucrats, for the Kaiser, and that must be clearly understood by Germans, pacifists, and all concerned.

Another American friend of the Allies, Colonel Watterson, gave, the other day, some advice concerning peace terms. He said, "This half-made Hohenzollern dynasty with all its wholly barbarian 'Kultur,' must be first smashed, or there can be no peace for any of us."

There is more truth in that sentence than in all the volumes of pacifist writings on this war!

CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

EXPIATION

By GULIELMO FERRERO, Author of the "Greatness and Decline of Rome"
"The sin of Europe is to have worked for half a century to make the scourge of Europe great and powerful. Now begins the hour of expiation of this long error"

(Reprinted in translation with acknowledgments to "Il Secolo.")

OUR patience and our fortitude will be put to a serious test in this war. But what a war! This immense crisis in history which for the moment has taken the form of war.

Our generation sees the principles involved in this war but it is not quite sure it can see the end. Therefore it cannot be repeated too often that this war is not like any of the other wars born in all countries in all centuries between two or more states of conflict of well defined political and economic interests. It is a species of chaos in which, little by little, the whole of Europe is precipitated and dissolved; it is the first and terrible result of that *folie des grandeurs* which in recent times has disturbed with its turbid ravings the legitimate pride in its great successes.

Let us try to understand well the deep meaning of the events that have appalled the world during the last year. Who was it wished this war, who prepared and provoked this war in the hour that seemed propitious? The case has been judged: it was Germany.

But what was Germany before that fatal 1st of August, 1914, when the earth suddenly seemed as if it opened at our feet, and the sky was about to fall? It was the admiration and the model of the world. No nation was so much admired in the last decades, even by those peoples who were to be its first and its most unhappy victims.

But how was the scourge of Europe able to mask itself for so long as the model of the world? Analysed in that sense we discover the mortal weakness of our times!

We admired Germany not only as giving an example of industry, of order, of enterprise, of ability in organising the forces of individuals, but also, and chiefly, because she had been victorious in two wars; because her riches, the number of her sons, her fabric and her power grew visibly; because she forged much iron and made many machines; because she was reputed invincible, because we feared and envied her.

Partly intimidated, partly dazzled, we bowed down, smiling obsequiously, before this dark and overbearing power who boasted of having overthrown and of meaning to overthrow too many of these boundaries before which our fathers taught us to pause as before sacred places.

We all pretended not to remember that Germany had prepared the war of 1870 with diabolic art so as to make believe she was attacked when she was the aggressor.

We pretended not to see, when, in order to maintain her iniquitous gains, Germany forced Europe to engage with her in the strife of unlimited armaments which has been the real cause of the present ruin.

We did not blame her, rather we praised her, for seducing our minds with her philosophy to the point of absurdity, confounding the criteria of truth and falsehood, of good and bad, that men had held as most sound and clear: for adding, by her science, every year new arms to the arsenal of violence and fraud.

And what did it matter if Germany too

often snatched away trade from competing tradesmen with every sort of mercantile cunning, falsifying and imitating and destroying the standard of the just prices of things!

Germany was strong, stronger than her neighbours and rivals. Germany had conquered, was conquering and would conquer! Germany therefore was in the right!

The century had left its youth behind; the fables learnt in childhood were no longer believed—the fables that justice conquers force and that the overbearing are always punished.

A generation, who were certainly educated to nobler things, have reasoned thus for forty years. Having destroyed or put aside as antiquated all the old measures of virtue and of vice, of merit and of guilt; not having known how to create new measures,—for she had mistaken the signification of limits and tradition,—our generation was reduced to measure the power of a nation too according to ordinary weights and measures.

And now begins the hour of expiation of this long error.

Thus encouraged by her own success and by the world's thoughtlessness, this power, Germany has grown and grown and grown—until one day she persuaded herself she could fall suddenly on her frightened admirers, and crown herself with victory.

When the danger became manifest the world awoke from its stupor and forged the chains of a formidable protective alliance, each link of which becomes stronger and more closely soldered every day.

And even to this alliance, success came slowly and with difficulty; but this is not surprising: because for half a century we have all worked unceasingly to make Germany great and powerful.

It is necessary that we keep these thoughts always present in our minds if we are not to relax for a moment the strength of thought and deed which is necessary to the peoples of Europe in order to confine within the limits of justice and wisdom this excessive power.

This is the common duty of all non-German Europe as it was their common guilt to permit the growth of the excessive German power.

Partly from a sincere desire, partly under the pretext of learning in their schools whatever the Germans could teach, Italy—let us own it frankly—has let herself be too much Germanised in the last thirty years. At least part of the intellectual and moral disorder from which our generation has suffered so much, is due to German ideas and teaching. Through these we were losing our sense of right and justice in the great affairs of the world; our sense of the humanities in art, philosophy, literature and politics; the ambition of perfection in too many branches of culture and of industry.

Hence the madness which made us one day, in order to secure peace, lend our ears to the voluble disseminators of infallible specifics for the rejuvenation of Italy, Europe and the world; another day to hasten to run-aground in the Sirti; and on

still another when we wished at all costs to take possession of the castle in the air, existing only in our own imagination and getting furious with ourselves because our wish could not be fulfilled.

We tried, in the end, to console ourselves by counting our riches. They grew, yes; but what recompense did we get from them? The richer Italy grew the more restless she seemed to become.

Well: whatever trials we may have to face, and they are not likely to be small or few, we ought to bless them if in this world's crisis we lose our wickedness, our rancour and even the memory of these days, when almost without perceiving it, Italy covered at the feet of Germany as if she were a protected power.

It was our duty to help Europe to weaken the German hegemony which in reality was only a mask counterfeiting empire placed on the monstrous face of a new tyranny; the tyranny of an oligarchy of great manufacturers, of great armament makers, of great merchants, impatient to spread their goods.

It was our duty to help Europe in this danger, because if Germany and Austria were to win, we too should have to bend beneath the yoke of this new tyranny and because by saving ourselves from a grave peril and helping Europe to escape it, we shall finally accomplish the task the opportunity for which we have been seeking so many years in Europe and Africa—the making of Italy into a really great and respected Power.

No nation can make itself the object of admiration of other nations except either as Germany has done, through fear, or else through glorious actions that, at least in part, are for the good of all.

We have not succeeded in terrifying the world—and I do not think that after the war of this last year anyone will ever be able again to terrify the world. We have done great and glorious service to the world; but it was in far-off times and men's memories are weak.

It is not out of place to renew old memories and place them side by side with the new and glorious work. If we fulfil our whole—civil and military—duty to the end; if fortune favours, as it certainly will favour, our cause, if we also can deliver a telling blow against the Empire of the Hapsburgs, if Italy, too, is present on the banks of the Bosphorus on the day when non-German Europe re-takes possession of Constantinople, if we can put barriers to the German ambitions across those paths which it is our duty to defend, the adequate recompense for so many sacrifices will not be wanting.

All the errors we have committed will be forgotten; our too long obsequiousness to German power and culture, as well as the imprudent impatience which wasted itself trying to secure mastery of Tripoli in the German fashion while it was still protected by the sanctity of international law, saying, "Necessity knows no law."

Italy will be greater in a better Europe, liberated henceforth from that servile admiration of numbers, of quantity, of power which has been the greatest sin of our generation.

AMERICANS AND FRANCE

ALTHOUGH the United States policy is that of neutrality, there are individual American citizens who are taking a direct part in the war and are fighting side by side with the soldiers of the Allied nations.

These American soldiers are doing what they as individuals can to repay the debt which America owes to Lafayette and his countrymen and to defend the United States and American ideas, whose first line of defence is in Europe and to prevent the destruction of the world's liberty.

An AMERICAN MOTHER whose son volunteered to fight in France and is now among the missing, has written as follows of the reason why her son as an American citizen and she as his mother together with other Americans who are making the same sacrifice, have joined forces with the Allies:

The Call

From across the water came the sound of the roll of drums and the call to arms.

Even at that distance it thrilled the nerves and quickened the blood, stirring into life the impulse of self-sacrifice and of pity of people who had become so used to the comforts and luxuries of a peaceful life that they had lost the true values of living and thinking, forgetting, except in words, that these "necessities" of life were luxuries bought by the courage and blood of men gone before, whose strong backs have held back the floods which in all ages have at times threatened the march of civilisation.

Peace with its quiet countrysides and busy cities is the ideal of man, but the cancerous growth of militarism and the insane egotism of despots must be cut out forever before we can indulge in the vision.

Too long this has been postponed until almost too late, but the strong backs and strong arms are still here and they will bring health once again to the sick world, and she will arise from her bed of suffering to begin again the march towards everlasting peace.

It behoves every man and woman who has been blessed to be one of those chosen for this work to answer the call, as did three American boys, who answered the call as they would have done had their own land been invaded. One wrote his Mother:

"I feel that in fighting for France I am fighting for you as much as if it were the United States. We are fighting for all she stands for.

"There are only some 1,800 left out of our regiment of 4,000, but there is fighting stuff in us just the same. I am proud of our regiment. Pray for our future success dear, and that I may fulfil your will."

Another of these American volunteers wrote:

"I now have a moment to write you. As I let you know by card, we have been fighting hard and fighting victoriously. Sunday the 9th we took the German trenches, pushed on three kilometres and captured La Targette as well as half of Neuville-Saint-Vaast. We fought forty-eight hours and were then replaced; going to the rear as reserves—that is to say what was left of us.

"Thank you for your letter about the Lusitania. I am doing my best to avenge that and all else. Do you not understand me now and what I engaged for?"

From a third American soldier came a letter saying:

"I want to live now more than I ever did in my life, but not from the selfish standpoint. This war has taught me many things and now I want to live to do whatever good is possible. But if I am killed any time during the war, I shall not be afraid to die and you may know that I die as a man should, feeling that it is the greatest death a man can die."

These young men whose letters I have quoted are not adventurers. One gave up his literary work, one a fine business and one a chosen career. Two could not even speak the language of the country they came to fight for, yet even the long ocean-crossing did not damp their ardour nor weaken their resolve to fight for their ideals and the principle they stood for.

They were at the Front in the trenches, throughout the long winter. They fought in the attacks of Arras and Neuville-St.-Vaast in May and June, when two were wounded, yet their letters were still full of the fine spirit which hardships, cold, shells and deadly gases could not quench.

Now the two wounded have returned to the Front—the third is among the missing—but their letters still send the message to us to follow in their steps, that the black cloud which hangs over the civilised world, threatening to blast the growth of liberty, beauty and peace, may be forever rolled away.

To many in this life a great opportunity never comes, to some but once. This is our great opportunity. Happy the man or woman who, as did these American boys, hearing the call, seizes the opportunity.

"OUR DEBT TO FRANCE"

From a speech delivered by Robert Charles Winthrop at the United States celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the victory of Yorktown. This speech with other tributes to France is reprinted in the recently published book "What We Owe to France," by Frank Landon Humphreys, Chaplain of the New York Commandery of the Naval Order of the United States.

But it is to France that our acknowledgments are due,—to France, then an Absolute Monarchy, afterwards an Empire, then a Constitutional Monarchy, again an Empire—but always France: *Toujours La France!*

She has many glories to boast of in her history, glories in art and science, glories in literature and philosophy, glories in peace and war, brilliant statesmen and orators, heroic soldiers and captains and conquerors on land and on sea; and even in the later pages of that history, amid all her recent reverses, the endurance and fortitude of her marvellously mercurial people—rising superior to what seemed a crushing downfall—have won the admiration and sympathy of the world. When I witnessed, personally, by a happy chance, the removal of the last scaffolding from that superb column in the Place Vendôme, restored in all its original beauty, as a priceless monument of history, I could not but feel that the glories of France were safe.

When we all witnessed from afar the magic promptness with which, at the call of her late admirable President, Thiers, and almost as at the touch of Midas, those millions of gold came pouring into the public coffers to provide for the immediate payment of her ransom from Germany, we all could not fail to feel, that she had a reserved power to reinstate herself, as she has done, among the foremost nations of the world.

Yet as her children and her children's children for a thousand years, and till time shall be no more, shall review her varied and most impressive annals, since Gaul was conquered by Julius Cæsar, down through the days of Clovis and Charlemagne, through all her dynasties,—Merovingian, Carolingian and Capetian, Valois, Bourbon, Bonaparte, or Orleans,—their eyes will still rest, and still be riveted with pride, on the brief but eventful story of this 19th of October, 1781. And as they read that story, her classical scholars will recall the account which the great Roman historian, Livy, has left us, of the splendid ceremonial at the celebration of the Isthmian games, when Titus Quinctius, the Roman Pro-consul and General, having subdued Philip of Macedon and given freedom and independence to Greece, from lip to lip the saying ran and resounded over Corinth, in words which might almost have been written prophetically, as well as historically—

"THAT THERE IS A NATION IN THE WORLD WHICH, AT ITS OWN EXPENSE, WITH ITS OWN LABOUR AND AT ITS OWN RISK, WAGED WAR FOR THE LIBERTY OF OTHERS; AND THIS IS NOT MERELY FOR CONTIGUOUS STATES, OR FOR NEAR NEIGHBOURS, OR FOR COUNTRIES THAT MADE PART OF THE SAME CONTINENT; BUT THAT THEY EVEN CROSSED THE SEAS FOR THE PURPOSE, SO THAT NO UNLAWFUL POWER SHOULD SUBSIST IN THE FACE OF THE WHOLE EARTH, BUT THAT JUSTICE, RIGHT AND LAW SHOULD EVERYWHERE HAVE SOVEREIGN SWAY."

THE SUPREME ISSUE

Shall a Representative Democracy or a Military Autocracy be the Dominant Force Hereafter?

By Dr. GEORGE TRUMBULL LADD
Of Yale University

The opinion of real America as distinct from German-America is so clearly indicated in the following article which originally appeared in the "New York Times" that we feel called upon to bring it to the notice of our readers.

THE United States ought to be, of all nations, neutral or belligerent, the quickest to discern and the most intense and sincere in sympathy with the issue as seen to be supreme from the higher point of view.

For the supreme issue involves something infinitely more important for us as a nation, and yet more important for the world at large, than the interests of the cotton growers of the South, or of the beef packers and agriculturists of the West, or of the importers of New York and Chicago. We are, indeed, in a way and to a certain extent interested in their interests, and not only willing but fairly desirous that these interests should be looked after in a proper, courteous, and conciliatory manner, by private correspondence and a certain amount of diplomatic representation.

But in regarding the inferior, we must not lose the vision of the supreme. And we cannot forget how quick and successful were not a few of these same interests to take unfair advantage of our own Government at the time of our war with Spain; how savagely and shamelessly some of these same interests swindled the Government during the stress of that comparatively insignificant and causeless war.

What, then, is this "supreme issue"? It is nothing less than this: Whether a representative democracy or a military autocracy shall be dominant in Europe and the Near East, and so most aggressive and influential over the whole civilised world; whether the national existence of the weak shall be defended, or mighty empires shall trample them under their feet. Shall the triumph go to the cause which, with whatever deficiencies at present and faults and crimes in the past, on the whole stands for government of the people, by the people, and for the people; or shall victory "perch on the banners" of the two nations of Central Europe whose monarchs still claim to rule over the people by divine right, as the vice-gerents of God and responsible to Him alone empowered and determined to enforce their will by an army of conscripts whose allegiance is claimed as primarily due to them as persons, rather than due as free citizens to the defence of the country, whose control remains both theoretically and actually in the hands of the citizens themselves?

Now when the question is put in this way there can be little doubt how the American public ought to answer it. There can be scarcely more doubt how, if put in practical shape before the American public, they would, in fact, answer it. But is this a fair way to put the issue that is supreme, as a matter of fact and verity? Let us inquire into this: for the German, and to a less extent the Austrian, propaganda is all over the world, but especially in this country, resorting to many cunning devices, and not a few highly dishonourable tricks, in its efforts to obscure the issue.

Never before in the history of the world were so many millions of armed men engaged in conflict,

so large a proportion of whom were intelligently and with good conscience suffering for a cause in the justice of which they had placed their faith. Although in the aggregate a great many of Austria's mixed armies are unwilling fighters, and the same thing is true of the Turks; and although some of the German soldiers are driven into battle by a fear in the rear which equalises the fear in the front; there are almost no "hirelings," properly so-called, in any of the belligerent forces.

With a quite general unanimity, too, they all believe that they are fighting for the honour and integrity of their respective countries, if not for the very continuance of national existence. At the present time this belief is becoming with every month, and even every day of the war, more fully warranted. Of Belgium and Turkey in Europe, it is already emphatically true. If the Teutonic Allies win a complete victory, Belgium is doomed to lose its autonomy, if not its very claim to a place on the map of Europe. If the Allies of the Quadruple Entente win a complete victory, Turkey will meet the fate which it has long deserved; it will be wiped off the face of the map of Europe.

When the war began the claim of Germany that it was fighting for national existence, or for a legitimate chance to expand, was hypocritical and absurd. Germany was, in fact, expanding at a most desirable rate; and its rapid expansion was largely due to the work of the nation it so falsely accuses and hates so unreasonably, in clearing the seas of the world of pirates, in opening scores of free ports all over the earth's surface, and in taking the lead of all the other nations in extending commerce under the principle of the open door and free, or at the worst fair, trade. But now Germany is, indeed, fighting for its national integrity; and even, perhaps, for its national existence as an empire under the domination of the hereditary King of Prussia.

More obviously is the same thing true of the Austrian Empire. For two centuries this conglomerate of peoples has been under the oppressive rule of the archduke of Austria, supported by an unscrupulous and haughty and cruel Teutonic and Magyar aristocracy. If Germany is thoroughly beaten, this Empire of Austria will almost inevitably break into pieces.

But if all the belligerents are equally conscientious and pious in their strivings and sufferings for their own country's dear sake, why should our sympathies and assistance be given to one side rather than to the other? Because, as has already been indicated, one side stands, in the way of social institutions and civil government, for what our country stands for; and the other side does not. And because the issue, which both dominates and embraces all the other issues—the issue supreme and incomparable—is just what I have defined it to be.

As a consequence of the decision of this issue our own country is certain to be most profoundly affected, and with it all the other countries of the world, especially those most profoundly, in Europe, South America and the Orient, with whose institutions and economic and social welfare we are most intimately associated, and in which we are most keenly interested.

Germany and Austria, together with their infamous ally, the Turk, stand for a theory and a practice of government which we Americans have once for all and totally repudiated and toward which, if we remain true to our mission and our destiny, we will never go back by so much as a single step. We do not believe in the "divine right" of Kings and Emperors, or in a ruling class, or in a government so centralised and supported by an army which any self-appointed or hereditary head of the nation can even dare to speak of as owing its allegiance personally to him. In all these things Germany and Austria do believe. And in those countries the belief is no mere theory, or the proclamation of it an idle tale.

If the German-American citizens of the rampant type do not believe what I say, let them in the Fatherland speak of the Kaiser or of his Government as they have already quite too freely and too long been speaking of the President and the people of the United States. They will then see how promptly they would be able to contribute their quota to the 30,000 years already spent in prison by the Kaiser's subjects for the crime of lèse-majesté.

If, however, we turn to France, we see the truly noble spectacle of a free nation fighting—if you please, in part, to avenge its own fancied wrongs, but also fighting to preserve its own free institutions; and not only that, but as it sincerely professes, fighting for the cause of popular liberty throughout the civilised world.

If we turn to Great Britain, the same is in scarcely less degree strictly true. It has, indeed, pretty well the world over been customary to speak of "perfidious Albion." This is a pet phrase with the bankers and commercial travellers and promoters who have been beaten at the game by English competition. It is the cry that Germany kept up even after it was almost everywhere in the world beating Great Britain at the same game. And no one acquainted with history can deny that Great Britain, in pushing the commercial and other interests of its imperial policy, has done many wrong and unjustifiable, albeit few cruel, things. In spite of all that, however, Great Britain is to-day beyond all other nations except the United States (and perhaps not excepting the United States), the patron and promoter far and wide of free institutions and of government of the people, by the people and for the people. And we have no good ground for questioning its sincerity when its Government reminds us that it, too, is fighting the cause of representative and non-militaristic control as against the control of an autocratic militarism. Therefore, the cause for which it is fighting is our cause.

But is not Great Britain an empire and has it not a hereditary king; and are not Belgium and Italy kingdoms under hereditary kings and, therefore, to be ranked with Germany and Austria as constituted in forms of government equally repugnant to our own? Not at all so.

Nor is the difference between these three kings and Kaiser William II. and the Emperor Francis Joseph one of personality merely. In all three of these kingdoms, a single speech from the throne resembling many that the Kaiser has uttered, or a single deed like not a few to which the Austrian Emperor has given consent, if not himself ordered and perpetrated, would possibly imperil the throne itself. For in these countries—Great Britain, Belgium, and Italy—the people and their representatives do not understand that their ruler has placed the crown, as it were, with his own hand, on his own head; or that he is responsible to God alone rather than to them for the way he exercises the prerogatives of that crown.

(To be continued.)

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