

"The Suffragette," August 13, 1915.

FOR KING · FOR COUNTRY · FOR FREEDOM

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The Suffragette

Edited by CHRISTABEL PANKHURST

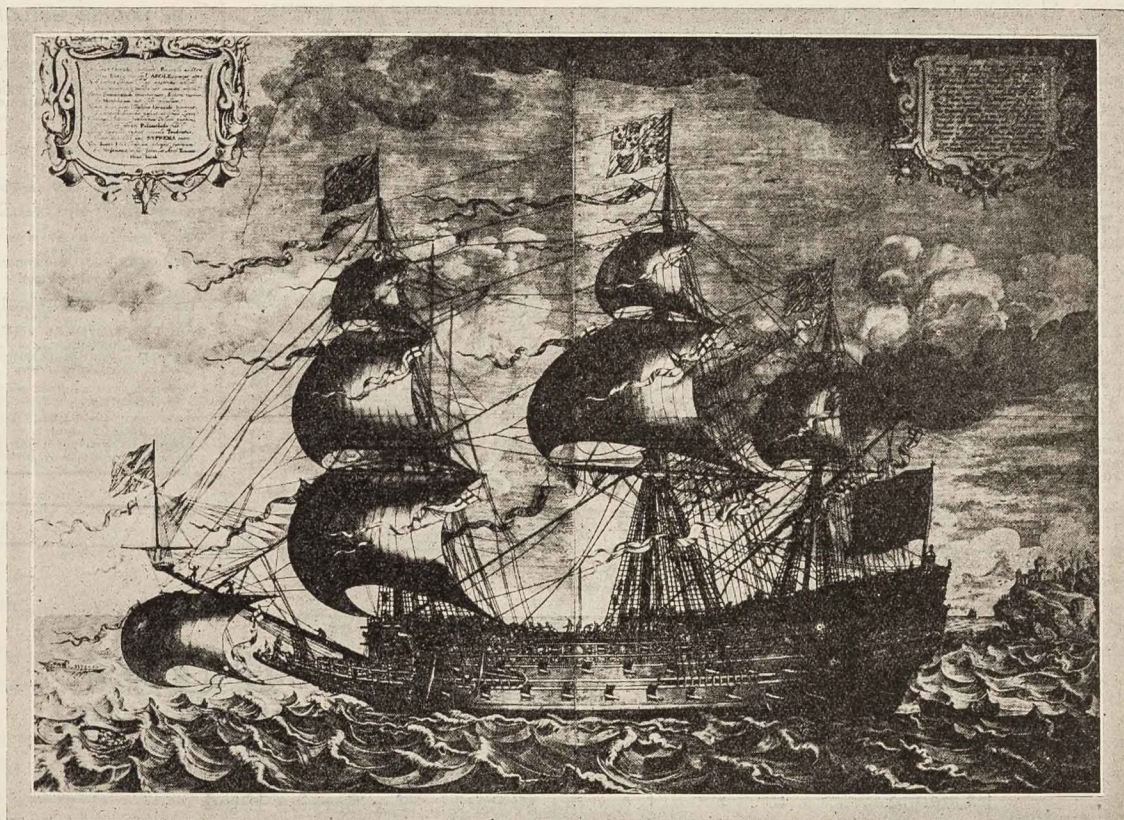
Official Organ of the
Women's Social and Political Union

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FRIDAY, AUGUST 13, 1915

Price 1d. Weekly (Post Free)
1d.

YE MARINERS OF ENGLAND!



Ye Mariners of England!
That guard our native seas;
Whose flag has braved, a thousand years,
The battle and the breeze!
Your glorious standard launch again
To match another foe!
And sweep through the deep,
While the stormy tempests blow;
While the battle rages loud and long,
And the stormy tempests blow.

The spirits of your fathers
Shall start from every wave!—
For the deck it was their field of fame
And ocean was their grave:
Where Blake and mighty Nelson fell,
Your manly hearts shall glow,
As ye sweep through the deep,
While the stormy tempests blow;
While the battle rages loud and long,
And the stormy tempests blow.

Britannia needs no bulwark,
No towers along the steep;
Her march is o'er the mountain waves,
Her home is on the deep.
With thunders from her native oak,
She quells the floods below,—
As they roar on the shore,
When the stormy tempests blow;
When the battle rages loud and long,
And the stormy tempests blow.

The meteor flag of England
Shall yet terrific burn;
Till danger's troubled night depart,
And the star of peace return.
Then, then, ye ocean-warriors!
Our song and feast shall flow
To the fame of your name,
When the fiery fight is heard no more,
And the storm has ceased to blow.

THOMAS CAMPBELL.

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DEATH.

LENNOX.—On Thursday, August 5, at his residence, Mount View Terrace, St. Luke's, Cork, after a brief illness, EDWARD DAWSON LENNOX, in his 74th year.

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Review of the Week.

Cotton as Contraband.

Before Parliament rose there was a rumour that cotton was to be made contraband. The rumour is now heard again and before these words are in print, cotton may and we hope will have been placed on the contraband list.

To Whom Thanks are Due.

In that case it will be Sir William Ramsay and his coadjutors Mr. Blount and Mr. Hopkins and other scientists who have roused the country to see and feel the necessity of declaring cotton contraband. With their names must be associated that of Sir William Macara who in the very first days of the war saw the imperative necessity of cutting off the enemy's supply of cotton and devised a method whereby this could be done without destroying the prosperity of those interested in cotton in the United States. The country's thanks are due to him and others in the world of commerce as also to those members of Parliament who have worked to the same end. The country will respond more quickly in future to the advice and appeal of those having special knowledge of matters vital to our success in the war.

Let us Consider!

While the question of contraband is being dealt with, let us consider what other

materials ought to be added to the contraband list! Sir William Dupree writes to the Morning Post as follows:

From recent comments in your paper it would appear that cotton is now within a measurable distance of becoming contraband. It is hoped that the question will not be dealt with in a half-hearted way. We have excellent advisers in Lord Fisher and his Committee of Experts. We have excellent men outside that Committee such as Sir W. Ramsay and others. What have they to say about linseed, linseed oil, flax, hemp, jute and maybe other productions? It is true that some of these may be grown in enemy countries, but why should those countries in addition have the world's productions? It is not yet too late to adopt the thoroughness of our enemies.—W. T. DUPREE.

A Matter of Importance.

As we pointed out last week Sir Eyre Crowe, an assistant under-secretary at the Foreign Office, is half a German, being the son of a German mother and is moreover married to a German. We repeat the statement made in our last issue that

In this present peril of war and in the time to follow the war, there is no room in our Foreign Office for a man linked to Germany by the closest of all ties—by blood and by marriage.

We have reason to know that this opinion has strong support in many quarters and that confidence in Foreign Office decisions concerning, for example, questions of contraband, is weakened as the result of Sir Eyre Crowe's presence there.

A Warning of Danger.

In a series of articles in his newspaper Rumania, Mr. Take Jonesco says that a well-informed friend long ago declared to him that the Germans wanted to enrich themselves not only with fertile lands belonging to Russia but also to take from France her northern provinces, without counting the annexation of Belgium, Holland and Denmark and the mastery of all the Balkan Peninsula in order to reign at Constantinople and dominate the whole world. Mr. Jonesco says further:

My friend did not succeed in shaking me up sufficiently. I knew how much fervid poetry there is in this man, who has passed his life in writing; I imagined that he attached too much importance to the megalomania of some extremists, to the exaggerations of some maniacs, and I refused to see the truth. It is years since he drew my attention to the German danger. Before anybody in our country, he saw that this race had set out for conquest and the subjugation of the whole world. He did not, as I did, regard as a joke the innumerable pamphlets and brochures in which the Germans celebrated their great mission upon the earth, boasted the beauties for us of a change to their kultur which they promised themselves they would impose upon other nations. For years and years I never had a serious conversation with him in which he did not return to this subject. "If we do not shake ourselves in time from our torpor," he used to say to me, "we shall soon be their slaves." And what a slavery! The hardest, the most insupportable, the most cruel that this world has ever known.

The Liberty of the Individual is at Stake.

Not only individual liberty, but also national liberty is at stake in this war. The fact is well stated by the Dutch weekly review the Nieuwe Amsterdamer, which says:

The Germans in this war have shown themselves worse than was expected. They have acted as barbarians. The fate of the Poles, the Danes and the Alsations would be shared by the Dutch if the Germans became masters of our country. That would mean the end of the free development of the individual. National independence and personal independence would be lost.

The more democratic we are therefore, the more we desire votes for women and freedom and prosperity for all individuals without distinction of class, the more vigorously we must strive to bring about the defeat of Germany.

The Economic Defence of Holland.

An anti-German League has just been founded at the Hague, its object being to eliminate from the Dutch market all German products which Dutch industry is capable of manufacturing. Immediately upon its foundation the League gained many members and an energetic support on the part of the Press.

The Telegraaf strongly recommends its readers to join the League, saying:

We do not know what the future may have in store for us. Shall we be able to maintain our neutrality, or shall we be hurled into the mêlée? We have had time to prepare ourselves. Our army is strong and well organised military reform has given us augmented force. But armed force destined probably to defend our independence is not enough. It is necessary that our economic force shall be equally solid. We shall acquire such force by driving out of our markets all German products.

They Wanted War.

Here is an admission which in itself is enough to silence those in our midst who have constituted themselves apologists for Germany and her Allies.

The Hungarian newspaper the Budapesti Hirlap, commemorating the anniversary of the ultimatum to Serbia, says:

On the evening of July 23, 1914, the tenor of the Note to Serbia became known to the public. Since that date we in Budapest have known many beautiful evenings; but not one has been so beautiful, so enthusiastic as that one of July 23.

The people, in weighing the terms of that Note, were afraid, not that Serbia would reject it, but on the contrary they feared that Serbia would accept it. What they dreaded was not war; what they dreaded was that war would not take place. One felt it in the atmosphere, saw in the looks and movements of the people that we were not disposed to accept a pacific solution, explanations, promises. We did not want them. The cup was full.

Thus we see that on July 23 the Hungarians wanted to attack Serbia, wanted

War Service Fund.

I enclose { Cheque : : } for the W.S.P.U. War Service Fund { Postal Order : : } and for maintaining "The Suffragette."

Name

Address

To the Secretary,

Lincoln's Inn House, London, W.C.

war, whatever the response that might be made to the ultimatum.

No wonder that the efforts of Great Britain, France and Russia to maintain the peace failed before the determination of Germany and her Allies to have war!

Armenian Massacres and German Guilt.

A tragic episode of the war in the East is the wholesale massacre of the Armenians in the Eastern vilayets of Asia Minor by the Turks and Kurds, says the *Daily Chronicle*, and adds:

Regarding the terrible stain of these massacres, greater than any which occurred under Abdul Hamid, there is now no room for doubt. The Germans who are masters of the Central Ottoman Administration have to their everlasting shame not only permitted, but rather encouraged these horrors.

A correspondent of the *Times* points out that German complicity in atrocities committed by the Turks is no new thing and affirms that in 1903 he himself saw the 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.

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 others and worse sights which cannot be described in print.

France and Britain.

Sir Robert Borden the other day made allusion to the special relationship between Britain and France. First of all he paid a tribute to the French saying:

During the past week I visited France. It is a very inspiring thing to see a nation under arms. The manhood of France except those engaged in industrial pursuits is at the front to-day; and yet I have seen the whole country up to the lines of the trenches bearing bountiful harvest. The soil was prepared, the seed was planted and the harvest is now being reaped by old men, women and children. It is my intense conviction that a nation so inspired can never perish or be subdued.

Sir Robert Borden then went on to say:

I am glad to remember that this great Allied nation is of our own kin, because you in the British Isles look back to Celtic and Norman, as well as to Saxon ancestors and if this be true of you in Britain it is still more true of us in Canada.

The bonds that unite France and Britain are manifold—bonds of race, history, civilisation and ideals.

What the War Means.

How truly Sir Robert Borden spoke when he said that "the quarrel in which we are engaged transcends even the destinies of our own Empire and involves the future of civilisation and of the world; that we are confronting the power of a military

autocracy more highly organised and more formidable perhaps than was ever a nation before in history and that all for which our fathers fought and bled, all our liberties and institutions, all the influences for good which have been sent forth by the activities of the Empire throughout the world, hang in the balance to-day and therefore we cannot, we must not fail in this war!"

A New Danger Signal.

In this issue appears the statement of peace terms submitted to the German Chancellor by representatives of a large and powerful section of the German people. We preface the statement by the comment made upon it by *L'Humanité*, the French Socialist newspaper founded by Jaurès. This statement of "honourable" German peace terms clearly reveals the rapacity and the despotic spirit of modern Germany. It is a new signal of danger to freedom-loving peoples.

"The self-devoted came
Who rushed to die, without reply
For duty, not for fame."



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

A Blow at the Pacifists.

The following extract from a pamphlet entitled *The Polish Problem* issued by the Union of Democratic Control strikes a blow at the Pacifists and is not without some bearing on the U.D.C. utterances on democratic control of foreign policy.

Let us now briefly mention the causes of the downfall of Poland.

After the prolonged wars of the seventeenth century Poland enjoyed a period of peace till 1756. The nation, exhausted by these wars, became a fruitful ground for all sorts of dangerous theories. The ruling class of Poland accepted the view that the safety of Poland's existence was based on the

absence of an organised army, on the ground that the neighbouring States, having no reason to be afraid of Poland, would leave her in peace. Poland disregarded her defence just at the time when her neighbours were rapidly increasing their military strength.

Another cause of Polish weakness was the almost permanent division of the nation over problems of foreign policy, this being a direct result of the Polish custom of electing their kings. The Polish nobility was divided into factions, each having its own candidate, who generally enjoyed the support of this or that neighbouring State. As the elected king was seldom anything more than a tool in the hands of his party, often unable to manage the other parties and sometimes of foreign extraction or leaning in the direction of his powerful foreign protector, the result was an almost continuous division of the country over its foreign policy.

Pacifist theories carried inopportunely into the practice of the national life and the discord of the ruling class on questions of international politics were two internal causes of the downfall of the Polish State. The rapacity of its neighbours, displayed at the critical moments, was the external factor. When the nation saw that the friendly assurances of Russia and Germany were a cloak for annexation, a great reform was passed (the constitution of the 3rd of May, 1791) which abolished the election of the king and provided a standing army. But it was too late. The Polish army under Kosciuszko was defeated.

As a pendant to the above extract we give the following passages from the recently published book *Russia and Democracy, the German Canker in Russia*, by Mr. G. de Wesselitsky. The most fatal instance of the German influence on Catherine's policy was her listening to Frederick's proposals concerning Poland and her consenting to its partition. It is true she annexed provinces originally Russian and mostly inhabited by Russians. Nevertheless, participation of Russia in an act of unjustifiable violence against a Slavic Kingdom bound more strongly than anything the policy of Russia to that of Prussia and Austria. Every time that Russia appeared inclined to form friendships with Western Powers, the Germanic Cabinets appealed to the solidarity among the three partitioning States. They even arrogated to themselves the right to object to any treatment of the Russian Poles which might encourage their national aspirations. No other act of the St. Petersburg Government proved more helpful to Germany and more detrimental to Russia. . . . Both Slav peoples, Russians and Poles, have at last realised that their fratricidal struggle was chiefly fomented by the traditional enemy of their race.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

Readers of "The Suffragette" who are arranging their summer holidays are asked to do all they can to obtain fresh Subscribers to the paper.

The Circulation Manager will be glad if those able to help in this way will communicate with her at Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

"A DYNASTY OF FRAUD AND FORCE"

A German historian's indictment of the Hohenzollerns

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 it.

THE success with which the Prussian expedition against Austria, in 1866, has been crowned and the subsequent impunity of the unheard-of spoliation committed by the Chief of the House of Hohenzollern, upon sovereign German Princes, his near relatives and faithful allies, has, as is often the case in this world, where actions are generally measured by the standard of success, induced the general opinion of Europe to pass a milder judgment upon the policy of Bismarck and his King than otherwise would have been the case.

In Germany especially, but chiefly in the northern parts of it, the rallying cry of German unity, raised by the wily Minister and his pliant tools, took the desired effect and made the easily swayed multitude look upon a stern and despotic King, who could by no means boast of the love of his people, as a sort of hero, who would regenerate the Fatherland and with whose reign a new era would begin for United Germany, whilst the most unpopular and hated Minister, who like Dionysius of Syracuse, patriots considered it a virtue to extirpate, became, as with a wave of the enchanted wand, the most popular man throughout the land, a second Brutus who, for the love of his country, had dissimulated his real character for years.

The masses, however, were always easily imposed upon by appearances; history shows it in its fullest extent. Oppression and tyranny were invariably forgiven to the conquering hero by his subjects and even posterity often looks with an admiring eye upon such men as Napoleon I., the Czar Peter, Frederick II. of Prussia, Charles XII. of Sweden and others. . . .

Thousands of German lives have been sacrificed in the late war between Prussia and Austria and what was the object? What the cause and the effect? According to Count Bismarck, the object of it was German Unity. What mockery! The object of the war was the aggrandisement of Prussia. . . .

Nor was there the slightest gain for any of the integral parts of Germany. Neither the Kingdom of Bavaria, nor the Kingdoms of Wurtemberg, of Saxony, or any of the smaller States, have gained anything by it; on the contrary, they have lost by the treaties of August 1866, part of their rights as sovereign and independent States, whilst Hanover, Electoral Hesse, &c., &c., have entirely lost their independence.

Who then gained by the war? Nobody

but Prussia; by Prussia is here meant not the Prussian people, who have only gained an augmentation of taxes, a deficit in the budget, a further restriction of the freedom of the Press and of personal liberties. By Prussia is meant only the dynasty of the Hohenzollerns and their followers; just as Count Bismarck means by German Unity, the subjugation of the best part of Germany by Prussia.

This danger threatens not only Germany alone, but the whole of civilised Europe. . . .

To unmask part of the designs of the Hohenzollern dynasty, to show that they are the real enemies of Germany and European tranquillity, the following pages have been written and translated from the German for the English public. Military and despotic Monarchies governed by daring and unscrupulous men have been and may again become scourges of the world and when ruling over warlike races the words of the poet may again become true, when he said: *Quidquid delirant reges plectuntur Achivi.*

The Germans of the present generation have from their youth been constantly reminded of the events which took place during the years 1813-15. They have been taught to glory in the deeds of their fathers at that memorable time and to commemorate them in their songs. No one can gainsay their right to do so.

They have not always, however, been strictly impartial, they have been too much inclined to omit looking at the other side of the question, for whilst patriotism is in itself very praiseworthy, there has too frequently been a dangerous and blameable tendency towards unjustly hating France and the French nation. This injustice originated from the supposition that the temporary state in which France was placed at the time (in consequence of the revolution) was her characteristic and permanent condition and from the idea that France intended to conquer Germany, therefore Germany could only see in France her natural and hereditary enemy. Herein was the danger of being prejudiced on one side; there was however a danger on the other side, namely that of the over-glorification of the Prussian State. It was the policy of the Hohenzollern Monarchy to have these two prejudices extended and interwoven. This has been brought about with remarkable success. The organs of that power have, with astonishing ability enlisted during the last half century almost the whole literature of Germany into the service of the Prussian policy, a task which was considerably facilitated to them by the carelessness of the Austrian and other German Governments. This literature created a tradition which, while praising the Prussian power far beyond desert or measure, was neither

just to France, nor impartial towards the other German States.

All who are acquainted with the history of these days can have no doubt that the glory of persevering in combating with foreign oppression, is not due to that section of the Germans who lived under the sceptre of the Hohenzollerns, but chiefly to the Lower Saxons and the Tyrolese. Yet, although this is so apparent, there are, nevertheless, very few German historical books which present this subject truthfully and in its proper light. The consequence, therefore, of this tradition as it exists at the present time and which must essentially be termed an artificial one, is prejudice against France and prejudice in favour of Prussia, to the disadvantage of other German States and nations. If Germany were still in existence there would, notwithstanding these prejudices, be no choice for any patriotic German, in the event of a conflict between France and the Hohenzollern State, the latter being a member of the United German Bund. But in a political sense Germany is existent no longer; like Poland it is now only a geographical term.

The Fatherland is broken up, partitioned through the injustice and violence of the Hohenzollern dynasty, a dynasty of fraud and force. We Germans have no great reasons for praising the former German Bund. . . .

We acknowledge the defects of the institution and constitution of the Bund; but even with all its imperfections the German Bund could have done real service and effected much good, had not the policy of the Hohenzollerns always barred the way. That policy did not wish to consolidate the Federation, but to weaken it as a preparatory step towards breaking it up entirely and annexing its single members. Meanwhile the literature in its service, either knowingly subservient to its views and wishes, or unknowingly by mere force of example and habit, keeps invariably pointing westward as the quarter from whence the arch-enemy was to come, thus preparing the means for those terribly severe blows which, according to Prussian opinion, were to put an end to the federatively united German nation, in order to build and erect from its ruins, under the fictitious name of German Unity, the conquering military dominion of the Hohenzollern family.

But it may be remarked: "Have we not known all this before? Was it only in the year 1866 that one's eyes were opened to the fact? Was not the history of the origin and the growth of that power of a sufficiently premonitory character to proclaim aloud to all what we had to expect?"

The State of the Hohenzollerns has not, as other Powers have (for instance France, England, Sweden and Denmark) a determined basis by geographical position, or owing to the nationality of the inhabitants. This Kingdom has arisen through the political activity of the Hohenzollern family in annexing lands inhabited by German and Slavonic populations.

(To be continued.)

The Suffragette

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

PRICE ONE PENNY WEEKLY.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 13, 1915.

The "Freedom" of the Seas.

HERE is no gainsaying that International Congresses and Hague Conventions have in practice worked out to the profit of the Germans.

That is to say, they have strengthened the aggressors and they have weakened the actual and potential victims of aggression.

The treaty guaranteeing the neutrality of Belgium caused the Belgians to rely very little on their own military might and very much on the pledged word of Germany. Germany until the twelfth hour deceived the Belgians by protesting loyalty to the treaty and then like a beast of prey suddenly sprang upon them.

Had Belgium and had the Allies fully seen and known the fact that only armed might could save Belgium and had they in the light of that knowledge made their preparations to defend Belgian independence, then the German Armies would not be where they are to-day and indeed Germany might never have made this war.

Treaties and conventions which bind the nations that have peace and liberty as their ideals, while they do not bind the Germans and their Allies are a menace to the peace and the freedom of the world.

They mean that most fatal of all things a one-sided disarmament. In other words they cause the freedom-loving peoples to reduce their defensive force in reliance upon the good faith of aggressive and despotic Germany, which is bound by no pledges and seeks to dominate all other nations.

Consequently we now have the invasion of Belgium and part of France and we have the tragedy of Poland and the occupation of Warsaw.

The Hague Conventions have done nothing to mitigate the horrors of this war. That is partly because Germany has defied and broken one convention after another.

But it is also because those gathered together at Peace Congresses have done less to spare human beings than to spare property and commercial interests.

The restraints sought to be imposed upon naval warfare should be considered in this light.

Now, naval warfare affects chiefly property, while land warfare involves first and foremost violent attack on human life.

If the British Navy and the navies of our Allies cut off the Germans' supply of cotton, if they completely drive German commerce off the seas as Mr. Balfour

expressed it the other day, then countless lives will be saved and Germany will be defeated as the result of the failure of warlike material and as the result of economic exhaustion, instead of by the destruction of thousands upon thousands of additional human lives.

That cotton, in common with all other matters susceptible of warlike use, shall be declared contraband is an urgent necessity. Carrying contraband involves penalties which are likely to deter neutrals from attempting to engage in that trade and for this reason alone to declare cotton contraband is a method to be preferred to the procedure under the Order in Council of the past few months.

But to prevent German exportation and importation via German or neutral ports of ordinary peaceful merchandise is also necessary. That is what the British Navy is rightly engaged in trying to do. Germany is plundering Belgium and has already destroyed Belgian industry and commerce. Shall Germany be permitted to do business as usual? No! Shall Germany by trading with neutral nations (who are themselves next on the list for German conquest) be allowed to make money for the prosecution of the war on world freedom? No!

The law of nations has from early times given a belligerent the right to drive his enemy's commerce from the seas.

This right is embodied in the Consolato del Mare, which was compiled in the twelfth century by St. Louis, King of France and was itself an embodiment of older codes of law. The Consolato del Mare provides that if a merchant vessel is neutral property and the cargo the property of enemies, a belligerent navy may compel the merchant vessel to carry the enemy cargo to a port where the prize will be secure from all danger of recapture, the owners of the vessel receiving the whole freight which she would have earned at her delivering port.

Queen Elizabeth stated the law of the matter when she said to the Polish Ambassador, who during the war between England and Spain protested against the English Navy's interference with the Polish trade with Spain:

You seem indeed to us to have read many books but yet to have little understanding of politics; for whereas you so often in your oration make mention of the law of nations, you must know that in time of war betwixt Kings it is lawful for the one party to intercept the assistance and succours sent to the other and to take care that no damage may grow thereby to himself.

Restriction placed upon the right of a belligerent to war upon enemy commerce simply means the prolongation of that wholesale slaughter which is the essential characteristic of land warfare! It means above all a licence to militaristic land-powers to make wars of aggression on their neighbours.

Until the Declaration of London, 1856,* the mode in which the right to war upon the enemy's commerce could be exercised was more simple than it is now. In these days a system of blockade has to be applied.

And here let it be said that the law of Britain does not empower the submission of the blockade question now being discussed in notes to an "International Prize Court."

The scheme for an "International Prize Court" mooted at the Hague in 1907 and again at the Naval Conference in

London is contrary to the law of the land. It is also contrary to common sense!

A body of fifteen judges drawn from fifteen countries more or less at random, at any rate as regards the majority of them, is not a court—it is more like a public meeting—and no impartial judgment can be expected of such a body.

This is how the first year's court would have been constituted if British law had permitted, as it does not, our participation in it:

ALLIES	NEUTRALS	ENEMY
Great Britain	United States	Turkey
France	Argentina	Germany
Russia	Columbia	Austria-
Italy	Spain	Hungary
Japan	Greece	
	Norway	
	Holland	

The entire British Empire—Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India and the rest, as well as these islands where very life depends on sea power, would have had one voice as compared to fourteen voices.

The Germans, knowing the share of the British Navy in defending Europe from German conquest, are calling to Americans to prepare their own ruin by helping Germany to put "International" fetters on the British Navy—this in the name of the freedom of the seas; in the name of "Exports and imports as usual" during Armageddon, to-day or twenty years hence.

But the British people will at all costs maintain the rights and the power of their Navy, being encouraged in that resolve by such a message as this sent by Signor Luigi Luggati, a former Prime Minister of Italy:

"Until the points of conjunction of the seas and continents can be defended by an International Guard of Angels (and this time is distant), the civilized world relies with tranquil confidence upon the vigilance of England more than upon that of any other State."

The Germans—"forethoughtful" as ever!—are hoping to negotiate and Peace Congresses the British Navy into impotence! This in preparation for the next war, which can be best prevented by the resolute maintenance of the strength and freedom of action of that policeman of the seas—the British Navy.

The very idea that representatives of the allied nations should sit side by side in this "Court" with representatives of the Germanic powers while other of our representatives were in defiance of the elementary laws of warfare being burnt and gassed on the battlefield would cause a revolution.

And even with representatives of enemy powers abstracted, the Allies who are pouring out blood and treasure in defence of world freedom, could actually be outvoted by neutrals who are mere onlookers at the struggle for their liberties as well as ours!

No! it is not by that mechanical method (giving, we may point out, the richest opportunities to German wire-pulling and intrigue) that peace and justice as between the nations can be subserved.

The Kaiser's impudent message to America on the "freedom of the oceans," as he calls it, is a menace to the whole world.

Long may the British Navy live as the handmaiden of liberty and the bulwark of the freedom of nations!

CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

* See John Stuart Mill's speech on opposite page.

WHAT JOHN STUART MILL SAID

"How war is to be humanised by shooting at men's bodies instead of taking their property, I confess surprises me"

A speech delivered by John Stuart Mill in the House of Commons on 5 August, 1857, in opposition to the Declaration of London.

WE have put away the natural weapon of a maritime nation, because we have abandoned the right recognised by international law and legitimated, as much as the consent of nations can legitimate anything, of warring against the commerce of our enemies.

We have made this sacrifice, receiving a merely nominal equivalent. We have given up our main defence; but the other Powers who are party to the transaction have not given up theirs; they have divested themselves not of their special means of warfare, but of ours; they have with a good grace consented not to use the weapons in which they are inferior, but to confine themselves to those in which the advantage is on their side. The greatest naval Power after ourselves was far too wise to join in so unequal a compact.

Unless by resuming our natural and indispensable weapon we place ourselves again on an equality with our possible enemies, we shall be burthened with enormous naval and military establishments and onerous budgets for a permanency; and, in spite of it all, we shall be for ever in danger, for ever in alarm, cowed before any Power, or combination of Powers, capable of invading any part of our widely-spread possessions.

We shall be condemned to see what we have seen and worse than we have yet seen, great international iniquities* perpetuated before our eyes and our expressions of deprecation, even of reprobation, passed over with civil or scarcely civil contempt (Hear, hear) until our most patriotic advisers feel obliged to recommend to us, as the only rule for our conduct, that which despots prescribe to their subjects:

Hold your peace. Keep your moral disapprobation within your own breasts; for as you cannot back it by the only argument which the wicked and the oppressor can put, you only bring yourselves and your just indignation into contempt.

Thus it will be while we abstain from that which once made a war with England a formidable thing, even to the united strength of all Europe.

Sir, I venture to call the renunciation of the right of seizing enemy's property at sea a national blunder.

Happily it is not an irretrievable one. The Declaration of 1856 is not a Treaty, it has never been ratified. The authority on which it was entered into was but the private letter of a Minister. It is not a permanent engagement between nations, it is but a joint declaration of present intention, binding us I admit, until we finally withdraw from it, for a nation is bound by all things done in its name, unless by a national act it disowns them.

Why did not the Parliament and the

people of the country protest at the time? Some of them did; among the rest several of the most important members of the present Government. *The bulk of the Liberal Party acquiesced silently or approvingly and therein I confess we showed less knowledge of the subject, less understanding of the situation, than the Conservative Leaders. There is much to be said in excuse for us. Nearly the whole world shared in an error. The world was fresh from the recent triumph of free trade, fresh from the great Exhibition of 1851 which was to unite all nations and inaugurate the universal substitution of commerce for war. The first enthusiastic days of peace congresses had scarcely passed; the short episode of the Crimean War had not shaken the belief that great European wars were drawing to a close. We were mistaken; but the light which led us astray was light from heaven. (Cheers.)

We have since had opportunities of learning a sadder wisdom. We had not then seen wars of conquest and annexation renewed on a great scale and fresh wars of the kind continually impending over Europe; we had not seen the Continental Powers outlying one another in converting all the flower of their youth into standing armies, ready at any moment to draw the sword, not only in defence but in aggression. We have not seen what is to my mind a still more warning sight. Some twenty years ago a great French thinker, by way of showing how alien a thing war is to the modern spirit, remarked that though destruction is incomparably the easiest of the works which human ingenuity applies itself, the science and art of destruction had remained greatly in arrear of the arts of production and might almost be said to have been passed over by the inventive genius of later generations. What would this philosopher see now? He would see inventive genius with all the lights of modern science and all the resources of modern history girding itself to the work of destruction as its principal task and bringing forth every year more and more terrific engines for blasting hosts of human beings into atoms, together with the defences by which they vainly seek to shelter themselves.

While this work is going on all around us, is there nothing for us to do but to exhaust our invention and our finances in striving to provide ourselves with engines still more destructive—engines which other nations will instantly adopt, when their superiority has been proved, unless they in the meanwhile contrive for themselves others yet more murderous? Sir, we have a better resource; to shake off the chain which we have forged for ourselves and resume that natural weapon which has been the main bulwark of our power and safety in past national emergencies and without which neither ironclads nor fortified harbours will suffice for our security in those which may be yet to come. Sir, great almost beyond calculation as are the British interests depending on this issue, it is on

no narrow grounds of purely British patriotism that I now raise it. I should be ashamed to claim anything for my country which I believed to be a damage and an injury to the common interests of civilisation and of mankind. I will not even urge, though the feelings of the élite of Europe would bear me out if I did, that the safety and even the power of England are valuable to the freedom of the world and therefore to the greatest and most permanent interests of every civilised people.

No Sir, my argument shall not have even a tinge of nationality about it. It is on the broadest cosmopolitan and humanitarian principles that I rest the case. I maintain it to be for the general interest of the world, if there is to be fighting, that every Power should fight with its natural weapons and with its best strength, that so there may be the greatest possible division of force and no one Power may be able to disturb the world, nor any two or three Powers to divide it among them.

Above all, it is for the interests of the world that the naval Powers should not be weakened, for whatever is taken from them is given to the great military Powers and it is from these alone that the freedom and independence of nations has anything to fear.

Naval power is as essentially defensive as military is aggressive. It is by armies, not by fleets, that wars of conquest can be carried on; and naval Powers, both in ancient and modern times, have ever been the cradle and the home of liberty.

Take away the naval Powers of the world at this moment and where would be the main defence of the minor European States?

Two or three military monarchies could, in a few years, parcel out all Europe and everything else on this side of the Atlantic among them; and after they had done so, would probably desolate the earth by fighting for a re-division.

Happily the naval Powers exist and long may they exist; but short will be the duration of their existence if they disarm themselves of their most powerful weapon; if they leave the entire navies of their enemies free to convey troops to their shores, being no longer required to protect the enemy's commerce; if they who can be invaded, but who cannot successfully invade, abandon the chief means they possess of doing their enemies substantial damage and wearying them of the war.

There is another consideration of vital importance to the subject. Those who approve of the Declaration of Paris mostly think that we ought to go still further; that private property at sea (except contraband of war) should be exempt from seizure in all cases, not only in the ships of neutral but in those of the belligerent nations.

What a spectacle should we then behold! Nations at war with nations, but their merchants and shipowners at peace; our own merchants driving a roaring trade with the enemies whose resources we were endeavouring to cripple and contributing, perhaps, a great part of their revenue.

Some persons think that this would be a great improvement and that it would be a

* e.g., Prussia's mutilation of Denmark in 1864 and of France in 1871.—Editor, SUFFRAGETTE.

* J. S. Mill's italics.

SUPERHUMAN IGNORANCE

Urgent Questions

Why did not Parliament deal with the metal supply question before rising for the Vacation?

The *Morning Post* says:

Another difficulty of the Minister of Munitions is his supply of some of the base metals. There is, for example, a famine in spelter in this country. According to our evening contemporary the *Globe*, whose information on this subject has been excellent, while the price rose to from £90 to £102 on Saturday in London, it is selling at £22 10s. in Germany.

How war is to be humanised by shooting at men's bodies instead of taking their property, I confess surprises me.

The result would be that as long as the taxpayers were willing or could be compelled by their Governments to pay the cost of the game, nations would go on massacring one another until the carnage was stopped by the sheer impossibility of getting any more soldiers to enlist, or of enforcing a conscription. That would be the amount of gain to humanity. Those fine notions of making war by deputy may go down for a while, so long as a nation fancies itself safe from invasion; but let an enemy ever touch our shores and I think we should regret that we had not, by making war on his imports and exports, kept him at a distance from our hearths—that we had not prepared to defend ourselves by our cruisers rather than by our rifle volunteers. Many who do not like to secede from the Declaration of Paris are quite aware of its dangers with France and America. But this approaching danger from France and America seems to me to have little reality in it.

France, though a great military, is also a naval Power and is historically identified almost as much as ourselves with what is called the Right of Search. She has always asserted it for herself, except when she has waived it during a particular period by express engagement with some particular country. The first Napoleon, it is true, while carrying on the war against British commerce to extremities never before practised or justified, thought it suited his purpose of the moment to declaim pompously against what he called our tyranny of the seas. *But the interests of France in this matter are greatly changed. The immunity of neutral bottoms could be of service to her, if at all, only if her enemy were England or the United States and even then the benefit would not be without alloy; but if the calamity should occur of a war between France and any other great Power, the right of seizure would be so important to France, would be so powerful a weapon in her hands, that she could not dispense with it for herself.*

The noble Lord the Foreign Secretary must think so; for in the important correspondence which has gained for him the distinguished honour of averting a European war, the noble Lord urged upon the Prussian Government the certain extinction of the maritime commerce of Germany in case of a war with France, exactly as if the Declaration of Paris had never existed. (Hear, hear.)

As for America, she is not even a party to the Declaration of Paris; and I greatly doubt if she ever will be. She is herself one of the great Powers of the sea and in case of war the destruction of her enemy's commerce will be her most potent weapon.

* J. S. Mill's italics.

It is known that Germany has been allowed to gain the control of the metal trade and it is characteristic of our attitude that the metal brokers to the Government, Henry R. Merton and Company, are largely associated by family and financial connections with the Metallgesellschaft of Frankfurt.

This latter company is in itself one of a great network of companies which together control the metal market of the world and at the present time their companies in America are cornering the world supply of spelter with effects most dangerous to this country. It is a fact altogether to the credit of Mr. Hughes and the Government of the Australian Commonwealth, that they have done all in their power to break down this substantially German monopoly. We understand that now the situation has become acute the Government are awakening to the importance of the matter and taking steps to encourage the establishment of smelting works in this country, while they are also encouraging developments in other directions.

Even now, large stocks of ore are lying idle in Australia because of a contract with German firms, which the Imperial Government refuses to annul. We shall require here, as in other industries, a thorough reorganisation on national lines if we are to re-establish the British position on a sound basis.

The Liberation of Europe A Constructive Policy

The following important observations appear in the course of a letter that has appeared in the *Times* over the signature "Vidi":

Our public men and responsible Ministers have, I fear, hardly begun to conceive a constructive policy to be followed in regard to the European settlement after the war. They seem to believe that this is a matter which can safely be left to a peace conference or to the period of peace negotiations. Such a belief is both fallacious and dangerous. The first principle of a constructive diplomatic policy is that the recurrence of a European conflagration such as this must be precluded.

For this reason Great Britain and her Allies have a vital interest in the creation of as many ethnically-complete States as possible.

They should aim at the creation of a complete Bohemia, a complete Serbo-Croatia or Yugoslavia, a complete Rumania, a complete Bulgaria and a complete autonomous Poland owing allegiance to the Emperor of Russia. Personally I see no valid objection to the creation of an ethnically-complete Germany, provided

that the Hapsburg dynasty accompany its German provinces into a German Confederation. Nor do I perceive any means of preventing this development, even were it undesirable. With a Europe composed of ethnically-complete States, the establishment of mastery over Europe by any one Power would be impossible and a recurrence of this terrible struggle would be prevented.

This, Sir, is the cause for which we have to fight—the liberation of Europe. Unless our enemies are thoroughly and decisively beaten, our object will not be attained and we shall be compelled a few years hence to fight again in less favourable circumstances. We must therefore as a nation strain every nerve, employ every resource and keep nothing back. When we have begun to do everything in our power we shall indeed be on the high road to victory.

MR. WILLIAM LE QUEUX ON THE GERMANS AND THE SUFFRAGETTE MOVEMENT

MR. WILLIAM LE QUEUX writes in reference to our statement "The Germans and the Suffragette Movement" in our issue of July 30 as follows:

"I regret extremely if any remarks of mine upon this subject have given offence to any member of the W.S.P.U., for no one is a more ardent supporter of their splendid work than myself.

"As, however, certain important German newspapers were, prior to the war, gloating over the militant campaign for freedom, some doubt naturally arose in the minds of the public as to the source of certain anonymous donations to the W.S.P.U. funds. It was a matter of common knowledge that in France German money was being used freely in stirring strife against the authorities. Indeed, documentary evidence is in existence in Paris to prove this statement.

"It is inconceivable, too, how completely the subtle German influence dominated us prior to the war. I know of more than one London morning paper—now beating the patriotic drum—which was in the habit of almost daily submitting its news from Germany to Carlton House Terrace, where the emissary of 'our loyal friend the Kaiser' blue-pencilled or altered it to his taste. How German 'palm oil' has been freely distributed in various walks of life in Great Britain will one day be made clear, for certain sensational disclosures are not far distant—disclosures which, in all likelihood, will be made by the Germans themselves in order to arouse our indignation and distrust.

"Therefore the British public will welcome and be much relieved by the plain, honest and straightforward statement made by the SUFFRAGETTE that 'the anonymous donors of money to the W.S.P.U. are not and never have been anonymous to the officials of the Union, but have been anonymous only so far as the public and especially the Government are concerned.'

"All the world knows that the Suffragettes are actuated solely by patriotic motives and their splendid support of the present war against the Kaiser has won for them my own modest admiration, as well as that of the whole country."

WHAT THE GERMANS WANT

The Latest Admission of German Rapacity. Robbery with Violence and the Enslavement of Peoples

WE give the greater part of a very long statement of "honourable" German peace terms submitted to the Imperial German Chancellor by representatives of a large section of the German people. It is preceded by the comment of the French Socialist newspaper *L'Humanité*.

The document, dated the 10th of March, of which we give to-day the official text, sets forth conditions of peace framed by six associations representing German agriculture and industry.

If Germany is in a position to dictate the conditions of peace, these associations are certain to be listened to. For it is not the Ministerial party which will disown them and one cannot hope that the great majority of the Socialists will protest against these claims.

What then would be this "honourable peace"?

"O, the exactions of Germany would be very modest! They would demand to begin with a colonial Empire which would fully satisfy the numerous economic interests of Germany, that is to say a great part of the French and English colonies and also guarantees for Germany's fiscal and financial future, that is to say a Treaty of Frankfurt revised and aggravated; and finally a war indemnity sufficient in amount and paid in an appropriate form, that is to say the financial ruin of France and her perpetual subjection to the economic domination of Germany.

But these are still only trifles, comparatively.

The principal object of the war will consist in assuring to Germany the following advantages:

(1) The subjection, if not the annexation of Belgium.

(2) The cession by France of her North Sea coast, of her Channel coast as far as the Somme, with the Hinterland, the mining districts of the North and of the Pas de Calais, the mineral plains of Briey, of Longwy, of Verdun, of Belfort and of so much as remains to us of the Vosges—and finally of everything that the German General Staff will think it advisable to demand.

(3) Russia to cede a great portion of the Baltic provinces and of Poland.

As the result of all which the German Empire will find itself guaranteed against aggressions similar to those of which it proclaims itself the victim to-day!

All the French, all the Allies, all the neutrals ought to read, carefully weighing every word of it, this document in which is plainly shown, the picture that Germany has made of the Europe of to-morrow.

This time the blind are compelled to see and the deaf are compelled to hear.

The victory of Germany means the disappearance of Belgium, of France and the final abasement of England.

Germany will not be content with less.

I leave it to be imagined what will become of the independence of Holland, of Switzerland and of the Scandinavian countries.

Italy had not yet entered into the war when this document was written, but she knows what her fate would be. And if

the small Balkan States imagine that they will remain mistress of themselves and of the route to the East, their blindness will have sealed their fate.

It is for Europe to decide whether she wishes to live henceforward under the thumb of the German policeman, or whether she will fight until the end to save, in saving herself, Right, Justice and Liberty in the world.

Here is the document in question:

Confidential.

The League of Agriculturalists, the League of German Peasants, the Managing Committee of the Christian Association of German Peasants, now the Group of Westphalian Peasants, the Central Union of German Manufacturers, the League of Manufacturers and the Union of the Middle Classes of the Empire addressed on the 20th May, 1915, the following request to the Chancellor of the German Empire:

In common with the whole German people the German representatives of agriculture and industry, of trade and of commerce, are firmly resolved to maintain to the end whatever may be the consequences, the life and death struggle which has been imposed on Germany in order that our country may come out of this war with an increased power abroad, with the guarantee of a durable peace and as a consequence the certainty of being able to pursue at home its national development economic, intellectual and moral. . . .

In addition to the claim to a Colonial Empire which shall fully satisfy the multiple economic interests of Germany and in addition to guarantees for the future for our fiscal and commercial policy and the receipt of a war indemnity sufficient in amount and paid in an appropriate form, the undersigned associations regard as the principal object of this war that has been forced upon us, a strengthening and amelioration of the conditions of existence of the German Empire in the heart of Europe according to the following plan.

The undersigned associations have considered the question of ascertaining how it is possible to realise the formula, so often heard in the course of these last months, according to which the present war must be followed by peace with honour and in conformity with the sacrifices made and carrying with it a guarantee of its duration. . . .

Having regard to the necessity of assuring our power on the seas, having regard to our military situation and our economic future in relation to England and the intimate relation between Belgian territory (so important economically) and our own chief industrial territory, Belgium must be, from the point of view of military and fiscal policy as well as from the monetary, banking and postal points of view, subject to the legislation of the German Empire. Belgian railways, canals and waterways must be linked up with our system of transport and communication. While constituting two separate provinces, one Walloon, the other above all Flemish and placing in German hands enterprises and properties of an economic description im-

portant for the domination of the country, it will be necessary also to govern and administer the country in such a manner that the inhabitants will acquire no influence upon the political destinies of the German Empire.

As regards France it will be necessary, still by reason of our situation with regard to England, to regard as vital to our future power on the seas to have possession of the coast extending from the Belgian frontier to the Somme; and from there an opening onto the Atlantic Ocean.

The hinterland to be acquired at the same time must be of an extent such that we can be certain of deriving full advantage from the economic and strategic point of view of the ports obtained upon the channel. All other territorial acquisition in France, apart from the necessary annexation of the mineral districts of Briey, must be determined only by considerations of military strategy. On this subject one can without doubt, after experience of this war, regard it as self-evident that we have no longer the right to expose our frontier to enemy invasions, by leaving to our adversaries the fortified positions that threaten us; in particular Verdun and Belfort and the Western slopes of the Vosges which extend between those two towns.

By the acquisition of the line of the Meuse and of the French Channel coast, we shall possess in addition to the mineral districts of Briey already mentioned; also the coal fields of the Northern departments of France and of the Pas de Calais.

These acquisitions mean also, the thing goes without saying after the experience we have had in Alsace-Lorraine—that the population of the annexed territories will not be allowed to obtain any political influence over the destinies of the German Empire; and that the means of economic power existing in those territories, including the medium size and the great landed properties, will be placed in German hands in such a manner that it will be France which will indemnify the former proprietors.

As regards the East the prime consideration is the following: The great acquisitions of industrial power which we shall gain in the West, must have in the East a counterpoise in the acquisition of a great equivalent agricultural territory. The present economic structure of Germany has in the present war shown itself to be so favourable that the necessity of maintaining it for the future, may be considered as the general conviction of our people.

The necessity of re-enforcing by this means the healthy agricultural foundation of our national economy, of rendering possible a German agricultural colonisation of great extent, as well as the repatriation in the German Empire and the economic exploitation of German peasants living abroad, notably in Russia and to-day deprived of all right; the necessity finally of augmenting the contingent liable to military service—all that compels a considerable extension on the frontiers of the Empire and of Prussia towards the East, by the partial annexation at least of the Baltic provinces and of the territories which border them on the South. . . .

(Continued on next page.)

What the Germans Want—continued

As regards the political rights to be accorded to the inhabitants of the new territories and the guarantees to be secured of German economic influence in these territories, we refer you to what we have already said concerning France.

The war indemnity paid by Russia must in large part consist in territorial concessions.

The exactions indicated above, have as their conditions—it goes without saying—the army's ability to realise them. But in consideration of the results already attained we have the firm confidence that our army and its chiefs will obtain a victory which assures the realisation of these ends. . . .

Let us add that according to our opinion, the voluntary abandonment of enemy territories in which so much German blood has flown, in which are to be found innumerable tombs of the best among us, would not answer to the feeling of the country, nor to the idea to which the people conform, of peace with honour.

The want of ports opening directly upon the Channel would restrict as in the past our overseas activities. An independent Belgium would continue to be a bridge head for England, her point of departure against us. The line of natural fortifications of France, if they remained in the hands of the French, would constitute a constant menace to our frontier.

As to Russia, if she came out of the war without territorial losses, she would despise our power and our force which could however prevent her from troubling our interests, while on the other hand if we neglected to annex agricultural territories on our Oriental frontier, we should restrict the possibility of augmenting by a sufficient growth of population in Germany, our military force in regard to Russia.

We have the honour to bring respectfully to the knowledge of your Excellencies the foregoing considerations which precede and which answer to the feeling not only of the undersigned association, but also, it may be with some divergence of detail, of many sections who at this moment have not yet expressed their opinion. We have also the honour of informing you that we have at the same time addressed this document to the Ministers of State in the various confederated German States. In order to complete our requests we wish to state that the political, military and economic ends for which the German people must strive in order to insure its future, are closely connected and cannot be separated one from the other. In the first place it is evident that the realisation of these great political aspirations depends upon the vigour and the success of our army. But on the other hand it is also beyond doubt, especially judging by the experience of this war, that, above all in the long run, our military successes and also the advantages that we can derive from them, are in a large measure conditional upon the force and capacity of the departments of the North of France and of the Pas de Calais. If German agriculture had not been in a position to assure the feeding of our people in spite of all the efforts of the enemy and if German industry, German inventive genius, German technical ability had not been able to emancipate us from the foreigner in the most various domains, we should have been obliged in

spite of the brilliant success of our victorious troops to succumb in the end in this war which has been imposed upon us—even if we should not have succumbed already.

Such is the reason why we include in our request the acquisition of agricultural territories for colonisation and on the other hand the annexation of the French mineral districts of Meurthe and Moselle, as well as the French coal fields of the departments of the North and of the Pas de Calais as well as those of Belgium.

The acquisition of sufficient territory for agricultural colonisation is indispensable, not only to enlarge the agricultural bases of our national economy and as a result to maintain the happy equilibrium of our entire economic situation—an equilibrium whose imperious necessity has been recognised in the course of the present war, but also to assure the sources of our popular national strength derived from a strong agriculture and to assure in particular the growth of our population and to re-enforce thereby our military power.

So also annexations such as those of the mineral districts and coal fields already mentioned, do not only favour as one might suppose, the extension of our industrial power, but they constitute military necessities as is shown by the following considerations:

The monthly production of iron in Germany has amounted since the month of August 1914 to about a million tons, that is to say, it has about doubled. The monthly production of steel has amounted to more than a million tons; and yet there is no super-abundance of iron or steel, but rather a deficit in Germany and even more in the neutral countries. The fabrication of shells necessitates quantities of iron and steel of which few persons in the past have been able to form an idea. . . . For the moment we have no precise figures on this point, but one thing is in any case certain and it is, that if the production in iron and steel had not been doubled by comparison with what it was in the month of last August, it would have been impossible to continue the war. . . .

The security of the German Empire in a future war therefore imperiously compels the possession of all the districts in which the "minette" ore deposit is found, including the fortresses of Longwy and Verdun, without which these deposits could not be defended.

The possession of great quantities of coal and above all coal rich in bitumen which abounds in the basins of the North of France, is at the very least as decisive a factor as iron ore in the issue of war. Belgium and the North of France produce together more than 40,000,000 tons.

From to-day, as is shown anew by the prohibition issued on May 15 of the export of coal from Great Britain, coal is one of the decisive factors of political influence.

The neutral industrial States are constrained to make themselves the instruments of that one of the belligerent parties which can assure them their provision of coal. We are not in a position to do this at the present moment to a sufficient extent and we are from to-day constrained to have recourse to Belgian production in order not to let our neutral neighbours fall into complete dependence upon England. . . .

To sum the matter up one may say that the conditions desired in order to assure in a durable fashion our economic existence are also the conditions which will guarantee to us our military force and therefore also our political independence and political power—apart from the fact that by extending our possibilities of economic action, they will augment and assure the opportunities for labour and will thus also serve the interests of the whole working classes.

"IF WE STOP COTTON WE STOP WAR"

Great Protest Meeting at the Queen's Hall

AN important and crowded meeting was held at Queen's Hall on Wednesday night last to urge that cotton be declared contraband of war.

Sir Charles Macara, chairman of the Cotton Manufacturers' Federation, was in the chair, while the speakers included Sir William Ramsay, Sir George Makgill and Mr. Bertram Blount. A letter was read from Admiral Lord Charles Beresford who was absent from the meeting owing to illness.

Sir Charles Macara declared that if his scheme had been carried out and cotton had been declared contraband the war would have been over by last Christmas, or by March at the latest.

Sir William Ramsay said:

The first point that I want to make and impress upon you all is that cotton is the only substance which the Germans cannot furnish themselves with for ammunition. When you come to cotton cellulose it is not possible to find a substitute. Other substances can be used besides cotton to make nitro-cellulose; but none of these varieties have what is technically called the ballistic power of cotton. Consider what that means. If they wanted to propel the bullet equally far they would require to enlarge the chambers of their guns. To think of enlarging the chamber of every rifle and every gun during the war is ridiculous. It cannot be done.

But there is another alternative, they might be content with a less vigorous propulsive ammunition. Then they would have to alter their sights, the guns would not be sighted for the right distances; and again I think you will agree with me that it would be absurd for them to attempt to alter the sights of all their rifles and all their guns in the middle of the war. We are limited to cotton, but if we stop cotton we stop this war.

The expenditure of ammunition during this war is enormous, quite unthought of and unheard of. I believe a thousand tons a day of cotton is under the mark. Had we stopped cotton the war would have been over at the end of March. We have been exporting to neutral countries the following number of bales—I will give you the number of times the amount of cotton that reached the various countries in 1914-15 exceeded that of 1913-14. Denmark has imported 35 times its normal amount of cotton, the Netherlands 15 times, Norway 18 times, Sweden 16 times and Spain twice as much. That cotton has not stayed in these countries, it has gone to our enemy.

I put it to you that it is unfair, grossly unfair, to ourselves and to our Allies.

Other speakers followed and a letter having been read signed by twenty-three members of the Manchester City Council expressing their earnest belief that it was "imperative in the common interest of our nation, our Allies, and to our and their peoples and brave defenders, that cotton should be declared contraband of war," the meeting was brought to a close by the playing of the National Anthem.

THE NAVY IN QUEEN ELIZABETH'S TIME

Taken from Harrison's "Description of England," published in the reign of Elizabeth

IMUST needs confess therefore that the vessels of antiquity far exceeded ours for capacity; nevertheless, if you regard the form and the assurance from peril of the sea and therewithal the strength and nimbleness of such as are made in our time, you shall easily find that ours are of more value than theirs, for as the greatest vessel is not always the fastest, so that of most huge capacity is not always the aptest to shift and brook the seas; as might be seen by the *Great Henry*, the hugest vessel that ever England framed in our times.

Neither were the ships of old like unto ours in mould and manner of building above the water (for of low galleys in our seas we make small account) nor so full of ease within, since time hath engendered more skill in the wrights and brought all things to more perfection than they had in the beginning. And now to come into our purpose at the first intended.

The Navy of England may be divided into three sorts, of which the one serveth for the wars, the other for burden and the third for fishermen which get their living by fishing on the sea. How many of the first order are maintained within the realm it passeth my cunning to express; yet since it may be parted into the navy royal and common fleet, I think good to speak of those that belong unto the prince and so much the rather, for that their number is certain and well known to very many.

Certainly there is no prince in Europe that hath a more beautiful or gallant sort of ships than the Queen's Majesty of England at this present and those generally are of such exceeding force that two of them, being well appointed and furnished as they ought, will not let to encounter with three or four of those of other countries and either bowge them or put them to flight, if they may not bring them home.

Neither are the moulds of any foreign barks so conveniently made, to brook so well one sea as another lying upon the shore of any part of the continent, as those of England. And therefore the common report that strangers make of our ships among themselves is daily confirmed to be true, which is, that for strength, assurance, nimbleness and swiftness of sailing, there are no vessels in the world to be compared with ours. And all these are committed to the regiment and safe custody of the admiral, who is so called

(as some imagine) of the Greek word *almiras*, a captain on the sea; for so saith Zonaras in *Basilio Macedone* and *Basilio Porphyrogenito*, though others fetch it from *ad mare*, the Latin words, another sort from *Amyras*, the Saracen magistrate, or from some French derivation; but these things are not for this place and therefore I pass them over.

The Queen's Highness hath at this present (which is the four-and-twentieth of her reign) already made and furnished, to the number of four- or five-and-twenty great ships, which lie for the most part in Gillingham Road, beside three galleys of whose particular names and furniture (so far forth as I can come by them) shall not be amiss to make report at this time.

The names of so many ships belonging to Her Majesty as I could come by at this present:—

The Bonaventure.	Foresight.
Elizabeth Jonas.	Swift Sute.
White Bear.	Aid.
Philip and Mary.	Handmaid.
Triumph.	Dreadnought.
Bull.	Swallow.
Antelope.	Genet.
Hope.	Achates.
Lion.	Falcon.
Victory.	George.
Mary Rose.	Revenge.

It is said that as kings and princes have in the young days of the world and long since framed themselves to erect every year a city in some one place or other of their kingdom (and no small wonder that Sardanapalus should begin and finish two, to wit, Anchialus and Tarsus, in one day), so Her Grace doth yearly build one ship or other to the better defence of her frontiers from the enemy. But, as of this report I have no assured certainty, so it shall suffice to have said so much of these things; yet this I think worthy further to be added, that if they should all be driven to service at one instant (which God forbid), she should have a power by sea of about nine or ten thousand men, which were a notable company, beside the supply of other vessels appertaining to her subjects to furnish up her voyage.

Beside these, Her Grace hath other in hand also, of whom hereafter, as their turns do come about, I will not let to leave some further remembrance. She hath likewise three notable galleys: the *Speedwell*, the *Try Right* and the *Black Galley*, with the sight thereof and the rest of the navy royal, it is incredible to say how greatly Her Grace is delighted and not without great cause (I say) since by their means her coasts are kept in quiet and sundry

foreign enemies put back, which otherwise would invade us. The number of these that serve for burden with the other, whereof I have made mention already and whose use is daily seen, as occasion serveth in time of the wars, is to me utterly unknown. Yet if the report of one record be anything at all to be credited, there are one hundred and thirty-five ships that exceed five hundred ton; topmen, under one hundred and above forty, six hundred and fifty-six; hoys, one hundred; but of hulks, catches, fisherboats and crayers, it lieth not in me to deliver the just account, since they are hard to come by.

Of these also there are some of the Queen's Majesty's subjects that have two or three; some four or six and (as I heard of late) one man, whose name I suppress for modesty's sake, hath been known not long since to have had sixteen or seventeen and employed them wholly to the wafting in and out of our merchants, whereby he hath reaped no small commodity and gain.

I might take occasion to tell of the notable and difficult voyages made into strange countries by Englishmen and of their daily success there; but as these things are nothing incident to my purpose, so I surcease to speak of them.

Only this will I add, to the end all men shall understand somewhat of the great masses of treasure daily employed upon our Navy, how there are few of those ships, of the first and second sort, that, being apparelled and made ready to sail, are not worth one thousand pounds, or three thousand ducats at the least, if they should presently be sold.

What shall we think then of the greater, but especially of the Navy Royal, of which some one vessel is worth two of the other, as the shipwrights have often told me?

It is possible that some covetous person, hearing this report, will either not credit it at all or suppose money so employed to be nothing profitable to the Queen's coffers: as a good husband said once when he heard that there should be a provision made for armour, wishing the Queen's money to be rather laid out to some speedier return of gain unto Her Grace, "because the realm (saith he) is in case good enough" and so peradventure he thought. But if, as by store of armour for the defence of the country, he had likewise understood that the good keeping of the sea is the safeguard of our land, he would have altered his censure and soon given over his judgment.

For in times past when our nation made small account of navigation, how soon did the Romans, then the Saxons and last of all the Danes, invade this island? Whose cruelty in the end enforced our countrymen, as it were even against their wills, to provide for ships from other places and build at home of their own, whereby their enemies were oftentimes distressed.

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