

"The Suffragette," August 20, 1915.

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Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper.

The Suffragette

Edited by CHRISTABEL PANKHURST

Official Organ of the
Women's Social and Political Union

No. 115. Vol. IV.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 20, 1915

Price 1d. Weekly (Post Free)
13d.



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CONTENTS

Table listing contents: CARTOON, REVIEW OF THE WEEK, WICKED WASTE MAKES WOEFUL WANT, "TRUST IN GOD—BUT TIE YOUR CAMEL", NO GERMAN PEACE! BY CHRISTABEL PANKHURST, UNDER THE THUMB OF GERMANY, MEN AND MUNITIONS IN ELIZABETH'S TIME, AN APPEAL AND A PROPHECY, "A DYNASTY OF FRAUD AND FORCE", "SUFFRAGETTE" ORDER FORM.

Review of the Week.

Munition Making.

CLASSES for training munition workers have been arranged by the London County Council and we are given to understand that the course takes six weeks. The fee for this is 2s. 6d. Women desiring to make munitions are strongly recommended to attend these classes as a preparation for employment in munition factories. Application should be made as soon as possible to the L.C.C. Board of Education, Victoria Embankment.

The Cotton Question.*

As these words are written hope that cotton will be made contraband, though deferred, still exists. What is not generally understood is the reason for delay in taking action, though it is realised that, as cotton was not declared contraband at the very beginning of the war, the diplomatic difficulties of the situation have been increased. They have indeed been created by delay, for at the outbreak of the war neutral traders on either side of the Atlantic were apprehensive of utter ruin as the result of so great a conflagration as they saw this war must be. The prophecies of certain writers and the cries of alarm raised by the Germans in their attempt to terrorise the British Govern-

* As we go to press the news reaches us that a message from Washington announces that the State Department has been advised authoritatively, though unofficially, that the Allies intend to declare cotton contraband.

The cable adds that it is stated that the decision has been reached, and that the delay in announcing it is due to the need of making an arrangement for uniform treatment of the subject by the Allied Powers.

ment had caused neutral traders to expect the very worst in the shape of commercial catastrophe.

August 1914 was the Time to Act.

To suffer nothing worse than a contraband list extended by the addition of cotton and other matters would have seemed to the neutral trader at that moment bliss indeed! But afterwards he settled down to business as usual and in some cases business better than usual and now that certain traders have tasted blood in the shape of extra war profits the addition of cotton to the contraband list is more disturbing than it would have been in August 1914, when the declaration of cotton as contraband ought to have been made.

Lord Haldane. Sir Eyre Crowe.

But Lord Haldane, drawing upon some fount of knowledge of German circumstances and some reservoir of scientific lore, proclaimed Germany to be supplied with all the cotton needed for war purposes and to be in command of processes which enabled cotton to be dispensed with.

And then, to speak frankly, Sir Eyre Crowe, Assistant Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, is believed to have a certain policy where cotton is concerned. As we said last week, public confidence is weakened by his presence at the Foreign Office. It is vitally necessary that all Foreign Office decisions of every degree of importance shall be in complete harmony with the great, the cardinal decision to enter into the war and to pursue it to a triumphant issue. Otherwise we to some extent make war upon ourselves!

The Peril of the Weak Link.

A long time ago the world found out that the strength of a chain is the strength of its weakest link. That truth is really the basis of the article which Lord Headley has contributed to the present issue of this paper. He shows very clearly the unwisdom of recruiting men by the million and spending fabulous sums of money on the prosecution of the war, while at the very same time allowing cotton to reach the enemy and friends or possible friends of the enemy to occupy positions of confidence and power. Who is there that does not know the vital importance of information in war time—information concerning not only movements of particular troops and warships but that concerning the enemy's political, military and naval strategy in its broadest aspects? With Germans and semi-Germans here, there and everywhere, we are running risks that our duty to ourselves, the Empire and our Allies—and above all to posterity—absolutely forbids.

Why?

Invoking the principle: "Trust in God, but tie your camel," Lord Headley urges that the Government should take fuller advantage of the opportunities vouchsafed to us as a nation of winning our way safely through this war. Why should there be so much obstruction to certain forward moves? Why should men, earnest and patriotic, as well as of special authority because of their special knowledge, such as Sir Charles Macara and Sir William Ramsay, be obliged to fight for months on the cotton question? Why must there be a war within war, a struggle with the Government, before cotton is declared con-

traband and before Germans who ought not to be at large (especially the powerful ones) are interned?

Governments in War Time.

In time of peace the Opposition deem it to be their business to oppose and leaders of the Party in power commonly believe that the duty of the Government is to obstruct! But bad as that plan is in peace time, it is literally fatal in time of war. The business of the Government in war time emphatically is to lead. It is not to wait to be urged to fight the enemy at home (the Army and Navy will fight him on sea and on the battlefield). The last vestige of peace habits should now disappear. A vast effort is being made by the Government as by the nation, but remembering again that the strength of the chain is the strength of its weakest link, we cannot afford to have hard fighting and no compromise at some—at most—points and dangerous leniency to the foe at other and no less vital points.

To Prevent Waste and Ensure Good Feeding for the Troops.

A valuable reform would be the appointment of women officers, not committees of several persons, to prevent the waste of military food supplies that is reported to be going on here, there and everywhere. The sight of such waste is a powerful deterrent to economy among the general public and is in every way demoralising. If cooking and catering and advising as to the kind of food to be bought were placed in women's hands excellent would be the results. Women are now receiving advanced training in domestic economy and there must be some of these qualified for the work in question. Other women by long practical experience in hotel and boarding-house management have learnt how to cater on a large scale. Besides preventing waste women could so arrange matters that varied food and good cooking would be the rule in all camps. Besides, the more men are relieved of such tasks, the greater the numbers and the greater the ability available for actual military operations.

A Neutral Opinion.

The reason for the peace suggestions thrown out here and there as the result of German inspiration is clearly explained in the following extract from the Norwegian paper the Dagblatt:

Germany has now arrived at the culminating point of her military effort. For her no moment could be more favourable than the present for making peace. On the contrary, the more time the Allies gain, the more their power will grow, the more strength they will be able to put forward. The recrudescence of the German effort against Russia is for the purpose of forcing a peace and of drawing France into it so that Germany may then hurl herself against the specific enemy, which is England. But there is no sign that such a plan can succeed. The European Alliance against Germany discloses no fissure. Germany changes her opinion from one minute to another on the question of knowing which is her principal enemy. But the Allies themselves have no doubt as to who is theirs!

The Democratic Spirit of the Russian Duma.

The democratic and resolute spirit in which the Russian Duma has set to work is shown by its adoption of a demand for an inquiry into the failure of the munitions supply and for the punishment of those upon whom may be fixed guilty responsi-

bility for this failure, no matter what their rank or position may be. An Imperial Commission has been appointed to inquire into the whole matter. It is reported also that the Governor-General of the Baltic Provinces and the Governor of Courland have been removed from their positions in consequence of their bad administration. This measure it is said will go towards enabling reform in the matter of munitions supply. The Duma is a thousand times right in treating sins of omission or commission of which politicians or State officials are guilty as calling for punishment by dismissal at least. Offences against the nation as a whole are the most grave of all offences, especially in time of war.

A Voice from the Past.

During the Franco-German War of 1870-1 Dostoevsky, the great Russian novelist, was staying in Dresden. He wrote to his niece as follows:

"The professors are extraordinarily arrogant. I encounter them every evening in the public library. A very influential scholar with silver-white hair loudly exclaimed, the day before yesterday, 'Paris must be bombarded!' So that's the outcome of all their learning. If not of their learning, then of their stupidity. They may be very scholarly, but they're frightfully limited!"

"All the populace here can read and write, but every one of them is terribly unintelligent, obtuse, stubborn and devoid of any high ideals."

Dostoevsky's statements are interesting in the light of present events.

A German Professor's Reasoning.

A German professor, one Reimer, of the University of Berlin, seeks as follows to prove that Christ was a German:

Consider the word Jesus; the letters J and G being interchangeable, we thus obtain the word Gesus. And as it very often happens that the letter R changes into S, the name of the Redeemer may then be read Jerus. Let us go a little further: Gerus is equivalent to Ger plus us. This us is the Latin suffix which indicates the masculine gender and is the equivalent of the Teutonic termination, *nam*. So that by replacing the Latin suffix by the German suffix we obtain G-e-r-m-a-n, which means to say that the name of Jesus Christ proves his German origin.

Where Belgium Stands.

The spirit of Belgium is indicated by the following extract from the *XXth Century*, the Catholic Unionist Belgian newspaper:

Will the words of the Pope be listened to? Alas, a hundred reasons compel us to doubt it. For who could reasonably hope that guilty Germany will hear the voice of the common father of the faithful, will recognise her faults, confess her crimes, solicit the pardon of Europe, offer all the reparation which the Allies have no right not to exact, as well as all the guarantees, in default of which peace would only be a ridiculous and dangerous comedy?

We have for the moment only one thing to say: It is that the Belgium of the trenches and the Belgium living under the oppression by the Germans have long since made their choice between war and a sham peace.

Belgium was the first to suffer. It is she who sustained the first shock, received the first blows of the barbarians. It is she who to-morrow in the new conflagration that would certainly arise from a compromise peace, just as legal proceedings arise out of an obscure or an uncertain contract, would again be the first exposed to the horrors of war.

Belgium is buying by her ruins and her blood the right to be consulted when the bearers of the olive wave their branches.

Well, everything tells us that she prefers to fight, to suffer, to shed her blood, to endure a thousand outrages rather than renounce her rights and her hopes.

WICKED WASTE MAKES WOEFUL WANT

WE have received the following letter and enclosure. In response to Mr. Blatchford's appeal we would point out that neither the W.S.P.U. nor any other women can take action to prevent waste of the national resources unless the power to do this is given into their hands.

DEAR EDITOR,—I am enclosing this cutting from the *Weekly Dispatch*. Could we not try and push this idea? I know camps where sausages were used to light the fires.

Now, as it is a fatal certainty that our women have got to be reckoned with after the war, it were plain wisdom for us to begin to avail ourselves of their priceless talents while the war is with us. But it is a strange thing that whereas all our homes are run by women we have not yet learnt to employ born managers, born savers and trained housewives in those departments of the State service where highly paid male incompetents play ducks and drakes with the hard-earned revenues of the Commonwealth.

Were the head of the Ordnance Department a woman how many times would it be necessary to explain to her that food was being wasted wholesale for want of ovens and cooking utensils? Instead of which we have the consummate cheek to tell the women to save coppers in their own well-ordered homes where waste is unknown and money is too scarce.

Once more I appeal to the W.S.P.U. For the love of heaven, ladies, note what my correspondent says about the waste and the field kitchens *and the flies*. If the Ordnance Department are asleep, if the Government do not care, make a bobbery. Insist upon getting things done. The W.S.P.U. is rich in brains, in courage and in energy. Here is a scandal waiting to be shifted and only women can shift it.

(Signed) GINA MURRAY.

[ENCLOSURE.]

From an article in the *Weekly Dispatch* by Mr. Robert Blatchford:

That very practical letter was sent in answer to the comments of my "Old Musketeer" on waste in camps. I can only add to it a vigorous endorsement of the Musketeer's suggestion that the supply of food and the disposal of leavings in camps should be placed under a body of certified women inspectors.

If the women were drawn from the ranks of domesticated women used to housekeeping on small incomes the result would be complete abolition of the wicked waste described by my correspondent. Two or three live women would stop the waste and shake up the Ordnance Department with a promptitude startling to the sufferers. A real live Yorkshire or Scottish housewife would save her own weight in provisions a thousand times in a month. If such women should be appointed, may I be there to see. *My* word: how they would make the wool fly.

I know a lady, Mrs. Fry, wife of Lieutenant C. B. Fry, who acts as matron of a training ship. There are in that establishment 120 boys, besides instructors. Everyone is well fed, well housed and well clothed and the waste would not fatten a mouse.

Housewives v. Incompetents

There are still, I suppose, some misguided male persons of little faith who pre-

tend that women ought not to have a vote. But I am one of those who look forward in the sure and certain hope of seeing our spending departments run by women. A woman of average intelligence and experience turns pale with indignant astonishment when she hears of good bread being thrown away by the hundreds of loaves.

The women who run the Avenue Hall refreshment department would have made those loaves into thousands of sandwiches for the marching troops. Put a live woman down in one of those squander camps where sides of bacon are thrown to the pigs and in a month's time there will not be enough waste fat to grease a pair of boots.

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"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.

"TRUST IN GOD—BUT TIE YOUR CAMEL"

By LORD HEADLEY

THE line I have chosen for the text of this short article is attributed to Mahomet the Great Prophet of Arabia and I think that it conveys to us a message of grave import at the present moment. We are earnest enough in our prayers for victory and with commendable piety, the whole nation has just commemorated what is probably the most momentous anniversary in our history. Prayers went up from all the churches in the land and there is no doubt as to the honesty of our belief and trust in God, but we have failed—and we continue to fail most lamentably—to make proper use of our many opportunities.

It is as though a man, standing on a railway line in front of an express train, were to fall on his knees and call out: "O Lord, protect me from the approaching locomotive!" and yet neglect the obvious precaution of stepping off the line. We pray for delivery from the German hordes, but continue to permit those devastating hordes to receive enormous quantities of material with which to slay our sailors and soldiers. We beg for protection from our enemies and yet allow months and months to roll by without taking any really effective steps to deal with the tens of thousands of alien enemies in our very midst: surely such negligence savours of tempting Providence? We have been given intelligence and capabilities and it is surely unreasonable to expect the Almighty to intern dangerous aliens or make supernatural arrangements to stop the cotton importation to Germany?

A story is told of two men standing on the roof of a burning building, all means of escape seemed cut off and one of them said: "Oh, how I wish I could say a prayer." The other said: "I wish I had a ladder." In this dreadful national crisis we seem to take up the position of the first man for, though we appear to have a "hearty desire to pray," we don't seem at all inclined earnestly to grasp and turn to good account many of the means of deliverance Providence has placed in our way—indeed to an outside observer it must seem that we have wilfully cast aside many opportunities we have had.

Our former Lord Chancellor has freely admitted that he knew much about the Germans, their astuteness and their preparations and yet amongst other happenings we saw the Coastguard Service greatly reduced in numbers and hundreds of skilled workmen discharged from Woolwich and allowed to go over to Germany where for years they have been helping in the manufacture of the very guns and shells which are now directed against our own forces. One would think that, with the information we then had at our command, we might have been better prepared. It would have been so very easy for the Lord Chancellor to have confided to the Prime Minister—a dear old friend of his youth—a few particulars concerning Germany's activity and preparedness, but apparently he did not do so, but contented himself with assuring his *fidus Achates* that all was well and that there was no danger from the peaceful inhabitants of that country which he regarded as his spiritual home. This *must* be the assumption, for otherwise we are driven to the unthinkable supposition

that the Prime Minister was fully aware of Germany's preparations and yet allowed the cutting down of our defences and supplies.

Another matter has caused a great deal of comment since the commencement of the war. We cheerfully and trustingly employ numbers of people whose positions make them potential channels of communication with the enemy. When complaints are made the reply is generally to the effect that the authorities have "perfect confidence" in the individuals and are "quite satisfied." Of course, this kind of thing may be all right, but the questions naturally arise—Can we trust the *bona fides* of any of the Teutons? Should we accept, as Gospel truth, any statement of the Kaiser himself? Are we justified in taking *any* chances at such a critical juncture? Do we not know that the one trusted traitor in the camp is worse than all the open enemies outside?

Then again, we are far too lenient with those treason-mongers who spread their noxious vapourings throughout the country. The authorities apparently forget that everyone who openly expresses sympathy with the enemy in time of war encourages that enemy and thus assists him. This is a form of treason we might well like to see properly dealt with.

We have now had a year of devastating, costly and most bloody war and yet don't seem to have learnt the simple lesson contained in the line which heads this short article.

We know that the German Secret Service has laid out millions in this country during the past few years, but so far as we can see there has been no serious effort to find out where large sums of that money have gone. Whose are the eyes which have been attracted by the glitter of that German gold? Where are the palms that have been oiled? The vast sums laid out cannot have been paid only to German waiters, German barbers, or German bakers and it would be worth a king's ransom to find out the truth in this direction.

We have certainly made a few spasmodic attempts at internment and spy-catching—generally after the authorities have been pushed up to their work by the pressure of public opinion—but we have not done much at present in the direction of pursuing and catching the renegade British traitor who is far more dangerous than the alien enemy.

Then again, we have much reason to be dissatisfied with answers to most anxious and proper inquiries in both Houses of Parliament. For examples refer to the replies of the Prime Minister, Mr. McKenna and Mr. Tennant and only the other day Lord Crewe, when questioned on the enormously important matter of making cotton contraband of war, replied in such a way that the ordinary reader was bound to be under the impression that the Government thought the whole question rather a nuisance but somewhat interesting and that it might perhaps at some future time be considered necessary to address a few words to neutral countries. Good heavens! To talk with such easy nonchalance at such a time! His Lordship might have been calmly discussing some academic question or advocating an additional penny on the tobacco duty! When we come to realise that such

a sin of omission as allowing cotton to get into Germany for the past twelve months will cost us possibly tens of thousands of our best and bravest, we cannot but feel to the last degree exasperated.

When bombs are actually dropping on our heads and we want a little information, or else told to be good children and not to talk about what we don't understand. What we ought to pray for is *capacity for seeing and taking advantage of God's opportunities*. If we would do this and also make honest efforts to remove the scales from our eyes we should make more sure of victory since it is generally believed that God helps those who help themselves. For years we have been wallowing in the mire of self-complacency and our insular "cocksureness" has exposed us to the ridicule of other nations. We have allowed ourselves to go to sleep, and through constantly refusing to use sight and hearing, have lost much of the keenness of those faculties. Now after a year of hostilities we begin to realise that German saturation is the cause of much of our trouble—the astute friends of Lord Haldane have contrived, by long-continued and carefully thought out methods, to insinuate themselves into our political, commercial, social and financial life till at length we have become too Germanised to see clearly that we are really Britons.

Shortly after the war commenced I received several snubs for insisting that the dangers at home were of a more vitally important nature than those at the Front and one well-known municipal official in the South of England wrote: "These silly letters and writings do no good—let us get on with our business." Quite right, his business just then was recruiting and he could see no phase of the war, no circumstances, outside that one great question of getting numbers of men to join the Colours. He was entirely indifferent as to what influence might be at work for the future success or failure of those new soldiers.

To attend to munitions and recruiting and neglect matters of such vital importance as alien enemies in the citadel and cotton supplies to the enemies' workshops, seems like a man trying to fill a cask with one hand and turning on the tap with the other. The blood of our men is flowing very freely just now and yet we cannot detect any earnest and determined effort on the part of the Government to stop the supply of cotton to Germany. This could be done by informing all neutral States through which such cotton passes that no more than the average imports would be allowed, or we might buy up the whole crop, as has frequently been suggested. I fear that, in addition to our other diseases, we now suffer from too much politeness—perhaps we don't like to mention these subjects to our neutral friends for fear of hurting their feelings, as their traders must be making such rich harvests by selling cotton to Germany at fabulous prices. Of course there is a chance that something may yet be done, but nothing can alter the prominence of that great sin of omission which has permitted Germany to benefit by cotton imports during the past year.

The Suffragette

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

PRICE ONE PENNY WEEKLY.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 20, 1915.

No German Peace!

AFTER a year of warfare, the Germans have in their grip great tracts of stolen land in the East that they regard as proper for "colonisation" by themselves.

On the West they hold nearly all Belgium and part of France—including the mineral riches of those lands.

And now they would like to make peace! That is very natural. The robbers having made so big a haul would be only too glad to get the world's assent and settle down to consolidate and organise the profits of their raid—in preparation for the next raid!

Yet even they cannot imagine that the Allies will give up the fight leaving things as they stand now. The peace overtures are designed to feel the pulse of the Allies, to draw from them some new and modified statement of terms on which they are prepared to end the war.

Restoration of stolen territory, financial reparation so far as that be possible for the appalling evil the Germanic Allies have wrought, liberation of all peoples desirous of freedom from their rule, security in various forms against further hostile intrigues and attacks by the enemy.

These, are conditions that must be satisfied before the Allies will consent to peace.

The time has come once and for all to make an end of the German peril and to get rid of the evil done and contemplated by that maleficent trio, Germany, Austria-Hungary and Turkey!

As to the German peril, it is our own country, perhaps more than any other, that is responsible for allowing it to grow to its present monstrous dimensions.

In succeeding generations our statesmen—have they deserved that name!—have facilitated the trickery, robbery and aggression whereby Prussia, the cuckoo State in the European nest of nations, became the destroyer of German liberty and morals, and now—if we were not victorious

—the conqueror and despot of Europe and the world.

Let us not be surprised that this Prussia, once small and insignificant, should now be menacing the world! Does not a cancer, if the surgeon's knife be not invoked, grow from a mere nothing, till the body falls a prey to it? British politicians who generation after generation let the cancer of Prussianism spread would be to blame if the present war had seen the end of the British Empire and the end of a free Europe and if the next war or threat of war by Prussia had seen the end of American freedom.

But the people of this country and of the allied nations have risen up to undo the calamitous errors of the past and to reckon with Prussianised Germany in the terms of force which alone does Germany understand.

We know what are the enemy's aims. Germany and the Germans over all lands and all peoples! The Germans to command, the rest to obey! The Germans to exploit, the non-Germans to be exploited! The Germans to be masters, we others to be their economic and political serfs.

The recent outbreak of manifestoes by German professors, politicians, manufacturers and so forth has enlightened those who were still ignorant of what a German victory would mean.

A complete German victory would mean at once the living death, unthinkable calamity, for freedom-loving human beings.

A partial German victory would mean another war as soon as the Germans, by the help of their partial conquest, had gathered up force to renew and complete their aggressive operations to achieve the desired world domination. Anything and everything the Germans were allowed to gain now would be used to prepare for another war.

The cold-blooded greed with which they planned the confiscation of the mineral resources of Belgium and of France in order to enrich themselves and acquire political and economic power over others—this they now admit! And there we have but a small part of their programme!

One of the essential conditions, not only of victory in this war, but of the maintenance of future peace is that the Allies in general and Great Britain in particular shall keep command of the seas not only by maintaining adequate naval armaments, but also by maintaining the immemorial law of the sea—that war may be waged on an enemy's commerce. For there is Germany's vulnerable point! And it is towards securing immunity for their commerce in a future war if not in this present war that the Germans are now directing

a great part of their diplomatic effort. Notice the Kaiser's recent message to the United States! Notice his words about the possibility of a "free world-wide commerce" and the "freedom of the oceans"!

Let the free nations of Europe be on guard and let the United States be on guard against being lured by Germany now or at the conclusion of the war into endorsing the principle that while war is being waged on land against life and property too, enemy property and commerce shall be protected from attack on sea!

Here is the bait held out to ourselves not to be very rigorous in preventing Germany from getting cotton and supplies of other war material and not to seek to throttle German commerce! The words appeared in a Liberal newspaper the other day:

It must not be forgotten that at some future date it is quite possible for us to be a neutral country when others are at war and that any action that is now taken will mean a precedent for other nations.

This is not the first time that we as a nation have been asked to jeopardise our national safety in time of war for the sake of "business as usual" in time of neutrality! But we shall never again accept that invitation. This war alone is enough to show that our belligerent rights of self-defence transcend immeasurably facilities for trading when we happen to be neutrals.

The people of the United States also are being asked to exchange their and our birthright of national liberty for a mess of neutral trading pottage.

The American people will not, however, forget that unless German military and naval power is defeated in this war and thereafter held in check, their turn to be attacked by Germany will come next or will come after a second German war on Europe.

So that for their own sake as for ours, every legitimate resource of naval warfare must be regained or retained as a means of defending the world against German aggression.

For generations, Prussia, knowing sea power to be the world's defence against her aggressive land power, has striven to destroy the power of navies and thereby augment the power of armies! So we have seen "Armed neutrality" schemes! Declarations of Paris and of London! And now there is another German scheme of the same sort which the discerning eye can see looming up, clad in the supposedly plausible dress of the "freedom of the seas!"

The answer made to Germany by the peoples of both Hemispheres is this: "It is only when you threaten our freedom on land, that you have anything to fear from our power of action on the sea!"

CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

UNDER THE THUMB OF GERMANY

"THE Pan-Germanist in Alsace" is the title of a booklet written and illustrated a year before the war by two Alsations, Jules Froelich and the famous artist Hansi. The book begins by telling how for the first Christmas after the war of 1870-1 the Germans published a child's book containing a picture, under which appeared the following verses:

"O, Strasburg! O, Strasburg! wonderfully beautiful town,
Who for two hundred years hast so greatly suffered."

The author says:

However great may be the perspicacity of my readers, they will be unable to guess that the subject of this picture was the nocturnal bombardment of Strasburg in 1870 by the Germans themselves. . . . What meaning did the artist mean to give to this ensemble so strange in the grotesque opposition between the drawing and the legend beneath it?

Describing the attitude of the pan-Germanists towards Alsace, the author says:

For the pan-Germanists Alsace, which they call "our Alsace," since it is an Imperial territory, is a colony to be peopled by them, a sort of national park, while the Alsations are a conquered tribe, of whom it is permissible to the conqueror to dispose according to his good pleasure—to dispose of them as well as of the place which they occupy in the sun. . . . On one side, then, the conquerors and on the other the conquered.

Yes, the Alsations are a common, vanquished people who make difficulties about passing under the yoke.

The yoke is the categorical imperative which orders them to adopt customs which have never been theirs, to love those with whom they are ordered to become assimilated; and above all and before all, to burn that which they have adored, to renounce it, to hate it, to excrete it as the most abominable thing that can be conceived.

Strange misunderstanding! In the name of a vague ethnological law and of a contestable historic science which is of a most contestable kind, they are baptised Germans, as the result of which it is exacted of them that they shall be Germans for ever.

Then says the author: "These pan-Germanists who invade the cities and fields of Alsace have not been able to discover even this one fact: that the Alsation has not a German mentality. He thinks and can only think as a Frenchman, or if that is less disagreeable to them, as a Gaul or as a Celt. Perhaps this is by reason of atavism or by reason of an intimate fusion between the two mentalities. And it is true not only of the cultivated inhabitants of the towns whom the Germans so delicately call *Kulturschwinder*, but it applies also to the most unprogressive among the country-folk who do not possess even one traitor word of the French vocabulary!"

Then, speaking of the difference between the French and German systems, the author says: "The French leave the Breton free to be Breton, leave the people of Provence gloriously to resuscitate their maternal idiom, leave the Arabs free to maintain Universities for the diffusion of their language in the territory of French colonies. All that is weakness according to the pan-Germanist, always haunted by

the fear that his country may seem too sympathetic and too humane.

"The pan-Germanist, on the other hand, says to the Alsation:

"Thou shalt have no other language than mine, even if thou dost not understand it; thou shalt have no other customs than my customs and my Kultur shall be thy Kultur. And when thou hast become another myself, thou wilt nevertheless remain my very humble servitor by virtue of the right of conquest. Thou and thy country, you are the price of the blood that I so generously spilt with the sole object of restoring thee to a fatherland that thou must believe to have been from all times thine, because it is I who tell thee so."

"Truth to tell," continues the author sarcastically, "the pan-Germanist has only too many reasons for considering the Alsation as a being in all respects inferior to himself the pan-Germanist." He then enumerates certain reasons why this belief is justified and these include the following:

"The Alsation laughs when he hears beer described as *edles Nass*, noble liquid, as who should say the nectar of the gods.

"The Alsation at a *café* gives to his wife the authorisation to have refreshment on equal terms with himself, which denotes in him extravagance and heedlessness with regard to the future of his family.

"The Alsation does not hesitate to proclaim that an old ruin has more style than a chateau restored, however learnedly restored it may be.

"The Alsation does not realise that for a monument to be beautiful it is enough for it to be colossal.

"The Alsation is so wanting in aesthetic sense as not to see how admirable and ingenious is the architectural style inaugurated by the powerful artistic genius of the German nation after its glorious unification and he characterises this inimitable art as the style neo-Bosch.

"The Alsation, instead of feeling himself irresistibly humbled before the proud, worthy and grave air which is conferred upon an official or a magistrate by the consciousness of his high importance and the assurance of being protected by a million bayonets, sees in them what in cynical circles is called solemn vanity.

"The Alsation has the effrontery to speak subversive languages, such as French and Alsation, when his dignity as a second-class citizen of the German Empire imposes upon him the duty of expressing himself uniquely in Hanoverian or in Saxon, in Pomeranian or in Mecklenburgian, an obligation from which only deaf mutes are exempt.

"The Alsation takes to bed with him that subversive book which will have to be forbidden, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and professes that he finds there the description of what he calls his own sufferings under a *régime* which is yet quasi-paternal and allows him the freedom of almost all his movements.

"The Alsation makes fun of the terrible duels between masked and padded students in which the wounds are nevertheless mortal provided the subject is diabetic.

"The man of Alsace as well as the Alsation woman, alas! insists even to-day in dressing deplorably after the French fashion, affecting to despise German fashions, which are so superior from the point of view of hygiene, good taste and of scientifically reasoned chic.

"The Alsation proclaims against all the

evidence that French culture is unequalled and that to try it is to adopt it.

"The Alsation takes the trouble to rejoice at any success gained by France and to be afflicted by any catastrophe of which she is the victim, as if he had anything in common with those people.

"The Alsation, when the whole of Europe conjures him to love the Germans, stupidly replies that in order to be loved people must be lovable; that he does not feel himself obliged to love them any more than the rest of the French people love them. Yet something tells him that he will love them again perhaps a great deal, but not all at once; later on, much later—as before 1870!

"The Alsation, with an affected subtlety, pretends to see a distinction between a *policed* nation and a *civilised* nation.

"The Alsation, in his obsequiousness, still believes himself obliged, after half a century of the glorious beneficence of Germanic domination, to ask of the French people who come to see him this question: "When are you coming to take us back?"

"The Alsation tends, with solicitude, certainly affected, the tombs of 1870 and why? Because they shelter the remains, hardly worthy of burial, of the defenders of the hereditary enemy, owing to whom the conquest of Alsace cost so much German blood.

"The Alsation stupidly denies that he suffered during two centuries of French rule.

"The Alsation, because of one of those joyous jests which traditionally bring a little gaiety to the monotony of life in barracks, or because of an ear torn by a superior from a soldier, or because of a blow of the fist in the face, or because of a kick in the stomach, is at once tempted to exaggerate the number of cases of alleged bad treatment in the German army.

"The Alsation declares that he has had quite long enough to learn that of all the nations of Europe Germany alone has succeeded in returning to the state of a primitive tribe."

And at the close of the book we read: "Hansi's picture of the Alsation woman in mourning known under the suggestive title *She Waits*, is still in accordance with the truth. Alsace has had the time to become a grandmother and she is still waiting. The innumerable tears that she and her children, with all her compatriots feminine and even masculine for the last forty-three years, have shed together and still shed, will never be equalled in number by all the cannon balls that will be fired in the next war, however general that war may be. These tears of regret, of suffering, of humiliation, will weigh with a formidable weight in the balance of immanent justice.

"The world will remember that these silent tears, when from behind his regulation spectacles the eye of the pan-Germanist victor saw them, have always been greeted by sarcasm, by ridicule, by manifestations of hatred and irony and never by any show of benevolence or pity. Yet the Alsation woman has remained immovable in mourning; but if she has resigned herself to suffer these insulting attitudes incessantly renewed, she does not resign herself to suffer for an indefinite future a fate undeserved and unworthy of her past."

MEN AND MUNITIONS IN ELIZABETH'S TIME

"Over one million men ready for military service."
"The land was never better furnished with munitions."

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

HOW well or how strongly our country hath been furnished in times past with armour and artillery it lieth not in me as of myself to make rehearsal.

Yet that it lacketh both in the late time of Queen Mary, not only the experience of mine elders, but also the talk of certain Spaniards not yet forgotten, did leave some manifest notice.

Upon the first I need not stand, for few will deny it. For the second I have heard that when one of the greatest peers of Spain espied our nakedness in this behalf and did solemnly utter in no obscure place that "it should be an easy matter in short time to conquer England, because it wanted armour," his words were then not so rashly uttered as they were politically noted.

For, albeit that for the present time their efficacy was dissembled and semblance made as though he spake but merrily, yet at the very entrance of this our gracious Queen into the possession of the crown they were so providently called to remembrance and such speedy reformation sought of all hands for the redress of this inconvenience, that our country was sooner furnished with armour and munition, from divers parts of the main (besides great plenty that was forged here at home) than our enemies could get understanding of any such provision to be made.

By this policy also was the no small hope conceived by the Spaniards utterly cut off, who of open friends being now become our secret enemies and thereto watching a time wherein to achieve some heavy exploit against us and our country, did thereupon change their purposes, whereby England obtained rest, that otherwise might have been sure of sharp and cruel wars.

Thus a Spanish word uttered by one man at one time overthrew, or at the least hindered, sundry privy practices of many at another.

In times past the chief forces of England consisted in their long bows.* But now we

* The following comment made by one of the editors of Harrison is of interest:

"Our peaceable days" were on the eve of the greatest struggle ever known to England, but never before or since could she put a million men armed to the teeth into the field and have still a reserve to fall back on. People who dream that the Spaniards would have fared better on land than sea are grievously out in their reckoning.—W.

Until after the outbreak of the present war with Germany this comment held good, although the Germans' intention and preparations to attack Europe were known privately to certain politicians in Great Britain and notably to Lord Haldane.—ED. SUFFRAGETTE.

have in manner generally given over that kind of artillery, and for long bows indeed do practise to shoot compass for our pastime; which kind of shooting can never yield any smart stroke, nor beat down our enemies, as our countrymen were wont to do at every time of need. Certes the Frenchmen and Rutters, deriding our new archery in respect of their corslets, will not let in open skirmish, if any leisure serve; to turn up their tails and cry: "Shoot, English!" and all because our strong shooting is decayed and laid in bed. But, if some of our Englishmen now lived that served King Edward the Third in his wars with France, the breach of such a varlet should have been nailed to his bum with one arrow and another feathered in his bowels before he should have turned about to see who shot the first.

But as our shooting is thus in manner utterly decayed among us one way, so our countrymen wax skilful in sundry other points, as in shooting in small pieces, the caliver, the handling of the pike, in the several uses whereof they are become very expert.

Our armour differeth not from that of other nations and therefore consisteth of corslets, almaine rivets, shirts of mail, jacks quilted and covered over with leather, fustian or canvas, over thick plates of iron that are sewed in the same and of which there is no town or village that hath not her convenient furniture.

The said armour and munition likewise is kept in one several place of every town, appointed by the consent of the whole parish, where it is always ready to be had and worn within an hour's warning.

Sometimes also it is occupied when it pleaseth the magistrate either to view the able men and take note of the well-keeping of the same, or finally to see those that are enrolled to exercise each one his several weapon, at the charge of the townsmen of each parish, according to his appointment.

Certes there is almost no village so poor in England (be it never so small) that hath not sufficient furniture in a readiness to set forth three or four soldiers, as one archer, one gunner, one pike and a billman at the least. No, there is not so much wanting as their very liveries and caps, which are least to be accounted of, if any haste required; so that if this good order may continue, it shall be impossible for the sudden enemy to find us unprovided.

As for able men for service, thanked be God! we are not without good store; for, by the musters taken 1574 and 1575, our number amounted to 1,172,674 and yet were they not so narrowly taken but that a third part of this like multitude was left un-billed and uncalled.

What store of munition and armour the

queen's majesty had in her storehouses it lieth not in me to yield account, sith I suppose the same to be infinite.

And whereas it was commonly said after the loss of Calais that England should never recover the store of ordinance there left and lost, that same is at this time proved false, sith even some of the same persons do now confess that this land was never better furnished with these things in any king's days that reigned since the Conquest.

I might here take just occasion to speak of the prince's armouries. But what shall it need? Sith the whole realm is her armoury and therefore her furniture infinite.

But to proceed. As for the armouries of some of the nobility (whereof I also have seen a part), they are so well furnished that within some one Baron's custody I have seen three score or a hundred corslets at once, besides calivers, hand-guns, bows, sheaves of arrows, pikes, bills, poleaxes, flasks, touchboxes, targets, etc., the very sight whereof appalled my courage.

What would the wearing of some of them do then (trow you) if I should be enforced to use one of them in the field? but thanked be God! our peaceable days are such as no man hath any great cause to occupy them at all, but only taketh good leisure to have them in a readiness.

THE NEW ARMY

"The Land we from our fathers had in trust"

The Land we from our fathers had in trust,
And to our children will transmit, or die;
This is our maxim, this our piety;
And God and Nature say that it is just.
That which we would perform in arms, we must!

We read the dictate in the infant's eye,
In the wife's smile, and in the placid sky;
And, at our feet, amid the silent dust
Of them that were before us. Sing aloud
Old songs, the precious music of the heart!
Give, herds and flocks, your voices to the wind!

While we go forth, a self-devoted crowd,
With weapons grasped in fearless hands,
to assert

Our virtue, and to vindicate mankind.

—Wordsworth.

A CORRECTION

On pages 266 and 267 of our last issue "the Declaration of Paris 1856" was made to read, owing to an error, "the Declaration of London 1856."

AN APPEAL AND A PROPHECY

"Let France Resume Her Ancient Maritime Rights!"
"The Aggrandisement of Prussia will certainly have terrible consequences for humanity"

FORTY-FIVE years ago, when during the war of 1870-1 Prussia, at the head of the Germans, was ravaging France, whom she had goaded and entrapped into war, the following Memorial was adopted by a conference of political organisations known as the Committees on Foreign Affairs of Cheshire, Lancashire and Yorkshire. The Memorial, drawn up and signed on September 4, 1870, was addressed to Napoleon III. The fall of Napoleon intervening, it was transmitted to M. Jules Favre, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Vice-President of the Government of National Defence of France.

The Memorial drew attention to the great advantage given to Germany and the vast disadvantage imposed on France by the Declaration of Paris, 1856, which prevented France making war on German commerce while herself suffering the horrors of invasion on land.

To His Majesty, the Emperor of the French.

Your Majesty,

It is with a profound grief that we see a foreign enemy ravaging the soil of France and marching upon Paris in order to subject it to all the horrors of a siege.

Our grief is all the greater that this invasion has the appearance of having been slightly provoked by France in the official document declaring her intention to make war.

Now as that document spoke neither of an offence to be avenged, nor of reparation to be obtained, the public has believed that in making the affair of Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern a cause of complaint and later of war, the French Government only sought a pretext for hiding ambitious projects.

We should be incapable of desiring the success of a conflict which has not been entered into for a just cause and is not preceded by the necessary forms, but at the same time we are obliged to recognise that France in declaring war was purposely provoked to this and adroitly led into it by Prussia. We know that the nomination of a Prince of Prussia to the throne of Spain was regarded by all the French not only as an insult, but also as an act preliminary to the invasion of France by Prussia; an invasion which, as present events show, had been prepared long before.

After the taking of Schleswig-Holstein by a trick; after having broken by violence the Germanic Confederation of which she made a part; after her aggression against Austria simply because Austria wished that Schleswig-Holstein should be restored

to herself; after having annexed Hanover, with which she had not the shadow of a quarrel; after her obstinate refusal to execute the Treaty of Prague, it was evident that one could no longer believe in the honesty of Prussia nor in her pledged word, not even when it was given to Germans, much less to others.

We know also that Your Majesty had proposed to the King of Prussia a mutual disarmament and that Count Bismarck refused to give his consent to this.

In view of these facts, we regret all the more that France, instead of awaiting an invasion—which would have had no pretext if she had not furnished one herself and if it had come about thus, would have had the result of isolating Prussia—fell into the Prussian trap and united against her the whole population of Germany.

For in this war Germany has already disappeared and there remains only Prussia; a State which from its very origin has lived only by continual encroachments. Even the territory situated between France and the Rhine that has so long been called Prussian, was taken by Prussia from princes and peoples who constituted what was formerly Germany.

The aggrandisement of Prussia will certainly have terrible consequences for humanity. Whereas it is permitted to hope that such dangers would not exist in the case of success on the part of France.

In consequence we ask Your Majesty's permission to point out that Your Majesty is neglecting to employ against the enemy of France a very great means of action by not capturing enemy property at sea.

Thousands of the French are massacred by an enemy who devastates France and proposes to make a desert of the neighbourhood of the capital. Yet this enemy is allowed quietly to continue its commerce under a neutral flag!

It is said that the advantages of maritime force are renounced in order to assimilate war upon the sea to war upon land, where the individual property of each is respected. What! does Prussia, then, respect individual property in France?

The reason that is evoked for sparing the maritime commerce of Prussia comes from the Declaration of Paris, which forbids the seizure of enemy merchandise under a neutral flag. Is it forgotten that France as well as England until the war of the Crimea in 1854 constantly practised this confiscation?

But first of all in what does the Declaration of Paris consist? England is not forced to observe it. For even supposing that a State could change the rights of nations, the Conference of Paris had no power to make laws relative to the English.

That could only be done by the Queen and Parliament. The Queen of England

never gave to Lord Clarendon any authorisation to sign the Declaration of Paris. It has never been ratified. None of the officials of Her Majesty have dared ask an Act of Parliament for sanctioning this change in the laws of England.

But Lord Clarendon and M. Drouyn de Lhuys—that Minister so ardent for the adoption at the beginning of the Crimean war of the principles enunciated in the Declaration of Paris—have both sanctioned the violation of these same principles. For this Declaration says: Privateering is and remains abolished. And M. Drouyn de Lhuys and Lord Clarendon permitted Italy the usage of privateers in its war against Spain, Italy had adhered to the Declaration of Paris.

If France was at war with England, with England alone, the prohibition to seize merchandise of the enemy under a neutral flag would certainly be as useful to France as it is at present to Prussia. For her commerce being thus under the shelter of a neutral flag, all her navy and merchant marine could be used for the invasion of England, which, not being a military Power of the first class, would see itself perhaps overwhelmed by numbers. But if France was at war with England it would not follow that England would consent, as France consents at this moment, not to employ maritime measures on the ground that she must respect a fraudulent act to which she never gave her adhesion.

Lord Russell on March 19, 1857, speaking of the Declaration of Paris, said: "I hope that no Minister will sign a treaty containing such stipulations." This shows that he did not consider the Declaration of Paris as a treaty.

Mr. Disraeli on March 17, 1862, said in the House of Commons: "I will advise the Ministers of Her Majesty to see at their forthcoming meetings by what means—to employ the language of the Secretary of State, Lord Russell—the Declaration of the Treaty of Paris can be changed."

On July 25, 1866, in reply to a letter from the Committee of Foreign Affairs in Manchester demanding by what means England could re-establish her maritime power, Mr. Disraeli said: "I am occupying myself with the question of which you speak."

"Since the Declaration of Paris," said Count Bismarck, "nobody bothers about England."

The defeat of Austria at Sadowa and the annexation of Hanover quite recently, the wars on the Continent since 1856 are due to the Declaration of Paris, which although it has not excluded England from the diplomatic sphere deprives her of legitimate influence. . . .

If France resumes her ancient maritime rights, there would result from this war a great benefit to the world and a serious check for ambition.

On the other hand, to continue to observe the Declaration of Paris is to deliver up the French to massacre at the present time and probably even to dismemberment in the future.

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