Pritania official Oran of the Women's Social

With which is incorporated "THE SUFFRAGETTE"

Official Organ of the Women's Social and Political Union

Edited by CHRISTABEL PANKHURST

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FRIDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1915

Price 1d. Weekly (Post Free)



Still more majestic shalt thou rise,
More dreadful from each foreign stroke;
As the loud blast that tears the skies
Serves but to root thy native oak.

Thee haughty tyrants ne'er shall tame;
All their attempts to haul thee down
Will but arouse thy generous flame,
And work their woe, but thy renown.

From "Rule Britannia," by James Thomson.

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We draw our readers' special attention to the JUMBLE SALE (a notice of which appeared in our issue of October 1st) in aid of the W.S.P.U. War Service Fund. The organisers hope by this sale to raise an even larger sum than was realised by the last sale when over £70 was taken, and appeal to members and friends of the Union to give as generously as they can.

Contributions of men's, women's and children's clothing, blouses, boots and shoes will be most welcome, as will household goods of all descriptions. Parcels should be sent between OCTOBER 26th and NOVEM-BER 22nd, to MISS WYLIE at 113 WORMINGTON ROAD, NORTH KENSINGTON.

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Kritannia

Остовек 15, 1915

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Review of the Week.

The Country in Danger.

LOUDS are black and heavy over the Balkans. Since the days of the Armada, our country has not known an hour so dark as this. But give us now such Britons as in the days of the Armada piloted the ship of State, and we'll win through!

Serbia! Serbia!

The sublime courage of our Serbian How are we to do justice to it in words! But above all let us be worthy of it in deeds. It is not France, already making efforts and sacrifices so greatit is Great Britain who is mainly responsible for sending men and munitions to help Serbia who is fighting against fearful odds for us as well as herself.

Pro-Germans and Bulgaria.

Birds of a feather after all invariably flock together and on that principle alone Bulgarian co-operation with the Germanic Alliance might have been forefold—that King Ferdinand should associate himself with the Kaiser was, one might say, in the inevitable course of nature. Another significant thing has been the devotion of the Pro-Germans in this country to Bul-They have shown a remarkable sympathy with Bulgaria's special com-plaint, ignoring the fact that this arose out of Bulgaria's own treacherous action and ignoring also the disappointments which in the days before the present war of our own Government anxious for peace. ment to be content to create a new aristo-

Bulgaria has been due to their instinctive feeling, if not to their actual knowledge that Bulgaria had become a German tool. On the other hand their indifference to the national life and liberty of Serbia is undoubtedly due to the fact that that country is not amenable to German influence, but on the contrary, is determined at every cost to uphold its national independence even though that constitutes an obstacle to the Pan-Germanist ambition.

Trade Union Policy-A Mistake to be Avoided.

There is talk of action to be taken when the war is over with a view to maintaining or raising wages of trade unionists. Now the men trade unionists of the country form a very powerful section of the electors. The working man voter has by this time surely attained his political majority, having in some parts of the country been enfranchised for nearly fifty years and in other parts of the country for over thirty years. The trade unionists' voting power carries with it a great respon-Now, what is the criticism which the Trade Union electors level against the electors of the employing classes? It is that they vote and act in their own interests without regard to and sometimes in antagonism to the interests of the less prosperous members of the community. But this fault is the very one which the men trade unionists must be careful not to commit themselves. Thus it is by no means a solution of social problems simply to increase the prosperity of certain favoured classes of working men, who because of special skill or because of the social importance of their particular occupation are able o make themselves the aristocracy of labour. If trade unionists expect employers and the rest to be guided by the interests of others, then they themselves must act on the same principle.

Wanted, a National not a Sectional Policy.

We hope that in the days to come the great Trade Unions will adopt, not a sectional policy, but a national policy and will remember that their first duty is not to themselves but to the poorest and least protected members of the community. These include so far as men are concerned, unskilled labourers and workers engaged in the smaller industries, whose industrial position is not so strategically strong as that of the miners or the engineers. The least protected members of the community are especially women workers whose first need as the enfranchised miner or engineer knows by experience, is the vote, and also suitable legislative safeguards to take the place of the safeguards which Trade Union organisation is able to afford to those employed in certain favoured trades. If it is really the policy of labour to replace privilege by justice, then the trade unionists must fight for the interests of the whole community, putting the interests of the poorest before their own. The trade unionist, no less than the employer, the were inflicted upon Serbia at the dictation banker or the landlord, ought to be a of the Austro-Germans and with the assent citizen first. For the Trade Union move-The tears shed by our Pro-Germans in cracy means that the pressure upon those their sympathy for Bulgaria, have been all at the bottom of the social scale becomes the more strongly indicative of the understanding between Germany and Bulgaria, men trade unionists and especially those considering the indifference which these who are the most politically and industrisame Pro-Germans have shown regarding the fate of Serbia! In fact, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that their love for a truly national and communal spirit.

Pacificism—German Style!

The German women who attended the ace meeting at the Hague last spring adopted a manifesto in the course of which they stated that "the occupation of Belgium by the Germans was a justifiable act, as preventing Germany itself from becoming the scene of the most terrible of wars." And these are the women with whom certain pacifists from other lands were prepared to meet and discuss the principles of peace and the application of those principles to the world situation!

The Mobilisation of Wealth-A Necessity of Victory.

In a recent issue we gave a translation of passages from the article by M. Jean Finot, in which he advocated the mobilisation by the State of foreign securities held by private investors in the countries of the Allies, such mobilisation being necessary in the interest of the Allies' credit. member of the British House of Commons. Mr. Worthington Evans, advocates the same policy. With a view to solving the problem created by our great and growing ndebtedness to the United States, he urges that this is the time to mobilise our credit,

We are not in distress, our credit is good and if steps are taken now they will be regarded as a precaution merely, but if we are to wait until we are driven into a corner, then any step of that sort would be treated as a signal of distress and instead of doing good would actually do us harm in foreign estimation.

Mr. Worthington Evans estimates that the people of this country own probably some four thousand million pounds' worth of foreign securities. He says :-

foreign securities. He says:—

They are not all marketable of course, but there is little doubt that at least £1,000,000,000 would be useful if properly utilised. I take it as a low figure: a figure probably much lower than the real truth.

I suggest that the State should acquire such of these foreign securities now privately owned, as it thinks useful for the purposes of the State. These foreign securities are too valuable an asset to be left in private hands and to the chance of individual action.

If the Government possesses these securities, it

individual action.

If the Government possesses these securities, it can take advantage, in any drop of exchange, to sell them, not only to get new credit but also to check and steady the course of exchange.

And if more loans are required the possession of securities will be of the greatest assistance to

Of course this proposal means applying com-pulsion in a form to the capitalists and necessity is the only justification for compulsion. If necessity demands compulsion for the defence of

necessity demands compulsion for the defence of the Empire, I suppose it would be applied to men; and if necessity demanded it, it should also be applied to capital.

What would have to be done would be for the Government to issue a war bond or war bonds in exchange for the mobilised securities and in that way it would become possessed of at least £1,000,000 of foreign securities, which in its hands would be capable of supporting its credit at any time when the necessity for the payment of future foreign surchases becomes urgent or for of future foreign purchases becomes urgent or for the purpose of further foreign loans in order to pay for them.

A Neutral's Testimony.

In a letter to Mrs. Edith Woodman Burroughs, an American sculptor, a ulptor of Flushing, Long Island, Mr. Roger Fry, also an American, writes from La Source on the Marne as follows:—

Source on the Marne as follows:—
Imagine the country here an absolute heap of ruins but much more crowded than Pompeii. The whole countryside is a scene of desolation. Please don't let good pacifists talk about the lamentable horrors of war! The destruction here has been highly organised, deliberate and as far as I can see entirely wanton, serving no kind of military purpose. The Germans become entirely inexplicable to me except as a case of collective madness. I have never seen anything like this. It beats all one could imagine. like this. It beats all one could imagine.

Остовек 15, 1915

Scotland Yard's Opinion.

Scotland Yard opposes the granting of licences to women as tram conductors, but there are many women tram conductors in Berlin, men being thus set free to fight us and our Allies on the battlefield or in the munition factory. The women tram conductors are an everyday sight in Paris, nd we can testify that they perform their duties with admirable efficie

The action of Scotland Yard implies that the British public are responsible for the fact that the plan that works in Paris will not work in London—a most unjust accusation. And we might ask what special qualification is possessed by Scotland Yard to pronounce upon the capacity of women for this or any other work. A women's organisation can surely advise better. Further, we would say that Scotland Yard by advising against the employment of women as tram conductors hinders recruiting for the Army.

Why not call in the Dentist.

Among the criticisms offered in the House of Commons is the following:

ouse of Commons is the following:

I was in a little village in Gloucestershire last Sunday, and I saw there on a notice-board an appeal for yeomen, and at the foot of the appeal in large letters were the words, "Bad Teeth No Bar." Anyone who knows anything about soldiering, knows what a bar bad teeth are. In South Africa 13,000 men had to be sent back as useless because of bad teeth. I would ask what it means in waste of money, in waste of transport in sending these men to the Front and bringing them back. The heart-breaking work of officers training men for weeks; the heart-breaking work of officers at the Front who find men dribbling away from sickness. Is that an economical way of spending the vast sums we are called upon to spend?

The implication is that men willing to

The implication is that men willing to serve and die for their country ought to be rejected because of the possession of bad teeth. But surely the wisest and indeed the most economical procedure is to mobilise the dentists of the country, obtaining from some whole-time service and from others part-time service, so that every recruit with bad teeth shall be given, not an order of rejection, but a pass entitling him, wherein want of means necessitates this, to free dental attention. Every re-cruiting station should be allied to an Army dental station.

Women Workers-Their Endurance and Patriotism.

A most impressive answer to the argument that women are not equal to the strain of skilled industrial work is provided by two Government Inspectors. Miss Anderson, Principal Lady Factory In-spector, says, alluding to the largely increased number of women now employed, that the Inspectors had been impressed by the power of fatigue resistance which the women displayed. She thought this emphasised the importance of the psychological element because it seemed clear that the women were inspired and sustained by an impulse to help the nation. Dr. C. M. Legge, Medical Inspector of Factories, says that he has been making investigations into the effects of the extra hours in some Lancashire factories and he wishes to pay a copies. had expressed it to him, a desire to "stick will like the title." (Applause.)

it" for the sake of the soldiers at the

Women throughout the country will be proud of these tributes to the patriotism of their sex.

Campaign in South Wales.

The campaign which is being con-South Wales is proving most successful. Meetings attended by crowded and enthusiastic audiences have been held at Cardiff, Pontypool and Tonypandy, the crowds being so great that overflow meetings had to be arranged in each place. A local Munitions Register has been opened at Pontypool to enable women living in the district to register their names and many have walked five and even ten miles in

At all meetings an appeal is made to strengthen the Home Defence Forces and it is pointed out that miners who cannot join the Army because their work is necessary at home, can train for Home Defence. The training of men over military age and of boys and girls in their teens is also urged.

Large and enthusiastic meetings have also been held at Tredegar, Merthyr and many other towns and others in important centres have been arranged.

HAIL! BRITANNIA

"She holds up the Lamp of Truth" ME. CLARA BUTT in her speech at the recent W.S.P.U. meeting

The important announcement has already been made that like a bride changing her name, THE SUFFRAGETTE has become Britannia. It has often struck me how funny it is and strange in this country where man's rule and word are law, that England is always represented by a woman —the lovely Britannia. You can't get over that, can you? But there is still the man in the moon. It is only here in England that you see the man in the moon. Have you ever noticed it abroad? In my travels I have pointed it out to my husband, who was very incredulous. In Australia you have the kangaroo; in India it is the hills you see; in Germany—well I think it is the Kaiser or something like it; in America it is a woman's head I see. England is the only place where this complacent man's face appears. What are we to do about this? We must put a woman there too. It is just as bad I think to have only the woman reflected.

Now I want to wish Britannia a long life and a big circulation. I am going to send it to lots of people who have hitherto objected to the title. Although she has changed her name her heart and soul and individuality are the same. We want her message to be read all over the world, because I really think that she holds up the lamp of truth and that is what we need

nowadays.
"Now I hope you will all order a lot of I think it only costs 4s. a year tribute to the wonderful spirit shown by and 6s. 6d. to send it to any part of the the workers, especially the women. The world and so there is a nice little present feeling which animated them was, as they for your friends and I am quite sure they

AN AMERICAN COMMENT German influence in the Balkans

HE New York Herald in a leading article says:

It used to be a diplomatic dogma ducted by Mrs. Pankhurst, General that each nation, as it emerged from the Drummond and Mrs. Dacre Fox in weltering chaos of humanity in the East and acquired an individual status, must be presented with a ruler selected not from the strong men in the nation itself, but from the crowd of hungry princelings who congregate on the steps of the European thrones. Such a choice, we were solemnly assured, was essential to protect the interests of the new-fledged nation by giving it an impartial head, thus preserving it from internal dissensions due to the ambitions of warring clans.

> The theory is plausible. How does it work out? Judging from the present crisis in the Balkans, it has gone bankrupt. Everywhere, except in two cases, we see the king in one camp and the people and people's interests in the opposite camp. The sole rulers in the Balkans who are at one with their subjects, who have clearly discerned where lie the interests of their people and have staunchly defended them, are the sole native rulers. King Peter of Servia and King Nicholas of Montenegro, without hesitation and without faltering, have followed in this European conflict the path of honour, which, for nations as for individuals, is the sole path of safety.

> On the other side, how does the balance stand? In Roumania a Hohenzollern has resisted, is resisting, the action necessary to win the fulfilment of every Roumanian's dearest aspiration—the liberation of the Roumanians who are still bond-slaves to Austria. In Bulgaria a Coburg has gone further. He has decided to stab in the back his old ally, Servia, the ally whose bravery alone enabled him to take Adrianople from the Turks-the Coburg's new Allies-and he has betrayed Russia, to whose sacrifices, in blood and treasure, Bulgaria, as an independent State, owes its very existence and to whom Ferdinand owes his crown. And here, again, the ruler's policy is not the people's ideal.

> And in Greece? There a Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg, mated to a Hohenzollern, sister of the German Emperor, has just provoked the resignation of Venizelos, to whose statesmanship alone Constantine owes the victories of 1912, which effaced his humiliations of 1897. In bringing about the downfall of Venizelos, who freed Crete, who won back to Hellenism Salonica, Kavala, a part of Macedonia and who cherishes still loftier aims for his country, the King is running counter to the Greek Parliament, which, by a big majority, endorses the policy of Venizelos and to the Greek nation, which is entirely on the side of Venizelos. How could it be otherwise, seeing that the cause Venizelos defends is the cause of Hellenism -that is, of civilisation?

TO SAVE THE COUNTRY

URGENTLY NEEDED

1. THE RESIGNATION OF SIR EDWARD GREY, whose war methods and sea policy for the future have proved to be a danger to the nation and to the Cause of the Allies.

THE RESIGNATION ALSO OF LORD ROBERT CECIL, who is identified with the same dangerous policy.

The disappearance from the public service of SIR EYRE CROWE, the principal permanent servant at the Foreign Office, who is connected with Germany both by birth and marriage.

- 2. CLOSER CO-OPERATION BETWEEN THE ALLIES and improved co-ordination of their policy, especially in the diplomatic sphere! (The Germans are rejoicing at the Allies' weakness in this respect, and see therein the chance of German victory.) This reform to be brought about by
- 3. THE ESTABLISHMENT DURING THE WAR OF A DIPLOMATIC CENTRE FOR THE WHOLE ALLIANCE which should be nearer to the storm centre of the war than London is; the advantages to be gained by such reform being

(a) That the persons responsible for the foreign policy of each of the Allied nations shall be able to make daily and hourly personal exchanges of opinion, be so closely in touch that the Allies may speak and act as one, and

(b) That the consideration of diplomatic affairs vital to Great Britain and the whole Alliance will be conducted, not in the atmosphere of London, which, owing to the efforts of the British Navy, is artificially peaceful, while War is raging but in an atmosphere of reality.

4. This also is urgently necessary: that decisions concerning Naval no less than Military and Diplomatic policy shall be made and announced by the Allies jointly, instead of being made and announced by Great Britain alone!

As a result both Great Britain and her Allies will gain!

Great Britain will gain by being relieved of the sole burden and the unshared odium of the inconvenience to which neutrals are inevitably exposed in the course of the Allies' War upon German Commerce.

The Allies will gain by no longer having their naval and military and national interests dealt with by one Ally alone, as to a large extent they have been under the dangerously weak naval policy which has been pursued under the regime of Sir Edward Grey and his assistants.

The country is in danger, our Allies are in danger, the liberty of Europe is at stake. Therefore individuals must give way before the interests of nations. The policy of Sir Edward Grey, assisted by Lord Robert Cecil and influenced by Sir Eyre Crowe, has been found wanting.

As a people we owe it to ourselves, and to those who will come after us, to have the moral courage to decree that this policy and its three authors shall give place to others. We shall and must come through our present perils but the weakness of policy and

act that has caused these perils would cause new and greater ones in future, were the men who are responsible to retain their present office.

Men are sacrificing life, women are giving husband and children in this war, officeholders must at least be ready to vacate their positions. Above all the nation must be brave enough to call upon them to do it!

On page 12 will be found an interesting account of the Australian system of Military Training.

PRICE ONE PENNY WEEKLY.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1915.

The Nation in Danger!

HE candid Bernhardi, the Kaiser's chief scribe, whose book published before the war gave so accurate a warning to the world of the war that was has now given us a new warning which it is life and death to us to heed.

Writing of "The Mistakes of the llies," he makes it clear that in his opinion Germany's cause would be lost if the various Allied Nations knew how to co-ordinate their efforts. He points out that if Great Britain had prepared for the War instead of trusting to the military efforts that other countries would make; if Italy had entered the War at the beginning; if Russia had been fully equipped and furnished with munitions, then much would have been changed. "Belgium," "was conquered before the French and the English were able to come to her

The Bernhardi criticism is summed up in these words: "THE POWERS OF THE QUADRUPLE ENTENTE HAVE COM-MITTED THE STRATEGIC FAULT OF NOT CO-ORDINATING THEIR AC-

Bernhardi is right in this!

The Allies have everything on their side. They have first and foremost a just cause. They have numbers. They have wealth. They have resources of all kinds. They have by far the greater store of ability and enthusiasm at their service. Then why cannot better results be shown at the

Bernhardi has given us the reason: want of co-ordination in policy and action!

To this reason we would add at least two others. These are, firstly, non-realisation in Great Britain of the meaning of the war, especially non-realisation at our Foreign Office! The second reason is German influence in our midst, weakening us financially and especially weakening us diplomatically! German influence in its most dangerous form consists in the presence of men of German origin as officials in Government offices and even in the Foreign Office itself.

The lack of due co-ordination is being repaired in a partial way. There is at long last some concerted action with regard to obtaining supplies. Concerted action is being arranged in the matter of munition making, at least as between France and Britain. The lay observer hopes that military co-operation and co-ordination will become more and more perfect.

But first and foremost and above all comes the need of diplomatic co-ordination. There our weakness is greatest! There is the real danger of a defeat of the Allies! Under present conditions the Allies by means of German intrigue might even be played off one against another. Their

Two things are needed. First the resignations from the Foreign Office demanded on the previous page! Secondly the establishment of an Allied diplomatic centre in which the responsible chief of the British department for Foreign Affairs can be in hourly consultation with the re-presentatives of the other members of the

In support of the demand for resignations we may point out that responsible opinion is united in condemning the Foreign Office policy during the war, and that, what is more important still, events have condemned it.

On land and on sea this policy has had deplorable results. The Declaration of London (which every passing day of war has shown more and more clearly to have been a measure framed in the interests of Germany and in contemplation of this German-made war) was, on the outbreak of war, actually put into operation by our Foreign Office to the deadly peril of the Allies' cause. It was only in response to vigorous protest and in face of disastrous practical results that the Foreign Office in me measure departed from that policy. Incredible as such a thing may seem, the Foreign Office was actually desirous of allowing German soldiers to travel to Germany from the United States in order to take part in the slaying of the Allied Armies. What is our Navy for, if it is not to prevent such a thing as that!

The supplies of cotton and other war-like material which our Foreign Office has allowed Germany to procure during the war have not only prolonged the war and sacrificed thousands of lives, but have actually put the victory of the Allies in ieopardy

Enormous concessions in the matter of overseas trade have been made to Germany and German-American traders in defiance of the advice given by real Americans in the United States, who know that the cause of the Allies is really the cause of their

At the very moment when we were arranging for an American loan on decidedly onerous terms the Foreign Office made to the advantage of German com-merce, concessions which in terms of money measure about £35,000,000, these concessions having produced a favourable effect on German credit!

Two tragic errors, among others committed by the present occupants of the Foreign Office, are the misreading, to use a mild expression, of the Turkish situation and the misreading of the Bulgarian situation. In both cases the British Foreign Office has played right into the hands of What excuse has our Foreign Germany. Office to make for the circumstances described by Sir Edwin Pears in his recently published book, "Forty Years in Constantinople "? These circumstances include the appointment in June 1913, as British Ambassador at Constantinople, of a man who did not know a word of Turkish and inexperienced in Turkish affairs, having under him three secretaries who did not know Turkish either, and were also inex-perienced in Turkish affairs. Added to all this, the first dragoman at the Embassy, Mr. Fitzmaurice, who did know the language and the conditions of the country was not restored to his position after a holiday because, as it appears, the Turkish Ambascounsels can by German intrigue be sador in London made a request to that befogged and divided. Necessary action effect. It is beyond all possible doubt that

can be delayed or diminished in its inten- any such request was made at German prompting, and was due to the fact that chereas the inexperience and lack of the Turkish language on the part of the remaining personnel of the British Embassy, suited the German game, the vigilant, experienced and Turkish-speaking Fitzmaurice was fully qualified to act as a watchdog of British interests!

Diplomatic re-arrangements seem to have been made in the Balkans during the crucial period which were similarly dangerous to British interests.

Then there is the case of the Darda As one commentator has said "The Turkish version of the purchase by the Ottoman Empire of the Goeben and the Breslau, was accepted by the British Foreign Office with the result that some days after their entrance into the Dardanelles these vessels were bombarding the Russian coasts of the Black Sea!

This fault and others have been dearly paid for by added sacrifice of life.

The Bulgarian blunder has been some thing of the same order—and yet the enthusiasm of the Pro-Germans in our midst for Bulgaria's cause was in itself surely significant enough of the true state

Sir Edward Grey has committed himself -he has not committed and shall not commit the nation—to some sort of acceptance of the monstrous doctrine that while Germany makes war on land against the life and commerce of her neighbours, she shall be free to conduct her commerce as usual

By his past offer to renounce the doctrine of contraband and by his present acceptance of the German idea of the Freedom of the Seas in war-time, Sir Edward Grey has shown himself to be lacking in that understanding of the question of sea power which is a prime and indispensable qualification of a British Minister for Foreign

Sir Edward Grey's health as all regret to know is not good, and his nerve it would seem is shaken by the shock of the War and its incidents. Then there is employment as his *principal* permanent servant of Sir Eyre Crowe who is more than half German if we consider that he is the son of a German mother and is married to a German. All that in addition to his incomprehension of what is the very essence of the life of the nation, namely

It all means that Sir Edward Grey is not equal to the Atlas task which is incumbent at this supreme crisis in human history upon the diplomatic chiefs of the Allied

Against Sir Eyre Crowe's employment at the Foreign Office we have over and again pleaded and protested knowing this to be a question vital to the safety of the nation and to the victory of the Allies.

As regards Lord Robert Cecil, it has to be said that the hereditary principle as applied to Ministerial appointments is rarely successful and is not proved to be successful in this case.

And further, the more complete the break with the diplomatic traditions and associations of a buried past the better.

Lord Robert Cecil has identified himself with the policy whose results the country mourns to-day, including the retention of Sir Eyre Crowe as principal permanent official at the Foreign Office and the naval policy so injurious to British and Allied interests. These are the reasons why we ask for his resignation. Persons or prin-(Continued on page 7.)

THE NATION IN DANGER

Остовек 15, 1915

(Continued from page 6.) ciples-the individual or the nation! Can

the choice be doubtful? Take for example the Allies' naval olicy! A note from the United States dealing with the question of our blockade is on its way. That Note must be answered, not only by Great Britain but by the Great Alliance. The traders and the Government of the United States must realise that they have to deal not only with Great Britain, but with the country of Lafayette, in a word with the whole great company of nations that is defending

the interests, the freedom and the ideals of

the United States no less than of Europe. Fourteen months too long has Great Britain worn the appearance of being alone responsible for the inconvenience to neutrals involved in the naval warfare of Germany. And it is more than time that our Allies openly assumed their share of this responsibility. It is more than time also that concessions ceased to be made solely by and in the name of Great Britain which are nevertheless of vital concern solely to the Alliance as a whole.

Our Allies have no right to ask us to accept the entire odium of the inconveni-ence to neutrals caused by British naval action taken on behalf of the Alliance. And Great Britain has no right to commit the Allies to compromise with neutral interests at their as well as our expense and to the advantage of Germany!

Now as to the co-ordination of Allied Diplomacy and the establishment of a common diplomatic centre! Far from the fighting line in a country uninvaded—at least as yet!- the occupants of the British Foreign Office have been sheltering behind our Navy whose efforts towards victory they have nevertheless hampered and

thwarted at every turn.

We talk of Welsh miners in particular and trade unionists in general not having realised the war, but the people who seem have realised it least and whose nonrealisation has brought about the most terrible results are the occupants of our Foreign Office.

It has been found that a visit to the fighting line is a sovereign cure for non-realisation on the part of industrial workers. Those charged with managing our foreign affairs in war-time need something more than a mere visit to the Front: they need to live constantly in an atmosphere which enables them to gain and to maintain the realisation of the war.

London with its illusory atmosphere of

peace while war is raging, is not the right place for the Allies' diplomatic centre.

Let it be at Havre, let it be at Boulogne, let it be in Paris, but let it be anywhere nearer the Front than Whitehall! Let it be so near the place where men are suffering and dying for our country, that the roar of the cannon and the cries of the wounded will ring louder in the ears of the managers of our foreign policy than do the wails of neutral and especially hyphenated traders and the whispers of advisers and officials of German origin.

Let them be in some geographical situation, let them be so situated geographically that they are forced to understand with their very soul as well as their intelligence that nothing stands between them and the Allies and disaster but a wall made of the

PECULIARITIES OF GERMAN PATRIOTISM!

BISMARCK'S ADMISSIONS

TERMAN patriotism and German national unity were in BISMARCK'S opinion Tvery different from the patriotism and the unity of the people of other nations.

In his "Reflections and Reminiscences" he says:- "In order that German patriotism should be active and effective it needs as a rule to hang on the peg of dependence upon a dynasty; independent of dynasty it rarely comes to the rising point. Though in theory it daily does so, in Parliament, in the Press, in public meeting; in practice the German needs either attachment to a dynasty or the goad of anger hurrying him into action."

In even more definite language Bismarck says, "The German's love of Fatherland has need of a Prince on whom it can concentrate its attachment." In this the Germans differ from the people of other nations, as Bismarck clearly and emphatically declares in the following words:-

"The other nations of Europe have need of no such go between for their patriotism and national sentiment. Poles, Hungarians, Italians, Spaniards, Frenchmen would under any or without any dynasty preserve their homogeneous national unity. The Teutonic stocks of the North, the Swedes and the Danes, have shown themselves pretty free from dynastic sentiment; and in England, though external respect for the Crown is demanded of good society, and the formal maintenance of a monarchy is held expedient by all parties that have hitherto had any share in government, I do not anticipate the disruption of the nation, or that such sentiments as were common in the time of the Jacobites would attain to any practical form, if in the course of its historical development the British people should come to deem a change of dynasty or the transition to a republican form of government necessary or

Should the Hohenzollern dynasty cease to rule in Prussia, Bismarck questioned whether the political cohesion of Prussia would survive, and he asked: "Is it quite certain that the eastern and the western divisions, that the Pomeranians and Hanoverians, natives of Holstein and Silesia, or Aachen and Königsberg, would then continue as they now are, bound together in the indisruptible unity of the Prussian State?"

The explanation of the unsubstantial character of Prussian unity, not to speak of German Imperial unity, is surely explained by some of the following words written

"The particular nationalities, which among us have shaped themselves on the bases of dynastic family and possession, include in most cases heterogeneous elements whose cohesion rests neither on identity of stock nor on similarity of historical development, but exclusively on the fact of some (in most cases questionable) acquisition by the dynasty whether by the right of the strong, or hereditary succession by affinity or compact of inheritance, or by some reversionary grant obtained from the Imperial Court as the price of a vote."

Another interesting passage is this: -

"The preponderance of dynastic attachment and the use of a dynasty as the indispensable cement to hold together a definite portion of the nation calling itself by the name of the dynasty is a specific peculiarity of the German Empire."

A patriotism that depends upon common subjection to a ruler and an indifference to political liberty are in these days, as in the past, distinctly characteristic of the Germans and significant is the ensuing passage by Bismarck:-

Whatever may be the origin of this factitious union of Particularist elements, its result is that the individual German readily obeys the command of a dynasty to harry with Are and sword, and with his own hands to slaughter his German neighbours and kinsfolk as a result of quarrels unintelligible

Even more true is it that the individual Germans, united under the sceptre of the Hohenzollerns, are now readily obeying the command of this dynasty to harry with fire and sword, and with their own hands to slaughter their non-German neighbours, not however as the result of a quarrel unintelligible to them, but in pursuance of the pan-Germanist ambition to dominate the world which is only too well understood and too fully approved by them.

If the Germans must and will fight it would be better that they fought each other CHRISTABEL PANKHURST. than that they should, as now, fight the peoples of other nations.

MORE ABOUT THE NATURALISATION FARCE

BY LORD HEADLEY

positions of trust in this country. Some favour the land of their fathers.

Anyhow we cannot be at all certain that any of these gentlemen entertain those feelings of hostility towards the Teutons which we Britons should wish them to have at this particular time and it will not be denied that the German relationships all with the enemy.

called down severe rebukes from high Government officers. Why? Thus, when forcible comments on the former Lord Chancellor's openly expressed leanings towards Germany were rather freely ad- mine.' vanced, those responsible for the mere statement of facts were accused of "violent attacks" and "scurrilous abuse" and "cowardice" in hitting where no blow could be returned. It is not in any sense life, a member of the audience came up abusive to point out that Lord Haldane and said that in his opinion I had spoken has by his own utterances and actions too strongly on the subject adding, "We shown himself very partial to things German-from the Kaiser down to the spiritual home in which that Kaiser dwells.

There is nothing "vindictive" "scurrilous" in mentioning the fact that citizens it should be made impossible for Major Reichwald, of the British Army, is a son of Krupp's agent in London and that line "Mercy but murders, pardoning those the relationship might lead to a dangerous that kill" came in very well and I hope situation.

official of the Civil Service for merely draw- injustice to other people on whom he may ing attention to the German descent and German connections of that official.

I would go rather further and say that, now we are at war with Germany, it is the duty of every patriotic Briton to call the to be found in the miserably inadequate attention of the Government to any circumstance whatever which seems likely or could possibly lead to even the slightest disadvantage to our cause. We have a right, a most undoubted right, to point out that we wish all those in the Civil and Military Services weird scene, and a weakly benign Governwho are now fighting for us on land or on ment assures us that there are no aliens sea, under the water or in the air, to be the real enemies of our enemy.

I myself know people who are partly German-i.e. father or mother German-and they never express themselves as being entirely and uncompromisingly hostile to our foes and I should be very sorry indeed to astounding blindness or astounding lenitrust to their judgment in any question in- ency but the following-which has been volving arrangements, agreements, compromises or treaties between the two countries.

British friend of mine who had in his youth married a German lady who had died some Germans, unnaturalised ones too, who for years afterwards. When the present war incomprehensible reasons are exempt from

Several individuals with very connected with his internment. My friend These visits of the free Hun to the temtold me that he had said, "No, I won't porarily interned Hun take place mostly help you in any way. I know you are on Saturday and bottles of wine and of these have possibly given up all thoughts uncle to my late dear wife and that you whisky are brought into the Infirmary of Germany whilst others may secretly and I have been on friendly and affec- where alcoholic drinks are strictly fortionate terms because of the relationship; bidden! Also the so-called prisoners are but you are a German and I would not hold out a hand to save you even if you were slipping down over a 1,000 foot precipice." At this I remarked, "Well, that was rather out. severe was it not considering that the German was your own wife's uncle?" His which has been known and recognised as form possible channels of communication reply was emphatic. "No," he said, "it one of our very greatest dangers ever since was not at all too severe because that Ever since the war commenced the mere man, that uncle of my late wife, had fre- Chancellor's Budget appeared fully in the mention of facts such as the above has quently told me that he thought that his German Press on the morning of the very countrymen were quite right to sink the Lusitania and bombard the Hartlepools and drop bombs on London, and anyone know why Germany should be so favoured holding such views can be no friend of as to have an advance copy of our Budget

The other day after I had made a speech "somewhere on the East Coast" where bombs had been dropped rather freely and had resulted in considerable loss of should return good for evil." I replied that it was necessary to hold criminals in check and that if people murdered innocent women and children and unprotected them to repeat their crimes. Shakespeare's that the foolish man understood that there No one can fairly be accused of making a cowardly "attack" on a permanent Letting off the murdering Hun only means

An extension of the flabby justice or injustice which certain renegade Britons would mete out to the Kaiser's assassins is measures adopted with respect to alien enemies. Bombs dropping on our heads in the Metropolitan area-Huns openly gloating over our distress-driving about and laughing at us-and smiling over the whole about, that it must be our imagination. and that we are very, very, naughty children to dare to say that there are alien enemies in the streets when they say that they are all under lock and key! If I had more space I could give many instances of supplied by the Anti-German Union, is instructive. There are over 800 Germans Not very long ago I was talking to a true interned at the Cornwallis Road Infirmary, Islington. Many so-called naturalised broke out the uncle of this lady came and arrest, call nearly every day and visit their foolish or culpably negligent.

OST of us are aware that there are asked my friend's assistance in some matter friends the prisoners in the Infirmary. permitted to go out with their visitors and of course they can conspire or do anything they like in the hour or so they are allowed

With regard to the leaking out of news the war began, I am informed that the day on which he produced it to the House of Commons. If this is so one wants to and know all about its provisions before the British Public? What sort of spies or alien enemies could have arranged this? There may be an explanation but I think the question is a legitimate one.

As to naturalisation and non-naturalisation I am rather surprised at the silence which has followed the statement that there can be no such a being as a naturalised German for this is the practical effect of the naturalisation law. Once a German always a German and we now come to the point. How is it that our legal advisers, to whom we pay such comfortable honorariums or salaries, did not point out to us the facts concerning the naturalisation of Germans? We now perceive that such naturalisation is not worth the paper it is written upon but the astute German spy has known it all along. He took out his naturalisation to serve his own ends and gain a foothold and position which would enable him to do us most damage. It seems to me that we are driven to believe one of two things. (1) Our Law Officers were ignorant of the facts of the case; or (2) they allowed the farcical forms to be gone through in the hope that no harm would be done and that Germans would be flattered.

If the first surmise be correct then we should haul our legal advisers over the coals for making fools of us before the world; but, if the second view is the true one we should take very severe measures with them for betraving us into the amazing folly of creating a lot of sham Englishmen who with "Civis Britannicus sum' on their lips and hatred for England in their hearts, have for years past been taking advantage of the many facilities afforded by their so-called naturalisation to undermine us and betray us in every direction and on every possible occasion. ever way we look at it the position is exasperating, since we have to decide whether our advisers have been weakly

THE COMMON WEAL

A Speech delivered at the London Pavilion on Tuesday, October 5th, 1915

F ever there was a time when the people of a country should be united in purpose, in readiness to serve and to sacrifice for the common weal, it is now. It is the time now to strengthen weak places, to repair defects, to confer together, must put ourselves without delay upon a out. Our campaign in Wales is just likeend and how we may bring this terrible war to a successful close by the triumphant victory of the Allied armies. (Applause.) I had hoped this afternoon that we might been announced ere now. Although I have been at this work in season and out have to be sooner or later adopted.

sands of women who have offered their ser- we had the Director of Education for the until the war is over. vices to the Government as munition county; we had mine managers and miners'

war. (Applause.)

control and self-restraint than perhaps ended, and they imagined that someone people living there, the helpless little chilsome people give them credit for, but it is from the outside was going to come and say dren being killed. That is the effect it extremely trying to their patience.

men. Well, ladies and gentlemen, what did not go with that idea. I went with made if some of those miners had some of if women lost patience and began to riot - faith in them. I went knowing that one those pictures brought before them. It not for money, not in order to have easier could make them understand what the war is through organisation, through sympathy conditions, but because they were not means to them and their homes and their and understanding that we are going to allowed to work at the time of their family and their country-because they are win this war, and without those things we country's need! We hope it won't come very patriotic.

to that; and we do ask men in this country, We must find some way once and for victory which we all desire!

The Women's Social and Political Union

both masters and men to realise the situa- ever to bring together the people of this tion, to understand that in a time of country we love so much, we must learn to national crisis like this, all the old understand one another; to find some way prejudices must go and all the old rules and of co-operating with one another so that we regulations must go. In time of war the may do better when the war is over than rules of peace must be set aside and we unfortunately we did before the war broke to use the best of our intelligence in order war basis, let the women stand shoulder to if any of you have taken part in our electo find how we can best attain the common shoulder with the men to win the common tion campaigns—it is just like a thrilling election campaign without the opposition. And our splendid organisers are up till is doing war service in South Wales. We 2 o'clock in the morning printing their felt that the trouble there was largely due handbills, and then they are up again at to want of understanding of the war and 8 o'clock and they go to the pit head to get be able to take a quite definite stand upon its meaning. So we started a campaign permission to show their posters on the two important national points. I had which is now in full swing. Let me tell colliery gates so that the men may know hoped that the promised decision of the you of one of our meetings! It was held when the next meeting is. Two girls Government as to the Government's action at Tonypandy, a centre of particularly walked ten miles to chalk the flags with with regard to national service, might have active trade unionism. The manager of a announcements of meetings, and the result great theatre there-holding about five of their work is this; that we have had thousand people—placed it at our disposal meetings at 5 o'clock when everyone has of season for the last twelve months, I confess my own opinion to be that we shall not had that place packed with all sec-filled at that time of day, we have had the get the full result necessary from these tions of the community. It was after halls packed and hundreds turned away. voluntary efforts and that other means will the church services were over and Ladies and gentlemen, don't you feel you everybody was free to come. We had want to help in a work like that? We I had hoped, too, this afternoon, that I ministers of religion of all denominations; have told the people of Wales that we are might be able to give to the willing thou- we had schoolmasters and schoolmistresses; going to stay amongst them if necessary,

I want to see some of these Welsh miners makers, some definite information as to the agents and the miners and their wives and and their wives taken over as near the time and as to how those services were to their children; and out in the street were Front as possible so that they may see what be utilised, but unfortunately I am not yet at least as many people who were unable to it means to have war in your own country; in that position. I believe that the get in, they were so eager to hear what we, to see the ruined villages; to see some of Minister of Munitions is undoubtedly ex- had to say. The title of my speech was those women, particularly those whose lives ceedingly anxious to fulfil those promises "How to Win the War," and they were so have been wasted and ruined by the coming made to women when we waited upon him eager to hear what we had to say that they of the brutal German soldiers in their some weeks ago. How is it then that came in those numbers. There was some midst. They have never heard these we are not getting this work done? Well thing pathetic about it when you know the stories. They did not get Lord Bryce's it is our view that it is a duty to be abso- facts of the case. Nobody had been to those report. They don't know of these things lutely frank about these matters, because people; there had been no war campaign of until you go and tell them; and what would the fate of our country is at stake and so a real kind there. Here in London you be still more effective perhaps would be to I want to say that the reason that women see hoardings covered with posters about take a few people to see the things that are not getting skilled training to-day is the war. You have all kinds of lectures have happened in their own country; to let that it has been and I think is still to a and meetings about the war. You have them see even in London, the damage done certain extent, to a great extent, being war pictures in all the theatres. Down by the Zeppelin raids. When I saw a little opposed by the organised skilled workmen. there they have hardly heard anything house, a two-storey house, in which work-Yes, there is opposition there, opposition about the war, except from what the few ing-class people lived, in a working-class and prejudice of a kind almost intolerable men who come on leave from the Front road, that house a heap of dust, with in time of peace, but which is something have said about it. They said, "We suppeople buried underneath, the sight of that like treachery and traitorism in time of pose Mrs. Pankhurst is coming down to house made me speechless. It impressed me scold us." They felt something in their more than the damaged property I had Women are exercising far more self- hearts about the strike which had just been seen in other places. I thought of those to them some of the things that had been produced upon me, and being a woman I We hear of strikes and riots amongst said in the newspapers. Well, friends, I thought of the difference it would have are not going to win it.

War Service Meetings are held every Thursday afternoon at 3 p.m. at the London Pavilion, Piccadilly Circus. Admission Free; Reserved Seats, 2s., can be obtained from the Ticket Secretary, Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

THE SUPREME ISSUE

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

By Dr. GEORGE TRUMBULL LADD Of Yale University

(Second and final instalment.)

ONSIDER how the issue of this struggle in Europe and the Near East is surely going to affect the United States, both as respects its internal, economic, social and political conditions. and also as respects its economic, social, and political relations to foreign nations.

I hold that the most dangerous classes to our own democratic institutions, to the rule of the people, by the people, and for the people, in the authorised methods of constitutional and representative government, come from the two empires who are fighting as allies. This is said without the slightest wish to depreciate any reasonable estimate (and such "reasonable" estimate may be somewhat high without attaining the exalted proportions given to it by the most radical of the pro-German party in this country) of the personal qualities and economic and social value of the immi-grants from the German and the Austro-Hungarian Empires. But something more than a fair amount, or even more than a grade above the average, of these qualities, is required of the immigrant that he may pecome a desirable citizen or be completely tolerated as an alien. He must have sympathy with the principles on which our institutions are founded—sympathy not only in speech, but also and even more, action—if he is to become a citizen; and he must refrain from abuse, both in speech and in action, of our institutions, if he expects to be tolerated as an alien.

Those who either unwittingly or intelligently and deliberately take an active part in the propaganda of so-called pan-Germanism are virtually committed to that side of the "supreme issue." to which our institutions are opposed, because the propaganda itself is in principle false to the fundamental ideas and ideals of our

national life

There are few things antecedently more incredible than the propaganda to which reference has just been made. personnel it includes titles and characters ranging all the way from the highest of the diplomatic service down to those like the crazed wretch who, just recently, after an unsuccessful attempt at murder, made a successful venture in suicide. It includes methods varying all the way from diplomatic procedure to bomb-throwing, kinds of espionage, the securement of sites favourable to the emplacement of cannon, and even the secret construction of the emplacement itself.

It is at present active all over the world, from the educational and religious institutions in the United States to the colonists in South America, the missionaries in Africa and the South Sea Islands, and on to India and the Straits Settlements, and then to the administration of Yuan Shihkai in Pekin.

More than a half century ago the supreme issue as involved in the very structure of our national institutions was tested by the nation's ability to survive the crime of

Just at this juncture an empire which has had a rapid growth, under the leader-ship of a small and quondam barbarian autocracy, virtually proclaims itself suited and empowered by a sort of divine preroga-tive, enforced by multitudinous and mar-Magyar aristocracy and military classes vellously equipped armies and a mighty fleet of battleships and deadly submarines, in the name of its superior culture, to dominate the earth and actually to take possession of as much of it, for their muchneeded expansion, as they well can; and which actually has made itself the terror of all the smaller states, whether by seizure or by threatenings.

Its defenders are actually using new and more terrible methods, and are proposing to go further in the use of these methods, for the favouring of its propaganda. The dominance of empire is their aim; efficiency is their god.

Is there in all this no danger to our economic, social, and political system and even to the principles on which this system is founded? And toward which side ought our sympathies, and if need be our activities, be directed? To ask the question in this way is to answer it. But this is the supreme issue as we have it forcing itself upon us in the management of our internal

Even more clear is the answer to the same questions when we raise them with reference to our relations toward foreign nations and our interests in the world at large. If Germany conquers in this war there is not the slightest doubt, in spite of all protestations to the contrary, what will be its subsequent course in South America and, in due time subsequently, in the Far East. Promises to pay any attention to any form of the Monroe Doctrine which interferes with the pan-German conceptions of their right to expand by superior force, or with the appetite for trade and the material results of successful trade, or with the pan-Germanic doctrine of the duty of every man and woman with German blood in his veins to think and act chiefly in the interests of his superiority of race and of Kultur, will scarcely be more deterrent than were Germany's treaties guaranteeing the absolute neutrality of Belgium.

The integrity of China and the open door in the Far East will scarcely be any more sacredly guarded by a triumphant Germany than it was by a not-as-yet belligerent Germany when it appropriated Kiao-Chau. Holland and Denmark and Switzerland will be no safer when Belgium is permanently brought under German nination, and when the defenders of Belgium, France and Great Britain, are weakened, than was Belgium herself before

the war began. Turkey will not be any less inclined to massacre Christians and to misrule all its large and promising territories when it has been relieved of all responsibility to us and to the Allied nations by being made yet more cruel, shiftless and arrogant, as the more efficient tool of Austria and of Germany. The Balkan States will not be much freer or happier when Russia is so weakened that she can no longer raise an effective voice in behalf of her Slavic

The liberties of mankind and its choicest

to work their will upon the smaller nations. The past and future attempts of Hague Conventions to mitigate the horrors of war will not be more successful by having new horrors introduced by the soldiers of Germany and Austria. The cause of democracy will not be advanced by having Great Britain and France overpowered and thrown into the shade beneath the tall and widespreading tree of German military preparedness and efficiency.

Oh, no! The triumph of the Teutonic allies, or even a drawn battle between the two mighty forces ranged on the two sides of the supreme issue, would not bring peace to Europe, or peace to the United States, or peace and goodwill among the nations of the earth. For the temporary defeat, or half defeat, of the cause of inde pendent nationalism and of democratic representative government cannot avail for their being permanently defeated. The cause of an autocracy, supported by an armed force under the control of a divinely appointed war lord, cannot be ultimately in the ascendency. There will be war in heaven and war on the earth until this supreme issue is settled in the interests of principles of which one of the wise Greek tragedians sang centuries ago:

They ne'er shall sink to slumber in oblivion A power of God is there untouched by time

THE SEA "FREEDOM" PERIL

(Continued from page 11.)

commerce-destroying; yet how immense—nay, decisive—its results!"

And how admirably clear this statement,

"It is only when effort is frittered away in the feeble dissemination of the guerre de course, instead of being concentrated in a great combination to control the sea, that commerce-destroying justly incurs the reproach of misdirected effort. IT IS A FAIR DEDUCTION FROM ANALOGY, THAT TWO CON-TENDING ARMIES MIGHT AS WELL AGREE TO RESPECT EACH OTHER'S COMMUNICATIONS, AS TWO BELLIGERENT STATES TO GUARANTEE IMMUNITY TO HOS-TILE COMMERCE.

As so plainly shown by Admiral Mahan, strong navy-and more than a strong navy the right of that navy to attack German commerce in war-time is the right and proper counterpoise—to Germany's special military advantages, which include as Sir Edward Grey himself once admitted, in a speech delivered in 1910, "Germany's central position, surrounded by markets in the middle of Europe, all of which she can reach over her own frontier."

The most perilous aspect of the very idea that Britain should pledge herself under any conditions whatever to freedom of the seas in war-time is that we should be bound by such a pledge to neutrals whereas Germany would regard herself as free.

THE SEA "FREEDOM" PERIL

this country continue to prate of the "freedom" of the seas, which being interpreted means, that in any future German made war, the powerful German army shall plunder and slay on land, while German commerce is free to continue uninterrupted by sea. As a result, German death dealing and property destroy-ing on land will be increased and prolonged and the German conquest of Europe made secure.

Остовек 15, 1915

With an hypocrisy unexampled in the history of the world, the German and pro-Germans actually argue that by allowing the Germans to continue their overseas commerce as usual in war-time the horrors of war would be mitigated! Yet, as John Stuart Mill truly said, "How war is to be humanised by shooting at men's bodies instead of taking their property, I confess surprises me.

A serious fact is that Sir Edward Grey has not only compromised to a dangerous extent on this point during the course of the present war, but he has uttered the dangerous words before quoted in these columns and in response to protest in the newspapers and in the House of Commons has given no assurance whatever that he does not desire to surrender the principal means of self-defence that this country possesses.

Sir Edward Grey's opinions on sea power have proved to be a public danger. For apart from this question of warring upon German commerce he is actually a believer in the abolition of the doctrine of contra-

So that if his policy had been fully carried into effect in the pre-war days we should now have been bound by treaty not to seize munitions of war destined for use by the German army. The probability is that if Sir Edward Grey had had his way on the subject of contraband, Germany in this war would have secured so overwhelming a superiority in munitions that this country and Europe would by now have been under the German heel and Great Britain would have become (to use Sir Edward Grey's own expression) the conscript appanage of Ger-

The words whose gravity has not been explained away but rather confirmed by subsequent statements made by Sir Edward Grey and his Under-Secretary, Lord Robert Cecil, are these:

"Freedom of the Seas may be a very reasonable subject for discussion and agreement between nations after this war, not by itself alone nor while there is no freedom and no security against war and German methods of war on land. If there are to be guarantees against future war let there be equal comprehensive and effective guarantees that bind Germany as well as other nations, including ourselves."

But do we not know that the only guarantee that will bind Germany is the possession by other powers of potential force majeure! The supreme guarantee that Germany will after this war keep the peace, is the right and the power of the British Navy to punish her breach of the peace by warring against her commerce as soon as she attacks her neighbours on land.

If the Germans are granted the freedom of the sea in war-time (i.e., the right to continue their commerce with one hand while they plunder and destroy life with

THE Germans and their friends in the other) then we are certain to see another

Consider the words of the American Admiral Mahan whose writings on sea power take a premier place. This great

"For what purposes primarily do navies exist? Surely not merely to fight one another, to gain what Jomini calls the sterile glory of fighting battles in order to win them. If navies, as all agree, exist for the protection of commerce it inevitably follows that in war they must aim at depriving their enemy of that great resource.

"Nor is it easy to conceive what broad military use they can subserve that at all compares with the protection and destruction of trade. It is necessary to keep clearly in view the difference between the guerre de course, which is inconclusive and course, which is inconclusive and course. sive, and commerce destroying or commerce prevention through strategic control of the sea by powerful navies.

'Some nations more than others, but all maritime nations, more or less depend for their prosperity upon maritime com-merce, and probably upon it more than upon any other single factor. Either under their own flag or that of a neutral, either foreign trade or coasting trade the sea is the greatest of boons to such a State and under every form its sea-borne trade is at the mercy of a foe decisively

"Is it, then, to be expected that such foe will forgo such advantage—will insist upon spending blood and money in fighting or money in the vain effort of maintaining a fleet which, having nothing to fight, also keeps its hands off such an obvious means of crippling the opponent and forcing him out of his ports!

"Great Britain's Navy," Admiral Mahan reminds us, in the French War "not only protected her own commerce but also annihilated that of the enemy and both conditions, not one alone were essential to her triumph.

If humanitarianism was the motive prompting the concession, made in 1856. that enemy goods shall be protected by a neutral flag, it was, said Admiral Mahan, "mistaken humanitarianism," adding that to whatever due it is all to the profit of the neutral and to the loss of the stronger belligerent.

In the same way," he continued, "it may be asserted confidently that the concession of immunity to what is unthinkingly called the 'private property' of an enemy on the sea will never be conceded by a nation or Alliance confident of its own sea power" and he continued:

"This has been the dream of the weaker sea power belligerents in all ages and their arguments for it at the first glance are very proper to urge from their point of view.

That arch-robber the first Napoleon, who so remorselessly and exhaustively carried the principle of war sustaining war to its most logical consequence and even in peace scrupled not to quarter his armies on subject countries, maintaining them on what, after all, was simply the private property of foreigners—even he waxed quite eloquent and superficially most convincing as he compared the seizure of goods at sea so fatal to his Empire to the

seizure of a waggon travelling an inland country road.'

What was Admiral Mahan's reply to such contention? It was this: "In all these contentions there lies beneath the surface plausibility not so much a confusion of thought as a failure to recognise an essential difference of conditions. Even on shore the protection of private property rests upon the simple principle that injury is not to be wanton, that it is not to be inflicted when the end to be attained is trivial or largely disproportionate to the suffering caused. For this reason personal property not embarked in commercial venture is respected in civilised maritime war. Conversely, as we all know the rule on land is by no means invariable and private property receives scant consideration when its appropriation or destruction serves the purposes of an enemy."

Here in a nutshell is the answer to Germany's impudent demand for sea freedom in war-time. Admiral Mahan wrote:

The man who trudges the highway, cudgel in hand, may claim for his cudgel all the sacredness with which civilisation invests property; but if he use it to break his neighbour's head, the respect for his property, as such, quickly disappears."

And again we get to the heart of the matter in this further quotation from Admiral Mahan:

"Now private property, borne upon the seas, is engaged in promoting, in the most vital manner, the strength and resources of the nation by which it is handled. When that nation becomes belligerent, the private property, so called, borne upon the seas, is sustaining the well-being and endurance of the nation at war and consequently is injuring the opponent, to an extent exceeding all other sources of national power.

"In these days of war correspondents, most of us are familiar with the idea of the dependence of an army upon its communications, and we know, vaguely perhaps, but still we know, that to threaten or harm the communications of an army is one of the most common and effective devices of strategy. Why? Because severed from its base an army languishes and dies, and when threatened with such an evil it must fight at whatever disadvantage.
"Well, is it not clear that maritime

commerce occupies, to the power of a maritime State, the precise nourishing function that the communications of an army supply to the army?

'Blows at commerce are blows at the communications of the State; they intercept its nourishment, they starve its life, they cut the roots of its power, the sinews of its war.

"While war remains a factor, a sad but inevitable factor, of our history, it is a fond hope that commerce can be exempt from its operations, because in very truth blows against commerce are the most deadly that can be struck; nor is there any other among the proposed uses of a navy, as for instance the bombardment of seaport towns, which is not at once more cruel and less scientific.

Blockade such as that enforced by the United States Navy during the Civil War, is evidently only a special phase of (Continued on page 10.)

COMPULSORY MILITARY TRAINING IN AUSTRALIA

Details of the Operation of the System

WHO ARE LIABLE FOR TRAIN-ING IN AUSTRALIA?

LL male inhabitants of Australia who were born in the year 1894, or in any subsequent year, are liable for training :-

From 12 to 14 years of age in the Junior

Cadets.

From 14 to 18 years of age in the Senior

From 18 to 26 years of age in the Citizen Forces.

They are required to register for military training in the months of January and February in the year in which they will reach the age of 14 years; or if they are not then residing in Australia, not later than 30 days after the completion of six months' residence in Australia.

In short, all male immigrants to Australia of European origin or descent, who were born in the year 1894, or in any subsequent year, are, while between the ages of 14 and 26 years, liable for military training, and are required to register for such training not later than 30 days after the completion of six months' residence in

Australia. Although liable for military training, only those who are living in training areas —that is, in areas in which training is carried out—are required to train. Generally speaking, the training areas are confined to the more thickly populated parts of Australia, as the expense of instruction in the sparsely populated districts would be prohibitive, and even in training districts, persons who reside at a distance from the actual place where the training is carried out, are also granted exemptions.

SYSTEM OF TRAINING Junior Cadets

From the age of 12 to 14 each boy is required to undergo a certain amount of training in schools.

The training consists of physical training and a little elementary marching, drill,

The training is chiefly carried out by

the school teachers.

Junior Cadets are not formed in any military organisation, nor is any uniform supplied or worn.

Senior Cadets

During January and February of the year in which boys reach the age of 14 years, they are required to be registered for military training.

in an area in which training is carried out, are medically examined, and if passed as "fit" for training, are required to undergo 64 hours' training in each year.

Such training is divided into whole-day, half-day and night drills, parades being held as far as possible to suit the conveni-ence of the lads in the locality.

There is no continuous training required from the boys, and the whole of the training is carried out in the locality of the boys' homes.

Senior Cadets are organised in companies and battalions. Uniform is provided, but the Cadets are not liable to be called out to fight, and no payment is made for attendance at drills. Service in the Senior Cadets lasts until the 30th June in the year in which the boys reach the age of 18 years.

Boys liable for training who live in a sparsely populated district, which, on account of the difficulties of providing efficient instruction owing to the scattered nature of the population, has been proclaimed an exempt area, are required to register, but are granted a certificate exempting them from training whilst residing in the exempt area.

Citizen Forces

Between the 1st January and the 30th June of the year in which the boys reach the age of 18, they are again medically examined, and if passed as "fit," they are on the 1st July transferred to the Citizen Forces

As far as possible they are allotted to the arm they elect to join, but if allotted to the Artillery or Engineers, they are required to undertake an equivalent of 25 days' training each year, of which 17 must be in a camp of continuous training; in other arms the period of training is 16 days, of which eight are in camps of continuous training.

Service in the Citizen Forces of the Commonwealth is practically the same as service in the Territorial Force of Great Britain, with the exception that the training is compulsory for persons between the ages of 18 and 25 years.

The training is divided into whole-day parades, half-day parades, and night parades, arranged as far as possible to suit the convenience of the trainees.

The only training which requires a trainee to be absent from his home over night is the short period spent in camp each year (17 days for Artillery and Engineers, eight for other arms), the other

After registration, the boys, if residing parades being as far as practicable carried an area in which training is carried out, out on holidays, Saturday afternoons and evenings.

PAY

Pay is granted for attendance at parades of the Citizen Forces. Recruits—i.e., those undergoing training during the first year, are paid at the rate of 3s. per day, 1s. 6d. per half-day, and 9d. per night drill; thereafter the rates for privates are: 4s. per day, 2s. per half-day, and 1s. per night drill.

The rates for non-commissioned officers

9s. per day, and equivalent for half-day and night drills for corporals. 10s. per day and equivalent for half-day and night drills for sergeants.

The pay of officers and non-commissioned officers is relatively much higher than privates, it being recognised that while the latter are fulfilling their statutory obliga-tions only, the former are voluntarily doing a good deal more, not only in qualifying for their examination tests, but also in the extra administrative work which their rank requires of them.

An additional allowance is made to married members receiving less than 8s. per day for attendance at camp, as follows:
(a) For wife (living at home), 10s. (eight-

day camp); 20s. (17-day camp); (b) For each child, 5s. (eight-day camp); 10s. (17day camp)

A similar allowance as in (a) is paid to a soldier who is the sole support of a widowed mother.

The total amount earnable each year being limited to 25 days for Artillery and Engineers, and 16 days for other arms.

PROMOTION

Promotion to each rank in the Citizen Forces is by competitive examination from those on the next lower grade.

All must start on the bottom as privates. The privates compete for promotion to corporal, the corporals for promotion to sergeant, the sergeants and higher non-commissioned ranks to lieutenant, and so

Uniform and equipment are provided. The remarks under the heading of Senior

Cadets regarding exemption from training of those who live in sparsely populated districts apply equally to the Citizen

Service in the Citizen Forces lasts until the 30th June of each year in which the trainee reaches the age of 26 years.

Members of the Citizen Forces are liable

for service within the Commonwealth only.

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