

"The Suffragette," September 24, 1915.

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The Suffragette

Edited by CHRISTABEL PANKHURST

Official Organ of the
Women's Social and Political Union

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FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1915

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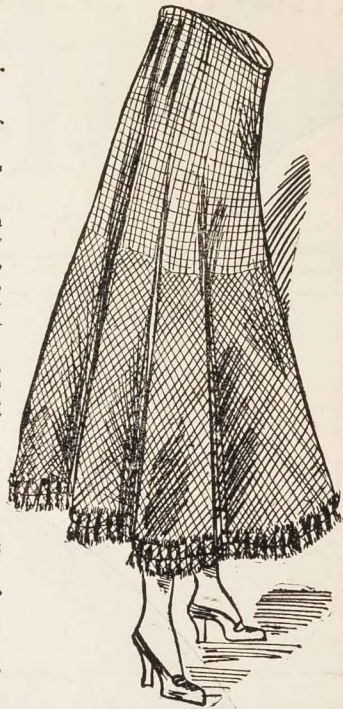
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Review of the Week.

How to Win the War.

MEETINGS on "How to Win the War," will as already announced be held by the Women's Social and Political Union in the London Pavilion, during the months of October, November and December. The first of these meetings is to take place on Tuesday, 5th October, at 3 o'clock. Madame Clara Butt will speak and has very kindly consented to sing. Mrs. Pankhurst and Miss Annie Kenney will be the other speakers and Mrs. Mansel will take the Chair.

The subsequent meetings will be held on Thursday afternoons, the second meeting of the series taking place in the London Pavilion on Thursday, 14th October.

Admission to these meetings is free, but reserved and numbered seats may be booked for 15s. for the series of ten meetings or 2s. for a single meeting. Orders for tickets may be given at once to Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

Paying the Price.

The Government statement, we are bidden to expect, as to the military price we must pay for victory will clear the air provided it be plain and unambiguous. That victory can be had by paying the full price, whatever that price may be, is obvious, but if the nation shrinks from paying the full price then defeat and loss of individual and national liberty will come upon the British people.

The Great Decision.

To Lord Kitchener has been entrusted the stupendous task of seeing the nation through its peril. It is therefore his right and duty to ask of the Government, Parliament and the public, such help as he deems needful, and to say whether or no

obligatory service is the condition of victory. The Government, Parliament and the public will then be obliged to decide whether to accept or defy Lord Kitchener's advice. The consequences of such a decision will be upon their own heads. The decision must not be made in ignorance of the dangers that menace us and the full consequences of defeat, nor in forgetfulness of this generation's debt to the dead and gone vindicators of British freedom nor of this generation's duty to the people that will come after us.

Of German Birth or Descent.

The disclosure of the treachery of Russian subjects of German extraction who blew up a Russian Munition factory and thereby contributed to Russian disasters in the field, is a warning to the Government and people of Great Britain of the danger in which we stand. If Russians of German birth or descent are dangerous in Russia, British subjects of German birth or descent are equally and it may be even more dangerous in Great Britain. We are unjust to ourselves, and we are untrue to our Allies if we place in positions of influence and confidence men who are of German birth or descent. We have no right even to run risks. It is not only by the cruder methods such as the blowing up of munition factories that harm can be done. The more subtle kinds of action may be even more injurious.

German Intrigue.

It is desirable that the Government shall make a statement as to the nature and extent of German intrigue in this country. Ignorance on this matter is very dangerous. That there are facts which ought to be known to the public stands to reason because if there is German, as even the *Daily News*, always first to trust the German, assures us, intrigue in Russia, it is ten thousand times more certain that there is German intrigue in this country. And for our part we believe that their intrigues in this country are more dangerous than anywhere, because they are probably more subtle, more penetrating. The Lord Chancellor said in the House of Lords the other day that we have to fight not only a foe in the open field, but a foe whose spies are in every land, the webs of whose intrigue enmesh and entangle every Government. "Every Government" includes the British Government and in the public interest we ought to know, firstly what action the Germans have taken to enmesh and entangle our Government and secondly what measures our Government have taken to cut themselves free from German entanglement and enmeshment and to prevent any further entanglement and enmeshment in the future. There is nothing like the light of publicity for dispelling the evils and perils of intrigue.

Pro-German Treachery—Russia's Painful Experience.

Miasoiedof, a Germanised Russian holding an important position in a Russian Government Department, was corrupted by the German espionage service. For ten years before the war he had been betraying to Germany important Russian military secrets that became known to him in his official capacity. When war broke out, his treachery and the German use of it continued. He secured a position on the headquarters staff of the Grand Duke Nicholas and he managed to convey to the Germans

the information he thus procured concerning the movements of the Russian armies.

Suspicion was at last aroused by letters found on German prisoners made on the French front, in which letters reference was made to an admirably placed spy.

A trap was set. A false order was issued and communicated only to two or three suspected persons, of whom Miasoiedof was one—his position being actually that of head of the service charged with ensuring the personal safety of the Grand Duke. Miasoiedof fell into the trap and on being arrested admitted his guilt and denounced his accomplices, who included a man of German blood and a native of the Baltic provinces—one Freiberg, director of the Navigation Company of Libau.

War Finance.

The statements of Sir L. Chiozza Money upon economics and finance are always of interest. Consider the following sentences from his recent speech in the House of Commons:

A great point is made of this, that we have got to finance our Allies. What does it mean? It means that at the present time we are lending abroad for the purposes of this War about £300,000,000 a year. What did we lend before the War began? We were, before this War began, lending abroad at the rate of £200,000,000 per year, so that although we are in the midst of this great War we are lending abroad only 50 per cent. more than we were lending in peace before the War began.

The very men who are lending money to the Government now, were lending it to foreign private powers. The Government is now taking it from the same people by means of loans or taxes, and lending it to foreign Governments, and when the War is through and victory is assured there will be no burden upon our people in respect of the interest payable on those loans. Only in the event of defeat will those loans become a real expenditure to this country and a real loss of money.

British Financial Strength.

Replying to the argument that the requirements of manufacture for export will prevent the raising of a large number of additional recruits for the Army, Sir L. Chiozza Money said:

Anybody can see by going to the Census of Production that only 4,250,000 men of 18 and upwards, including some of military age, were engaged in manufacturing or in mining.

And to this statement we may add, what indeed the speaker himself has said on previous occasions, that a large number of the men comprised in that figure could be replaced by women workers. With further reference to our financial strength, Sir Leo Chiozza Money said:

We have an accumulated wealth which cannot be less than something like £16,000,000,000. . . . We have not only got our credit in this matter, we have also got a most extraordinary value of overseas investments. We have something like £4,000,000,000 in overseas investments bringing in a revenue of something like £200,000,000 per annum.

And he added:

The country therefore is in this unique position, that we have not only our credit to liquidate, we have an enormous amount of foreign and Colonial credits in the bank, as it were, to liquidate in respect of this War. It is amazing that in a country which is in this extraordinarily favourable position any doubt should be entertained for a single moment as to our power to finance our Allies.

Germany's Economic Resources—Warning Words.

A darker aspect of the situation was alluded to by Sir L. Chiozza Money in the following terms:

There is a great danger of our under-rating the economic resources of the enemy. I have tried

to follow as clearly as I can—and I have had some special opportunities of doing so—the economic development of Germany during the war, and some quite extraordinary things have emerged. Take the chief illustration of economic power—the production of pig-iron. Last month the production of pig-iron in Germany was larger than in any previous month of the War. It has been rising every month since September, and last month the production of pig-iron in Germany was nearly 1,100,000 tons, which is far more than we make in peace.

Germany is not only utilising her own resources, she has got in her hands the greater part of the manufacturing power of Belgium. She has now added to it the economic resources of Poland. I find that the number of men working in the Belgian coal-mines is 80 per cent. of the number that work there in peace time. Belgium is now importing to Germany, coal at the rate of 150,000 tons a month. The enemy therefore is making use of the territory which he occupies and he has in his hand an enormous number of prisoners and men and of them he is making economic use. All this has to be counted with. It sets free a larger proportion of the German manhood than would be set free in normal circumstances.

That I think is a partial explanation of the grave military fact, that in the thirteen months of the war Germany, instead of being weaker, as we thought, than a year ago, is stronger than she was when we began this conflict.

We are only at the beginning of the thing, we are only beginning to wet our fingers as it were, instead of plunging into the main stream. At the present moment Britain is being defended, not only on the high seas by the British Navy, but in France and Flanders also and in those countries it is being chiefly defended by foreign conscripts.

Beware of German Suggestion!

Advocating heavy war taxation in addition to war loans, Sir L. Chiozza Money says:

Great Britain can afford it. We British are a rich people, with a magnificent credit at home and abroad. We can afford the war; we can afford to do much more than we have done. To collect heavy taxes in a nation enjoying, as we are, all the abnormal prosperity of a great war is a much simpler thing than to collect low taxes in a poor country in time of peace. *A simple statement this, but one which it is necessary to make at this time, when grave and reverend men (and even Labour leaders who have unwisely listened to them) are preaching that in a financial and therefore in a military sense we have shot our bolt.*

Of course the Germans would like the British public to think that Britain's last financial bolt is spent and they are doing and will do their best to get such an idea into the air. Many people not fully alive to German methods of doctoring news and floating rumours may innocently and unconsciously be led to take German-inspired statements as to our financial strength as accurate and reliable. The force of German suggestion is considerable and must be resisted.

What Does it Mean?

Referring to the proposed American loan to the Allies, the New York correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* says that "official assurances have now been issued that England will carry out her plans for the relief of importers."

What is the precise meaning of this statement? And what are the official assurances that have been given? A recent measure for the "relief of American importers" has proved to be a measure rather for the relief of *German Exporters*—a measure calculated to relieve the pressure of the British Navy upon the enemy's commerce and thus improve the enemy's credit. We trust it will not prove that our Government has committed us to make (in addition to the payment of legitimate interest upon the loan in question) another illegitimate and injurious concession re-

garding our naval power, as the condition of securing the American loan.

Our Foreign Office (as its record before as well as since the outbreak of war shows) is so imperfectly aware of the vital importance of throttling the enemy's commerce during war that there is a real and grave danger of a surrender of part at any rate of our belligerent rights in this matter. An American loan on those terms would be a doubtful blessing indeed. We call attention to a weighty suggestion made by M. Jean Finot and reproduced on page 342 of this paper.

Mr. Asquith on Women's War Service.

Whether he intended it or no, Mr. Asquith's words in the House of Commons, on the subject of War Service for Women has made upon many minds the impression that he imagines women have been slow to respond to the country's need of them. What he said was that all that is needed to ensure the success of the munition-making arrangements is an adequate supply of labour, unskilled labour in even larger numbers than skilled labour, adding:

And let me say, that there is no field of what is called National Service in which at this moment, women can do more to help. There are thousands and tens of thousands of men who would be willing to undertake the work, but cannot in the National interests leave their present job. But if the women will step in, and if, as I hope and believe will be the case, no hindrance is put in their way, either by the employers or by the men, we ought to make and I believe we shall make a gigantic, and at the same time rapid stride to the solution of one of our most pressing problems.

The fact of the case is that very large numbers of women have already volunteered for munition-making service and have grown increasingly impatient with the passing of the days at the want of opportunity of service accorded to them. The Women's Social and Political Union has registered a very large number of women and has lately been obliged temporarily to close the register until such time as the training and employment of women in munition-making should take place on an increased scale.

The Pledge of the Men Trade Unionists.

The following resolution passed by the Executive of the Trade Unions concerned in the production of munitions gives reason to hope for better things:

"The Conference pledges itself to assist in the reorganisation of the skilled labour employed in Government arsenals and controlled establishments in order that semi-skilled and unskilled male and female labour may be employed on a much more extensive scale."

We look to the men Trade Unionists further to give their assistance in securing the payment of a fair wage to all women munition workers. In every case possible, women munition workers should be paid piece rate instead of time rate, as under this system it is far easier to ensure just and adequate payment of these workers. The Trade Union Congress at its recent meeting upheld the principle of equal pay for equal work between men and women. It is the principle for which Suffragists have been contending for many years gone by, a principle which, especially as far as Government employment is concerned, would have been readily established if women had possessed the vote. Since they are voteless, women are for the time being obliged to look to the enfranchised men

workers to help them to secure that fair and equal payment which is one of the main guarantees of the economic welfare of men and women workers alike.

A Bad Custom.

Mr. Balfour, the First Lord of the Admiralty, has said that when the war broke out the full development of aerial war, whether on our own part or on the part of our enemy, was foreseen by nobody. But were not British Army officers, whose business it is to give attention to such matters informed of German aerial activity and indeed was not the Kaiserly encouragement and the general popularity enjoyed in Germany by Count Zeppelin, an eloquent warning of German intention and preparation. The British public were surely entitled to take it for granted that warnings given by our military experts were being heeded and acted upon by the Government. Does it not amount to this, that Cabinet Ministers are inclined to reject the prophetic advice given by experts and to heed nothing save the accomplished fact? That is a custom which ought now to be abandoned.

Muddling Through and Lagging Behind.

It is unfortunate that the men of the country who having the vote and thus the power to take action in the matter did not make active protest against the following words spoken by Lord Haldane in March 1910, when he was still Secretary of State for War. Answering Parliamentary inquiry and criticism on the subject of aeronautics, he said:

I am never alarmed when reading of the progress of other nations in this matter. No doubt we are behind. So we were in other matters, in motor cars for instance. But when we had mastered the thing we went ahead very quickly. And again so much in this that has been undertaken by foreign nations has already turned out to be unsatisfactory. However much they may seem to lead the way, I trust I have made it clear that when we put our backs into the matter we shall find ourselves all right.

The Haldanian policy of muddling through and lagging behind as exemplified in this passage is one of the main causes of weakness at the present day. Another apology for muddling through and lagging behind was put forward by the late Liberal Government in April 1912 and was expressed in the following terms:

There are admittedly advantages in a policy of postponing the development of aeroplanes for military and naval purposes and of leaving pioneer work to private enterprise and foreign nations.

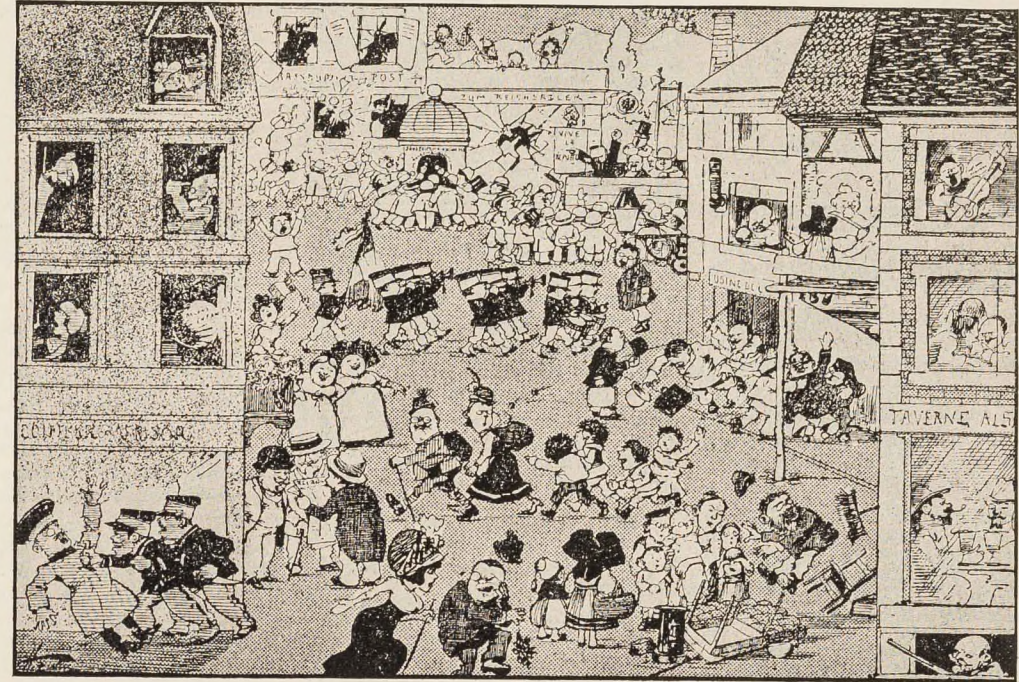
A Budget Point.

The contrast between Russia's handling of the liquor question and the exemption of liquor from fresh taxation under the new Budget is a little startling. Again, most people would prefer to see whisky rather than sugar costing more to the consumer. It is stated that owing to the incidence of taxation the consumption of spirituous liquor is increasing in relation to that of beer and a full and authoritative statement ought to be made on this subject.

Looking at the matter from the broad national standpoint, the human labour and raw material expended in the manufacture of intoxicants generally could, in war time, be more advantageously expended. How many men physically able for essential war service are engaged in this and other luxury occupations at the present time?

TWO POINTS OF VIEW.

These two drawings by the famous Alsatian artist, Zixlin, were published about a year before the present war broke out. They provide an interesting historic, though humorous, indication of the state of affairs in Alsace-Lorraine in the pre-war times, and they strike a blow at the monstrous claim of the Germans (including the German "Socialists") that Alsace-Lorraine shall remain under German rule, instead of being reunited to France as the Allies intend and the two Provinces desire.



ALSACE AS HERR PIEFKE, A CONVINCED PAN-GERMANIST, SEES IT.

An allusion to the complaints of the Pan-Germanist newspapers who pretend that the Germans in Alsace-Lorraine are badly received, badly treated, and lead the life of victims.



ALSACE AS IT IS IN THE REALITY.

The counterpart of the preceding drawing, illustrative of the perpetual spying which the people of Alsace-Lorraine are obliged to endure, on the part of the Pan-Germanists who have immigrated into the two Provinces.

The Suffragette

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

PRICE ONE PENNY WEEKLY.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1915.

A Dangerous Suggestion

HAS this anything to do with that dangerous question of the Freedom of the Seas? It appears (whether as the result of outside inspiration we do not know) in the *Law Journal* and comes to our notice *via* the *Manchester Guardian*. It has reference to the visit to America of the Franco-British Commission, of which Lord Reading is a member and it runs as follows:—

There are juridical questions of great importance which are now depending between the two countries, Great Britain and the United States and if the Lord Chief Justice can find an opportunity during his visit to apply his great organising judicial powers to the arrangement of some basis of settlement of these questions by the formation of a mixed court or other special tribunal, he will have earned the gratitude of international Lawyers as well as of the country.

We strongly differ from the suggestion here conveyed and we would point out that to establish a mixed court or other special tribunal consisting of representatives of the two countries would be to put into operation the very policy which the British Parliament refused to ratify when the Declaration of London was defeated.

If differences of opinion arise between the United States and our own country in the course of the war, (because the "juridical questions" alluded to by the *Law Journal* must surely be questions arising out of the action of the British Navy), then those questions must be dealt with diplomatically, and not by means of any sort of British-American court or tribunal.

To establish such court or tribunal would be to insert the thin end of the wedge and open a way to the adoption of the disastrous proposal brought forward at the Hague Conference in 1907 and destroyed by the rejection of the Declaration of London—the proposal, namely, for an International Prize Court in which the whole British Empire, including Great Britain, would be represented by one vote against fourteen other votes.

The proper machinery for judicial treatment of questions susceptible of such treatment, arising out of the war, is to be found in the British Prize Court, whose impartiality is one of our historic glories.

The principles by which British Prize

Courts are guided were summed up by one of our great Judges, Lord Stowell in the following terms:—

In forming my judgment, I trust it has not for one moment escaped my anxious recollection that the duty of my station calls me to consider myself not as stationed here to deliver occasional and shifting opinions, to serve present purposes of particular national interest, but to administer with indifference that justice which the law of nations holds out without distinction to independent States—some happening to be neutral and some belligerent. The seat of judicial authority is indeed locally here in the belligerent country, according to the known law and practice of nations; but the law itself has no locality. It is the duty of the person who sits here to determine the question exactly as he would determine it if sitting at Stockholm; to assert no pretensions on the part of Great Britain which he would not allow to Sweden in the same circumstances and to impose no duties on Sweden as a neutral country which he would not admit to belong to Great Britain in the same character.

Is it seriously suggested in any civilised quarter that the British Prize Courts have departed from the high tradition indicated by these words? Certainly not!

The fact is that the proposal for an international court representing two or more nations is a proposal not for a court but for a species of Parliament, which would be guided in its decisions, not by law but by *interest*—which would instead of pronouncing judicial decisions and administering the principles of International Law, pursue a conflict of the opposing interests of the particular nations whose representatives were thus assembled.

Such a "court" would not be a Temple of impartiality, although its creation is asked in impartiality's name; it would, on the contrary, be a gathering together of partialities in which interest would contend with interest and the two or more parties directly concerned would seek to draw to their side, to secure for their claims the vote of other parties represented in the court who were less directly concerned in the matter in dispute.

The Prize Court of a civilised nation delivers its judgments under the vigilant eye of all the nations of the world and with a sense of responsibility and of national honour. But to bring the matters in question before a body of representatives of several nations would involve divided responsibility and divided responsibility is only too often the same thing as *irresponsibility*.

Let us face facts! To establish a so-called court or tribunal representing the United States as well as Britain, would be in its practical effect to put the British Navy under joint British and American control. Yet the financing of the British Navy would fall upon the British people, and what is far more important, Great Britain owing to geographical characteristics and closer proximity to the Prusso-German volcano, would be far more closely and directly concerned in the decision of this joint British-American body than Americans would be.

But there is yet another point, of the utmost gravity, and it is to the interest neither of the British nor of the American people to cover up this point with a cloak of silence. We have to reckon with Ger-

many's peaceful invasion of the United States, Germany's continued attempt to raise a decisive voice and to tilt the political balance in the United States. Such power Germany seeks to exercise by establishing in the United States German bankers, German professors, German manufacturers and a growing mass of German voters of humbler degree. We know not what steps the real Americans have in view as a means of future protection, but as far as German intention goes the peaceful German invasion of the United States is by no means ended.

In its cruder form German interference in the life and action of the United States has roused an effective opposition in the course of this war. But under the American constitution, how are German-Americans (American by citizenship, while German by inspiration and Kaiserly prompting) to be prevented from gaining more and more power to elect the rulers of America and, as a result of this political power reinforced by German financial, commercial, manufacturing power, taking a large if not a decisive share in conducting the affairs of the United States?

As illustrative of German policy in the matter we may instance the fact that the Germans are at this very moment endeavouring to organise a merchant fleet to sail under the American flag, although owned by German-Americans and operated in German interests. Quite openly, too, German-Americans have spoken of a political mobilisation and a casting of their votes in future American elections in a sense which will advantage Germany.

Now the establishment of a joint British-American Court would be a fatal stimulus to the Kaiser to increase his power in the United States by increasing the number and audacity of his representatives there. Because as a result he would not only enlarge and strengthen his hold over the United States, but would also obtain, through the United States, a **hold over British policy and above all, British naval policy.**

To refer to a particular aspect of the problem, imagine the German-Americans by the use of direct political power and indirect influence securing the appointment to the British-American tribunal of one or more German-Americans! It is not a pretty picture that we draw there, but it is a picture in accordance with the terrible possibilities of the case.

For the sake of American ideals, for the sake of the moral and material independence of the United States, for the sake of the continued national existence, even, of the United States, there must not be any joint British-American "tribunal."

The Prime Minister speaking in the House of Commons the other day, spoke of British naval command of the seas in war-time as a condition, recognised before as well as since this war, of our national safety, but British command of the seas could be lost *not only by the defeat and destruction of our Navy, but by decisions*

(Continued on page 339.)

A DANGEROUS SUGGESTION

(Continued from page 338.)

(whose validity we should have admitted beforehand) placing restrictions upon our use of the Navy in war-time.

There is danger that our Foreign Office, strangely and unfortunately weak in comprehension of the question of British sea power, may make some lamentable surrender to what will in fact be the interest of Germany.

Never must we forget that Sir Edward Grey and the Foreign Office, as part of the Declaration of London, had agreed (as Sir Edward Grey himself expressed it in his speech to the Imperial Conference in June 1911), to a certain extent *not to seize goods which were conditional contraband when they were consigned to a neutral port even though they might be destined for the enemy.* Hitherto, said Sir Edward Grey, we had claimed the right to seize those goods, but in fact the right was not, and *could not be of much service to the Navy in time of war.* We call the events of this war to witness how gravely mistaken was this view!—And Sir Edward Grey has been ready to go even further than that, for he declared in 1907 that His Majesty's Government were desirous to see the right of visit and search limited in every possible way and that they were willing to abandon the *principle of contraband of war altogether.*

One could imagine Sir Edward Grey drawing deep breaths of thankfulness that his abandonment of the principle of contraband was not consummated, and that the Declaration of London was shipwrecked in the House of Lords. We take notice, however, of his disquieting statement the other day in reply to a Parliamentary question, to the effect that he "cannot give any undertaking which would limit the treaty-making power of the Crown in time of peace or the power to deal by executive action with emergencies which may arise during this war."

This in answer to a request that he will not surrender any of Britain's naval rights without the express sanction of both Houses of Parliament. Forewarned is forearmed, and we call upon the men of the country who alone are in possession of political power, to realise that Britain is at the turning of the way, that the liberty of Britain and of Europe for generations to come, if not for all time, is at stake, and that the very life not only of free Britain but of free Europe depends, as declared by a French commentator the other day, ultimately on the Allies, which is to say primarily on British command of the sea.

The Germans are in possession of Belgium, of Poland and of part of France, where do our Allies look for consolation, where do they find their hope of driving back the invader, where do they find the present compensation, for the enemy's grip on their soil? They find it in the Allies' command of the seas, in which the British Navy plays the greater part.

We say to Sir Edward Grey and to the House of Commons and the electors to whom he is constitutionally responsible: Beware how you commit and beware how you allow the surrender of that naval power which is a trust to be conserved and fulfilled by us, not in the defence of Britain alone, but also in the defence of other nations!

CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

THE RUSSIAN DUMA

The strength of the constitutional spirit in Russia is shown by the protests against the temporary cessation of the sittings of the Duma and it is said that in view of public feeling in the matter the Duma will be called together at an earlier date.

Meanwhile it is necessary to remember that German intrigue is a fruitful cause of political trouble in Russia and is directed towards preventing the harmonious constitutional development of that country. Further, it must be realised that the military defeat of Germany and the elimination from Russian life and politics of German influence are the essential cure of Russian ills. The enemy of the Russian people is not Russia—it is Germany.

We give below an article contributed to the "Matin" by M. Jean CRUPPI, the French Deputy and ex-Minister for Foreign Affairs, who has lately returned from a mission to Russia, in the course of which he talked with the Emperor and with members of all the political parties.

THE prorogation of the Duma calls forth impassioned commentaries and we know that the agitation which this event has caused in Russia inspires the German Press with fierce joy and raises Teuton hopes which are doomed to disappointment.

My duty is to be simply a spectator and a witness: to gather together notes which, though brief, are taken straight from life. I will state facts and I will tell of the things which I have seen and heard. The affairs of an immense country like Russia, cannot be apprehended in a day, nor comprehended in a glance and I shall not pretend to do anything but warn the public against passing vague and superficial judgment. I shall show them some aspects of the great political and social problem which Russia will know how to solve without committing the greatest of crimes and the gravest of errors: "disunion before the enemy."

The great crisis over the question of munitions has probed the consciences of the Russian people. When it was borne in upon the minds of the peasants, the labourers, the artisans and the liberal-minded aristocrats that the army lacked shells and rifles, the whole nation arose with a single mind against a bureaucracy whose faults allowed the Germans to advance upon the national soil. From that moment this régime was condemned and there is not a single Russian who does not anxiously desire searching reforms in the organisation of the country.

This unanimous wish has during the last few months brought about ministerial changes which have abased certain men in high places and placed the power in the clean hands of honest men such as General Polivanov, the present Minister of War. This is not all: a new agreement, unwritten it is true, but as solemn as the October manifesto, has directed politics into Liberal channels and united the public bodies and the Duma (the representatives of the country) by new bonds of confidence and daily collaboration.

On August 16 last one of the Ministers in power, after having spoken to me of the benefits accruing to the country through this new direction of the national politics, laid great stress on its "definite character." Has not the Emperor himself also solemnly consecrated this direction when on the 2nd of August he said: "In this grave hour of trial let private disputes be set aside so that the Czar and his people may become more firmly united, and Russia, rising like one man, may repulse the insolent attack of the enemy."

And on the 8th of August this unity was hailed in the Duma by President Rodzianko, M. Milukow as a spokesman of the Cadets, that is to say the Parliamentary group of the Liberal party; by the social democrats and the Troudoviki, the Labour party, who without actually voting themselves expressed "their immovable conviction that

the great Russian democracy, united to all the other forces of the country, will offer a sure resistance to the enemy which is attacking us and will defend our native land and the culture which the toil and bloodshed of generations have created."

And without, what echoes reply to all these declarations? M. Kropotkin, M. Plekhanov, no less than M. Gregoire Alexinsky in his fine book *Russia and War*, will solemnly keep the agreement for unity against the enemy. "The Socialist world," cries Plekhanov, "must not be misled by the phraseology of the great German State."

Well, has this necessary compact been broken? Is the fact of the prorogation of the Duma anything but an incident and a misunderstanding? Is this to be the hateful sign of discord and disunion?

I answer no, that is impossible. I know some of the men whom the parties on the Left of the Duma acknowledge as their chiefs and would like to see at the head of the Government. I know their indignation against the system which has paralysed Russia. I know their sorrow and their impatience, their fear of German intrigues and of the secret actions of certain coteries. But I also know their patriotism. The most ardent amongst them are the chiefs of the moderate party on the Left; they are pure patriots, men who believe in progress and evolution, who know that disunion in the face of the enemy is criminal.

What they desire is guns and shells, and with this end in view they demand a ministerial organisation and a Government capable of defending the country. It is their right; and already do we not see great commissions working in the Duma such as the commission on National Defence, of which General Polivanov is the honoured President?

Necessary evolution is well on its way and is the work of the union, of the good feeling between the Duma and the public authorities.

Therefore the compact is not broken, it lives; it produces useful results, but it is easy to understand that in hours of trial a misunderstanding may have arisen amongst the difficulties of the great Parliamentary effort which Russia is so nobly making.

This misunderstanding cannot last. All Russia desires unity in order to repulse the "insolent attack." All Russia desires shells and guns and it is the fervency of the national feeling which drives the country's representatives to adopt certain necessary measures very openly and sometimes even violently.

Nevertheless the old and rejected cliques sometimes make fresh offensive efforts. These are never free from German inspiration. It is thus that the misunderstanding has arisen, but so much the worse for Germany. It will be brief, of that I am sure.

Let us remember the workmen of Petrograd of whom Alexinsky speaks. Having been told that it was urgently necessary to execute an order for the Russian Army, in twelve days they accomplished some work which under normal conditions would have taken two months.

Such is the force of national sentiment in the Russian working-man. This sentiment is as strong throughout the whole nation. The crisis of the prorogation of the Duma is only a crisis of organisation and better days are in store.

At the moment of writing these hasty lines I have the presentiment that the crisis is nearing its end, in fact is virtually over, that the work of the commissions and of the ministry will doubtless enable the Duma to be called together very shortly.

This will be the sign of the firm adhesion of the whole of Russia to the vow of union of the 8th of August.

PECKHAM RYE MEETING, September 15, 1915

Mrs. Drummond:

AS women we believe that we are justified in asking men to fight for the liberties of their country and we consider that yours is a great privilege, because after all you are only fighting to retain the liberty that your forefathers have fought for in the past and we women realise that what some men are ready to do every man should be ready to do if he really acknowledges his responsibility to his country. Your politicians in the past, many of them, who to-day are conspicuous by their absence, have spent hours and days in telling you men what your country, or what your legislators, should do for you and saying to you also that if you gave them your vote, in return they would make the country do this and do that for you and to-day, as I said before, these gentlemen are conspicuous by their absence from meetings to teach the men and particularly the young unmarried men of this country their responsibility to their country.

We know full well that in life generally, unless you have a system of give and take, life is not really worth living. Well that is the very thing which you men have been getting. You have your vote—which we women are deprived of—and this, if you know how to use it, gives you laws and conditions favourable to you. Now we ask you in return for the vote and all it means to come and protect your country, to come and stand by that country, to give your right arm to that country and to help, if you are physically fit and of military age, by joining the forces.

There are many of you who have excuses. Some people say they are defending their homes. Some men have said to us that it is not possible for them to go because they are the breadwinners in their home. I want the men, and women also, of this country to realise that if it were not for that sea-wall of iron, for that Navy of ours that has swept the seas clean, if it were not for that and our Army there would be no bread and butter for you to earn. It would be impossible for you men to go to your workshops and to the offices to earn your living; and therefore in gratitude to those who are already defending Britain, we ask you to join the forces and so give them all the aid you can.

We are told by Mr. Asquith that recruiting has fallen off. Now why is this? Is it because the men of the country are not realising the seriousness of the war? Surely we have had the seriousness of war brought home to us. Have we not had an exhibition of frightfulness with regard to the Zeppelin raid? Those of us who were in London the other night when around us the bombs were dropped; as we looked out and saw the fires, the light showing up the various landmarks in London, did we not realise that at least we were in the midst of a war? Did we not realise that it was serious? Well, if the men of the country do not realise that it is serious, the women of the country certainly realise that it is very serious indeed. I am not a pessimist, but I must say this: that we are not doing what we ought to do in this country. I find confirmation of the fact in the statement made by the Prime Minister himself in the House of Commons. Now why is

that? I fear it is because many have not yet realised the seriousness of the war.

Women realise it, and our complaint to-day is that we are not allowed to serve. We are, thousands of us who are standing by, anxious to produce shells, munitions necessary to help this country through this crisis. We are not allowed to do it, simply because some men have been so long in realising we are in the midst of this war. But I want to say this to you: that it is not too late.

The one and only enemy we have to fight at the moment is the Germans. We of the W.S.P.U. believe in drastic measures. We do not believe in fighting the Germans with our gloves on. We believe in taking the gloves off and fighting them straightforwardly, but with all our might.

We have also stated very definitely what we think about the enemy in our midst. We find even in official positions, in our State offices, in Government service, and in powerful positions of all kinds, enemies, there are men who have been moulded to German ways, men who have had Germanised ideals.

Just take Lord Haldane for instance. What did we find Lord Haldane saying? That his spiritual home was in Germany! Then why did he not go there and stop there! Some of you say "Oh, but Lord Haldane has done a good deal for this country." Well, we women think that a man who knew that there was a German peril before we were aware of it was no friend of Britain if he did not fully prepare to fight the enemy. To keep us in the dark, we consider a crime, because if the people of Britain had known, they would certainly have been more ready to fight.

Now, gentlemen, don't you come to us after this war and tell us you understand foreign and Imperial questions and we do not, because when we look back into the last ten years we find that you have made a nice mess of affairs. We will do our best now to help you out; we are anxious to do so. We realise that during the last ten years in which we had to fight the British man some of you were getting Germanised. Now when you are getting truly British again, after the last twelve months, we find that you are not such bad fellows after all. Three millions have actually come forward under a voluntary system and offered to fight for their country, and the women of the country are very proud of them.

Thousands of women would gladly take their place if allowed to; but our work is behind, here. To the women I want to say that it is your duty to watch the enemy in our midst. If you hear people talking about peace; if you hear of discontent, it is for you the women of this country to put a stop to such talk.

We call upon the men of this country at this time of day to put aside their individual troubles, their little petty squabbles and their fight for a little extra money. There is one enemy you have to face at this moment, and that is the Germans. Because I say to you, as has been said by our paper many a time, if the Germans win, if we are beaten, well you will have to be content with whatever wages they like to give you, and do whatever work they make you do. We have an exhibition of that. Do you think that

the men who are forced to go down into the mines to get the coal for the Germans to kill their own countrymen do this because they like to do it? Do you realise that the working men in districts of which the Germans are in possession are driven into the workshops and the mines, to get the fuel, and produce the munitions to shoot down their own countrymen and women too? Do you realise that that is what would happen if the Germans were to win? We want the men of the country to be aroused.

We feel that this discontent that is arising amongst miners is a very grievous menace to this nation. We do not take any side. We think that mine owners and miners are as much to blame. We deal with the men to-day as British men and what we say to them is that it is not for British men to-day to be doing what even the men in the enemy country will not dream of doing.

The Labour Conference at Bristol discussed the question of national service or conscription, and the workmen of Germany realised what it would mean if a resolution in favour of conscription was passed. Although the working men of Germany think that conscription is a proper thing there, they are nevertheless delighted when they find that British people are against it, because their one hope is that every British shoulder will not be put to the wheel. We women feel that if we can, for the time being, put aside our fight for the enfranchisement of women, at least the men of the country at the present moment can put their grievances aside when it is a question of £. s. d., especially when you have Tommy in the trenches for 1s. a day—and if he were to strike where would you and I be? Where would the miners of South Wales be if Germany were to win this war? The miners of South Wales would be the first people to be victims, for the Germans would drive them down the pits to bring out fuel to man the ships and to shoot down their brothers and their countrymen. That is what we feel and feel very strongly, and we appeal to the men to be loyal to our nation, to stand by our nation and fight for the liberty of the British people. I do not think you men realise what it is to take part in a fight when you have no voice and vote. I only wish you men of the present day had had a taste of it. For that is what it means if Germany wins the war. The War Lord and the Kaiser would have the voice and the people would have nothing to say with regard to the government of the country.

We are in a serious war! We ask the men to join the fighting line, and the women we ask to help you men; to go forward; to encourage them, and in every possible way to make it easy for them. And we say to the men: if you go out to defend the country, we can promise you, we British women although you have not trusted us in the past; you have trusted the Germans before you have trusted your own British women, but we ask you now to trust the women. We will do our duty at home, if you will do your duty across the Channel. (Applause.)

SPECIAL NOTICE

Our next issue will contain a full report of Mrs. Pankhurst's speech at Cardiff.

NO GERMANISED BUREAUCRACY FOR US

This Article is reprinted by request from our issue of August 6, 1915

"To be a German became more than ever the surest way to every honour and distinction. A famous general asked what reward he would like to receive for his great services replied:— 'To be promoted German; rewards would then follow of themselves.'"

REALLY that is what we seem to be coming to in this country!

The words above quoted are from M. G. de Wesselitsky's *Russia and Democracy, the German Canker in Russia* and they describe a condition of affairs that for two hundred years has existed in Russia but is now passing away owing to the Russian determination that Russia shall be for the Russians and not for the Germans.

But let anyone go through the British Army List and they will see there a host of names showing that their possessors are of German birth or descent!

What does it mean that a public servant is of German birth or descent? It means that, apart from any partiality he may have for Germany, he may actually be a German subject and acting as such! Because the Kaiser has procured the enactment of a law providing that Germans naturalised in other countries continue to be Germans. These "naturalised" Germans who are for example in the British Government service are punishable by German law as traitors to Germany if they serve British interests in opposition to German interests.

There is more than that! A British subject of German descent even though he has never set foot in Germany can under the provisions of a German law passed in 1913 become a German subject by making a secret declaration. On thus assuming German nationality he is expected to serve German interests.

The author of *Russia and Democracy, the German Canker in Russia* says that hundreds of Germans by birth or descent are alleged to be "secretly fulfilling their duties towards their recovered Fatherland." And he adds: "If that were verified, many otherwise obscure events in the present war would be explained."

One fact at any rate is not obscure. It is that there has been treachery in Russia on the part of men in the Russian Government service who were really working for Germany and to this treachery has been due, in large measure, the Russian *munition difficulties*!

It is thought by Russians that Great

Britain is more fortunate than they in being more free of German influence in the public service.

Yet Germanism in office is a *fact* with us and one of greater extent than people have realised until now.

To be of German blood sometimes seems to be a positive advantage to the candidate for place or promotion in the Government service.

Here are facts laid before the House of Commons by Sir Arthur Markham and not denied by the Under-Secretary for War. Sir Arthur Markham said:

I will deal with the case of Major Reichwald, who has now changed his name to Baker. This person is the son of Krupp's agent in London, Mr. Auguste Reichwald, who has for many years been the representative of Krupps in this country. Mr. Reichwald has four sons; three of them are still in the business with him. The eldest son, Frederick Wilhelm Reichwald, joined the British Artillery. . . . He was educated by his father, who was an extremely able man and he passed through Woolwich in the ordinary course. This officer was sent to India and four months before the war for some extraordinary reason which no one seems to understand, he was taken out of his own service and made Assistant Military Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief in India.

In that position he had all the confidential information of the Commander-in-Chief's office.

He had all the information relating to the movement of troops to France and East Africa.

When the war broke out he was immediately promoted to Chief of the Intelligence Department of the Indian Corps and was sent to France.

Many wounded Indian officers who have returned to this country have complained very strongly about these proceedings. They have said that here was an officer who had all the confidential reports before him, who examined all the spies and prisoners, who knew also when any attack was going to be made or when any offensive or defensive movement was contemplated. . . .

Is there any other nation in the world except ours—take France, Germany, or Russia—who would take the son of the agent of a foreign Government and make him their Chief Intelligence Officer?

Our comment upon the case is firstly that the admission of Major Reichwald to the British Army was contrary to the public interest, whether or no the authorities then realised it and secondly his continuance in the Army and above all his promotion in the manner described is an offence against the nation at this time of deadly peril.

And over and over again we find Germans by birth or descent holding posts of what may be called *strategic importance* in Government service.

In the War Office, at the Admiralty,

including the Air Department—there they are installed! That is not the way to win the war or to protect the country's interests in time of peace. The principle on which these appointments are made is wholly bad!

Even our Foreign Office is not free from the evil. The other day the House of Commons was assured of "the greatest possible value" of Sir Eyre Crowe, an Assistant Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

But Sir Eyre Crowe is half a German, being the son of a German mother. And moreover he is married to a German.

The following reference is taken from *Who's Who 1915*:

Crowe, Sir Eyre, K.C.M.G., cr. 1911; C.B. 1907; Assistant Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs since 1912; b. 30th July, 1864; 3rd s. of late Sir Joseph Archer Crowe, K.C.M.G., C.B., and Asta, e. d. of Baron G. von Barby; m. 1903, Clema von Bonin, e. d. of late Professor Gerhardt, Berlin. Address: 74, Elm Park Road, Chelsea, S.W. Club: Travellers'.

Sir Eyre Crowe's appointment as Assistant Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs took place in 1912, the very year in which the Germans rejected the British Government's peaceable overtures and made clear their intention to attack and subjugate their neighbours in Europe.

In the grave situation that existed in consequence; in this present peril of war; in the time to follow the war there is no room in our Foreign Office for a man linked to Germany by the closest of all ties—by blood and by marriage!

The Women's Social and Political Union is not an official body; it is not a Government Department. It has not the power of the Foreign Office to make or mar the future of this country and of Europe.

Yet the W.S.P.U., unofficial though it is, would deem it a breach of principle and duty to appoint or retain as an official any person having the disqualifications of Sir Eyre Crowe!

Our Allies the Russians are showing the moral courage and fixity of purpose needed to free themselves from their national curse—a *Germanised bureaucracy*.

Are we at the same time to tolerate the development of a Germanised bureaucracy here?

No! a thousand times no. But a Germanised bureaucracy we shall surely have unless we make a firm stand now against the state of affairs which exists already!!

CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

AN IMPORTANT SUGGESTION

WE commend to the notice of the authorities the following passages from an article by M. Jean Finot, which appears in the current issue of *La Revue*. The important suggestion which he makes for the relief of exchange difficulties might be put into operation by the British Government and British investors, as well as by the French Government and French investors:

The war will be long, and we must be impregnated by this idea that those who have the misfortune not to be able to fight at the front have, on the other hand the chance of becoming heroes of civic duty.

The ardent unanimity with which the Press promotes the payment of gold into the State Treasury is simply admirable. But, hypnotised by the necessity of the immediate increase of the yellow metal, we have not thought of a means, which to me is more ingenious and above all more simple and more advantageous, of ameliorating in a rapid fashion the situation of the Treasury.

In spite of the war and the occupation of eight Departments by the enemy, in spite of the stoppage of many of our industries and of our export trade, and in spite of the almost complete absence of the considerable revenues which France procures from the visits of foreigners, our financial situation appears in the most favourable light. A glance at the last statement of the Bank of France, dated 1st July, 1915, justifies the most radiant hope.

What more convincing tribute could be paid to the solidity of our national wealth! The whole nation is, moreover, animated by the same certainty. France is rich and her credit has unshakable bases.

The war has, however, modified the foreign aspect of our financial prosperity. Our commerce, as well as the sojourn of foreigners in our midst, have always given France an overplus of gold. . . . But the considerable purchases made abroad have eaten into the reserve of which France has always been so proud. Since the month of August 1914, up to the present date our imports have exceeded our exports by about 2½ milliards of francs. This circumstance has, by the natural law of supply and demand, provoked a fall in our exchange. There is a factor almost as important as the deposit of gold at the Bank of France—namely the effort towards economy preached from the Parliamentary Tribune by M. Ribot. . . . Economy, joined to the collection of gold, will not, however, procure for us financial equilibrium and still less the super-abundance of resources, the absolute conditions of final victory.

There is however a means which could radically change the situation of the French Treasury. The value of the foreign investments in French hands represented about the year 1902, between 27 to 29 milliards of francs and was estimated to amount in 1912 to about 42 milliards.

Notice always that in this figure are not included the foreign investments not registered in France. Their total must be a very respectable one.

It seems to us we should not exaggerate by saying that France has some 15 milliards of them. . . .

A quantity of industrial values, especially in the form of American bonds and obligations, and securities of other countries of the same nature, have entered into the portfolios of our capitalists or are to be found placed to their account in foreign banks.

France would seem to possess at the present time in the shape of foreign investments about 60 milliards of francs. By deducting about 15 milliards of Russian values and another 15 milliards for others temporarily unseizable, there remain about 30 milliards in investments distributed among the United States, Great Britain and her Colonies, Spain and South America.

We must naturally take into account the fall in price of a great number of these securities, and that is the reason why we calculate that there are only about 10 milliards immediately mobilisable.

In reality there are many English and American values, whose holders are recruited above all in France, which have not fallen since the war and there are even some which have considerably augmented, and as French money has lost in comparison with English or American money, from 10 per cent. to 12 per cent., it is all to our interest to sell just now because the loss on exchange, advantages the seller of these investments.

The French Treasury could and ought to profit by the special situation of the French National savings. Essentially mobile, they are moreover very easily handled and could become an efficacious weapon once

they were put at the disposition of the Government capable of making use of them.

Each foreign value which can at this moment be sold in its country of origin with which we are in business relations represents for us the same advantages as the yellow metal.

If the State finds itself in possession of 10 milliards of these values that means to say that we have put at its disposal so many milliards in gold.

France has just appealed to all the holders of yellow metal to hand it over to the Treasury.

The Treasury has the same right and moreover a duty to address the same demand to all the holders of foreign securities.

These ought to be put at the disposition of the public Treasury. This patriotic appeal, do not doubt it, will be welcomed with joy by all good Frenchmen.

The State could take them over at a fixed price at the current rate, giving their equivalent in the National War Loan. . . .

In order to render this method efficacious there is imposed on the French Government the duty of obtaining from the British Government facilities for selling certain investments, which for the moment are blocked in France. The Stock Exchange in London permits only the sale of securities which are in the real possession of the United Kingdom, since September 13, 1914, and have not since the beginning of the war been the property of the enemy. Consequently the British securities belonging to the French, such as the Canadian Pacific, and others, cannot be sold at present in London.

This seems completely inadmissible in matters concerning France and the French. The Minister of the English Treasury wishes thus to defend England from the invasion of German values which by flooding into the market might have on the one hand caused a great fall and, on the other procured for the enemy, gold resources coming from England.

As it becomes urgent to modify this rule No. 9 which is seriously prejudicial to us, with the concurrence of the stockbrokers and the great banks of Paris, it would be very easy to establish a system of certificates which would open the Stock Exchange of London to the French, while continuing to protect it from German enterprises.

The German Colonial Dream

THIS map was found in the office of a German engineer at Usakos, German South-West Africa, by a member of General Botha's forces.

It represents the frontiers of Germany and German colonies after a peace to be signed at Rome in the course of the present



year when the troops of the Kaiser have secured a crushing and final victory.

The territory marked to be sold is the Spanish Rio Muni.

Heavy German humour as well as pan-Germanist ambition is evidenced in the drawing, for in the middle of Sahara is marked a "football reserve for English domestics."

ENQUIRY NEEDED

"HIGH FINANCE" and the Danger of Premature Peace is the title of an article by Mr. Edgar Crammond in the September *Nineteenth Century and After*. In the course of this article these warning words appear:

Our greatest danger now is that we may allow ourselves to be "bluffed" into a premature and inconclusive peace. We hold the winning position, and all we have to do is to stand fast with our Allies. The great bulk of the British people have not the remotest idea of the strength and ramifications of German financial interests throughout the world, and particularly in this country and in the United States. . . . Before the British people allow the resumption of financial intercourse with Germany they would, I believe, be well advised to demand the appointment of a Parliamentary Committee to inquire upon the following, *inter alia*, points:

- (1) The extent and ramifications of German direct and indirect financial interests in the United Kingdom.
- (2) The extent to which these interests facilitated Germany's financial preparations for war.
- (3) The nature and extent of German financial operations on the London Stock Exchange and on the London Money Market immediately before the outbreak of war and their influence on the movement of gold to Germany through direct and indirect channels.
- (4) The extent to which German financial interests are traceable in the forthcoming movement in favour of the conclusion of an early peace.

It will be recalled that at the general meeting of the shareholders of the London City and Midland Bank which was held on the 29th of January last, Sir Edward Holden, the Chairman, stated that "On the 18th of July last the Dresdner Bank caused a great commotion by selling its securities and by advising its clients to sell their securities. This was recognised as the first semi-official intimation of a probable European conflagration." I cannot help thinking that Sir William Plender, the Official Supervisor of the Deutsche Bank and the Dresdner Bank, might be able to give some illuminating evidence from the documents relating to those banks which are in his possession, as to the part which certain financial houses having offices in London played, consciously or unconsciously, in the great attempt which there is reason to believe Germany made in July 1914 to destroy, or at least paralyse, British credit.

If the fears I have expressed are well grounded German influence will make itself felt as insidiously and secretly as possible through the same channels, and the only effective weapon against this influence is publicity or the threat of publicity. It will be of no avail to have such an inquiry as I suggest after the war. The lines of economic development will then have been determined, and there would be an overwhelming disposition to hush matters up. Now is the time for such an inquiry while the material is available, and our future economic policy is still capable of remoulding into different channels. I also believe that our Allies would obtain some illuminating information if they held similar inquiries with regard to the methods adopted in connection with the German policy of "economic penetration" in their respective countries.

"A DYNASTY OF FRAUD AND FORCE"

A German historian's indictment of the Hohenzollerns—(Continued from last week.)

Under the title "Who is the Real Enemy of Germany?" the historian ONNO KLOPP, an old-time non-Prussian and non-Prussianised German, wrote in 1868 an indictment of the Hohenzollerns and Prussianism which was veritably and tragically prophetic. We here reproduce a seventh instalment.*

IT is probable that the Prussian policy would willingly avoid a war, the object of which would be, the annexation of the South German States, or the forcing of them into the North German Confederation. Prussia hopes to exert a pressure through the various means at its command; through the so-called customs of Parliament and all the numerous tools which they are able to put in motion in South Germany; through the weakness and impotence of many others (whose duty it would be energetically to resist) and thus to bring the fruit to maturity without resorting to open warfare.

But let us consider whether the position of France can allow that country to suffer such encroachments in the long run. We do not speak of the personal views of the Emperor of the French or of his policy, we only try to find out what a great nation which prides itself on its position in the world, must feel at the idea that on its Eastern frontier a Military State of an offensive character, by its nature and history, extends itself farther and farther.

We shall not be answered, we hope, as is the habit of the Berlin newspapers to do, that the progress of affairs on the other side of the Rhine is not any more the business of France now than it was in the time of the Germanic Confederation. It cannot be a matter of indifference to one neighbour whether the other has dangerously inflammable materials collected in his house. France knows but too well the enormous difference between the defensive character of the former Confederation—which from that very reason, as answering to the real nature of the German nation, was a guarantee of the European peace—and the offensive character of the Hohenzollern Dynasty with the fictitious name of North German Confederation, which places all the military forces to the north of the river Main at the unconditional disposal of that dynasty.

It was a grave political error that France in 1866, did not place herself betimes in such a state as to be able to force Prussia to narrow considerably her plan of extending her frontiers after her victory, of which she took such disproportionate advantage. The retirement of the French troops from the Eastern frontier actually gave to the dynasty of the

Hohenzollerns the means to act as it did; and yet the independence of the German Middle States was not only necessary for the interests of the whole German nation and its intellectual and national advancement in general, it was also required on grounds of the sanctity of international right and for the preservation of the peace of Europe: it was above all especially of advantage to the interests and security of France.

It has happened otherwise. But will France, after having once committed that which for her own sake was a blunder, be able to allow the dynasty of the Hohenzollerns to continue to profit by it? Can France, from the point of view of her own safety, quietly look on and see that power which, by its origin and growth, can be nothing else than an aggressive one, become daily stronger and extend its frontiers? Can we say, that France will permit it to advance still further until one day when Prussia feels herself the stronger of the two she may carry on a war against France as she did, in 1866, against Germany and Austria?

"We shall be overrun and knocked to the ground, one after another," thus admonished the Empress Maria Theresa ninety years ago, her daughter the Queen of France, "if we do not in a firm alliance and in proper time oppose this power, which is always ready for attack." The hour of an alliance, in the sense of Maria Theresa's words has already passed. Austria having been left to herself is beaten. France falls now back upon the defensive. We say advisedly, the defensive, for AGAINST AN AGGRESSIVE MILITARY POWER LIKE THAT OF THE HOHENZOLLERNS, FOR WHICH RIGHT AND TREATIES EXIST ONLY SO LONG AS IT IS KEPT IN AWE, EVERY WAR IS ONLY ONE OF SELF-DEFENCE, JUST AS IS THE COMBAT OF MAN IN A WILDERNESS AGAINST THE ATTACKS OF THE BEASTS OF PREY.

The present state of affairs is incompatible with the principal conditions of a peaceful development of the welfare and prosperity of the peoples. It cannot be repeated too often, that just as the fearful system of using up all human forces in men and money, for military purposes, originated a hundred and fifty years ago with the dynasty of the Hohenzollerns, so it has been at first, and is at present, chiefly supported by it. The other Powers follow the example, because the duty of self-preservation forces them to do so. The curse of the nations falls not upon their own Governments, which cannot do otherwise, but upon the dynasty of the Hohenzollerns as the author of the evil in France no less than in Germany. For the Northern Confederation, armed to the teeth,

forces France, being always threatened, to do the same; it compels the French as well as the Germans to sacrifice the vital forces of the people to an armed peace; TO A PEACE WHICH WILL ONLY LAST UNTIL THE HOHENZOLLERN DYNASTY, TRUE TO ITS SYSTEM, CONSIDERS THE OPPORTUNE MOMENT COME FOR TAKING THE CHANCE OF A TIGER'S LEAP.

It is no use to conceal the fact that whatever way affairs may turn, France, be it willingly or unwillingly, sooner or later cannot avoid the combat at *Loutrance* with the dynasty of the Hohenzollerns and their State.

In that war France will have for allies, all those Germans* who consider the principle of the Hohenzollern dynasty—the principle of violence and falsity—as the arch-enemy of everything that is German. Both France and we have an interest in common to drive the Hohenzollern dynasty back to the other side, the right shore of the Elbe, to place it again in such a state that it can be no longer considered dangerous to the peace of Europe and the quiet development of the welfare of the peoples.

But here we expect to hear the voices of those who will exclaim that an alliance of a German power with France against Germany is treason against the Fatherland.

We should also join in this exclamation if these words were true. But there can be no treason against Germany, because Germany no longer exists. No foreign alliance could be made so long as Germany was united by the Confederacy, without treason being committed against her. Such treason was committed by Prussia and in addition to it, the long planned destruction of the Confederation was achieved by her. Just because this Prussian treason against Germany has been successful, in consequence whereof the Hohenzollern dynasty has dismembered Germany, there can be at the present time no treason neither morally nor by the law of nations, committed against Germany, by the alliance of any German with foreign powers.

The question is not one of a few hundred square miles, but one of principles. The question is to put an end to the godless principle of the Hohenzollern dynasty—that curse of the peoples of Europe—which recognises upon earth no other right than the might of the strongest. France only can do that—the French nation is the only one which can rise as the protector and defender of right upon earth, first for itself and then also for the other nations.

(To be continued.)

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

* It was to unite the Germans against France that Bismarck plotted a war, to take place in 1870, in which France should seem to be the aggressor.

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