

"Britannia," November 26, 1915.

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Britannia

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, NOVEMBER 26, 1915

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Review of the Week.

What about Serbia's INTEGRITY!

The Prime Minister's latest pledge to Serbia needs further explanation. He said: "Serbia's independence is regarded by us as one of the essential objects of the Allied Powers."

But that is not enough! The INTEGRITY must also be one of the essential objects of the Allies. Is that what Mr. Asquith means?

We ask the question because among the conditions of peace which rumour has it the Kaiser may presently have the audacity to propose is this: "Germany would not touch the independence of Serbia!"

But at the same time Germany would rob Serbia of all the strategically important parts of her territory, thus striking a deadly blow at Serbia and at the Allies too. In other words, Serbia's independence would be a mockery, and a short-lived mockery at that! As to the Allies, Germany would have become possessed of a crucial strategic and material advantage enabling the Kaiser to keep a pistol always pointed at their head in time of peace and enabling him at the time that should seem suitable to him, to demand further monstrous surrenders on pain of war.

Mr. Asquith must state whether or no he regards the integrity of Serbia as an essential object of the Allies.

The Path to German World Domination.

It cannot be too clearly understood that the path to German domination of the world lies through Serbia. The country must recognize before it is too late, the disgrace and danger of Sir Edward Grey's opposition to helping Serbia—an opposition described by a foreign critic as "the incredible resistance of England to military action in Serbia." Incredible indeed! Why! the conduct of certain Balkan monarchs pales into insignificance in comparison. Has not Sir Edward Grey heard of the mouse that saved

the lion. A free, strong Serbia, no mouse indeed, but lion-hearted in courage, means the salvation of the British Empire. But Serbia destroyed or even robbed of vital parts of her territory—and the British Empire suffers a mortal wound. We must not be blind to that truth.

What therefore is the meaning of Sir Edward Grey's opposition to helping Serbia? Will his admirers answer that question!

What is to be Done Now?

What is to be done now? The method by which the situation can still be saved—though never can all the agony and massacre the Serbs have suffered be undone—is discussed in an important article on page 77, by M. André Chéradame, author of *L'Europe et la Question d'Autriche*, *La Question d'Orient* and other works of importance.

Certain Influences Will Persist and Must be Constantly Resisted.

To fight in the Balkans, is the honourable and practically effective policy. To challenge Germany not there, but further East would mean a final abandonment of Serbia and would be courting defeat for ourselves. But the influences that have worked to secure the betrayal of Serbia will not withdraw from that unholy struggle and we may expect to witness desperate efforts to deflect and delay British military action in the Balkans.

A MATTER OF GRAVE IMPORTANCE.

We would draw very special attention to this serious statement by an authority on military matters. Is it true? If so why? The warning given in the previous paragraph is not without its application here!

Large British contingents are assembled near the Suez Canal. According to the information which reaches us, they are much larger than is necessary for safeguarding the Canal, which cannot be threatened except by bands of Turks who, on the other hand, are obliged to protect themselves against the Druse and Arab insurgents. The British are said to have the intention of taking the offensive in Syria by way of Sinai. This expedition seems to us to be without point. It would have to cover more than 700 kilometres in difficult country whose width between the sea and the desert region does not exceed 150 kilometres. The forces that would be absorbed in this expedition would suffice to conquer Syria at a single blow if they were landed at Alexandria.

To make the Suez Canal the point of departure for this Syrian expedition would be to renew the error of Gallipoli where we landed on the peninsula by its southern point.

IMPORTANT REINFORCEMENTS COULD BE TAKEN FROM THE BRITISH ARMY IN EGYPT WITHOUT ENDANGERING SYRIA AND DIRECTED UPON SALONICA, WHERE THEIR PRESENCE WOULD MORE SURELY SAFEGUARD THE BRITISH POSITIONS, BECAUSE THE ENEMIES WHO ARE CAPABLE OF MENACING THOSE POSITIONS ARE IN SERBIA AND IT IS THERE THAT THEY MUST BE DEFEATED IN ORDER TO BAR THE ROAD BY

WHICH THEY ARE TRYING TO REACH THE ORIENT.

They Will Say: "You Were Right"!

We stand more firmly than ever by the opinion expressed in the following words taken from the Albert Hall circular:

The betrayal of Serbia has come as a final and tragic proof that neither the honour nor the interests of the nation are safe in the present hands, and that in particular the Prime Minister and Sir Edward Grey are unfit for the great and responsible positions they hold.

That this view was to be expressed at the meeting can have surprised no one as it had been freely and repeatedly expressed in these columns. Some day the whole world (a large part says it now) will say: "You were right." Cold comfort indeed will that be!

The Government and the Meeting.

The Albert Hall meeting was the subject of question and answers in the House of Commons. Sir John Simon made the absurdly untrue suggestion that the promoters of the meeting were likely to give "a false impression that the Government is not generally supported in the prosecution of the war." But on the contrary the complaint of the promoters of the meeting is that the Government do not prosecute the war thoroughly, and notably in that vitally important quarter—the Balkans.

Mr. Pringle asked whether the Press Bureau had suggested a joint attack upon this meeting in the Press to which Sir John Simon replied in the negative, whereupon Sir Arthur Markham asked: "Why is it that the whole of the 'cocca' Press today has made an attack upon the meeting?"

A correspondent puts the following interesting question:

Why are not meetings such as those run by the Union of Democratic Control and the Independent Labour Party at the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, vetoed also? I was present at one. Held ostensibly for the purpose of protesting against Conscription, it resolved itself into an anti-recruiting, pro-German, peace-at-any-price affair.

The Answer to an Accusation.

Mrs. Pankhurst's reply to the Archdeacon of Westminster and certain other critics appears on page 79 of this issue. In the course of his letter the Archdeacon says:

The selection of these two Ministers, the Prime Minister and Sir Edward Grey, thus publicly insulted, is accounted for on remembering their attitude with regard to a certain measure.

The Archdeacon's charge is false and if he listens to his conscience he will we believe, be bound to admit this. The Women's Social and Political Union, whose cause, as the Archdeacon now reminds us, was so ill-served by the two Ministers in question, were prepared to support these two Ministers provided they did their duty by the country in this war. It is solely and entirely because of the grave errors, so dangerous in their results, which the Prime Minister and Sir Edward Grey have committed in connection with the war, that their resignation is demanded by us.

(Continued on page 80.)

Britannia

With which is incorporated
"THE SUFFRAGETTE"
Official Organ of the Women's
Social and Political Union

PRICE ONE PENNY WEEKLY.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 26, 1915.

BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE!

"Whom the gods wish to destroy, they first make mad."

Then may the gods restore sanity to this country of ours! For it is nothing less than madness to give to the enemy such opportunities as we do, forgetting that while our soldiers die in the trenches as the price of victory, that victory may be thrown away and the war lost in London! So heedless are some people of this that they assent even to the presence in the very heart of the national organisation for the conduct of the war, of a near relation, the nephew, of the chief of the enemy Naval Staff. What right have we to run such a risk as that!

Future generations will look back with amazement at such irresponsibility—let us hope they may not have bitter reason to curse us for this trifling with their fate and the fate of civilisation.

Can it be that there are people ignorant of the fact that in war the most dangerous enemies are those who gain entrance to the enemy's camp!

They can work a double injury. They can communicate information to the enemy. More serious by far, they can influence policy to the enemy's advantage.

As regards influencing policy, it is easy to see that if the British permit German reservists living overseas to regain their native land after the outbreak, or if the British allow one or more sorts of essential materials of war to reach Germany—all that is of incalculable value to Germany.

Similarly, if the British undertake futile in preference to useful military operations, that also means a vast economy to Germany of life and treasure.

If British military action in a certain quarter is vital to the triumph of Britain's cause and that action can be prevented or delayed, then Germany may gain greater advantage than from many successful battles and will gain it without cost in life or treasure.

The surest way to win a game of cards is obviously to see and to play your opponent's hand as well as your own.

That is precisely the way in which the Kaiser desires to play the game of war—to know his enemy's resources and to decide what his enemy's action shall be.

The Kaiser has tried to place his friends and agents in every camp in Europe—in camps belligerent and camps as yet neutral.

Above all the Kaiser has sought thus to place his representatives in Britain.

A judge coming from Mars to decide upon the evidence would be likely to hold that the Kaiser had succeeded.

Certain it is that the British people can say with truth:

What William would pray to the gods

for certain persons among us are bringing about. . . .

It is impossible to vanquish your foreign enemies, until you have punished your enemies within the city: these are the stumbling-blocks that must cripple your efforts against the foreigner.

It is obvious that action has been taken by the British Foreign Office and by the Government inspired by the Foreign Office, of a kind highly gratifying to the Germans.

They indeed admit it. For this should be noticed—that whereas they are anxious enough to put us on the wrong track where present and future action is concerned, the Germans are often candour itself where their criticism of our past and, as they believe, irrevocable mistakes are concerned.

A catalogue of the mistakes of our Foreign Office has lately been published by Maximilien Harden. It includes the following:

(1) "Not to have forced the Dardanelles at full speed in the wake of the *Goeben* and the *Breslau* which would have assured from the beginning of the war communication with the Black Sea and consequently with Russia.

(2) "Not to have accepted the offer of Greece to fight on our side on condition that the integrity of her territory should be guaranteed.

(3) "The Gallipoli undertaking.

(4) "To have neglected to take into account the German plans for the East which Harden affirms—and it is for us to falsify his words by deeds—will destroy communication between Nish and Salonica and with Russia and will give to Germany a strong position in the Bosphorus."

The pro-Bulgarianism of Sir Edward Grey and his train of Foreign Office officials, has led to diplomatic failure in the Balkans, failure which can be retrieved only by the diplomacy of soldiers and guns. And this pro-Bulgarianism was all the more unjustified because Bulgaria, as is Austria, is simply the advance guard of Germany, so that every concession made to Bulgaria would be for the ultimate profit of Germany.

A truly pathetic drawing has appeared in one of the newspapers, depicting Sir Edward Grey leaving a gaming table at which sits Ferdinand, William, Francis-Joseph and the Sultan half hidden in the background. Underneath appear these words: "Is it fair to blame an honest gentleman if he loses when he has to play against a card-sharper with confederates?"

Now to begin with, Sir Edward Grey, who as he admits had his eyes open to the facts all along, had no right to risk the nation's safety by entering into a game with a card-sharper with confederates.

And on general principles we would say that to be outwitted by knaves whom one knows to be knaves is no sign of honesty but a sign of folly if not worse.

It is all very well to be innocent as the dove, in which character one does not, after all, recognise Sir Edward Grey, but we are bidden also to be wise as the serpent!

So much for Sir Edward Grey's diplomacy!

His influence upon military policy is even more deplorable. For not only did he neglect to warn the military

authorities in due season that diplomacy having failed they must prepare to make the guns speak, but he actually opposed the taking of military action in the Balkans. This meant the betrayal of Serbia. It meant also the surrender to the Germans of the Balkans and Constantinople.

And what did that surrender mean? The Germans' answer to that question is stated by the *Berliner Tageblatt* as follows:

This is the beginning of the final triumph of German arms over the world. Our General Staff knows that the nearest way to strike Germany's chief enemy is not to capture Calais, but to hold the Dardanelles. Behind the Dardanelles is Egypt, which is England's connecting link with India. If England wants the war to end she can rest assured that her desire will shortly be accomplished.

Sir Edward Grey may not accept that view, but let us ask him this:

"If you will not stop the German advance in the Balkans, where will you and where can you stop it?"

But better not wait for his answer! The time is too short, the situation too grave!

We must have other men and other methods.

Sir Edward Grey has brought our country and our Allies into the gravest peril. The situation can be saved, but it needs others to save it.

Let Sir Edward Grey retire to Falloiden! Admiral von Holtzendorff's nephew we should wish to see rejoining his uncle, his sister and other relatives in Germany. As principal permanent servant at the British Foreign Office he has been weighed in the balance and found wanting.

War is a stern judge. Heavy and without appeal is the sentence it inflicts upon nations who after warning still defy its laws.

At this supreme moment of world history, we have as a nation, the choice between freedom and slavery, between life and death.

If we choose freedom and life, then we must find other leaders and we must fight for all we are worth in the Balkans. To do other is to choose slavery and national death.

For do not imagine that men who have betrayed Serbia and opened Germany's way to the East will now learn to lead us aright!

And do not imagine that if Germany's dream of conquering Belgrade to Bagdad be realised, the liberty of Europe—the liberty of individuals or of nations—will ever again be safe!

The Hohenzollern menace will be greater and more terrible than ever.

Peace will be banished from the heart of all who would be free.

The Hohenzollerns and Prusso-Germany have a hunger for conquest, for bringing others into subjection that is never appeased—a hunger that grows and grows as it is fed.

Now or never we must overcome and clip the wings of this bird of prey whose wings already darken and finally would blot out the sky.

Away with those who lead us into danger and leave the British people free to save itself while there is still time and a chance to do it!

CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

MRS. PANKHURST'S LETTER

Mrs. Pankhurst has written as follows in reply to Canon Wilberforce and some others who addressed letters to her with reference to the Albert Hall Meeting.

We followed Mr. Asquith's Government faithfully and truly during the first year of the war.

We set aside our own special claims, realising that to answer the appeal of the "Country in Danger" was the highest interest and most sacred duty of us all. It is in the same spirit that we are working to-day and shall continue to work until our country and her Allies, having passed through present perils, have achieved victory.

In July, acting with the most patriotic motive, we mildly called attention to the danger of the presence in important public office of men connected with Germany.

About three months ago, we made our first definite protest against the continued employment, as principal permanent servant to Sir Edward Grey, of Sir Eyre Crowe, who is a son of a German mother and is married to a German wife. I would point out in passing that the Germans would allow no such thing where their Foreign Office is concerned, having in fact a rule which requires the resignation of diplomats who marry foreigners.

However, Sir Edward Grey persisted in keeping Sir Eyre Crowe at the Foreign Office, although this same Sir Eyre Crowe is actually the nephew of the chief of the German Naval Staff, Admiral von Holtzendorff!

In view of this amazing defiance of the elementary requirements of national safety, we then deemed it our duty to demand, and on October 15th we did for the first time demand, the resignation of Sir Edward Grey himself. As Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith is of course also responsible for the personnel at the Foreign Office and for the policy of the Foreign Office.

By common consent and by the verdict of events, Sir Edward Grey's Balkan diplomacy has failed. It has brought the Germans within the reach of the object with which they started the war—namely, the destruction of Serbia! If it be consummated, the destruction of Serbia means (even more if possible than would the destruction of Belgian national independence) the downfall of the British Empire.

Sir Edward Grey's Balkan diplomacy has cleared the way of the Kaiser to Constantinople.

German mastery of the Balkans and Constantinople, with all that such mastery involves, will lead, so the

Germans believe, to the German mastery of the world. No one, so far, has proved to the contrary!

Sir Edward Grey has been the leader of the Entente diplomacy since war began. M. Delcassé, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, who followed Sir Edward Grey's lead, has now resigned his Office, while Sir Edward Grey, although far more responsible for the evils in question, retains his. France regards the change at her Foreign Office as right and necessary. A wise Britain will take a similar view where Sir Edward Grey is concerned.

As the very existence of our nation and Empire is at stake, we cannot afford to keep in office any man who has failed to maintain our honour and our interests.

We say that Serbia has been betrayed and it is true Sir Edward Grey obstinately opposed the sending of British help to Serbia, our small but heroic Ally, who has repulsed so magnificently two previous attacks by the enemy; who had suffered without any loss of morale the typhus scourge brought her by the Austrians, and in face of the German-Austrian-Bulgarian attack, besought our help.

Sir Edward Grey opposed the sending of that help. The Cabinet, in accordance with Sir Edward Grey's wishes, decided not to send help. That is why Sir Edward Carson resigned.

Even though help is now being sent, it is tardy, and unless some revolutionary change of policy has been made in the last few hours, it is also inadequate.

Sir Edward Grey's extraordinary "explaining away" of his public pledge to help Serbia made on September 28th; his statement made on that same date, suggesting that Bulgaria, whom he knew to be hostile, was friendly and was mobilising with no hostile purpose; his refusal to endorse Serbian military plans which would have enabled our Ally to forestall the Bulgarian attack—these are among his offences against our honour and safety.

A mystery not yet cleared up yet is this: why did Sir Edward Grey not accept the offer which Greece made to us last April to fight on our side on the condition that we would guarantee the integrity of her territory?

To all whose patriotism is well informed, intelligent, far-sighted and really strong and deep, I confidently appeal for support in our most necessary work.

Review of the Week.

(Continued from page 75.)

The One Test.

The question of the political enfranchisement of British women will arise again in practical shape after the victory of the Allies, on which depends the liberty of British men and women alike, has been achieved. Meanwhile, we judge Mr. Asquith and Sir Edward Grey by this one test:

Are they rendering to the nation in its time of peril the service that the nation has a right to demand? The answer that experience compels is: **No.**

He Opposed the Sending of Help.

Bishop Frodsham, in a letter addressed to Mrs. Pankhurst asks, "Can it be substantiated that Serbia has been betrayed?" The answer is, "Yes, it can." Months and months ago, as Sir Edward Grey confesses, the Serbs were sending messages to him telling him of the forthcoming attack by the Bulgarians as well as by the Austro-Germans, and were begging him to take measures such as would contribute to the strength of Serbian resistance to the forthcoming attack, which although its scene was in Serbia, was an attack upon the Alliance as a whole.

Yet even at the twelfth hour, Sir Edward Grey opposed and resisted the sending of any British military help to Serbia in spite of the appeals, not only of the Serbs, but of the French, whose great military representative, General Joffre, at last came to London to make a final call to the honour and interests of Britain, whose custodian Sir Edward Grey is supposed to be.

The Sanctity of National Promises.

It was only because Sir Edward Grey's resistance to helping Serbia was thus overborne that British troops were permitted to help Serbia. The resignation and the statements of Sir Edward Carson absolutely prove that Sir Edward Grey and the Prime Minister had definitely decided not to help Serbia. It was only when shamed into doing so, that they revoked this decision.

In face of devastation and agony, far worse even than that suffered by Belgium, it is a mockery to say that because of the tardy and reluctant help which Sir Edward Grey and the Prime Minister were driven to send, Serbia has not been betrayed. "The sanctity of national promises is the broad issue for which this Government stands," says Bishop Frodsham. Certainly the British nation stands for that, but we would refer the Bishop to the pledge made by Sir Edward Grey on September 28th and afterwards broken and so extraordinarily "explained away" by him. Sir Edward Grey's conduct in this matter moved Lord Milner to say that:

"In future foreign nations will examine very minutely our declarations and especially our promises and pledges of help. They will not take them at their face value but will look well round, about and under them to see where the catch lies."

Such is the injury which Sir Edward Grey has done to British reputation.

The Honour of the British People.

"Have you considered," asks Bishop Frodsham again, "what will be the effect in the Balkans of the news that an imposing demonstration has taken place in London to assert that England has betrayed Serbia

and that consequently neither British honour nor British interests are safe in the hands of the British Ministry?" Yes, we have. The effect in the Balkans and elsewhere would be to prove that, notwithstanding the conduct of Sir Edward Grey and the Prime Minister, the British people (whom these two men have so cruelly misrepresented in this matter) still retain a sense of honour. As for the German Press, to whom Bishop Frodsham also refers, why! the German Press has found out for itself what Sir Edward Grey's treatment of Serbia means, and as we have already given warning, the Germans are only waiting to reap the full fruits of Sir Edward Grey's betrayal of Serbia in order to brandish that betrayal in our face and to use it to discredit us in the eyes of the whole world.

They are Beginning Already.

In fact, they are beginning already. Maximilien Harden describes as "incredible" the delay in dealing with the German advance in Serbia saying that Germanic Alliance had completed its plans for the Serbian campaign as early as March last. The *Neue Freie Presse* says that if we had had "seriously at heart to rush to the rescue of Serbia," we should have done so by forced marches if carriage and railway facilities were lacking. The same paper declares that we had the necessary troops available and taunts us by saying that if British troops for example at Alexandria had been in the same terrible plight as that of Serbia, we should at all costs and without any delay have gone to their rescue adding: "That is not only elementary strategy; but also the elementary idea of a soldier's duty. It emphatically did not happen where Serbia was concerned."

We protest against the British Army and people being disgraced in the eyes of the world and we demand the resignation of the man who is responsible—Sir Edward Grey.

What the Germans Say.

An argument which has been raised by some of our critics is that the Germans will be rejoiced at the condemnation of Sir Edward Grey, "whom they hate because they fear him." A significant answer to this criticism is afforded by the recent interview with Maximilien Harden published in the *New York Sun*. These are the significant words he uttered,—"Sir E. Grey is one of the sanest and best minds among the statesmen of the present period." This reminds one of Lord Haldane's strange saying on January 15, 1914 that "it was with pleasure he thought of the great power of good of the two great Statesmen in Europe Dr. Bethmann-Hollweg and Sir Edward Grey." As for Lord Haldane himself, who is the real power behind the Government, the Germans are evidently gratified at seeing him coming, as they flatter themselves, more and more to the front in our public life. They are hailing his approaching return to definite office. Nothing could suit them better than the greater and greater predominance of this man who claims the Kaiser as his personal friend, and has made of Germany his spiritual home. Mr. Asquith the Germans know to be almost as much under Lord Haldane's influence as is Sir Edward Grey.

German Approval of Lord Haldane.

Concerning German opinion of Lord Haldane it is well perhaps to quote in this place

the flattering reference to him which appears in the *Dresdner Anzeiger*:

After the open attacks in Parliament upon the inefficiency of Kitchener and French, and after Grey has stated quite openly that the mistakes of English policy must be connected with the failure of the English Army, the cry for Haldane seems intelligible.

A Strange Thing! You May Condemn the Nation, but Not the Individual.

How curious a thing it is that though criticism of one or two named individuals who happen to be Cabinet Ministers is looked upon by many people as being not permissible, nobody seems to object to attacks upon the British nation as a whole. Thus, without any protest, one of our Bishops has said that he feels "an uneasy and disquieting sense of the inadequacy with which plain folk, living in the security of their homes have risen to the occasion," and he further says that "we are suffering from a limited outlook and are in danger of resting satisfied and self-complacent on our inheritance and great traditions." We cannot give our assent to this indictment of the nation which, according to the light which has been given it, (light very scanty and misleading, only too often) has risen marvelously to the occasion and has done its best to overcome the difficulties created by its pre-war ignorance of coming danger and its unpreparedness to meet that danger due to the policy of the Government in general and Lord Haldane in particular. Another terrible hindrance to the putting out of the people's maximum war effort has been the provision of soothing-syrup by the newspapers acting under restrictions imposed by the censor and in some cases unduly desirous of providing grateful and comforting reading matter to their public.

We Must Change Our Leaders—i.e., Grey and Asquith.

Again it strikes us as something strange that public speakers are freely allowed to say, as Dr. Sarolea said the other day, that "in the conduct of this war we have been lamentably deficient in the quality of leadership and organisation." Now if this be true, it means that there is something wrong with our leaders. Who are our leaders? They are principally Mr. Asquith and Sir Edward Grey. Dr. Sarolea said further that "unless we have the heroic determination to discard the politicians who mismanage this war and squander the national resources," he is firmly convinced that "we shall not achieve that decisive victory which alone can deliver the world from the nightmare of Prussian militarism." These words, being interpreted, mean: "Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Asquith must go." But, just because Dr. Sarolea happens not to have mentioned these two gentlemen by name, nobody brings against him the charge of being "unpatriotic," or "breaking up the national unity," or anything of that sort. We would further point out that, it is an everyday thing to hear people, in private conversation, say that which this paper and the W.S.P.U. have publicly said. In fact the only thing in which this paper and the W.S.P.U. differ from any number of other people is in having the public courage of their convictions!

IN HONOUR OF HEROES!

'NOBLE AND VALIANT SERBIA.'

A Swiss Tribute.

A Swiss, M. PAUL SEIPPEL, writes in the *Journal de Geneve* as follows:

"God is too high and France is too far." In whom and in what can the noble and unhappy Serbia still put her hope.

She has fought beyond all human strength. What can she do to-day alone or almost alone against four, of whom three are great, Empires. The most noble of despairs can no more save her.

It seems that a sombre fatality weighs upon this Serbian race. It is doomed to the most unjust misfortunes. That which makes it so great is that it has never yielded to the blows of fate. To-day a new Kosovo threatens it. It does not weaken. For its liberty it will shed the very last drop of its blood. And even when struck to the ground it is not vanquished. It will await, it will prepare the day of resurrection. Thus it did under the Ottoman yoke.

To-day it is a yoke still more heavy that is sought to be imposed upon them. It is nothing less than an attempt to erase from the map of the world this country which for centuries has given so many "bad examples" of independence.

For years the Press of Germany and of Austria has systematically calumniated Serbia. Little by little, these lies, distilled drop by drop, were insinuated even into our own country. Certain of our citizens have still the most false ideas with regard to the Serbs. Yet it seems that one has only to open one's eyes in order to see clearly the value of this people.

Have we in our country no longer any respect for courage? And if we Swiss feel a solidarity with all oppressed peoples, must we not love and admire more than any, the most valiant of all that one which, hand and foot to an implacable rival, betrayed by an Ally, abandoned by all, does not abandon itself?

We have just celebrated the anniversary of our Morgarten. By heaven! our ancestors worked well for us. They deserved well of us. A handful of herdsmen overthrew some thousands of armed men. To this very day we reap the fruits of their valour.

But what were our battles, whose very name makes us thrill with pride, compared to those which the Serbs are waging, and what would have become of us if our country had ever been attacked on all sides by innumerable troops, by the most formidable armies that have ever existed.

The Austrian policy knows how to trim its sails when necessary, but it never loses sight of its unvarying aim. It shows, throughout the centuries, an extraordinary continuity. Let those who have been able to escape the claws of the two-headed eagle be careful to keep this in mind. The Swiss whose thoughts are turned towards Gessler! They would do well to think of that.

If our people knew to what a point these Serbs, so unjustly derided, resemble them!

Having lived the life of this people during two years of my youth, I learnt to know them at first hand.

The Serbian nation has a high moral value. It is by far superior to certain populations of that Empire which has so long planned her destruction. The day that the prey is being hunted down, to what fate have they doomed it?

None know precisely what is happening at this hour in that unfortunate country, invested on all hands like a town besieged. But the German, Austrian and Bulgarian bulletins take certain oratorical precautions which make one shudder. What they mean one realises only too well. We have only too much reason to fear that all that has happened in Belgium is nothing in comparison to what is happening or is going to happen in Serbia. In our opinion there is only one means of salvation, daylight!

Since the beginning of the war we have not ceased to demand that neutral commissions shall be called to make, on the scene of action, investigations of indisputable authenticity.

We insistently demand this to-day in the interests of Serbia.

And since for that the authorisation of the two belligerents is necessary, we state this dilemma: Either the Central Powers have nothing to reproach themselves with and they will give this authorisation without raising difficulties, or else they will refuse it and everyone will know why.

"THEY HOLD ALOFT THE FLAG OF LIBERTY."

In the course of an editorial on "The Serbian Resistance" the *Temps* says:

For six hundred years Serbia has suffered the harshest blows of fate. Of all the peoples of the Balkans, it is she who made the most obstinate resistance to the Turks. From the borders of the Maritza in 1376 to the very walls of Vienna in 1682, the Serbs have not ceased to find themselves upon the path of the invader. They retreated from Thrace as far as Bosnia, to Montenegro, but they did not yield. Carrying beyond their ancient frontiers the flag under which they had fought, they continued, under the protection of the Republic of Venice, of Austria and of Hungary, to fight upon the territory of these States against the destruction of their country.

It was the Serbs who helped most powerfully to drive the Turks out of Hungary, and when they had succeeded in that they immediately turned towards their own country in order to deliver it in its turn from the foreign yoke.

In 1804, at the moment when all the Christian peoples in the Balkans were slumbering in Turkish slavery, the Serbs of the pachalik of Belgrade rose up in revolt against the Sultan. For three years the Serbian peasants, led by Kara George, the grandfather of King Peter, fought alone against the Turkish forces. In 1815, there was a new revolt led by another peasant, Miloch Obrenovitch, who at last wrested from the Turk a sort of autonomy.

It remained to the Serbs to obtain their independence. The two wars of 1876 and 1877 at last realised the aspiration of a people that had never resigned itself to subjection.

It is that reconquered liberty that Austria-Hungary has never ceased to threaten, and to-day Vienna has resolved to remove from the map of Europe this country whose love of independence is too great!

The new Kosovo by which Serbia is menaced will not find her inferior to her heroic past. The Serbs who were alone among the Balkan peoples in persevering, throughout the course of centuries, without truce, without stay, in their fight against the Turk, are once more alone in defending the peninsula against foreign domination.

The Turks, the Bulgarians—those Mongols with a Slav veneer—and the Germans, find resisting them this valiant little people who, not allowing themselves to be dismayed by the number of their enemies, hold aloft the flag of liberty, and do not hesitate to sacrifice their homes and their welfare in order to preserve the treasure of their national honour.

The Serbs will come through this new crisis, greater because of their heroic martyrdom and victorious thanks to their indomitable energy.

FOOD FOR SERBIA AND MONTENEGRO.

Writing to the *Times* Dr. Svetosar Grgich says:

Having just come from Serbia and Montenegro I can but confirm the noble words of Lord Milner, that the case of Serbia really is "the most heartrending tragedy of the war." But do not expect any cry of complaint from our mouths!

Frightened by the brutal atrocities and massacres during the first Austrian invasion of Serbia one year ago, when the invaders spared neither the honour of our wives and sisters, nor even the lives of our children, the whole Serbian population of women and children are now joining our brave army on its retreat to the frozen mountains of Albania and Montenegro. In these mountains one and a half to two million Serbian people, mostly women and children, will seek refuge. With scanty means of communication towards the Adriatic, they will suffer terribly from hunger and cold. A high percentage of these heartbroken victims must perish; the others will come nearer the coast, where food will be more easily brought by way of the Adriatic.

The English and French Governments are now very seriously and thoroughly considering the important question of helping our suffering refugees. Help in food and clothes should be sent at once, for every minute is precious. The number of refugees will be very great, and the help must be given for a long time. Some refugees will have the means to buy bread and clothes, if we can offer them. In Montenegro and Albania the price of flour has hitherto been exorbitantly high; it will be rendered still higher by the addition of so many refugees. The problem is to prevent the excessive food prices, to send supplies in sufficient quantity. I am confident that in England and in France the real meaning of this problem will be understood and that it will be satisfactorily solved.

DR. SVETOSAR GRGICH,
Regent Palace Hotel, Piccadilly Circus, W.

Serbian Relief Fund.

Hon. Sec.: Mrs. CARRINGTON WILDE,
5, Cromwell Road, S.W.

GLADSTONE IN PRAISE OF THE SOUTHERN SLAVS.

Gladstone contributed to the "Nineteenth Century" of May, 1877, an article on the Southern Slavs and more particularly Montenegro, Serbia's sister State. We reproduce the following passages in addition to those that have appeared in previous issues.

Once more the heart of the little nation relieves itself in song.

The Turk wrote to Danilo: 'Send me your paltry tribute, and three of your best warriors for hostages. Refuse, or I will lay waste the land from the Morea to the salt-sea with fire and sword, and will seize you alive, and put you to death by torture.' As he read this letter, the Vladika wept bitterly. He summoned the heads of communities to Cetinje. Some said, 'Give them the tax;' but others, 'Give them our stones.' . . . They determined that they would fight to the last man. They swore with one accord that all they would give the Turk should be the bullet-rain of their muskets.

And thus continues the tale. Three Montenegrins went down to the Turkish encampment by night, and traversed the slumbering masses; just as, in the tenth Iliad, Odysseus and Diomed moved amid the sleeping allies of Troy. Vuko, one of the three, said to his comrades: "Go you back; I abide here to serve the cause." They returned to Cetinje, and said: "So many are the Turks, that, had we three all been pounded into salt, we should not be enough to salt a supper for them." How this recalls the oldest census in the world, the census of Homer, who says: "Were the Achæans divided into parties of ten, and every Trojan employed in serving them with wine, one for each party, many a ten would lack a wine-server." But, not to terrify their friends, they added that this vast host was but a host of cripples. So the people heard mass, received the benediction of their Vladika, and then set out upon the errand of victory or death. Vuko had induced the enemy to rest by the Vladinia, on the plea that they would not find water between that stream and Cetinje. Here, before dawn, came down on them the promised bullet-rain. They were slaughtered through three days of flight; and the bard concludes:

"O my Serbian brothers, and all ye in whose breasts beats the heart of liberty, be glad; for never will the ancient freedom perish, so long as we still hold our little Tsernagora!" (Montenegro)

The very next year, the Turks assembled

120,000 of their best troops for the purpose of crushing the mountaineers, whose numbers fell within the satirical description applied by Tigranes to the Romans: "Too many for an embassy, too few for an army." But even this was not enough for precaution. Thirty-seven head-men of Montenegro, who had proceeded to the Turkish camp to negotiate with the commander, were basely seized and put to death.

The Turks now ventured to assail a force one-tenth of their own numbers, and deprived of its leaders. They burned the monastery; they carried thousands of women and children into slavery; and then, without attempting to hold the country, they marched off to the Morea, while the men of Tsernagora descended from their rocky fastnesses and rebuilt their villages. They powerfully befriended Austria and Venice in the war they were then waging, and, as was too commonly the case, were left in the lurch by their allies at the peace of Passarowitz in 1719.

The Turks accordingly made bold to attack them, in 1722, with 20,000 men under Hussein Pasha. One thousand Montenegrins took this General prisoner, and utterly discomfited his army. In 1727, another Turkish invasion was similarly defeated. In 1732, Topal Osman Pasha marched against the Piperi, who had joined them, with 30,000 men; but had to fly with the loss of his camp and baggage. In 1735 the heroic Danilo passed into his rest, after half a century of toil and glory.

These may be taken as specimens of the military history of Montenegro.

Again Montenegro was invaded, in 1768, by an army variously estimated at 67,000, 100,000, and even 180,000. Their force of 10,000 to 12,000 was, as ever, ready for the fight; but the Venetians, timorously obeying the Porte, prohibited the entry of munitions of war. Utter ruin seemed now at length to overhang them. A cartridge was worth a ducat, such was their necessity; when 500 of their men attacked a Turkish division, and had for their valuable reward a prize of powder.

And now all fear had vanished. They assailed before dawn the united forces of the Pashas of Roumelia from the south, and of Bosnia from the north. Again they effected the scarcely credible slaughter of 20,000 Turks together with 3,000 horses, and won an enormous booty of colours, arms, munitions, and baggage. So it was that the flood of war gathered round this fortress of faith

and freedom, and so it was that the flood was beaten back. *Affavit Dominus, ac dissipantur.*

In 1782 came Peter to the throne, justly recorded by the fond veneration of his countrymen, as Peter the Saint. Marmont, all whose inducements and all whose threats he alike repelled, has given this striking description of him: "*Ce Vladika, homme superie, de cinquante ans environ, d'un esprit remarquable, avait beaucoup de noblesse et de dignité dans ses manières. Son autorité positive et légale dans son pays était peu de chose! mais son influence était sans bornes.*" As Bishop, statesman, legislator, and warrior, he brought his country safely through eight-and-forty years of scarcely intermitted struggle.

Down to, and perhaps after, his time, the government was carried on as in the Greece of the heroic age. The sovereign was Priest, Judge, and General; and was likewise the head of the Assembly; not a representative Assembly, but one composed of the body of the people, in which were taken the decisions that were to bind the whole as laws. This was called the Sbor; it was held in the open air; and when it became unruly, the method of restoring order was to ring the bell of the neighbouring church.

Here was promulgated for the first time in the year 1796, by Peter's authority, a code of laws for Montenegro; which had hitherto been governed, like the Homeric communities, by oral authority and tradition. In 1798 he appointed a body of judges; and in 1803 he added to the code a supplement. With the nineteenth century, in round numbers, commenced the humanising process, which could not but be needed among a race whose existence, for ten generations of men, had been a constant struggle of life and death with the ferocious Turk. From his time, the *haradsch* was no more heard of.

Here is the touching and simple account of the calm evening that closed his stormy day.

On the 18th of October, 1830, Peter the First, who was then in his eighty-first year, was sitting, after the manner of his country, by the fireside of his great kitchen, and was giving to his chiefs, assembled round him, instructions for the settlement of some local differences which had arisen. The aged Vladika, feeling himself weak, announced that his last hour had come, and prayed them to conduct him to the humble cell which, without fire, he inhabited as a hermit would. Arriving there, he stretched himself on

ANOTHER REPLY TO SIR EDWARD GREY.

A Speech delivered in the House of Commons by Sir Henry Dalziel, M.P.

We know now that in April last we were informed as to the possibility of Bulgaria attacking Serbia. There is no doubt in my mind as to what was the deciding factor in Bulgaria's action. It was the report of the military attaché at the Dardanelles which decided Bulgaria to take sides against us.

I think we ought to know why the Government ignored something which was obvious to every man who could read the facts of the case. It did not come as any surprise. I had said, before that Germany would strike somewhere, and this was the most likely place. What is responsible to some degree for the failure of the Government to act? It is largely due, in my opinion, in their view in regard to the censorship. The papers were not allowed to discuss the Balkans. The newspapers were specifically asked not to publish anything, and the result was that no public opinion was created which might have helped the Government to come to a decision.

It was the same with regard to Turkey. They said: "Do not discuss Turkey," and the result was that we found one day that we were at war with Turkey.

That is why we criticise their action with regard to the censorship. You blame the newspapers for taking a line of policy, and you tell them to be silent, but when they are silent we wake up to find that a pretty mess has been made of things.

If you had allowed free discussion on the Balkan question, under your censorship, if you like, public opinion in this country would have compelled the Government to do their duty more than they have done.

I say, therefore, that the Government are to be blamed for not allowing public opinion to be properly expressed in this country and for denying publication to the facts sent as to the attitude of Bulgaria. If these facts had been published, in my opinion public

his bed; urged upon his chiefs to execute with fidelity the provisions set forth in the Will he had that day dictated to his secretary; and then, in conversation and in prayer, rendered up his soul to God. So dies this illustrious man, whom a Slavonic writer has not scrupled to call the Louis XIV. of Tsernagora, but who in a number of respects was also its Saint Louis.

I have already indicated resemblances between the characteristic features of Montenegro, and of Homeric or Achaian Greece. One of the most remarkable among them is the growth of men truly great in small theatres of action. Not Peter the First only, but his successors, will bear some comparison with those, whom the great Greek historians of the classic period have made so famous.

To Peter the First succeeded his nephew Radatomovo, aged seventeen years.

Internal reform, which partook of a martial character, was the great task of this reign. But not exclusively. Under him was performed one of the feats incredible except in Montenegro. Ten men, in 1835, seized by a *coup de main* the old castle of Zabliak, once the capital of Zeta; held it for four days against 3,000 Turks; and then surrendered it only by order of the Vladika, who was anxious to avoid a war. Nearly all his attles were victories.

In May 1858, were revived and rivalled, at Grabovo, all the old military glories of Tsernagora. Having no artillery, and very inferior arms, the Montenegrins swept down from the hill upon the gunners of the Turks, and destroyed them. In this battle the Ottoman force, enclosed in a basin or *corrie*, without power of retreat, displayed a desperate valour, for which on most other occasions in Montenegro they have not been by any means so remarkable. Nor was their numerical superiority so manifold as it commonly had been. They were defeated with the loss of several thousand lives, of fourteen guns, colours, baggage, and munitions.

The victory of Grabovo produced a great excitement among the Rayahs of Turkey. But the great Powers of Europe came to the help of the Porte and its huge empire, against the Lilliputian State, that is scarcely a speck upon the map. It had to abide a diplomatic verdict. A Commission, sitting at Constantinople, accorded to it the advantage of establishing in principle the delimitation of its frontiers; and in 1859 admitted its envoy, notwithstanding the protest of Ali Pasha, to take part in its deliberations. But the Powers had in 1857 determined at Paris that, in return for some small accretion, and for access to the Sea, Montenegro should definitely acknowledge the suzerainty of the Porte.

Her refusal was positive, despite the wishes of the Prince.

It was to French, not British, advocacy that she seems to have owed a declaration of May, 1858, which acknowledged the independence of the Black Mountain.

opinion would have forced them to take action sooner than they did.

Then we are told that we are going to see Serbia righted and are going to drive the Germans back over the frontier after they have had full time to fortify the passages, and so forth. That is a prospect which we cannot view with a very light heart. I would rather have had my men on the spot before the situation arose than trust them to my ability to drive them back after the Serbians have been compelled to retreat.

We did not in that, as in regard to other matters, act as we ought to have done.

We ought to keep in mind what is the feeling, and what has been the feeling, in Serbia during the last few weeks. This is from a responsible man who knows the situation out there and who can be thoroughly relied upon. He writes:—

During the last hours of the Serbian occupation of Nish some officials were justly bitter concerning the impending fate of their country. They said "The Bulgarian has his knife at our throats, and our Allies are inert; they exhibit a want of accord; we warned them what was likely to happen. Serbia realised what act of treachery the Bulgars contemplated. In order to avert catastrophe our General Staff pleaded for permission to undertake a rapid and vigorous offensive. We wished to strike our enemy before he had time to stab us in the back. Our Allies would not hear of it, saying that Serbia was misinformed, that the Bulgarian mobilisation was directed against the Turks—not against Serbia."

I say that the Allies, and especially our Government, have a very great responsibility in the matter. I trust that the hopes and expectations held out at the Guildhall and elsewhere will be fulfilled, but it will want a lot of glory to wipe out that inglorious page with regard to Serbia.

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