

"Britannia," October 29, 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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Review of the Week.

Serbia's Wonderful Resistance.

SERBIA continues her most wonderful resistance. She is fighting for us as much as for herself. Upon her gallantry and moral and physical endurance depend issues vital to the British Empire.

The Germans have for months past planned to trample over the body of the Serbian nation to reach Constantinople, to increase their force of combatants to renew their supplies. Egypt and India are the goal. At the beginning of this present year, a neutral, Mr. Ibanez de Ibero, was told of the German plan by Herr von Richthofen, a German statesman and was assured of Germany's confidence of success in that direction.

Let no one believe the sham optimists who affect to regard so philosophically the results that would follow were Serbian resistance crushed! It is such people who have checked and diminished British effort and thus helped the Germans from the beginning of the war till now. The defeat of Serbia would enormously increase the cost of the Allies' victory in life and in treasure.

Honour and Security Involved.

Yet if sufficient support should be given to Serbia and given in time, German aggression could be dealt a prodigious blow and the Allies achieve a decisive triumph such as has so far eluded them on the Western front.

Honour demands that we give our utmost support to Serbia, who has withheld nothing in her support of us! Our own necessity necessitates that we fight with all we are worth and for all we are worth to

stop German progress towards Constantinople. In the name of the men who have laid down their life at the Dardanelles, we must put forth every effort.

What will Happen Next!!

The offer of Cyprus to Greece as the price of her participation in the war was an experiment emphatically not justified by results. The nation has a right to know why this offer was formally and publicly made without at least a foreknowledge that it would be accepted! Our Foreign Office flounders from one mistake to another. One trembles to think what may happen between now and the day on which the men of the country insist upon the resignation of Sir Edward Grey and his assistants.

Sir Edward Grey's Resistance to Sending British Military Help to Serbia.

Sir Edward Grey opposed and resisted the sending of British military help to Serbia. That meant leaving Serbia to her fate and it also meant withholding the one British argument for intervention on our side which Greece was likely to heed! By his conduct in opposing British help for Serbia Sir Edward Grey has finally and irrevocably proved himself unfit to be a British Minister.

The American Note.

The Note of the United States Government has now arrived. It makes demands which cannot be conceded. That such demands have been made is largely due to Sir Edward Grey's weak and vacillating policy in naval matters and to his compromising and reprehensible utterance regarding British sea power present and future.

If the men of this country were to permit Sir Edward Grey to answer the United States Note, they would be guilty of a breach of trust. Sir Edward Grey is not capable of seeing us through the Anglo-American situation with safety and honour.

Britain's Reply.

The United States Note raises an issue vital to British and European safety and there can be no compromise. Britain's reply—let the politicians send it—is this:

"WE WILL NOT SACRIFICE ON THE ALTAR OF TRADE, WHETHER OUR OWN TRADE OR YOURS, OUR OWN LIFE AND LIBERTY. BY DOING THAT WE SHOULD BE FALSE TO OUR DUTY IN EUROPE, WE SHOULD LEAVE YOU DEFENCELESS AGAINST CONQUEST AND SUBJECTION—IN A WORD WE SHOULD BETRAY HUMANITY."

By withdrawing our authority from Sir Edward Grey and by making the foregoing our reply we can preserve our country's honour and permanent security.

A Condition of Victory.

The want of due co-operation and co-ordination of policy as between the Allies is increasingly felt to be a fatal weakness. The *Daily Chronicle* we notice calls for the creation of a War Council to sit in Paris. Such a Council would of course be responsible for the diplomacy of the whole Alliance. The day on which the Council sets to work, the Allies themselves and the neutrals too, will feel new and increased confidence in their early victory. The necessity of forming this war council becomes acute in view of the arrival of the

United States Note. For our Allies are concerned in that matter and not ourselves only.

"English of the English!"

Some few people are still disposed to shut their eyes and open their mouth to receive every excuse for his own continued presence at the Foreign Office, as principal permanent servant, which Sir Eyre Crowe may choose to send them. The "latest" is that Sir Eyre Crowe, although the son of a German mother and husband of a German wife, is "all right" and is "English of the English."

We should like to know what these super-trustful people imagine would have been the result if Sir Eyre Crowe had been in their eyes all wrong and German of the Germans?

For even as it is and in spite of his "all-rightness" and his extreme "Englishness," he has contrived to produce a weakening of our naval policy and a truly dreadful situation in the Balkans most helpful to Germany. All this is not "right" enough to suit us, nor is it "English" enough!

Another Dangerous Appointment.

The internment of the German wife of Mr. Burnyeat an ex-M.P., illustrates the grave danger of having in our diplomatic service and especially in the Foreign Office men who are married to Germans. It is, we understand, a rule in the German diplomatic service that persons engaged in the service must not marry foreigners, and Bismarck himself laid it down that "it is undesirable for obvious reasons that the wife of a diplomat shall belong to any foreign nationality." Our own Foreign Office is not content with defying this rule of prudence in the case of Sir Eyre Crowe who is himself half-German, but has again defied it in the case of the Hon. Theo. Russell who has just been appointed to be Diplomatic Secretary at the Foreign Office. *Who's Who* informs the world that Mr. Theo. Russell married in 1910, Countess Marie Louise Rex, daughter of Count Rex, Saxon Minister at the Austro-Hungarian Court. In view of the strange facts and circumstances brought to light by the present war, in view of the German watchword, once a German always a German, it is right and just to say that Englishmen who marry Germans must be content to remain outside our diplomatic service. After all, employment in the diplomatic service is not the only honest way of earning a living. There remain many others.

If Kings, Why not Diplomats!

The pro-German policy of the Queen of Greece and the calamitous influence she has exerted upon the King and consequently upon the fate of Greece and even that of Europe, is an imperative reminder of the fact that this question of German marriages is a most serious one. If a King can be influenced disastrously by a German wife who will dare affirm that a diplomat cannot be so influenced? Sir Edward Grey has no right to increase the risks of war by giving Germanism such opportunities!

Beware of Catchwords!

Nothing so mischievous as catchwords in critical times when thought must be sure and clear. Here is one of the worst catchwords of the day: "We must not be personal." The purpose of those who started this parrot-cry is to prevent responsibility from being fixed upon the individuals who are unfit for their tasks. Thus while it

AN IMPORTANT POINT! "IF SERBIA GOES DOWN"

The United States owes France more than £154,000,000.

"It is time that the United States shall repay its debt to France," said Mr. William D. Guthrie, an American citizen, speaking in New York at a luncheon held in honour of the Anglo-French financial mission. He continued:

France, according to reliable historians, having expended in behalf of the American colonies, between 1776 and 1781, the great sum of \$772,000,000, for which she afterwards refused payment, it is time now for the United States to create a credit for the French Republic to a similar amount to be repaid when France can do so.

Mr. Guthrie took up the history of the aid given to the Colonies by France during the Revolution. He spoke of Lafayette, De Grasse, Rochambeau and many others; of the decisive battle of Yorktown and the aid given by the French fleet and then he quoted James Breck Perkins, the historian, as saying that the amount of money expended by France at that time was \$772,000,000. In the treaty of alliance of 1778 and thereafter France declined all repayment, he said.

We hope for the sake of the United States no less than of France that Mr. Guthrie's demand will be carried into effect.

JOAN OF ARC IN LONDON

A statue of Joan of Arc is to be erected in a prominent position in New York. An admirable idea which we may look to see adopted in London. There could be no more appropriate way of celebrating the Franco-British Alliance and of expressing at the same time our admiration of the heroic sacrifices made in the common cause by France and the French people. In Paris, some corresponding monument in honour of Britain would doubtless be erected. To Joan of Arc the British nation owe a debt of gratitude and of reparation. She served us by driving us out of France and thus frustrating our wrongful ambition to be the master of her country. We in our turn did her a great wrong. Her great reward and the fulfilment of her dream comes now in the Alliance between Britain and France.

A Forecast of Balkan Possibilities

Reprinted from "The Times" of October 13, 1915.

MR. R. W. SETON WATSON, in a lecture on "Serbia and her Aspirations," delivered at the Royal Victoria Hall on October 12th, said that the fate of Serbia, which now hung in the balance as the result of our grave miscalculations and omissions, was inseparably bound up with the whole future of the Entente and of the British Empire itself. Serbia was the last obstacle on Germany's path towards the domination of the Near East, towards the achievement of the programme of "Berlin to Baghdad, the North Sea to the Persian Gulf."

What did it mean if Serbia went down? It would be far worse for her than for Belgium. Belgium had French territory behind her. Serbia had nowhere to go. If Serbia were crushed she would be disarmed to the last man, all her equipment would go to the Turks, her old men and children would share the fate of many of the inhabitants of the north of Serbia who a year ago were deported or massacred by the invaders, and her dynasty, her Government, her constitution, her institutions would be wiped out; she would become a subject-province of Austria-Hungary. That she would rise again was certain. But for this war she would be gone.

If Serbia went under it would mean that the route would be open to Germany to supply men and munitions to Constantinople to arm against us the 500,000 or 700,000 Turks who still could not be armed at home. Turkey would be saved. The Dardanelles would go. They would be untenable unless Serbia, and we with her, held the breach. The news would run like an electric flash through the entire East. Our prestige in Egypt would be gone. Our position in Mesopotamia would be threatened. Every bazaar in India would ring with the news and Persia would be in arms.

If Serbia went under Germany would get all the cotton of Asia Minor, all the oil of Persia, all the copper of Serbia, and also corn. To talk of a war of attrition after that was an absurdity. It would also deprive us of the real field of a promising offensive—through the Balkans and Austria-Hungary. Only prompt, energetic, and spirited action could save us from disaster. The nation had been kept in the dark; it demanded plain speaking. It demanded a lead and trust from its leaders.

proves impossible to stifle condemnation of the Foreign Office, it is hoped by raising the cry, "We must not be personal" to deter public-spirited people from demanding the resignation of the persons whose mistakes and disqualifications are injurious to the national cause. Yet of what practical use is it merely to rail against the Foreign Office for fettering the Navy and so on without naming and indicting those persons who are responsible? If we are not to be personal, then the offending persons will stay where they are and continue to offend.

Another stock cry is raised in answer to the wholly reasonable demand for the resignation of Sir Edward Grey, Lord Robert Cecil and Sir Eyre Crowe. It is this: "We must not swap horses crossing the stream." But if the stream is not being crossed and the horses are drawing us down the stream towards the rapids, then at all costs we must escape from this danger. Let the horses go and wade or swim across to the safety of dry land.

The Example of Edith Cavell.

Edith Cavell spoke even more truly than she knew when she said that she died for her country. For her great example has stirred thousands of men to a realisation that they too are ready to face death in defence of others and for the honour of their country. Their service in the trenches will be her greatest monument, but we rejoice that there is also to be a statue raised in her honour.

Women Munition-workers' Wages.

There is to be a minimum wage of £1 a week for women munition-makers. Certainly the fixing of a minimum wage is greatly needed. The men trade unionists would have been well advised from the first to make no objection to the employment of women in munition-making, but to concentrate upon the fixing of definite and satisfactory rates of pay for each process irrespective of the question of whether the worker happened to be man or woman. In view of the need of more recruits for the Army and of a greater production of munitions it was impossible, even if it had been desirable, to prevent the employment of women as munition-makers. Therefore the sound policy was and is to concentrate upon keeping the rates of pay, whether by time or piece, at a just level. The women's movement has always put forward the demand that, both in the interests of women workers and in the interests of men workers, there shall be equal pay for equal work, a given piece of work being remunerated not according to the sex of the worker, but according to the value of the work. Any other policy is fraught with the gravest peril to the standard of living of the workers generally. Because experience proves that women's capacities and men's capacities are more and more equal as the work done increases in skill. It is in the cruder forms of labour, requiring mere muscular strength as distinguished from skill and dexterity, that men have a distinct advantage, but the more any given work is independent of sheer physical force the greater does the value of women's work increase in relation to that of men. Therefore for men trade unionists to sanction unequal pay for equal work is simply to invite employers to employ women at lower rates.

On page 35 appears a picture illustrating what it really means to be Prussianised—i.e. conscription imposed by a conquering Germany as distinct from a system of universal military service freely adopted by the nation for purposes of self-defence.

LIFE IN SERBIA

"The Western world has not yet wrought out a social system guaranteeing anything like so great a measure of fundamental rights and rewards to the individual, with security against improvidence, nor so rich a nursery for sterling qualities of character both in man and woman."

The following passages are taken from THE SERBIAN PEOPLE, THEIR PAST GLORY AND THEIR DESTINY, an important work on Serbia by PRINCE AND PRINCESS LAZAROVICH-HREBELIANOVICH.

THE basis of the Slav social organisation has always been the family, with communistic groupings. These organisations, however, are not "patriarchal," which, in the proper sense, had always regard to shepherd peoples and cattle-raisers, which were apt to be roaming and required a strong central authority.

Procopius, the Byzantine historian, says, "The Slavs [referring to Serbs] have never submitted to a one-man rule in any form whatever, and from what is known of them from the most ancient times they have always been under rule of the people (δημοκρατία). Every public act was decided by popular assemblies."

So, in the Serb family organisations, the "Paterfamilias" is not vested with unquestioned authority over the members of his family, in the absolute sense of that term as it existed in Roman law.

The Serb youngster from his childhood up is a member of a community, and receives an increasing sense of responsibility growing out of his legal situation which decrees that from the moment of his birth he enters into a partnership with his father and the other members of the community.

Every member of the Zadruga owes to the community his share of the amount of effort necessary to the working and welfare of the land, home industries, or other properties possessed by the community in common. Having contributed his share of service to the common requirement, he is free to use the rest of his time in earning money apart from the Zadruga.

The Zadruga begins with the family living in a house, or "Koutcha," about which other houses, called "Vayats," group themselves by degrees as the sons marry and themselves found families, and it is governed by a "Stareshina" (elder), generally the oldest member of the community, who is recognised to be, by character and experience, the most capable man for that position. He is chosen by the other members, and age is not the main qualification which governs their choice. It may happen that a younger man, or even a woman, is named Stareshina should such a one be considered the ablest and wisest member of the Zadruga.

Should he from age or any other infirmity or for any other reason prove unsatisfactory, he resigns and is superseded by another person. He retires, in that case, to live in a house set apart for him, a kind of dower-house.

The wife of Stareshina holds among the feminine members of the community, and as regards the women's interests, a position corresponding in authority to that of her husband. She is called the "Domatchina" (home-keeper), and decides, in consultation with the important women-folk, what the next day's work is to be, supervises all household matters, the catering and kitchen as well as questions of clothing and the spinning and weaving of

textures. She is the supreme authority in all the community interests that lie in the feminine province.

The Stareshina and his wife live in the largest house containing the great fireplace.

In the evening, after the day's work is over, the members of the family assemble around this great central hearth. . . . In attempting to enter into the spirit of these Serbian reunions, considering how dreary, often sordid—not to say desolate—the life of the main mass of people who work for their livelihood is apt to be in many other lands, how care-burdened, how lacking in the capacity to be glad, it may be worth while trying to account for the childlike enjoyment of the Serbian country people, their free-hearted and joyous impulse in giving themselves up for the moment to dance and song, or to the rather stately pleasure, if one may call it so, which they find in going through the ceremonials of baptism, betrothal, marriage festivities, various occasions of social gatherings, and to the pleasure which accompanies even the reunions of the "Moba," when those who have come from other districts to help a neighbouring Zadruga with either planting or harvest, have closed the day's work and gather around the evening meal to enjoy themselves, care-free, and, after the usual prayer and tribute to the Holy Trinity, turn the occasion into a time of harmless jollity.

The institution of the Zadruga, sheltering its members and exacting from them equal effort, while it has not lent itself to any great increase of riches, and indeed has been, through its essential spirit of free hospitality and guardianship of the individual, diametrically opposed to the spirit of cold exploitation and gain for gain's sake, has always shielded its members from any possible want. The mother has never had to see her little one go without food and clothing, has never had to strain her heart over the thought of its having to struggle in after years for bare existence; she could always rest secure in the knowledge that unless some burning spirit of adventure, some extraordinary ambition, led him to desire to go out into the great world to try his fortunes, he would in the natural course of things find daily work with safe shelter, good food, and warm clothing all his life. She knew, too, that if he grew up with unusual capacities he could earn money for himself and have all such possessions in his own individual right, and that if he should have the desire for higher education his expenses would be paid by the Zadruga counting out to him his share, and later he would probably receive a loan from the Zadruga, allowing him to attend higher institutions of learning or universities. The Serbian mother has been spared the microbe of anxiety over the necessities of existence, and the Serb has not had that soul-destroying factor in his composition, that heaviness which the world overlies in the heart of the main mass of mortals, like an ever-present unnamable care preventing or dampening the free and joyous impulses of nature.

The Zadruga has brought into the daily practice of life many Christian precepts and embodied many homely graces and

virtues: honest work and just remuneration, consideration for the rights of others, severe moral exaction and laws of purity and the principle of mutual help and "brotherhood," practised in many institutions from the Moba to simple hospitality. . . . The Western world has not yet wrought out a social system guaranteeing anything like so great a measure of fundamental rights and rewards to the individual, with security against improvidence, nor so rich a nursery for sterling qualities of character both in man and woman.

In the Serbian lands, under Austrian sway, the authorities have for political reasons encouraged and furthered all elements tending toward the dissolution and destruction of the Zadruga formations. . . . The dissolving of some of the Zadrugas into single families has not had the expected results and has begun to create in some villages a "poverty-stricken" class which was before unknown in Serbia. This newly created class of persons is only prevented from falling to the condition of "pauperism" by a law which makes inalienable a minimum of property, five acres of land, a pair of oxen, and agricultural tools. Under the Zadruga system a number of such small holdings worked in common would have formed a well-to-do community.

Certain Serbs have been able personally to observe in the lands of their origin some of the theories advocated in Western Europe and the appalling miseries which those theories have up to this time been unable to avert, and have compared them with the results of the Zadruga system, proved through the ages to have well nourished and well sheltered the Serbian race. Those students of modern institutions would wish to find some means of bringing this old Serbian formation into line with impatient and more ambitious modern requirements without allowing it to be overwhelmed in its essential principles and lost to the race.

During the last two decades there has appeared in many districts in Serbia a modernised Zadruga evolved from a movement for reformulation based not on the principle of family relationship but on that of community of interests; a combination of community of property with co-operation and equality of labour and profit-sharing minus the conditions of living in community. In short, this form is a compromise between the ancient Zadruga and the co-operative society sought for by the more advanced and practical among Western social reformers. This new evolution of the Zadruga, by its commonsense organisation and its adaptability to conditions of labour and the modern trend of life, has practically attained the solution of the vexed problems aimed at in the "Vorruiis" and other experimental social colonies in many lands. . . .

These and similar institutions and customs, which have existed not only among the Serbs but among all Slav peoples from times of remotest antiquity, force the conclusion that they have been a race of culture which must have long ago passed through a period of social and economic development, imposing in those far-distant ages the working out and solution of problems similar in principle to those which confront Europe and America to-day.

Britannia

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

PRICE ONE PENNY WEEKLY.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 29, 1915.

Questions to Sir Edward Grey

GERMANY'S greatest victories are achieved at the British Foreign Office.

The British Foreign Office as at present constituted is, so far as the practical effect of its action is concerned, Germany's most potent Ally.

We have demanded the resignation of Sir Edward Grey and his Parliamentary Under-Secretary Lord Robert Cecil and the disappearance from the public service of his principal permanent servant Sir Eyre Crowe.

Who will deny that events are daily providing new justification for this demand?

If the Kaiser in person had been in direct control of the war methods of the British Foreign Office, he could not have served his own interests so very much better than the Foreign Office has served them.

The fetters imposed by the Foreign Office upon the British Navy might really have been forged in Germany.

British diplomacy in the Balkans had results far more satisfactory to the Kaiser than to us.

First as to the Foreign Office hindrance of naval action against Germany.

Edith Cavell helped a few of her own countrymen and a few Frenchmen and Belgians to escape the persecution of the Germans and thus to become potential soldiers on the side of the Allies. Compare Miss Cavell's action with that of Sir Edward Grey who, incredible as it might seem, actually gave orders that German reservists living in other lands should be allowed by the British Navy to return to Germany and thus be enabled to fight against Great Britain and her Allies! To us this seems painfully like treason.

Sir Edward Grey, Lord Haldane and Sir Eyre Crowe between them, decided on the outbreak of war, that the Germans must be allowed to get all the cotton they wanted, although this is an indispensable material of war. Sir Edward Grey as late as January of this year declared that

His Majesty's Government have never put cotton on the list of contraband, they have throughout the war kept it on the free list, and on every occasion when questioned on the point, they have stated their intention of adhering to this practice.

After months of obstinate resistance to pressure, Sir Edward Grey consented to declare cotton contraband.

But Germany still gets other supplies helpful in waging war against us and

Professor E. B. Poulton writes to the *Times* as follows:

A few weeks ago I called attention in your columns to the imports, under licence of the Board of Trade, of oil seed into Holland—approximately 40,000 tons in the first twelve months of the war, as contrasted with 2,000 tons in the twelve months immediately preceding the war. To-day your Special Correspondent shows the result of enormous imports of oils and fats into Holland—the "10,000 kilogrammes of 'margarine' sent over the frontier from Bergen-op-Zoom alone every day, as well as 1,000 kilogrammes of 'soap.'" It is generally believed, he tells us, that the "margarine" is unsteatable and the "soap" valueless for washing. Some day, perhaps, we shall know how much Germany has gained and we have lost by the action of our own Foreign Office and our own Board of Trade.

We must remember too, that Sir Edward Grey has long worked to all intents and purposes to sink our Navy. In the first place, he sought in the pre-war days to abolish the doctrine of contraband altogether. Had he succeeded the Germans, by means of munitions purchased in the United States, added to those manufactured in Germany and in invaded France and Belgium, would have overwhelmed Europe before now.

Sir Edward Grey has made statements concerning the "freedom" of the seas in war-time and the overriding of British Prize Courts by an "international" tribunal, which are wholly in line with German desires. They are statements which cannot be allowed to commit the nation, but they are dangerous none the less and they constitute, apart from all else, good and sufficient reason for Sir Edward Grey's resignation.

The Balkan situation! Again we say, it might have been made in Germany. We may pass over the assent given by Sir Edward Grey in the days before the war to the weakening of Serbia, the filching from her territorial gains rightfully made in a war of liberation. This assent was given in the name of peace and for the placation of the Austro-Germans. Unfortunately they were not really placated but were strengthened and confirmed in their resolve to wage the present war. Moreover, their object of promoting strife in the Balkans was rendered easier of achievement. But Sir Edward Grey doubtless did not realise all that—nor the cardinal importance of maintaining and increasing the strength of Serbia who, with Belgium, is one of the mainstays of the British Empire as well as the noblest of the Balkan nations.

Germany, however, understood the situation perfectly and made her plans accordingly. The final crushing of Serbia has been and is a prime point of German policy.

The "peaceful" subjugation of Turkey was another German ambition. This the British Foreign Office facilitated in the manner described by Sir Edwin Pears in his lately published book, "Forty Years in Constantinople."

Our Foreign Office appointed to Constantinople representatives disqualified, by lack of experience, among other reasons, to uphold British interests. The British Foreign Office had, however, other means of knowledge that the Young Turks were German tools, but they calmly went on as though ignorant of the facts until Turkey was actually in the war.

Then came the Bulgarian farce, Ger-

many and the pro-Germans simply using Bulgaria as a mask for German designs.

The acts and facts that go to make up the history of British diplomacy in the Balkans since war began have not all come to light as yet, but already far too much is known to allow any responsible person to enjoy peace of mind so long as Sir Edward Grey and his coadjutors remain at the Foreign Office.

Let them not talk of "Russia's responsibility" or the "Allies' responsibility." It is a fact, known to the whole of Europe, neutral and belligerent, that the British Foreign Office has played the leading part in the Balkan diplomacy during the war.

If the various Allies are to blame, it is above all in letting Sir Edward Grey and his evil genius Sir Eyre Crowe play the leading and decisive part. And it certainly does seem very strange, one may remark in passing, that while M. Delcassé is out of office Sir Edward Grey is still (though not much longer, we hope and pray) in office.

Here are some questions for Sir Edward Grey!

WHY DID YOU, APART FROM TAKING NO PROPER MEASURES TO SECURE ITALIAN HELP IN THE MATTER, OPPOSE THE SENDING OF BRITISH TROOPS TO HELP SERBIA—AS ALL LONDON KNOWS YOU DID? WERE YOU, THEN, RESIGNED TO SEEING SERBIA CRUSHED, IN A LONELY STRUGGLE AGAINST OVERWHELMING NUMBERS?

DO YOU NOT KNOW THAT NOT SERBIA ALONE, BUT ALSO THE SAFETY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE IS AT STAKE IN THE BALKANS?

Have not you yourself affirmed that the results of your diplomacy so disappointing to us all, are attributable to military weakness? Why then did you oppose the sending of British military aid to Serbia, the refusal of such aid being calculated to prevent Greece and Roumania from entering the war on our side?

DO YOU REALLY WANT THE GERMANS TO HACK THEIR WAY THROUGH TO CONSTANTINOPLE, TO STRENGTHEN THEIR FORCE OF COMBATANTS, TO RENEW THEIR SUPPLIES AND TO THAT EXTENT ESCAPE THE GRIP WHICH SO FAR AS YOU HAVE PERMITTED, THE BRITISH FLEET HAS ESTABLISHED?

DO YOU THINK IT RIGHT OR CONSISTENT WITH OUR NATIONAL HONOUR THAT FRANCE—AS ALL LONDON KNOWS SHE DID—SHOULD HAVE HAD TO PLEAD WITH YOU TO HELP SERBIA?

WHAT A CONDEMNATION OF YOURSELF AND WHAT A HUMILIATION TO US ALL, THAT WHILE YOU WOULD NOT HAVE BRITISH TROOPS SENT TO DEFEND SERBIA (AND BRITISH INTERESTS TOO), FRANCE, ALREADY GIVING AND SACRIFICING EVERYTHING SHOULD, OUT OF CHIVALRY, RUSH TO HELP SERBIA IN HER STRUGGLE AGAINST FEARFUL ODDS!

IF ONLY BECAUSE YOU RESISTED THE SENDING OF BRITISH HELP TO SERBIA (AND BY YOUR RESISTANCE YOU CERTAINLY CAUSED PERILOUS DELAY) YOU HAVE FORFEITED YOUR RIGHT TO DIRECT THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THIS NATION!

CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

PAN-GERMANIST SOCIALISM

A Socialist Plan of German Aggression

The following instructive article recently appeared in the "Matin":

IN a quite recently issued pamphlet Paul Lensch, a member of the Reichstag, has set forth the programme of Pan-Germanist Social Democracy.

He insists particularly on the necessary fusion of Austria-Hungary and the German Empire.

Upon this point moreover the tradition of German Socialism is constant and has existed since its foundation till the time of its present leaders. Its dream has always been the absorption of the Austrian State in the Great Germany. Engels wrote, on the 27th of January, 1848, in the *Deutsche Brüsseler Zeitung*: "For us Germans the fall of Austria has a particular importance." He considered as momentary, the separation of German Austria, and assumed that the German provinces of Austria must without much delay fall to the German Empire.

In his *Memoirs*, vol. 1, page 165, Bebel says: "The exclusion of German Austria from the Imperial community, not to speak of the abandonment of Luxemburg, has put ten millions of Germans in a situation almost without hope. Our patriots who fall into a fit of national fury if a German is ill-treated abroad are not indignant at this assassination perpetrated against the Kultur of ten million Germans in Austria."

Kautsky does not admit that a certain Austrian patriotism shall cut across the plans of Pan-Germanism.

Paul Lensch in his new pamphlet on *Social Democracy and the World War* declares clearly: "When we speak of Germany we mean by that the German Empire and Austria-Hungary. . . Germany, that is to say the German Empire and Austria-Hungary reunited. . . It is only in this war that Germany comes to birth. The German Empire and Austria-Hungary are being welded together in a higher unity. . . This war alone furnishes the material conditions for a definite solution of the German question."

Lensch expresses his thought with the greatest precision in a summary in which he shows how the Great Germany will have been constituted in three stages: 1866, 1870 and 1914. He says:

"The two parts of Germany (the German Empire and Austria-Hungary) had shown themselves too feeble to accomplish the historic mission which devolves upon the Germans. . . This war must finish what had been undertaken.

From the great Prussia which the war of 1866 created, and from the little Germany which the war of 1870 gave us, will emerge through this war a Great Germany.

The dreams formed in 1848 are at last going to become a reality. In 1870 it was only the second stage in the solution of the German question which was reached. The Federation of Northern Germany united with the States of Southern Germany to form the German Empire. Many saw in that the final solution of the German question. In many quarters people had already become accustomed to see in Austria a foreign State, like any other. . . But evolution does not come to a standstill, and this universal

war opens our eyes to the veritable meaning of the action of 1870, which was not a finality, but only a continuation. The work will be finished only by the present war. The last third of the parts of Germany separate in 1866 will become merged in the others. Germany will be born of the German Empire and of Austria."

But this Great Germany itself will be only the kernel of the "central German Europe." For, explains Lensch—

"the small nations have need of a great State which will guarantee their security! United Central Europe, essentially German, could very well enlarge itself into a Federation of the States of Central Europe. . . It is the only means of guaranteeing the economic and political security of the States of middle Europe against the world-powers, England, Russia, and America. This Federation would comprise, apart from the German Empire and Austria-Hungary reunited, the *Scandinavian States, Switzerland, Italy, the Balkan Peninsula* with Turkey in Europe as well as, if possible, France, Spain and Portugal, with the colonies of all those countries." And Lensch concludes—

"IT WOULD BE ABSURD TO MISUNDERSTAND THAT THIS WAR WILL BRING IN ITS TRAIN. THE WAR WILL PROFIT ABOVE ALL THE PEOPLE WHO HAVE BEEN SO FAR THE PRINCIPAL REPRESENTATIVES OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT, THE GERMAN PEOPLE."

There is the reward which Germany prepares for her Allies! These are the amicable designs which she nourishes towards the United States of America!

Europe is warned of the fate which Germany has in store for her: The independence of fifteen States wiped out and all their colonies confiscated for the profit of Germany under the hypocritical cover of a *Zollverein* of a fiscal union as the preface to a political annexation. Perhaps people will now understand, after having meditated the programme of Citizen Lensch, that of all the varieties of Pan-Germanism the least dangerous are not the democratic and socialist varieties!

ALL GERMANY A MILITARY CASTE. The Socialists included.

Notwithstanding German Socialist rejoicing in the fruits of the Franco-German War of 1870, the German Socialists of to-day know perfectly well that that war was a crime committed by Bismarck. Thus Bebel in his book *My Life* wrote:

Bismarck desired the war of 1870, and "had long laid his plans to bring it about. . . making everyone believe that Napoleon had provoked the war, while poor peace-loving Bismarck was the aggrieved party. . . It is true that Napoleon declared war, but. . . he (Bismarck) so shuffled the cards that Napoleon was forced to declare war as though of his own initiative and to appear as the peacebreaker."

Bebel, with Liebknecht, expressed this view at the beginning of the war of 1870 and they were both bitterly condemned by their Socialist colleagues, "though," says Bebel, "not for long as we were soon seen to be in the right."

Yet those very German Socialists who know that Bismarck brought about the murderous war against France in 1870 are now rejoicing in its ill-gotten gains and are eager for more!

Karl Marx, indeed, rejoiced during its progress in the Franco-German war saying: "The French need a thrashing," and saying also in true Pan-Germanist spirit:

If the Prussians are victorious, the centralisation of the power of the State will be useful to the centralisation of the German working class. The preponderance of Germany, moreover, will transport the centre of gravity of the European working-class movement from France to Germany.

As for the increase in the despotic power of the Hohenzollerns produced by the German victory in the war of 1870-1, little did Karl Marx care about that! "Bismarck," he said, "is at this moment, as in the war of 1866 against Austria, working for us after his own fashion."

Did the establishment of a Republic in France wake sympathetic rejoicing in his Socialistic soul! On the contrary, he viewed it with angry resentment.

Quite in the same spirit was the attempt of German Socialist leaders, clad in military uniform, to induce the Socialists of Belgium to submit to the Kaiser's armies! In fact the German Socialists have actually degenerated since the time of Marx.

It would be dangerous in the extreme to overlook the fact that Pan-Germanism is by no means confined to the Kaiser and a military caste—or rather it is becoming each day more evident, that the German people as a whole, the German Socialists included, has come to form a huge military caste which threatens to enslave Europe.

WHAT PAN-GERMANISM MEANS

Through the darkness of the future that to you is veiled and heavy with dead, I see a mighty Goddess treading nearer and nearer.

Thou Century—twentieth since Christ—ringing with arms and glorified, thou shalt be named the Century of the Germans.

German people! The wide world shall tremble in the dust before thee, for thou shalt sit in judgment on thy foes.

England's untouched shores thou shalt stamp beneath thy iron heel.

Everywhere the blood of the enemy shall reek to the skies.

Russia—the giant of clay—thou shalt overthrow and destroy.

In the lands of the Orient the German eagle shall fly.

Austria! thou whom we thought dead, thou shalt rise proud and with youth renewed.

Thou shalt face the many peoples bowed trembling before thy fame, who shall acclaim thee Ruler of the East, Cæsar of the German Empire.

A Habsburg shall crown himself with Poland's new crown, and a new freedom shall shine forth o'er Ukraine.

Oh! Beloved People! I hear the blare of the cymbals and the fiddles; the flutes and the trumpets sounding the great victory!

Rejoice in these Heroic Times—Glory is thine!

Fear nought from thy foes. I herald the truth.

TO SAVE THE COUNTRY

URGENTLY NEEDED

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

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

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

2. **CLOSER CO-OPERATION BETWEEN THE ALLIES and improved co-ordination of their policy, especially in the diplomatic sphere!** (The Germans are rejoicing at the Allies' weakness in this respect, and see therein the chance of German victory.) This reform to be brought about by

3. **THE ESTABLISHMENT DURING THE WAR OF A DIPLOMATIC CENTRE FOR THE WHOLE ALLIANCE** which should be nearer to the storm centre of the war than London is; the advantages to be gained by such reform being

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

As a people we owe it to ourselves, and to those who will come after us, to have the moral courage to decree that **this policy and its three authors shall give place to others.**

We shall and must come through our present perils but the weakness of policy and act that has caused these perils would cause new and greater ones in future, were the men who are responsible to retain their present office.

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

EFFICIENCY

WE have heard far too much from the Haldanes in our midst of comparison between German efficiency and British efficiency, to the disadvantage of the last-named.

British history and the experience of this war prove that British efficiency has been and is astonishingly great, but that it is largely frustrated by political obstructionists, who either from natural defect or unsuitable training act as a brake upon the wheels of national progress.

Efficiency indeed! What of the efficiency of our Navy in the present war! While pro-German pacifists have tried to make the country shudder and collapse at the submarine menace, our Navy of deeds, not words, has been resolutely and triumphantly disposing of that menace. Our Army too has shown some efficiency in expanding itself in spite of certain difficulties, not of soldierly wishing nor making! If only Lord Haldane had not helped the Kaiser by making statements that drugged the British people into a sense of false security, we could have had a great force of men trained, equipped and supplied with munitions fighting to-day side by side with the Serbs in defence of Serbian national freedom and in defence of the British Empire. "Instead of which" we have Lord Haldane writing:

This war has revealed to the old-fashioned military mind the fact that given intelligence and physical fitness a nation can rapidly develop its army. Given the organisation and the munitions the men are not difficult to raise and train when the nation calls for them.

The major comment to be made on these strange words of Lord Haldane is that they are another of his apologies for the policy of muddling through. Thanks to his failure to disclose the need of men, munitions and military organisation on the scale requisite to repel German aggression and thanks to his neglect to make the necessary preparations for having these essentials ready to hand at the outbreak of war, this country has suffered and will suffer much! It would have meant everything to the Allies in this present war had we been stronger when the war began. What does Bernhardt say! That "Belgium was conquered before the English were able to come to her aid."

We know how greatly the Germans have gained by being able to establish at the outset of the war and to maintain until this present day, a hold upon the mineral resources of France and Belgium. No, it cannot be allowed, that the stupendous and marvellously efficient work undertaken at the twelfth hour by Lord Kitchener and the Army as a whole shall be made the justification of omissions which it was in large measure designed to repair.

And now as to efficiency on the civil plane. It is said that the best scientific and business ability of the nation has been offered in the service of the country, but that such offers have not always been accepted. We have never been able quite to understand what Lord Haldane meant when he said at the National Liberal Club on July 5th:

"We are indeed an unreflective nation. I see proposals put forward to mobilise the men of

science. To mobilise science in the abstract is to mobilise a mob and a mob of scientific men would not be much more useful than a mob of soldiers."

These words cannot surely mean that while the Germans utilise to the full the service of their scientific men, Britain is to leave in idleness and exclude from her counsel her men of science in corresponding numbers. That would be to give the Germans an enormous and perhaps a decisive advantage. Lord Haldane cannot desire it; yet if that is not his meaning, what is it?

The criticism of lawyer politicians, or rather of the inclusion in the Government of lawyers in undue proportion, is an old story but there is a good deal in it. Even when the lawyer members of any Government are not particularly strong numerically, the political keynote tends to be struck, or the political pace tends to be set by them because of their dexterity in the use of words and their practice in marshalling and stating arguments. And their activities incline to be academic unless they are exceptionally vigorous and human personalities. In fact there is a danger that they may regard life in general and war in particular as a gigantic lawsuit. One of the remedies for the excessively legal and dry-as-dust atmosphere in which our politics are enveloped is the enfranchisement of women, for women have a strong sense of reality and a keen appreciation of human values.

We repeat the assertion that our national weakness is not lack of efficiency, but an inability, due to certain political conditions, of getting national efficiency fully translated into act and fact.

The suggestion that Germans are naturally more efficient than ourselves is not only untrue, but is dangerous because it is calculated to over-awe, discourage and thus immobilise our own extremely efficient people.

Moreover, it is a pernicious novelty this theory of British inefficiency. Goethe said:

"The English are masters of the art of making an immediate use of any new discovery until it leads once more to further discovery and fresh action. Will anyone now ask why it is that they surpass us Germans in everything?"

Before the present war Mr. William Harbutt Dawson, in those days decidedly indulgent towards the Germans, wrote as follows:

Allowance is never sufficiently made for the fact that industrial Germany is largely the child of industrial England. We have created the rival of whose competition we now complain. Some time ago the *Cologne Gazette* reminded its readers that "It was Englishmen who in Germany first took in hand the construction of railways, gas-works, tramways and machine shops, who supplied to these enterprises the ample resources of British capital and who thus acted as the pioneers of German material development."

This is a generalisation which it would be possible to illustrate in all sorts of ways. Water was given to Berlin and Hamburg among other towns by Englishmen and the latter town perpetuates its benefactor in the name of one of its streets. An English gas company, established many years ago, still supplies a special reserve of Berlin and carries on undertakings in other continental towns.

Evidence of English pioneer enterprise in street locomotion survives in the naturalisation of the word "tramway" in more than one German town.

The cotton and woollen and engineering industries largely owed their introduction to English energy and help. Many old firms in all these

industries still trade with English names, though no Englishmen are now associated with them and Mulhausen, the South German seat of the cotton trade, has its Manchester Street.

There occurs in an overlooked report of the eventful meeting of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, held on December 13, 1853, which proved the prelude to the Anti-Corn Law Movement, a speech in which "Mr. Richard Cobden, calico printer," foretold the day when the weapons which English enterprise and example were then placing in German hands would be turned against ourselves with fatal effect.

Yes, and since then we find that the Ballins and Rathenaus have been eager to learn from this country methods which they utilise in the German interests, though they have shown themselves singularly unwilling to permit any reciprocity in this matter and to extend to Britons the facilities which they themselves have hitherto enjoyed in this country. There is this to be said, too—that the German wages business as he wages war, in the same uncompromising and aggressive spirit and with a corresponding object of conquest. It is hard on the people of other nations, including our own, to have to take part in such a struggle as that. And it is because of the aggressive spirit and purpose of German manufacturers and merchants, associated as they are with the military policy of their Kaiser, that British Governments will find themselves obliged to defend our manufactures and commerce.

The machinery of our permanent officialism seems to need oiling if we are to judge by the uninterested, not to say obstructive, way in which, for example, Professor Bottomley's method of fertilising the soil has been treated.

The fact is that this country teems with new ideas, but these fall too often on the rock of official indifference if not hostility. But let party political Cabinet Ministers show receptiveness and progress and their subordinates will have the example so much needed.

All the foregoing is not to deny that there is room for improvement and need for a British National Renaissance. Such renaissance we are seeing now and are likely to continue to see. But everything depends upon the renewed energies of our nation having full scope. Those energies must not be repressed. The new national life must not be strangled by political obstructionists, moreover the alien hostile influences which sought before this war and still seek even during the war, in the German interests, to deaden and thwart British effort, must be eliminated. Otherwise they will continue to work after the war towards the ruin and overthrow of this nation.

The fact is that the party political divisions had, even in the days of peace, ceased to correspond with realities and the political parties were becoming effete and weary of their own existence.

The real opposition is not between the Liberal and Tory parties with the Labour party coming somewhere in between or it may be linked on to the Liberal party.

The opposition now and henceforward is between the twentieth and the nineteenth centuries; it is between the quick and the dead. It is between materialism and egoism and forgetfulness of liberty as against a renaissance Britain living for truth and liberty more than for peace and life bought at their sacrifice.

WAR WORK IN WALES

GENERAL FLORA DRUMMOND
WHEN war broke out, every demand was being made to the men to serve their country and very little notice was being taken of the demand of women; but we women hoped and knew that the time would come when we also could be of service to the nation. And that time has come. As Queen Elizabeth long ago saved the country from defeat and also delivered the country from the Germans there is great hope that the women of the country can be its salvation now.

What the W.S.P.U. is doing

Now when I have asked some of our people to give some help, they have turned to me and said, "Oh, but I am doing war work." Now I want the women and men to realise that the W.S.P.U. is doing some real good commonsense war work. You would realise that if you were in Wales for example. I have had the opportunity of speaking in various places in South Wales and also of returning by request, often by request of the women, to hold meetings a second time in the same place. One woman said to one of our organisers, "You know you ought to come back and speak in Dowlais again. What you said at the last meeting has gone home amongst the people and if you come again it will strengthen the effect and they will rise to the occasion." And so we went back again a second time into that district, and had a second meeting.

We set off in the morning about ten o'clock. Sometimes we go earlier if we are requested to go to a mine to hold a meeting at the pit bank. You know I am getting so expert at these mines. I know all the places, and where the pit manager is to be found, and where the mine manager is to be found. And the miners stand aghast to see me rushing up steps. A man said on one occasion, "That is no place for a woman," and I said, "I have been here many a time before." (Laughter.)

You don't know how serious things are

We do not get a week to work up a meeting. Sometimes we get a day; sometimes a few hours. And we have a lump of chalk, and often we do not reach there with the chalk and the policemen tell us where we can buy some, and we chalk the walls and pavements, and hold open-air meetings. We can hold open-air meetings throughout the day in Wales because the miners with their eight-hour shifts, come up at different times in the day, and particularly at three o'clock in the day, and therefore we are able to hold meetings in the daytime. Yesterday I had three meetings all by special request. You cannot get out of it. Welsh people say, "This is what we ought to

know. Come here, go there and tell these people what you were telling us last night." I heard there was a strike on at one place and a Welshman said to me, "Do you think you could come and talk to these men? I know what you say will be good sound common sense, and they will take notice of what you say." Some men say they don't like to take any notice of what women say, but we all know that they do take a great deal of notice. I always tell the miners that they ought to listen to what their wives say. We have told these miners of the atrocities in Belgium, as told in the Bryce report and in the book brought out by the French authorities. And we have told them of the damage done by the Zeppelins in London. And I have said to them, "We don't blame you. You don't know how serious things are."

Why don't you go to the Cabinet?

One miner said, "You come down here and scold us at the pit bank. Why don't you go to the Cabinet?" That places us in a very difficult position. Not that we could not go and scold the Cabinet! (Laughter.) But here we are calling out for unity; for these men to stand by their country, and to be loyal and to do what they can to help, and to put a stop to pro-Germanism in their midst; and then you open your morning paper and find out about Germans or semi-Germans who are in official positions in the work of the State. And so it is difficult. But we have to do our best.

We have got to love the Welsh people. It is for the lack of knowledge that there have been difficulties in Wales. I feel that these Welsh people are really as national and patriotic people as any in the British Isles. Last night I spoke to an enormous crowd. In fact, the policeman got such a fright he said to me afterwards, that he had sent for another three men when he saw that crowd. He had not seen such a crowd for years. We sold out all the copies of BRITANNIA that we had to sell. We sold hundreds and then they asked if we had any old numbers.

Somebody said, "I have been arguing with a man who says that we should be quite as well under German rule as under English rule. I want a copy of BRITANNIA to show it to this man."

Come and help us

That is the war work we are doing and it is successful because the cry is for more meetings and for more knowledge. It seems to me that the men, the politicians, the members of Parliament who have gone down to these districts to tell these men again and again what they would make the country do for these men, are not there now to tell the men what they ought to do for their country. This work is most necessary. To people who want to do war work we say, "Come and help us."

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A CORRECTION

Owing to a mistake in setting up, we were made in our last issue to attribute to the *Daily Chronicle* a comment for which we must take the credit ourselves. The words in question were:

Is it imagined that this transparent little manoeuvre will influence anybody except in the direction opposite to that desired?

These words had reference to a vindication of Foreign Office policy supplied to a correspondent of the *Chicago Daily News*, re-telegraphed from America to the *London Daily Chronicle* and by that paper published, prefaced by the observation that

It is curious that we should get a reply to the pro-Germanism in the British Press from Chicago, where the majority of the people are of German, Austrian, or Hungarian origin.

How to Win the War.

A series of Patriotic Meetings is held at the

LONDON PAVILION,

PICCADILLY CIRCUS,

Every Thursday at 3 o'clock.

On THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 4,

at 3 o'clock.

The Speakers will be

MRS. PANKHURST,
MISS ANNIE KENNEY.

MISS MAUD MURRAY
will also sing.

Admission is free, but Reserved Seats may be booked for 2s., and can be obtained from the Ticket Secretary, Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

PRUSSIANISED!—A WARNING TO BRITISH MEN
 A picture showing a family of Alsace-Lorraine, conquered by the Germans in 1870, whose son is now compelled as a German conscript to fight against the cause of France, the Mother Country—the cause of liberty



(From a painting by Albert Bellanier, of Metz)

Kill hope by driving back the Tricolour That carries deliverance in its folds!

"What! must he, the son of a warrior of France, Wear this uniform, and as a German soldier"

Albert Bellanier
M.F.T.Z.

MILITARY SERVICE—THE NEW ZEALAND SYSTEM

The Defence Act—Liability for Service

THE liability of all male inhabitants of the Dominion for service in the Military Forces is laid down in the Defence Act and Regulations as under:

The Act provides for the gradual military training of every male New Zealander from the age of fourteen to the age of twenty-five after which he will serve in the Reserve up to the age of thirty.

There are no distinctions and no exceptions. The principle is that every one, unless physically unfit, will have to take his share in the defence of the Dominion. Those who, in consequence of the doctrines of their religion, have a conscientious objection to bearing arms in the service of their country will be trained as far as possible in the non-combatant branches, of which ambulance work is made a special feature, or under very exceptional conditions such persons may apply to a magistrate for exemption from military training on the certificate of a minister of religion.

Subject to the full establishment of Territorials required being maintained, the regulations admit of a man of good character, who has proved himself to be thoroughly efficient, being transferred to the Reserve after four years' service—viz., at the age of twenty-two.

Nature of Service

From the age of twelve to the age of fourteen a boy at a primary school performs a certain amount of physical elementary training, under the direction of the Education Department. This is not considered military training under the Defence Act.

On reaching the age of fourteen, or on leaving a primary school, the boy is transferred to the senior cadets, and then becomes a member of the military forces, though not liable to be called out to fight.

He remains a senior cadet till he is eighteen, on reaching which age he is, if found, on being medically examined, to be physically fit, drafted into the Territorial Force. As a Territorial soldier he is liable to be called out at any time for service within the Dominion.

On reaching the age of twenty-five, if still serving, he is transferred to the Reserve. He remains in the Reserve till he reaches the age of thirty, when he will be discharged. As a reservist he will be liable to be called back to his regiment in case of war or other national emergency.

If he belongs to a rifle club he will, as long as he remains a member, be liable up to the age of fifty-five to be called up as part of a secondary reserve to fill the ranks of the Territorial Force after its own reserve has been used up. A male of an age rendering him liable to undergo military training may in certain circumstances be allowed to undergo training as a member of a defence rifle club under approved conditions where the nearest drill centre of a Territorial unit is too far distant for him to attend parades.

Provision exists under which rifle clubs absorb and train about 35 per cent. of enrolled strength of those liable to serve in the Territorial Force.

As far as possible arrangements are made to post the incoming recruits to the branch of the service and the drill centre they desire to be trained in, and care is taken

not to post to the same unit more persons out of any business concern than the employer can spare at the same time.

Composition and Organisation

The New Zealand Defence Forces consist of the Permanent Forces and the Territorial Forces.

The Territorial Forces are organised on a system of universal military training, carried out in accordance with the provisions of the Defence Act, 1909, and its amendments.

Staff

The staff of the New Zealand military forces consists of—the staff at headquarters; the staff in districts. The staff is divided into—(1) the general staff, (2) the administrative staff.

The Territorial Force

The New Zealand Territorial Force (including the Territorial Reserve) is the first line of defence of the Dominion after the Imperial Navy. Its position cannot be fairly compared with that of the Territorial Force in the United Kingdom, which has the Regular Army and Special Reserve in front of it. The New Zealand Territorial Force must be able to take the field at once on the outbreak of war. It is the New Zealand Army; and the permanent officers of the Staff Corps, the Permanent Regiment of the Royal New Zealand Artillery, and the warrant and non-commissioned officers of the permanent staff are its auxiliaries to control, guide and instruct it.

The force is fully armed and equipped according to the most modern standard; the men are uniformed by the State, and are paid and rationed during the annual camp.

The Reserve

Men of the Territorial Force Reserve will be borne on the reserve lists of their late unit or corps, and perform their annual parades with some part of that unit or corps.

The Senior Cadets

The unit of organisation and training in the senior cadets is the company of infantry. Companies composed of cadets belonging to any school or other recognised organisation (such as the Boy Scouts) form part of that school or organisation, and are subject to its discipline, supplemented by the regulations.

The Rifle Clubs

The rifle clubs, being part of the New Zealand military forces in virtue of the liability of their members to serve as a second line of defence, are governed by the military regulations, and are required to carry out each year a prescribed course of musketry. Members of rifle clubs liable to undergo military training are required to attend at least eighteen afternoon or evening drills at convenient drill centres. The drill centres are as far as possible arranged so as not to entail more than one hour's walk or one hour's ride from the men's homes, as in the case of Territorials and senior cadets.

It is found that only about 5 per cent. of those liable for service are totally unfit; about 60 per cent. are posted to the Territorial Force and about 35 per cent. to the rifle clubs.

The Defence Forces of New Zealand, in view of this accession of strength to rifle clubs, are placed in two categories in their relation to training and defence:—

First line—The Territorial Force and the Territorial Reserve.

Second line—The rifle clubs and the training sections affiliated to rifle clubs.

National Reserve

It has been decided to institute a National Reserve which will embrace practically all those men up to a reasonable age limit who wish to enrol themselves for service but who are not in the Territorial Force or its Reserve, or in the rifle clubs.

The Training

The training of the cadet and soldier throughout his service is strictly territorial—that is to say, it will, except for the period annually spent by the Territorial soldier in camp, be carried out within reach of his own home, and at convenient times. The whole of the training is arranged with every possible consideration for the interests both of the employer and of those who are being trained. The annual training camps are held by brigades and coast defence commands, the aim being to properly train in organised bodies an efficient field force of the best material available.

The minimum amount of training which must be performed each year by every member of the Territorial Force, Reserve, senior cadets, and rifle clubs is as follows:—

Territorial Force

(a) Thirty drills, twenty of these to be out-of-door parades.

(b) Twelve half-day or six whole-day parades.

(c) Seven days annual training in camp.

(d) Prescribed course of musketry.

Two half-day parades or their equivalent with a Territorial unit or company.

Senior Cadets

(a) Fifty drills.

(b) Six half-day parades.

(c) Prescribed course of musketry.

Rifle Clubs

Prescribed course of musketry and eighteen afternoon or evening drills.

A drill in the Territorial Force is one hour and a half continuous instruction. A drill in the Senior Cadets is one hour continuous instruction. A half-day parade is three hours continuous instruction. A whole-day parade is six hours continuous instruction.

An out-of-door parade may be carried out in the evening, and will not be devoted entirely to drill, but will include route marching, outposts by day and by night, entrenching, signalling, driving, etc. and such work as cannot conveniently be carried out indoors. In the case of artillery and technical corps the proportion of outdoor parades may be reduced at the discretion of the commanding officer. The principle is that the drill-shed should be avoided as far as possible.

Railway passes are granted to Territorials and members of rifle clubs up to a distance of 100 miles to attend rifle shooting competitions.