

"Britannia," October 22, 1915.

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# Britannia

With which is incorporated  
"THE SUFFRAGETTE"

Official Organ of the Women's Social  
and Political Union

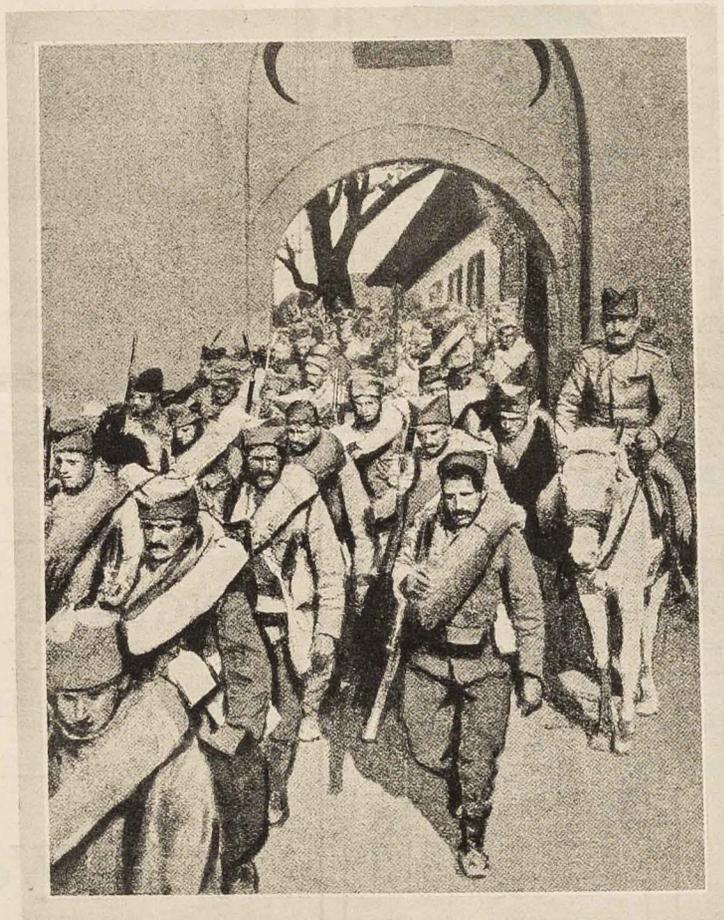
Edited by CHRISTABEL PANKHURST

No. 2. Vol. V.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 22, 1915

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## SKOPLYIA THE OLD CAPITAL OF THE SERBIAN KINGS



GOD of Justice! Thou Who saved us  
When in deepest bondage cast,  
Hear Thy Serbian children's voices,  
Be our help as in the past.  
With Thy mighty hand sustain us,  
Still our rugged pathway trace;  
God, our Hope! protect and cherish  
Serbian crown and Serbian race!

Bind in closest links our kindred,  
Teach the love that will not fail  
May the loathed fiend of discord  
Never in our ranks prevail.  
Let the golden fruits of union  
Our young tree of freedom grace:  
God, our Master! guide and prosper  
Serbian crown and Serbian race.

Lord! avert from us Thy vengeance,  
Thunder of Thy dreaded ire;  
Bless each Serbian town and hamlet,  
Mountain, meadow, hearth and spire.  
When our host goes forth to battle,  
Death or victory to embrace,—  
God of Armies; be our leader!  
Strengthen then the Serbian race!

On our sepulchre of ages  
Breaks the resurrection morn,  
From the slough of direst slavery  
Serbia anew is born.  
Through five hundred years of durance  
We have knelt before Thy face,  
All our kin, O God! deliver!  
Thus entreats the Serbian race.

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### Review of the Week.

#### Serbia!

SERBIA is the great word, the great thought of this hour. Never even in her own long history has there been anything more marvellous than the struggle of Serbia against the armies of the German alliance. Throughout the war Serbia's loyalty to her Allies, the wisdom and firmness of her statesmanship, her physical courage and even more her moral courage have been an example to the world. In this crisis of her and our fate, those disqualified for military service must help her as best they may—as for those qualified for military service—their duty is plain. If only they had not held back so long!

Serbia must triumph! Her glorious struggle to be free must not be overwhelmed.

#### The Case of Lord Haldane.

The act of entrusting Lord Haldane with a mission to British Headquarters in France is a serious defiance of public opinion, and we would add a breach of faith with the public, who, since he was excluded from the Cabinet, have taken it for granted that Lord Haldane was to be kept at a distance from all military and diplomatic business. Yet, as the *Daily Chronicle* informs us,

Lord Haldane has recently returned from an impartial mission to British Headquarters in France. It is suggested that his lordship may have been an envoy from the Government to discuss with Sir John French the size of our Army in France, present and future, in the light of the new Salonica expedition.

What an impartial mission may mean we do not know, but the *Daily Chronicle's* information is most disquieting, for as experience shows, Lord Haldane has a fatal habit of saying the wrong word at a critical juncture.

#### A Dangerous Counsellor.

His prominent part in leading the nation blindfold into the German peril which he knew menaced the country, cannot and will not be forgotten. Demands are being made for a strengthening of our resources in aircraft. We have often drawn attention to the policy of muddling through and lagging behind obstinately pursued by Lord Haldane where aviation was concerned, when he was Minister for War. A terrible example of Lord Haldane giving bad advice in a crisis, bad advice injurious to the safety of the country, is provided by his conduct in the matter of cotton as contraband, for he it was who at the outset of the war expressed the opinion that it ought not to be made contraband and that no useful military purpose would be served thereby. Experience has shown Lord Haldane to be a dangerous adviser. The country wants no more of his advice!

#### Lord Haldane and "Naturalised" Germans.

Another injurious and misleading Haldane announcement is referred to by Sir Francis Piggott, late Chief Justice of Hong Kong, in an article in the October number of the *Nineteenth Century and After*. Referring to the Naturalisation Act of 1914, which received Royal Assent in August and came into force on the 1st of January, 1915, and could have been amended in the interval so as to deal with the problem of Germans who become naturalised as British subjects, yet remain German at heart and in intention and by German law, Sir Francis Piggott shows that one of the reasons for the very serious mistake which was made by the Government in not taking the bull by the horns and dealing with this evil by passing a short amending Act, was as follows:—

A most important statement was made in the House of Lords by Lord Haldane, then Lord Chancellor, which revealed an extraordinary misconception of the basis of the whole law of naturalisation. . . . Lord Haldane declared as one of the reasons for not touching the law of naturalisation, which seemed to many to be urgently necessary, that it was a question of international law and therefore demanded the greatest circumspection in dealing with it.

Lord Haldane's statement is repudiated by Sir Francis Piggott, who says:

Lord Haldane is a Jove among the lawyers, but the records of Olympus tell us that once Jove nodded. It is difficult to understand how such a statement came to be made on such authority, unless what used to be said at the Bar in old days of another famous lawyer, that "Davy had forgotten more law than any other man ever knew," is true of the late Lord Chancellor.

Sir Francis Piggott continues that he challenges Lord Haldane's statement, because if it is still adhered to the necessary amendment of the Act can never be made, and the law never be put straight and he continues, neither nationality nor naturalisation is a question of international law; both essentially appertain to municipal law.

In view of all this and other evidence with regard to Lord Haldane's ways of action, there is ground for the very strongest protest against his mission to British Headquarters in France or any other employment of his services in a public capacity. The rumour that he is in consultation with the Foreign Office is alarming.

#### From Crowe to the "Chronicle" via Chicago.

We all remember that the other day the German Government having a communication to make to the world, sent it direct to the American Press, leaving the German Press to receive it through that channel instead of direct. In answer to the protest of certain German newspapers against the favour thus shown to foreign newspapers, the German Government declared that to make communications in the first place to the foreign Press is a method sometimes dictated by reasons of policy which must not be criticised by the newspapers of Germany.

Those familiar with the ways of Bismarck realise how fond he was of similar methods. We have just witnessed a truly Bismarckian, a truly German exploit. In the *Daily Chronicle* of Wednesday, October 13th, appeared an elaborate reply to the statement of Sir Edwin Pears regarding the personnel of the British Embassy at Constantinople and in reply also to certain criticisms of Foreign Office action made by British newspapers. This defence first appeared in the *Chicago Daily News* and was then telegraphed to London and reprinted in the *Daily Chronicle*. That paper prefaced the reprint by these remarkable words:

The London Correspondent of the "Chicago Daily News" has administered a well-deserved rebuke to that section of the London Press which has started a campaign against the Foreign Office. 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. The paper's London Correspondent cabled on Saturday last as follows: "Is it imagined that this transparent little manoeuvre will influence anybody, except in the direction opposite to that desired?"

#### Public Spirit and Patriotism.

Sir Edwin Pears, with an admirable public spirit and a courageous patriotism of which our country needs more rather than less at this crisis, declines to accept the official contradiction of the statements he has made concerning the conduct of British diplomatic affairs in Constantinople and thereby gives to his countrymen the knowledge, which if they will act upon it, is power.

#### Representations!

Those who express disapproval and anxiety on account of Sir Eyre Crowe's employment in the Foreign Office find (we speak from experience) that representations are addressed to them in Sir Eyre Crowe's favour. We allude to this in order to make it clear that we are acquainted with everything that is being said in support of Sir Eyre Crowe's retention at the Foreign Office, but that our commonsense, our overwhelming and fundamental desire for our country's safety and definite knowledge on the subject leave us unshaken—nay, strengthen that belief, that Sir Eyre Crowe must go, and with him the men who have imperilled the British Empire and our liberties by trusting him.

#### One of the Heroines.

Among the very many heroines of this war, one of the greatest is Edith Cavell, put to death by the Germans for giving

shelter to fugitive British and French soldiers and Belgians of military age and helping them to escape from Belgium to join the Colours. Her chivalry towards the hunted and distressed, her loyalty to our Allies and her devotion to her country have made her an example to her compatriots and a glorious memory to her sex. The Germans by killing her have rendered her immortal. She is the representative, too, of other heroic women of whom we shall never hear and whose bravery and sacrifice go to building victory.

**Equal Pay for Equal Work.**

"The allowances made to the families of the soldiers discharge only in a minor degree a National debt. They do not settle the economic problem of the work and the salaries of women."

So affirms M. Urbain Gohier in an article in *Le Journal*, entitled *Women's Wages*. He continues:

"The formula *equal pay for equal work* ought to be admitted and applied without limitation by countries which honour right and justice, to the point of sacrificing millions of soldiers for their sake.

"Women demand justice; they demand their right, when they desire to receive the price of their work in consideration of its result and not in consideration of their sex.

"The consumer who buys a pound of sugar in a grocer's shop, does not lay claim to get it cheaper from a woman grocer than from a man grocer. Upon what pretext do we pay less for the service of a working woman than for the service of a working man if the result of their service is the same?"

"The woman gives to the country her husband, her children, her patience, her devotion in a thousand forms. If she does the work of a man let her receive the wages of a man!"

"It is to the interest even of working men and of all male employees who are replaced by women that salaries shall thus be maintained at their normal level.

"The mobilised working men have no reason to be uneasy at the competition of women; they will find their work waiting for them when they return. There are positions, alas! to which those who formerly occupied them will not return.

"The supply of labour was insufficient [in France] before the war, it will be more so after the war, if the women do not come to the rescue. It is better to fill the empty places by French women than by foreigners. But to these French women, admirable in courage and patriotism, we must give their due, equal pay for equal work."

**London Pavilion Meetings.**

Every Thursday afternoon throughout the autumn meetings are held by the W.S.P.U. at the London Pavilion on "How to Win the War." Mrs. Pankhurst and Miss Annie Kenney will be the speakers at the meeting next week and Miss Nellie Walker has kindly consented to sing.

Admission to these meetings is free, but reserved seats, price 2s., can be obtained from the Ticket Secretary, Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway.

*On page 24 will be found an interesting account of the Welsh Campaign.*

**A QUESTION OF COMMONSENSE ABOUT THE "FREEDOM" OF THE SEAS**

It appears that there is, in spite of all we have heard about the official means taken to prevent it, an enormous traffic in contraband between Holland and Germany. A town councillor of a Dutch town near the German frontier, who is also President of the local Chamber of Commerce, spoke as follows to M. G. de Maizière, of the *Petit Parisien*:

"What happens here means the ruin of the country. You cannot imagine what fortunes contraband has made here in a few months. I can tell you of people in this place, who only yesterday were poor and to-day have more than a hundred thousand francs. All these people have lost the habit of working and live by fraud as a career. From the workman who each morning goes on his bicycle to pass ten kilos. of margarine across the border to the great firms which I could name to you, which send whole trains of contraband to the station of Berg-op-Zoom, all have deserted the workshop or abandoned their regular commerce. At the end of the war we shall have here a population of bandits. That is the truth and it is all the more sad to say it because this country is fundamentally honest and the great majority of Dutchmen wish for the success of the just cause of the Allies. This gang of egotistical and hard business men aided by some good-for-nothings who are maddened by money run the risk of compromising the very honour of our nation."

M. Maizière commenting upon this important statement says: "The honesty of the Dutch Government is not in question and it is beyond doubt that it has organised for the repression of fraud, means which seem to it most efficacious from the Administrative point of view. It sometimes happens, however, and we know something of it ourselves, that Administrative organisation created in time of peace is insufficient in time of war. Such is the case here. It is evident that the *personnel* of the Douanes is altogether incapable of assuring the repression of contraband. Let power be given to the military forces in the frontier zone to meet and let the military authorities be authorised not only to see if such and such merchandise figures on such and such a list but to verify if such merchandise is or is not disguised. I shall be answered that soldiers are not chemists. I will reply: Neither are Customs officers. Now there are not enough Customs officers in Holland at the present time, while there are plenty of soldiers, since the army is mobilised. It would be easier perhaps to find chemists in the Army Medical Corps than among the *personnel* of the Douanes. At the very place where I saw a single Customs officer working alone, two companies are encamped. If these soldiers were authorised to give their assistance to the solitary Customs officer I am convinced that fraud would cease in a short time."

An American correspondent writes to us as follows; we recommend his clear statement to the attention of all wobblers on the question of the "freedom" of the seas.

As regards the proposal to establish "freedom" in the seas in wartime, in other words to neutralise the seas, all that is necessary to show its absurdity is merely a statement of it.

Germany wants the world to agree that in case of war, private property of belligerent ownership shall be immune from seizure at sea. Now Germany had private property to lose on the high seas and did lose some of it for she has not the means of defending property at sea in case of war. She has however lost no private property on land, and she flatters herself that she can by her strong arm enforce immunity for German private property on land.

So her proposition to the world is this: that when it shall suit her purposes to inflict another war upon the world, she is to have a free hand in looting private property in neighbouring countries (as she has done in this war particularly in Belgium and North-Eastern France) and that her neighbours are to combine to protect German private property on the high seas.

As a result Germany would have the double benefit of looting on land and continuing her sea commerce free and unhampered.

The only question which that proposition makes it necessary to discuss is how many idiots does the world hold outside of Germany?

Presumably all the idiots will be in favour of accepting Germany's proposition. If they are in the majority, it will be adopted, but not otherwise.

Germany's great allies are such stupidity and ignorance as the world holds outside of German borders.

**SIR EDWARD GREY'S FATAL OFFER**

**The British Nation Disavows it**

THE British people refuse to allow British Naval Rights, in other words, Great Britain's very life to be bartered away—no given away—by Sir Eyre Crowe and the Cabinet Ministers who have put the fate of the nation in his hands.

The British people do not agree with Lord Crewe that it is no business of theirs to ask and no right of theirs to know whether the Lord Chief Justice or any other representative of the Government has agreed or will agree with the United States Government to set up a new "International Tribunal" to override and overrule British Prize Courts.

Made in Germany, is this scheme for an "International Prize Court" and it is a scheme directed against our own country. It was the German delegate, Baron Marschall von Bieberstein, who at the Hague Conference proposed the adoption of this scheme. The German object in doing this was and is to fetter the British Navy and to make its operations subject to the veto of a so-called Court in which the entire British Empire, not only these Islands, but also Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India and so on, should have only one voice as against fourteen voices and would weigh no heavier in the international scale than Bulgaria for example!

Were it not for the providential defeat by the British Parliament of a measure proposing that we should consent to our own national destruction by agreeing to the establishment of such a "Court" and to other German inspired proposals fatal to our national existence, disaster would have come upon the Allies before now.

And yet Sir Edward Grey, inspired by his evil genius Sir Eyre Crowe, seems still to be bent upon playing into Germany's hands and thereby sowing the seeds of another terrible war in which the Germans would, owing to the weakness of the British Foreign Office, be far stronger to conquer Europe than they are to-day.

We have been waiting to see whether Sir Edward Grey would think better of it, before drawing pointed attention to the policy embodied in the following words and signed by Sir Edward Grey as part of a British Note to the United States, dated July 31st, 1915.

These are the ominous words:

If the Government of the United States of America consider that there is serious ground for holding that the decision is incorrect and infringes the rights of their citizens, it is open to them to claim that it should be subjected to review by an international tribunal.

This principle that the decisions of the National Prize Courts may properly be subjected to international review was conceded by Great Britain in article 7 of the Jay Treaty of 1793 and by the United States of America under the Treaty of Washington of 1871.

The same principle was accepted both by the United States Government and His Majesty's Government in 1907 in connection with a proposed establishment of an International Prize Court, although certain constitutional difficulties have led the United States Government to propose that the right of recourse to the International Prize Court in connection with a decision of a Supreme Court of the United States should take the form of a direct claim for compensation.

It is clear therefore that both the United States Government and His Majesty's Government have adopted the principle that the decision of a National Prize Court may be open to

review. If it is held in the Prize Court and in the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council on appeal that the orders and instructions issued by His Majesty's Government in matters relating to Prize are in harmony with the principles of International Law, and should the Government of the United States feel compelled to maintain a contrary view, His Majesty's Government will be prepared to concert with the United States Government in order to decide upon the best way of applying the above principle to the situation which would then have arisen.

Here we have the attempted great betrayal! But Sir Edward Grey speaks without the authority of the British people and his offer to the United States Government is null and void.

It will be noted that Sir Edward Grey bases his offer to surrender British Naval rights (which mean British National existence) upon a treaty between Great Britain and the United States, dated 1793, and upon what he describes as the "acceptance by the British Government in 1907 of the principle of the establishment of an International Prize Court."

We will deal with the second point first, by reminding Sir Edward Grey that the assent to the establishment of an International Prize Court, made by Sir Eyre Crowe and others in the name of the British Government, in 1907, was repudiated and destroyed by the British Parliament which is supreme over both Sir Eyre Crowe and Sir Edward Grey, and therefore has the constitutional right, which it fortunately exercised in this case, to nullify the calamitous mistakes which these two gentlemen tried to make.

Now for the second point! If we are to look to treaties of the eighteenth century to find a basis for our naval policy in wartime, why should we not put into force the treaty made in the year 1794 between the United States and Great Britain whereby it is expressly provided that the property of an enemy found on board a neutral vessel, shall be regarded as good prize of war and therefore liable to capture?

This treaty having been signed in 1794, the consequence was that when war broke out between England and France, the British Navy without protest from the United States seized French property in American vessels.

The same treaty would allow us now to capture German property in American vessels in any part of the high seas.

Of this same treaty of 1794 between Great Britain and the United States it may further be said that the assent it gave to the seizure of belligerent property found on neutral American vessels was entirely in accordance with international law, so that our right to seize such property would have existed even had the treaty in question never been signed.

Several years after, namely, in 1838, Jefferson said: "I believe it cannot be doubted that by the general Law of Nations, the goods of an enemy found in the vessel of a friend are good prize."

To this may be added the fact that the Declaration of Paris, 1856, did not receive the assent of the United States, so that if we are going to stand on treaties, the considerations here raised cannot be left out of account.

It is foolish and dangerous not to face the fact that the secondary interests of

neutrals—namely, their trade interests—must always conflict to some extent with the primary interest, that is to say, the very existence of a belligerent Power depending mainly on its navy.

We cannot be surprised that the United States (some of whose traders, especially the hyphenated ones, complain of interference with their trade owing to the state of war in Europe) should make protest to the British and Allied Governments. But we cannot and we do not yield to these protests, because if we do we commit national suicide. Also we injure the United States because (as everybody knows, from the President and the real Americans down to the most unworthy German-American) the Allies, including Great Britain and the British Navy, are in this war defending the United States as well as Europe. And if the Allies owing to concessions made to American and hyphenated traders were to weaken their pressure upon Germany and so lose wholly or partly their chance of victory, then the United States would be the next to suffer German attack.

It would also be hypocrisy on our part to ignore this further circumstance to which we have drawn attention in the past, which is that the Germans are trying to hold the balance of political power in the United States. To this end they use the large number of German-American votes and they use the power of German-American finance and every other means of influence they possess in that country. We, by painful experience, know what Germany can accomplish in this direction. Let modern British history bear witness to that!

To such a pitch have the Germans already brought affairs in the United States that President Wilson has felt obliged to call public attention to the dangers of the situation, even saying: "I predict that it will be necessary in the very near future to challenge the loyalty and patriotism of candidates for political office."

The difficulty however is in the proving of their loyalty and patriotism and we should see the Kaiser trying by every possible means, so to exert his power in the United States as to influence through that medium the decision of a joint British-American Prize Court, or a Prize Court composed of representatives of the Nations in general.

For the sake of America (for we are not of those who think that nations should live to themselves alone and be careless of the fate of their neighbours) and for the sake of Britons in these Islands and in the Overseas Dominions, the International Prize Court must not be.

President Wilson has told us that he expects it will be necessary in every political agitation for some years to come to call upon every man to declare where he stands. This means that the danger of tempting the Kaiser to strike at Great Britain and her naval rights through his power in America is a very real and a very continuing one. It will not pass away with the close of the present hostilities!

That is one reason the more why Sir Edward Grey's fatal offer is disavowed.

# Britannia

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

PRICE ONE PENNY WEEKLY.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 22, 1915.

## The Resignations

ON all hands we find approval of the demand for the resignation of Sir Edward Grey and Lord Robert Cecil and for the disappearance from the public service of Sir Eyre Crowe.

Only two arguments have been raised against the demand.

The first is that the resignations of the two Ministers and the disappearance from the public service of Sir Eyre Crowe would encourage the Germans.

But the fact is that nothing would so much depress and distress and dishearten the Germans for the simple reason that the Germans know far better than many of our own public what is the present deplorable state of our Foreign Office.

The Germans know perfectly well that their hope of victory partial or complete depends upon the British Foreign Office as at present constituted more than upon anything else.

A reform—i.e. a complete and sweeping change at the Foreign Office (and perhaps in other Ministerial quarters, but that remains to be seen)—is therefore the most potent method available of disheartening the Germans and what is more important of ensuring their defeat.

For what with the hampering and hindering of naval warfare upon German commerce and what with the diplomatic fiasco in the Balkans our Foreign Office has played into the hands of Germany to an extent which it is agonising to contemplate.

And mistakes worse if possible would be to follow if the resignations that are necessary should not take place.

It is adding insult to injury for Sir Edward Grey to argue that the tragic failure of his Balkan activities is due to the want of preponderant military success in Europe during the past few months.

For it is he who has strengthened the Germans in battle and weakened the Allies because apart from anything else he has allowed cotton and other matters needed for military purposes to pass through the lines of the British Fleet into German hands.

The second argument raised by their champions against the departure from the Foreign Office of Sir Edward Grey, Lord Robert Cecil and Sir Eyre Crowe is that "there are no men to take their place." What audacity! Out of 22 million adult British men, only three are able to fill the positions in question! The absurdity of such an idea is obvious. We were all brought up to believe that nobody is indispensable—but suddenly we are confronted by this amazing statement that at last three people have been discovered who are indispensable! It has indeed come to a day of wonder and of weakness if the continued existence of the British Empire and the unity of the British people depend upon these three persons. Sir Edward Grey, Lord Robert Cecil and Sir Eyre Crowe!

If such a thing were even remotely true

it would be a disgrace to the manhood of the country. But it is most emphatically not true.

Indeed with the deepest conviction and with a sad and grave sense of responsibility we say that the present Foreign Office régime represents the greatest of the dangers we have to face.

This "no men to take their place" argument is all Doodle and Coodleism—and Doodle and Coodle principles and practices will not see us through this war!

If the men of this country are equal to their task as citizens they will now assert themselves and say: "Enough—too much of this foolery! We will have men in political office who are by birth and in all other respects qualified and capable to pilot the nation through danger into honourable and lasting security."

## One Diplomatic Centre

Last week we insisted upon the necessity of establishing a single diplomatic centre for the Allies during the remaining course of the war. The same view is held and expressed by the *Corriere della Sera*, which advises the immediate constitution in one of the capitals of the Allied Powers of a central executive committee which would co-ordinate the military action and the diplomatic action of the Allies.

"The Powers of the Entente," the *Corriere della Sera* adds,

while fighting for a common victory exhaust their energies without co-ordinating their efforts. It is absolutely essential that they shall march according to a single plan towards the common goal.

In the Press of Switzerland the same idea has been maintained. For to friendly neutral onlookers the dangers of the present want of co-ordination are painfully apparent.

To ensure action which shall be prompt, united and consistent, and to forestall and nullify German intrigue the creation of a common diplomatic centre during war-time is a vital necessity, not to create such a centre is to invite calamity! The Allies' cause has suffered enough for want of it.

Here is a supremely important reason for making these two reforms—the changes at the Foreign Office and the creation of a common diplomatic centre and for making them without delay. The United States Note relating to neutral trading rights and the Allies' warfare upon German commerce is on its way.

Britain's Reply to America

## Britain's Reply to America

The United States Note must not be dealt with by Sir Edward Grey, Lord Robert Cecil and Sir Eyre Crowe whose dangerous views concerning British naval rights are only too notorious.

Nor are the questions raised in the United States Note such as concern ourselves alone.—They concern our Allies too and these questions cannot be discussed as though they concerned Great Britain and the United States alone.

In particular, steps must be taken to sweep away the offer made by Sir Edward Grey on his own responsibility only and without the right or power to commit the nation to the establishment of a British-American Prize Court.

That it would be disastrous to establish a British-American Prize Court having final control of the operations of the British Navy—having in other words, the power to pass a death sentence upon our nation and Empire, is proved by the difference between American and British circumstances.

The British Empire is scattered and in order to defend its vital centre, the British Isles, is dependent upon the command of the seas in war-time.

The United States, on the other hand has a compact territory, rich in national resources and distant from the German volcano!

A brilliant light is cast upon this question by a leading article in the *New York Herald* dealing with the great American enterprise, the Bethlehem Steel Company, in which appears the statement that "the Bethlehem Steel Works far surpass in extent and importance, even the famous Krupp's establishment at Essen." The *New York Herald* affirms that owing to the illimitable resources of America available for conversion in case of need to adequate means of defence against the armed forces of an assailant and owing to the vast American steel plants the United States possesses machinery of inestimable power for defence and for the maintenance of its dignity and standing among the great nations of the world.

Add to that the territorial conditions and natural resources which enable the United States population to be entirely self-supporting in war-time, and we see that in the difference of natural and geographical conditions lies the decisive reason why it would be wrong to give to the United States the power to destroy us by insisting, at a time when Great Britain and her daughter States are or may be in the future fighting against German attack, upon advantages for American traders, WHICH CANNOT BE CONCEDED BY US EXCEPT AT THE SACRIFICE OF OUR NATIONAL LIBERTY AND LIFE.

WOULD THE AMERICAN PEOPLE BE SO MAD AS TO GIVE US A LIKE POWER OVER THEIR FATE?

Here is the truth—Britain now faces the greatest crisis in her history. Her life is at stake and all that her life means and still more ought in future to mean to humanity.

Britain is threatened on the one hand by an enemy's direct warlike attack and on the other hand by the claims of a friend which claims if satisfied would take her life because by fettering her Navy they would rob her of the very and only means by which her life can be preserved.

The enemy who attacks us we must resist with all our physical might.

To the American friend—dear though that friend be—who thoughtlessly asks us to destroy ourselves by sparing enemy commerce for the sake of neutral traders, we must and will reply with all our moral might:

"NO, WE WILL NOT SACRIFICE ON THE ALTAR OF TRADE 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."

That is Britain's answer to the American Note.

CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

# THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE SERBIAN PEOPLE

From an Interview with M. Vesnitch, Serbian Ambassador in Paris

(Reprinted from "Lectures pour Tous," April 15th.)

THE psychology of my compatriots may be summed up in a single definition—intensity of national sentiment. To grasp its meaning and its scope we have only to glance at the map of Europe. Austria, with full encouragement from Germany, systematically opposes us. What is her grievance? The fact that we stand in the way of the Pangermanic "Drang nach Osten" (the eastward movement): she does not shrink from employing any means to remove us from her path. At each stage in her evolution from the nineteenth century until the ultimatum of July 23rd Serbia has found herself confronted by Austria-Hungary, blocking the way to her national emancipation.

The magnificent courage with which the Serbian people have undertaken and accepted this unequal struggle, the victorious resistance she has offered to the invader, have not astonished us. But how is it that the country has been able, both materially and morally, to withstand this fresh blow?

We have had scarcely a year to reorganise our weakened military forces, we have given orders for arms in all directions, but have had to wait a long time for them. We were hoping that sufficient blood had been shed and that a new era was dawning, an era of peace and concord, which would give us an opportunity to organise our new provinces both from an administrative and economic point of view. The ultimatum from Vienna fell, if I may so express it, like a bombshell in a farmyard.

Our situation was heartrending. We lacked arms, ammunition and supplies. The new classes of soldiers were not yet fully trained; the old ones were worn out with the work of two campaigns; our harvests had not been gathered in. Nevertheless, as if by magic, the country stood to arms, united and resolute. Weapons we bought where we could. Munitions we obtained from France when she could spare them to us and during the first few months of the war we had to be content with our old pieces; we counted on those we intended to take from the enemy.

You asked me just now how it was that after so many trials we had sufficient moral force to resist new attacks. The explanation must be found in the psychology of the Serbian people, which is so little known

to foreigners, in the spirit of solidarity and patriotism which animates them.

The spirit of solidarity is one of the characteristics of the Serb. It is in a manner born in him. This comes from the fact that our families are generally very large—my own has forty members—and also from the fact that we live a very united life, having all our property and our ventures in common.

### Poetry which Teaches Heroism

This instinct of solidarity is so strongly developed amongst us that we do not keep a separate birthday; we duly celebrate one birthday for the whole family. Each of us picks out from amongst his most intimate friends a chosen brother whom he treats as a relative. Our spirit of co-operation is also shown by many other significant details. Serbians are never seen dancing in isolated couples. This kind of amusement does not exist among us; we only have round dances. This spirit of unity, which is almost biblical in its conception, is a precious force in hours of peril; it shows itself when dangers menace our land. The patriotism of our soldiers is far greater than their knowledge, as they are for the most part ignorant men.

This patriotism springs more from instinct than reason; and I do not hesitate to attribute it to the influence which the national poetry has had on our people.

Though oppressed for five centuries and deprived of all education, the Serbian people have handed down their national history from generation to generation by means of legends and tales. They have learned these legends by heart like prayers; they have beautified them with their idealism. In the winter evenings the young people hang on the words of their grandmothers while they relate the national epics and eagerly listen to the blind bards who sing the national poems.

The Song of Kossovo, the Serbian Song of Roland, is particularly typical. In this song all the heroes familiar to the national mind are evoked and lauded. Our soldiers have learnt the stories of their deeds of valour at their mothers' knee and in a measure have grown up beside them; they are brought up in a school of heroism whose precepts are graven on their minds. Do not let us look elsewhere for an explanation of the wonderful morale of our armies and our people.

This morale has many times been put to the test during the last seven months.

We have suffered hours of anguish more cruel than anyone could believe, but so fine that one is proud to have lived through them. After our first victories, which brought us to the heart of Bosnia, the Austrians, thanks to their crushing superiority in the matter of numbers, succeeded, as you know, in once more taking the offensive. The Government had already taken refuge at Nish, 300 kilometres from the capital and had decided to concentrate our forces among the mountains. The enemy begins by occupying Belgrade and, continuing to take the offensive, drove us gradually 80 kilometres into the interior of the country. The situation was tragic: our troops were exhausted; the munition waggons were practically empty, horses were lacking and it was becoming more and more difficult to obtain supplies. Headquarters staff itself thought that almost certainly all was lost. A final resistance was to be attempted in the valley of the Morava, round the arsenal of Kragoujevatz; honour must be saved. . . .

### The Old King among his Soldiers

Then, however, came an event which had a great influence on the spirit of our men; the intervention of King Peter. Let me tell you the details: it is one of the most moving episodes of the war.

The King, who owing to his infirmities had been obliged for more than a year to hand over his governing powers to his second son, Prince Alexander, was crippled with rheumatism and had been undergoing a cure. Though quite helpless he had from the very commencement of hostilities passionately followed the events of the campaign. At the beginning of December he learned of the continued retreat of his army. The old King did not hesitate. He gave orders for his train to be heated and in spite of his doctor's orders was carried down to it and started off at nine in the evening to join his troops. At midnight he crossed the station at Nish, where the members of the Government who had been informed of the Royal *coup de tête* saluted him as he passed. In the early hours of the morning he arrived at the front, called together the staff, went into the trenches amongst his soldiers and taking a gun in his hand urged them on to victory. The effect was prodigious; after a battle lasting ten days the Austrian armies were driven back and we took 50,000 prisoners.

## IN HONOUR OF SERBIA

### Now as in the past Serbia Fights for Liberty and Defends Christendom

"Under the Emperor Duchan, Serbia was the preponderant Power in the Balkans. She had attained a remarkable degree of prosperity, her mines assured large revenues to the Sovereign, the celebrated code that he had given to his subjects and which is a singularly precious document owing to the knowledge it gives of the Jugoslavs in the Middle Ages fixed public rights and was all the more readily accepted because it respected national tradition. Political independence was guaranteed by religious independence. Numerous and rich convents were centres of civilisation and of art."—From *La Grande Serbie*, by E. Denis.

THE picture on the opposite page shows Serbia at the height of her power and greatness before she fell a victim of conquest by the Turks, under whose domination she lay for four hundred years and then magnificently reconquered her freedom after that long servitude.

It is for her Allies to fight and pray that she may now be preserved from a worse slavery than was formerly imposed upon her by the Turks and that her present and glorious struggle shall not be in vain.

The real cause of the downfall of the Serbian Empire whose fate was sealed in the battle of Kossovo, 1389, must be sought, says M. Denis in his book "*La Grande Serbie*," in her situation at the extreme East of Europe.

Referring to the struggle against the Turks which the Serbs made even after the battle of Kossovo, M. Denis says:

Perhaps upheld by Europe, they might yet have succeeded in driving back the Oriental invasion. Unhappily the Christian Powers were thinking only of their egotistical interests.

Left to depend entirely on their own strength, the Serbs, worn out by too long a struggle, bent their head under the decree of destiny. Mahomet II. occupied Smederevo without striking a blow in 1459. And at Belgrade, the last fortress of the Christians in the Balkans succumbed in 1521.

The Serbs succumbed because they were in the first line of Christian defence, and constituted its advance guard. They were the victims of a tragic calamity analogous to that which in these latter months has condemned Belgium to atrocious devastation.

There is the primordial fact which it is essential to repeat unceasingly when one speaks of the Slavs, because we can never measure its full influence. If the Serbs like the Russians so long vegetated in a semi-barbarism, that is because they had sheltered Europe with their courage—Europe which behind them and thanks to their assistance has had time to gather up her forces and to organise herself.

The services which they have thus rendered to the Christian world, we have hardly begun to suspect. . . .

It was thought that from 1389 to 1804, during four centuries, the Serbs had docilely supported the Ottoman yoke and that their annals were only the recitals of their heavy misery.

Certainly their sufferings were atrocious and destiny was pitiless to them, but at least they did not suffer without revolt. During that period, so long and so hard, they never allowed their title to lapse. Sometimes local and sometimes general, breaking out at one point as soon as it was crushed in another, *Serbian resistance against foreign domination was permanent and continuous.*

The fight was unequal, Europe far away and indifferent, arms were rare and munitions scarce and difficult to replace. The reprisals of the victor are terrible. . . . Bleeding in every limb, bound by a thousand bonds, Serbia never surrendered.

### THE SPIRIT OF THE SERB

(Mrs. Carrington Wilde, who has done so much in the cause of Serbia, has kindly given us the following sketch).

PEOPLE wonder at the spirit of the Serb. It may seem strange that their power of resistance is so great when Serbia as a nation only sprang into existence 100 years ago, as most English people of to-day think. They forget that Serbia had a most glorious past when Byzantinism was at its zenith and when Serbia bade fair to hold supreme sway in the Near East. She lost her independence as is well known, in the battle of Kossovo in 1389, when the great Tsar Lazar's armies were vanquished by the Turk. For over 500 years this heroic people languished under Turkish rule; their young boys and most of their young women were carried away and made Turkish subjects, and the older people were ground down under the heel of the Turk. They lost every institution, their nationality was apparently wiped out, and Serbia to all intents and purposes became a Turkish province.

We may well ask ourselves how under these circumstances any remnant of the Serbian nation survived. We have no hesitation in saying that the spirit of heroic Serbia so *en évidence* to-day was kept alive by her national bards. They neither wrote nor read, but all down the ages they sang the history of their nation.

These national bards in whose memories the history of Serbia was graven in song went from village to village and taught their lore to their listeners. This survived for five centuries and inspired Kara George, or the Black George, to revolution in the early part of the nineteenth century, when Serbia threw off the Turkish yoke. During all these years they never lost sight of the day when they meant to get their freedom, and so great is their knowledge of history in the villages, that there is no child of average intelligence who could not sing you the story of the heroic deeds of Serbia's past.

That this spirit still animates the Serbia of to-day is shown from the speech made by their venerable King when he visited the trenches last November. The ammunition they were expecting had not arrived and when it seemed as if the remnant of the Serbian Army would be overcome by superior numbers, the old King, despite his failing health, assembled his scattered forces and addressed them thus:

Heroes! Two oaths you took when I came to the throne—one to me and one to the Constitution. Your oath to the Country I cannot absolve you from—but your oath to me I can and do, for our fortunes have sunk to such a low ebb. It is no longer right to hold you to it. If you return to your home now you will never be charged with having deserted. It would not be right for an old man at the edge of the grave further to imperil your lives. As for me and my sons we will fight to the last.

Words such as these will ring down the ages.

The soul of a nation such as Serbia can never be crushed, no matter how heavy are the forces arrayed against her. That Serbia, gallant little Serbia, will emerge victorious from the dark clouds which now surround her, who can doubt?

### SERBIA IN THE XIVth CENTURY



[From a painting by Pavao Iovanovich, Property of the Serbian State.]

This picture shows Serbia at the height of her power and greatness, before she fell a victim to conquest by the Turks, under whose dominion she lay for four hundred years. She then gloriously regained her freedom after that long servitude.

## A CITIZEN ARMY

### The Swiss System Described

The "Morning Post" lately published an article by its Swiss correspondent from which we take the following.

SINCE I have been stationed in Switzerland I have had many opportunities of seeing the working of the Swiss military system, and also of coming into touch with Swiss Army officers. Indeed, owing to the universality of military training and military service it is quite possible to be conversing with an officer or ex-officer without being aware of the fact. Since this war broke out I have frequently discussed the situation with military men from different parts of Switzerland and of very different shades of opinion, some of whom were acquainted with the British Army system, and all of whom took deep interest in Lord Kitchener's Army. The general opinion, without doubt, is that the sooner compulsory military training is introduced into the United Kingdom the better, both for the British Empire and the peace of the world.

As a well-known diplomatist said, "If Great Britain had had command of half a million men at the time of the negotiations between the Great Powers, when the dispute between Austria and Servia became acute, no war would have taken place and the peace of the world would have been maintained."

One of these military men, who knows something of the conditions prevailing in England, thinks that the introduction of compulsory military training, so far from being detrimental, would be of the greatest benefit to British manhood. If the English system approximated to the Swiss, then the introduction of this change would not entail the spending of several years in barracks, but it would entail every able-bodied man being so trained as to be immediately useful in case of war or of the country being in danger.

#### A Militia Army

The Swiss Army is a Militia Army, based on the principle of universal liability to serve. Every Swiss citizen is liable for service during twenty-nine years of his life, beginning with the year in which he attains the age of twenty. Promotion is solely from the ranks. In time of war or in case of serious crisis youths of eighteen and nineteen may be mobilised. Exemption is only allowed in case of actual physical or mental deficiency, and even clergy of denominations recognised by Government must undergo a recruit's

course of training. Only members of the Federal Council, the heads and staffs of public hospitals and a very few officials are exempted from service in the Army, although they, too, unless physically unfit, must have gone through their training. Every man must, of course, keep his rifle, uniform and equipment in order during the entire period of his liability to serve. A cavalry officer or soldier must also keep and feed a horse, or give satisfactory proof of being immediately able to obtain a good mount in case of need. Similarly, any soldier who wishes to join the cyclist corps must prove that he can buy a military bicycle and keep it in order.

Military training begins in reality in the schools, great stress being laid upon preparatory military instruction, especially as not much time is allowed for the training of recruits. All boys while still at school, where they remain until fifteen or sixteen years of age, are obliged to attend gymnastic classes and are encouraged to learn something about the use of firearms and how to shoot—all this, be it noted, before they begin their twentieth year and before they are liable to serve in the Army. In an article which appeared on February 4 last in the *Morning Post* I dealt fully with the Swiss system of rifle shooting and with the support granted to it by Government and the communes. To show with how short a time in barracks an efficient army may be produced, at any rate if the foundations of a soldier be already laid while the boy is still at school, I may say that the Swiss infantry recruits' course of training lasts only sixty-five days. A competent soldier, therefore, can be made in two months' time by diligent training. The Swiss cavalryman's training lasts ninety days and an artilleryman's seventy-five. Then there are, besides, the "repetition courses," which everyone must go through.

#### The Difference

The difference between the German system of compulsory military service and the Swiss system of compulsory military training, making every man able to serve his country in case of need or in time of danger, is this.

The German system begets militarism; the Swiss system does not. In the Swiss system a man is first and foremost a farmer, an artisan, a shopkeeper, a watchmaker, an hotel-keeper, a lawyer, or an insurance agent, as the case may be and only secondarily a

soldier, unless and until he be required for his country's defence.

There are, and of course must be, even under the Swiss system, a certain number of professional soldiers, officers, and the General Staff and men in charge of the fortifications; but they are very few in number. That the duty of springing to the country's aid in time of danger is sufficiently impressed upon the Swiss by their system of compulsory military training was abundantly and superabundantly demonstrated during mobilisation. As I have already pointed out in a former article, but it is well to insist upon the fact, at the first breath of the likelihood of mobilisation, without it even being absolutely incumbent upon them to go to their country's assistance, all Swiss resident abroad flew to Switzerland—whether from distant lands such as California, South America, Australia, or from near countries such as England, made no difference to them whatsoever.

Very little importance appears to be attached to height in the Swiss Army, the minimum standard of height being very low—5 feet 1½ inches for infantry and 5 feet 2½ inches for cavalry and certain other categories of troops. Great importance, however, is attached to eyesight, and great stress laid upon the necessity of every man every year undergoing a certain amount of rifle-shooting practice, and passing certain tests under strict conditions, in order to satisfy the military authorities of his keeping himself in a state of efficiency, so as to be of use if he should be wanted. It will be seen that a good army, like everything else worth having, cannot be had without some pains and self-sacrifice.

The opinion generally held here in Switzerland is that England need only turn her golf links into rifle-shooting ranges, and her racecourses into military exercising grounds, and expect every man to do his duty, and it will be done.

I may here mention that every Swiss commune must provide a rifle range and a suitable place for the examination of recruits, and must supply both free of charge to the Government. High Swiss officers have said that if England had but taken Lord Roberts's advice years ago, and had introduced a system of compulsory military training, the present calamitous war would never have come about and that the greatest blow which England could deal her enemies now would be to follow the example of several of her greatest Overseas Dominions, and introduce compulsory military training, compulsory on every able-bodied man from the age of eighteen or nineteen until that of forty-eight or fifty, without distinction of rank or position.

# 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

- 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
- 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!**

# CAMPAIGN IN SOUTH WALES

## Mrs. Pankhurst's Great Reception

MRS. PANKHURST has been raising the Fiery Cross in South Wales. Between September 22nd and October 11th she addressed sixteen meetings in Glamorgan and Monmouthshire, each one of them being in the largest hall the town contained, and that hall being packed to its uttermost limit. One is accustomed to speak of a hall as "full" when all the seating accommodation is taken up, but in Wales every aisle and every gangway were crowded; precarious niches on narrow window ledges were eagerly striven for, and the patient way in which hundreds of men and women would stand throughout the meeting, without moving, testified to their great eagerness to hear the war gospel.

The campaign began with a rousing meeting in Cardiff, that big and cosmopolitan clearing-house of the South Wales coast trade. There Mrs. Pankhurst announced that the needs of the moment are: Realisation and Organisation, and this is the keynote of the campaign she has conducted.

The next morning, before leaving for the Hills she spoke in the open air outside the Cardiff Exchange, where all the chief business men connected with the shipping and coal trades congregated.

An interesting feature of the Pontypool meeting was the eagerness shown by women to join in the scheme for making munitions of war. A number volunteered on the spot, while for days after others walked five and even ten miles over the hills to give in their names as willing to serve in this way.

In the Garw Valley and at Maesteg, on the west of the vital area, two splendid meetings were held.

Mrs. Pankhurst has told in her speech at the Pavilion "At Home," reproduced in BRITANNIA, of the magnificent reception given her by the miners on Sunday evening at Tonypany. All that week, from Sunday until the following Friday, she worked in the Rhondda Valley. The meetings, got up very often on a wet day

in a few hours, were all crowded and enthusiastic. Nothing could have been more wonderful than a meeting held one afternoon in a small place called Ynishir, where one week earlier the men in the two chief collieries had been out on strike. The meetings at Ferndale and Ton Pentre were equally successful.

The next week Mrs. Pankhurst made her headquarters at Merthyr Tydfil, where on Thursday, October 7th, the huge Skating Rink was filled. The following night she spoke at Dowlais.

Quite a remarkable scene was witnessed

On Monday night Mrs. Pankhurst was at Aberdare and spoke in the Market Hall, holding about 5,000 people.

Mrs. Pankhurst in all her speeches has paid tribute to the national achievements and aspirations of Wales, and to the responsiveness and imagination of her people which have made possible such glowing, vital and profoundly serious meetings as have been held there. The singing of the Welsh National Anthem, "Land of Our Fathers," by the huge audiences at the close is a thing which can never be forgotten. The report of the musical genius of South Wales is in everybody's mouth, but it needs to be heard to be really understood.

Alongside of all her indoor meetings Mrs. Pankhurst participated in a big Recruiting Rally held at Cardiff on Saturday, October 9th.

Associated with Mrs. Pankhurst in her work in South Wales have been Mrs. Drummond and Mrs. Dacre-Fox, who have chaired at her meetings and spoken tirelessly, both at street corners and in halls, up and down the country. On October 6th, in the Siloh Baptist Chapel at Tredegar, in the unavoidable absence of Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Dacre-Fox addressed the meeting. What she said was very much appreciated and the only complaint heard was: "It seemed too good to be true that Mrs. Pankhurst was really coming to Tredegar."

The work in South Wales is going on. Mrs. Pankhurst will be going to Swansea shortly, in which district Mrs. Drummond has been holding most successful meetings at the invitation of the recruiting authorities. The realisation which Mrs. Pankhurst is unquestionably bringing to South Wales is now to be backed up by increased activity. She intends to turn the enthusiasm aroused at her meetings to good account by enlisting the services of willing men and women for home defence, for the new scheme of directing voluntary organisation and, in the case of boys and girls, for Cadet Corps, Boy Scouts and Girl Guides.

### 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, OCTOBER 28,

at 3 o'clock,

The Speakers will be

MRS. PANKHURST,

MISS ANNIE KENNEY.

MISS NELLIE WALKER  
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.

on Sunday, October 10th, at the afternoon meeting at Abertillery. Crowds blocked the street, making it hard for Mrs. Pankhurst to get into the hall and the enthusiasm was tremendous. People waited in the street for hours, merely to get a glimpse of her, while the overflow meeting which Mrs. Dacre-Fox addressed out of a window of the hall must have numbered thousands.

That night Mrs. Pankhurst went on to Pontypridd, where again huge crowds assembled.

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