

"Britannia," November 5, 1915.

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Britannia

With which is incorporated
"THE SUFFRAGETTE"

Official Organ of the Women's Social
and Political Union

Edited by CHRISTABEL PANKHURST

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FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 5, 1915

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to do it

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AT STAKE

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Review of the Week.

There is Still Time!

Do not believe the German-inspired statement that there is no time TO SAVE SERBIA. There IS time and Serbia must be saved. British help must at once be given.

General Joffre in London!

To the everlasting shame of Grey and Asquith, General Joffre, great-hearted man as well as great soldier, has had to come to London and plead for Serbia. The French had already brought civilian appeals for Serbia to bear upon Sir Edward Grey, but in vain!

Sir Edward Grey has Betrayed Serbia.

Sir Edward Grey has betrayed Serbia. His betrayal of this most gallant and loyal Ally has been pitiless, cruel and most foul.

Every new fact that becomes known makes the shame of this betrayal the greater.

When the betrayal could no longer be hidden, Sir Edward Grey astutely arranged matters so that Lord Lansdowne should be the one to announce the betrayal and should, moreover, speaking from a Foreign Office brief, send to the Serbs, fighting for very life against a murderous and numerically far stronger foe, the inhuman message—**We desert you.**

The betrayal of Serbia has rung through the world, wounding the heart of Britons, rejoicing Britain's foes.

Calamity Foreseen.

We have known for some time that calamity must be the result of the prolongation of the Grey régime at the Foreign Office, but we could hardly have imagined so great a calamity as this. Mr. Asquith may try to patch and hide things up on Tuesday, but we now know him and his partner Grey!

We must have in their stead men who can be trusted not to betray our Allies in secret and not to destroy our own honour and national freedom.

Get Rid of Grey.

And be it realised that the Germans are only waiting to reap the full profit of Sir Edward Grey's betrayal of Serbia to throw that betrayal in our teeth and to denounce us to the world as hypocrites, breakers of our word and false to the cause of the small nations. That is what the retention of Sir Edward Grey as a British Minister means. The only way to wash our hands of the scandal and dishonour that Grey has brought upon the British name is—to get rid of Grey!

At all costs we must make it clear to the world that this nation repudiates him and his works.

Mr. Asquith Shrugged his Shoulders!

Take this incident—for it is not only certain daily newspapers who are able to give their readers a glimpse behind the scenes! A public man addressed to the Prime Minister and to Sir Edward Grey this question: "What is being done in the matter of sending troops to help the Serbs?" The reply was that this help had been promised. "Yes, but have the troops actually been sent?" he asked again. This was all the answer he got, **Asquith shrugged his shoulders and Grey turned away.** A fine pair indeed to be the guardians of British honour!

Germans Exulting Already!

Besides realising what this affair of the betrayal of Serbia means to Serbia and to our own moral standing in the world, the men of the country should take the trouble to realise what it means as affecting our own material interests as a nation and also what it means as an indication of the policy of Sir Edward Grey!! Some enlightenment may be found in the German Press. The *Frankfurter Zeitung* says that the destruction of Serbia, if it can be accomplished, will have world-wide historic importance and will mean the laying of the foundation-stone of a new era for the Germanic Powers. Germanic Kultur becoming triumphant in the Balkans and in the Orient.

The Germans seek in this war to achieve many objects. Yet if they achieve even one only of these objects they will deem themselves victorious. And as the Kaiser has clearly stated, that gain will be made the basis of another war. NOW SIR EDWARD GREY'S ACQUIESCENCE

IN THE DEFEAT, MAY THE EXTERMINATION OF THE SERBS MEANS THE FULFILMENT OF A LONG-NURSED GERMAN PROJECT. If Sir Edward Grey—and how indeed can we dissociate the Prime Minister?—WERE IN LEAGUE WITH THE GERMANS TO FACILITATE THEIR SUBJUGATION OF THE BALKANS HE WOULD DO PRECISELY AS HE HAS DONE WHERE THE BETRAYAL OF SERBIA IS CONCERNED.

GREY FACILITATES THE GERMAN DRANG NACH OSTEN.

The men of the country and the politicians outside the Government cannot say that the present situation has taken them altogether by surprise, for they have known that the principal permanent official at the Foreign Office was half a German and the husband of a German. They have seen the extraordinary reluctance of Sir Edward Grey to permit the Navy to wage uncompromising war with the enemy, especially so far as supplies are concerned. They know that he sought to provide the Germans with reinforcements in the persons of German reservists living in all lands, who would have helped the enemy to counteract the attack of the men from our Overseas Dominions who have come to Europe to fight for Britain and the British Empire. Need we go again through the whole catalogue of offences against Britain's sea power? WE MAY HOWEVER SUM THE MATTER UP BY SAYING THAT JUST AS SIR EDWARD GREY HAS FACILITATED THE GERMAN DRANG NACH OSTEN, SO HE HAS OPENED THE DOOR TO THE ADOPTION OF THE GERMAN PRINCIPLE OF THE FREEDOM OF THE SEAS.

Yes, indeed! A war that ended with the destruction of Serbia and the establishment of the freedom of the seas would be a victory for the Germans. And it would not take them long to get ready for another war in which they would finish their self-appointed task of conquering Europe and becoming masters of the world.

Betraying Serbia for Germany's Benefit.

The betrayal of Serbia has given a shock to the friends of Britain all over the world, and those who work to bring about the resignation of Sir Edward Grey, are helping to dissociate the nation from him and his policy and are doing the only thing possible to save our moral prestige, which otherwise must be hopelessly and for ever compromised. While the most important point is that our honour is involved, there is also another point of importance. It is that we are made to appear fools, in that we allow Germany to win the material advantage that would result to her from the destruction of Serbia. It would have been horrible and unthinkable to betray Serbia to our own advantage and to betray Serbia for the enemy's advantage brings us into contempt even in German eyes.

Grey Helps Germany's Military Operations.

The words that Sir Edward Grey put into the mouth of Lord Lansdowne,

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IN THE
ROYAL ALBERT HALL

ON
Thursday, Nov. 18, at 8 p.m.

To Demand the Loyal
and Vigorous Conduct
of the War

"If there had been a good chance of coming to the rescue of the Serbs," etc. were a blow at the morale of the Serbs and therefore an act of direct military advantage to the Germans, apart from the aid to Germany involved in withholding the support of British troops which we had promised to give the Serbs. But for the marvellous spiritual force of the Serbian Army and people, but for their passion for liberty which is stronger than their love of life the blow might have been fatal.

British Men's Last Chance.

The brief prepared for Lord Lansdowne by Sir Edward Grey and his coadjutors was in fact of a kind altogether most helpful to the Germans in the sense that it virtually endorsed the German contention that the situation of the Serbs is hopeless. What despair and shame for us if that were true. But their situation (no thanks to Grey!) is not hopeless, serious though (owing to Grey's betrayal) it is. The enemies of Serbia put into the mouth of Lord Lansdowne what they expected would be Serbia's sentence of death, the signal and seal of our desertion of her. But it had the precisely opposite effect. It revealed to the public the horrible crime that was being committed in our name. It gave the first real hope of the rescue of Serbia from the deadly peril in which the betrayal of Grey had left her. The men of the country have now their last chance of repudiating the treachery of the man who has brought dishonour upon them. If they do not take it, if indeed they do not actually save Serbia, they can no more plead their innocence than the Bulgarians can, nay less, for they have had far more chance of protecting their honour from injury at the hands of those in high places than in Bulgaria.

No Other Men they Say!

The inane saying that there are no other men to take the place of Sir Edward Grey, Asquith, and Co. is very bad for our national prestige. It is also quite untrue. If France can find men to form a new Ministry so can we. It really has become a tragic joke to say that Sir Edward Grey is the only possible British Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Would that we might have someone at the head of our Foreign Office with the intelligence, experience, loyalty to small nations and enthusiasm for his country's cause of a Dr. Dillon! The appointment of a British Foreign Minister who knew his business and faithfully served his country and her Allies would indeed be a blow to Germany!

Speak Out!

The rule of duty at this present time is to make our public words and deeds the expression of our private conviction. That at any rate is the rule of this paper. The country cannot afford to be upon a basis of illusion and conventional falsehood. Positively sinful is public silence regarding evils which are the topic of anxious thought and private conversation all the country over.

The Case of Sir Eyre Crowe.

Sir Eyre Crowe has found a champion willing to write to the newspapers on his behalf and testify to his "soundness" of

opinion regarding British interests as opposed to German designs. This champion is indeed a bold man, but if he were right in his account of the matter then Sir Eyre Crowe would be all the more to be condemned, for he would be sinning against the light. No honourable Englishman would continue to be associated with the Foreign Office in its present state nor to condone the commission of such terrible offences against British interest and honour.

Such a man would resign if he could not prevent the occurrence of these evils. Sir Eyre Crowe has done neither. The fact is that even if his German origin and associations could be disregarded, he must as principal permanent servant at the Foreign Office be judged according to his works! Let the action of the Foreign Office provide the verdict!

A Reader's Regret.

"Do not overlook Mr. Cecil Hurst!" urges one of our readers, adding, "He as well as Sir Eyre Crowe ought to quit the Foreign Office." We have by no means forgotten Mr. Cecil Hurst, who we may remind our readers is legal adviser to the Foreign Office. He is notoriously unsound. His presence at the Foreign Office is a danger to our sea power in particular and our national security and honour generally. He is one of the British "representatives" who engineered the Declaration of London, that Germanic document that is now proving in the light of experience what the Government and Sir Edward Grey were plainly told before the war—namely that it is a danger to this country and to Europe. Yes! Mr. Cecil Hurst must go, but the fact is that the Foreign Office is in such a rotten condition that a thorough cleaning is the only hope. We need a new Secretary for Foreign Affairs who will proceed to appoint a satisfactory personnel.

The Constantinople Affair.

Another message from a well-informed reader! It is as follows:

Mr. Fitzmaurice, the remarkably able and loyal Dragoman at the British Embassy in Constantinople, a veritable watch-dog of British interests, was withdrawn from Constantinople at the critical moment. He was the only man who understood the situation. I want to draw your attention to the evasive not to say false answers that Lord Robert Cecil gave in the House of Commons on the subject of Mr. Fitzmaurice. Though it is true, as Lord Robert Cecil said, that Mr. Fitzmaurice was ill for ten months, six months in Turkey and four months in England, yet before the war broke out he was quite restored to health and anxious to get back. At the request of the Turkish representative in London he was not allowed to go back to his post in Turkey and a person incompetent for the work was sent in his place.

This, as our readers will notice, is in accord with the statements made by Sir Edwin Pears in his book, *Forty Years in Constantinople*. It will also be noticed with indignation that while Sir Edward Grey acceded to the very suspicious request that Mr. Fitzmaurice should not return to Constantinople and thereby did this country the gravest injury, he made no objection to the presence in London of the German representative Kuhlmann, who devoted himself to the task of misleading, not to say corrupting, a section of the British Press in the interests of Germany.

NOT TOO LATE!

Reprinted from the "Times" of October 30th.

SIR,—A false impression is spreading about that it is too late to help Serbia.

It is not too late! The Serbian Army is not yet crushed, nor will it be so easily and so speedily crushed. The Serbians

are receding under the pressure of superior forces, attacking them on three long fronts, but they are retreating slowly and fighting fiercely, causing the enemy to pay for every inch of the Serbian territory by disproportionate losses. Their courage has

been intensified in proportion to the dangers which surround them. Their spirit and confidence in the ultimate victory has been raised up by the knowledge that France and Great Britain are coming to help them. A Serbian doctor, just

arrived in London from the Serbian Front, gives us interesting reports of the marvellous cheerfulness of the Serbian soldiers in the fighting line, and their resoluteness to fight to the last man. When the news

was communicated to them that the French soldiers had arrived on the Serbian soil and were already fighting against the Bulgars, they—the Serbian soldiers—were deeply touched. Many of them wept and spoke through their tears: "Why should

we not cheerfully die for our country when the noble French have come from such a great distance to shed their blood for the same just cause for which we are fighting?" Then they began to sing, with religious fervour, a patriotic song, while others sang the "Marseillaise."

Although retreating, they are not discouraged. They are confident that in the mountain fastness of Central Serbia they have impregnable positions, in which they could hold out until the French and British

Armies arrive to join hands with them. At any rate, our Army and our people are confident that it will take a long time before the Germans can say that they have crushed the Serbian Army. They will never be able to crush it, if our Allies send us as soon as possible their help. It is not yet too late to send it.

CHEDDO MIYATOVICH.

October 29.

HELP SERBIA FOR HONOUR'S SAKE

By MRS. PANKHURST

Speech Delivered at the London Pavilion on Thursday, October 28, 1915

NOW friends, it is imperative that every patriotic man and woman in this country shall consider the international question;—the question of what is now going on in that gallant little country of Serbia. (Applause.)

Last week and indeed, for many weeks past, both from the platform and in our paper, BRITANNIA, we have been calling attention to the situation in the Balkans. We have been urging those in authority to act and to act quickly; but even we, I believe, did not realise the extent to which those responsible for this country, for what we do, for what we are, for our honour as a nation, the extent to which that question was being neglected by those responsible for it. And now what do we learn? We learn that the heroic little Serbian nation, which for centuries struggled to emancipate herself from Turkish domination, which has fought so bravely not for possessions, not for material gain, but in order to preserve liberty and independence, is once more engaged in that struggle, and that we her Allies, pledged in honour, pledged on every possible ground, pledged even for our own sake and for the sake of the whole of the Allied nations of the world, have neglected to help Serbia, although those responsible for conducting our affairs must have known quite well and for a long time that this crisis was coming on.

France is Doing More than we are

We read in the papers—and it fills me as a British woman with shame—that France is doing more in this matter than we are.

The French are already fighting with the Serbians. And when you think of France with her battle line of 500 miles, with all her available manhood in the field, with her rich provinces in the hands of the Germans, when we think that France has done what we are still talking of doing, I am thankful that I am a woman and therefore do not share the guilt and shame which rests not only upon the Government, but upon the manhood of our country.

There are people who have thought that we women perhaps, were unduly suspicious because for some weeks past now we have been calling attention to the proceedings of our Foreign Office.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, I want to say here deliberately that the people who are responsible for our diplomatic relations

with other countries ever since war broke out have betrayed us and our Allies over and over again. (Applause.) The W.S.P.U. when war broke out, just because we had reason to think our Government was not of the strongest or the wisest, decided to support them; we decided to strengthen them so far as we could.

The Time has Come to Speak Out

We preached trust; we preached unity and loyalty on every platform throughout the length and breadth of the land. We have done it loyally, but the time has come when we have to speak out. The time has come when the honour of our nation and the existence of our nation and our Empire are at stake, and whatever men may feel about this matter, however diplomatic they may still be in their language about what is going on, we women have learned to speak the truth and speak it out without fear. (Applause.)

Either the Government and especially those members of the Government who are responsible for the conduct of the Foreign Office, are ignorant and weak and therefore unfit for their position, or they are traitors, and I leave them to choose.

I want to remind the meeting of what we have so long pointed out, that the principal permanent official in the Foreign Office is a man who is the son of a German mother, the husband of a German wife, a man who received his education in Germany. I have had all kinds of pressure brought to bear upon me, to cease pointing this out on public platforms and in our paper. I have been assured that he is a very loyal man. (A voice: "We doubt it.")

Well my friends, had the Kaiser really been directing the business of our Foreign Office, it could not have worked out more to his advantage than has the policy of Sir Edward Grey, his colleague and his official staff. When I was down in Wales trying to bring home the realisation of this war to Welsh miners, I read how in the Parliament of Serbia a suggestion had been made by one member of that Parliament, that they should consider whether the time had not come to make terms of peace with the Central Powers in order to save the lives of those Serbians who are still left alive and able to carry on the fight. And what was the reply of that Parliament? The reply was that they would fight

for liberty and freedom as long as there was a man or a woman alive. (Applause.)

We ought to be covered with shame when we read those noble words. When we think that here in this country we are arguing about war profits and war bonuses and war wages and those splendid people there are brought down to the very roots of human life, and they are fighting for honour, fighting for national existence, fighting for national freedom.

We are Still Playing

It ought to be a lesson to us; it ought to be a warning to us, because still in this country we do not fight this war like a war. We are still playing with it; still talking and talking, and arguing and arguing, instead of getting on to business. We have still the policy of "Wait and see"; still thinking it will come all right on the Day. And while this is going on we are losing honour and reputation and all that makes life worth living.

Well, I want to say to any Serbians who may be in this meeting, that women who love their country, and love their country's honour, are coming to the point of saying: "We repudiate the men of our nation." (Applause.) Women will not be associated with them in this national disgrace.

The whole Government is responsible for what is happening. You cannot excuse any member of this Government, because they are all in the same boat and all share the responsibility for what has been done by various Departments. But I think we ought to begin with the Foreign Office and to insist—you know Lord Haldane said, and I am never tired of repeating this—that certain things had been neglected, had not been done because the people of this country had not insisted upon it. Well, speaking for thousands of women—and I believe for a great many men in this country—I insist that we have a clearing out of the Foreign Office without delay. (Applause.) We must get rid of Sir Edward Grey and those Ministers who have allowed their policy to be dictated to them by a man of German birth and German associations—for how can you expect the working people of this country to be loyal to the country when they have grave reason to believe that you have Germans and Pro-Germans directing the foreign policy of the country? You cannot

(Continued on page 44.)

Britannia

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

PRICE ONE PENNY WEEKLY.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 5, 1915.

The Betrayal of Serbia

WE entered into this war as the champion of small nations.

And now we have been made to desert and betray the small nation of Serbia, our most loyal and gallant Ally.

It means the death of honour and the sure ruin of our nation.

The Germans know that too well. They say, "The question of Serbia and of Belgium is one and the same." That means, both Belgium and Serbia are vital as guardians and defences of the British. If either one or other goes in this war the Germans believe that they have won a mighty victory over us—the prelude to another still more crushing later on.

Sir Edward Grey's betrayal if it be consummated by Serbia's destruction will have consequences terrible to ourselves.

Never was a small nation called to play a part so great as Serbia. She is the hope and champion of the Slav peoples who are still under Austro-German rule.

This war they hope will end in their freedom. Serbia also is a keeper of the gate of the British Empire.

No Minister worthy of Britain would have betrayed Serbia.

He would have understood that honour is life to a nation which has a foundation other than that of sheer brute force. He would have known that to compromise our honour is the most heinous of all treasons.

He would have seen that Germany's hope of world-conquest and domination

depended for fulfilment very largely upon mastery of the Balkans and beyond.

He would have known that the Slavs are the force destined to hold Germanism in bounds; whereas the subjection of the Slavs by Germany means a volume of human suffering—above all the suffering of the human soul—which is enough to darken the earth. He would have known that the Slavs in bondage are forced by the Germans to fight the spiritual kith and kin in the West and they who love freedom above all things, are made the instrument of others' subjection.

Serbia as a free Slav nation, as a nation whole, untouched by German influence, is the hope of Europe, a champion of liberty guarding Europe's vital point.

A strong and stronger Serbia. That was and is and ever will be the interest of Britain and of Europe. But Sir Edward Grey acquiesces in the destruction of Serbia by leaving her to die unaided at the hand of the German Alliance.

Yet Serbia must not die. She must and shall be saved—in spite of Sir Edward Grey.

If Serbia is destroyed, how are we British to hold up our head in the world?

Sir Edward Grey (and the Prime Minister too, but no one has had much opinion of him!) has disgraced himself and disgraced us.

Two things must be done. Serbia must be saved.

Sir Edward Grey must be dismissed!

This man has been false to his trust. His deeds help the Germans, while they cover us with shame.

If he had signed a compact with the Germans to cloak Bulgarian designs, he could not have done more in that direction. Remember his words uttered on September 28th, months after Bulgaria was committed to aid Germany.

My official information from the Bulgarian Government is that they have taken up a

position of armed neutrality to defend their rights and independence and that they have no aggressive intentions whatever against Bulgaria's neighbours.

This pledge to Serbia he made on the very same day.

If, on the other hand, the Bulgarian mobilisation were to result in Bulgaria assuming an aggressive attitude on the side of our enemies, WE ARE PREPARED TO GIVE TO OUR FRIENDS IN THE BALKANS ALL THE SUPPORT IN OUR POWER IN THE MANNER THAT WOULD BE MOST WELCOME TO THEM IN CONCERT WITH OUR ALLIES WITHOUT RESERVE AND WITHOUT QUALIFICATION.

In spite of these words, THIS MOST FALSE MAN HAS OPPOSED THE FULFILMENT OF HIS OWN PROMISE!

He serves the German ambition by delivering the Serbian people to conquest, massacre and extermination.

Are the Serbs, who alone fought and won liberty from the Turk and have come safely through all the dangers threatening them ever since, to be conquered and destroyed now that the Great British Empire is their Ally?

If we cannot bear that thought, how should we be able to bear the tragic fact?

Serbia must be saved, for our sake as well as for her own.

We must not consent to bear the burden of Grey's betrayal—we must not let him bring down upon us the curse that falls upon those who "come not to the help of the Lord against the mighty."

But mere words will not help us, the only hope for us and our country morally and materially is to act, to dismiss Grey and to save Serbia.

Much of the evil that Grey has done in our name and to our shame can never be effaced, but we must act before everything is lost.

Serbia must be saved!

CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

SERBIA CAN BE SAVED!

A French General's Pronouncement

He Warns us against Undue Pessimism and against German News, and Shows what Military Measures Should be Taken.

GENERAL DE LACROIX, writing in the "Temps" on October 28, three days later than Lord Lansdowne's speech, said:

I have already said and I persist in my opinion, that I in no way share the reticences of Lord Lansdowne.

In a previous article I said that the situation in the Balkans, if critical, was in no way compromised. I persist in my opinion and I in no way share the reserves of Lord Lansdowne on the subject of military action in Serbia.

One had the opportunity of reading in the "Temps" of October 27 the declarations of a Serbian officer, published under the title "Serbia in Danger." These declarations strike an interesting note and I would first of all add to them some comments. I desire in the first place to put my readers on their guard against news from German sources, which, as everyone knows, is to be accepted with caution.

It would above all be dangerous to draw from such news conclusions which could only serve the interests of our enemies.

I take, for example, in the German news the employment by the Serbs in their trenches of old men and children for throwing grenades and the co-operation of women in their battles. All that, in common with other information of the same kind, is fabricated by the Germans and with the sole object of covering up the design which they have conceived, in connivance with the Bulgars, of exterminating the inoffensive inhabitants of Serbia.

The German newspapers go as far as to speak of the crushing of the Serbian Army. Now the patent facts prove that our valiant Allies resist the German onslaught with an admirable bravery and energy.

The Serbian Army has up to the present day suffered no defeat. All this German-inspired news is a tissue of lies and has no other object than that of upholding the morale of the Germans which begins to give way.*

The Serbs have inflicted upon the Austro-Germans enormous losses. They are withdrawing, at the same time defending their land inch by inch, towards the mountainous regions where they will be able to oppose to the aggressor a resistance much more prolonged than that which we have witnessed up to the present.

* And of disheartening those British who want to be loyal to our pledge to Serbia, our Ally, and send military help.—EDITOR, "BRITANNIA."

In the great plain of Morava, where the Austro-Germans are operating, the Serbs have not the means of resisting the heavy artillery of our enemies. In spite of that, they have contained them and have slowed their advance since they (the Austro-Germans) can count only a gain of some fifty kilometres. The passage of the Germans at Tekla vis-à-vis Orsova, on the Serbian bank of the Danube in the direction of Roumania, and the entrance of the Bulgars into Negotine, beyond the lower Timok, constitute a serious menace, but these two facts have a smaller importance than that which one is tempted at first sight to attribute to them. The Austro-German and Bulgarian armies are still far from having effectively made their junction on that side. They would first have to conquer the region comprised between Negotine and Kladowa, then drive out from Mirotch and Gouloubinie mountains, which separate the Danube and the Morava, the Serbian troops which are there and could, if they were ignored, harass them incessantly upon their flank.

That is not for the Austro-Germans, the task of a few days, but of several weeks. They will encounter in addition very great difficulties in establishing their communications by the Danube between Hungary and Bulgaria, for they will have to clear the Danube, which has been mined and above all they will have to clear the passage of the Iron Gates, the channel of which the Serbs have not omitted to blow up, this being the sole way through which the boats can slowly pass. The Germans will have a long job to do in re-establishing communications. My estimate of the situation is based upon information drawn from a very authoritative source.

The junction by the Danube does not moreover seem to me to be the principal object of the German operations, for the transit by this great fluvial artery will always present difficulties and delays inherent in the transshipments that it will necessitate at Orsova, the terminal point of the Hungarian railway and at Vidin, the terminal point of the Bulgarian railway. Their real object is in my opinion the occupation of the Belgrade-Nish-Pirot-Sofia railway, the only line of communication direct between Austria and Turkey. It is far from being achieved.

The difficulties for the Germany Army will begin above all when it enters the first defiles of the Morava, between Tchuprya and Stalatch, about seventy kilometres from Nish. It is there that the resistance of the Serbs will be able to be long and efficacious if their flanks are not menaced. The inundations of certain parts of the

valley of the Morava, the demolition of the Stalatch tunnel, junction of the Southern and the Western Morava will be able indeed to stop short the army of invasion of Mackensen, unless the Austrian manœuvre on the Drina at a far distant date moreover, and the still problematical help of the Bulgars should come to their aid.

It should be observed that it will be enough for the Serbs to accomplish the necessary destruction on the narrow way from Paratchin to Zaietchar to render almost impossible the junction of the German and Bulgarian forces before a lapse of time which it is difficult to estimate exactly, but which will be long.

I will add that the section between Nish and Pirot is sown with earthworks which will certainly be put hors d'etat and their reconstruction will demand months. Consequently, the object sought by the Germans of intensively utilising the railway which links Austria with Turkey will be for them a problem for the eventual solution of which they will have to wait for some time.

In the preceding lines I have wished to show the difficulties which the German operations must encounter, but it does not enter into my mind to claim that the situation of the Serbs is not critical. The question of supplies has to be taken seriously. The dangers of envelopment are not removed and are of a nature to give rise to great anxiety. This must be guarded against with the utmost speed.

Without exaggerating the effects of the first encounter of the French and Bulgarian troops, one may say that they have proved the value that the collaboration of the Allies must have. The Bulgars have been driven back towards Stroumitsa, the Serbs have recaptured Veles, the route to Istip opens up. Should the Allied forces in sufficient number arrive on the Vardar, within a short time, a vigorous diversion in the direction of Istip-Kotchana, on the Bulgarian flank, will free the railway as far as Vrania. Thenceforward, the problem will be three-quarters solved and the supplying of the Serbs will be assured.

A diversion by the Allies upon the coast towards Porto Lagos or Dedeagatch, would have the effect of weakening the Bulgarian troops engaged in Macedonia and would render the success of the Allies still more prompt.

The key of all these questions is to be found in short in the valley of the Vardar.

To sum up, neither optimism nor pessimism! In order to keep calmly aware of facts, let us distrust German news and receive it only with the greatest reserve.

HELP SERBIA FOR HONOUR'S SAKE

(Continued from page 41.)

expect it. You must have an example of loyalty and devotion to the country and to our Allies, set from the very head.

Well then, let us clear out the Foreign Office.

Sir Edward Grey and his colleagues must go. We must send a sufficient force to the relief of that gallant little nation of Serbia. (Applause.) I see that it has been put about in certain newspapers that the time has passed and we can no longer do more than send the miserable number of 13,000 who have already gone. To send 13,000 out there is to do no good to Serbia and is to expose those men to certain death.

It is Not too Late

I am assured by those who know, that it is not too late; if we now send out a sufficient number of men to join those who have already gone and the French, they will be able to save the situation.

We know what the Serbians are; we know how they fight, and it brought a lump into my throat and tears into my eyes when I read how those men and women in Belgrade after three days' bombardment came out into the street and fought hand to hand with the invaders. It will infuse new determination and new blood into the people of this country if they take a part in that splendid struggle.

WE SAY THAT WE ENTERED INTO THIS WAR FOR THE SAKE OF SMALL NATIONALITIES. WELL THEN LET US DO IT!

If Miss Cavell could Speak

We are told that Mr. Asquith is going to a memorial service to-morrow, held to honour an Englishwoman who was glad to lay down her life for her country's cause. If Miss Cavell could speak, she would rather see a sufficient force sent out to protect those unfortunate Serbian women, the British Red Cross women, who are exposed not merely to loss of life, but to something much more serious—to loss of their honour. No one honours Miss Cavell more than I do, but I say here this

afternoon, if Miss Cavell could be here she would say:

"Don't mourn for me. I died doing my duty. I died fighting for my country as much as any soldier in the trenches. I died a splendid and heroic death, and no woman would wish to die a more splendid death. Mourn for those women in Belgium and France—and yes, men, some of the women of your own race—who are dragging out a miserable existence, with little infants forced upon them against their will by brutal German soldiers."

That is what Miss Cavell would say to you.

Do not let us sink into sentimentalism. LET US DO AND DARE AND FIGHT FOR OUR HONOUR, AS WELL AS FOR OUR LIBERTY.

Very well, Friends, it was to say this I came here this afternoon. We must send without delay a sufficient force to the service of Serbia. WE MUST REDEEM OUR PLEDGES. We must keep our word.

WE MUST PROVE TO THE WORLD THAT WE ARE NOT THE HYPOCRITICAL NATION THE GERMANS CALL US.

When we say that we are fighting for small nationalities and for freedom and liberty, we must prove our words BY DOING WHAT WE HAVE UNDERTAKEN TO DO.

And so immediately, without loss of time, we must set to work to bring enough pressure to bear upon the Government to make them do their duty in this matter.

DO NOT BELIEVE THEM WHEN THEY TELL YOU IT IS TOO LATE.

I read in the papers that somebody had been saying it was too late to do anything this year; that we had lost our opportunity and now it could not be done. It is not true. It is quite true we ought to have done it before; but it is not true that it is too late. And so, act without delay.

We must insist that the conduct of the war shall be in the hands of a strong War Council made up of the representatives of all the Allied nations engaged in this war. Let them sit in Paris—that is where I should like them to be, in Paris

which has shown an example of how war should be fought. Let us get them away from this atmosphere of confusion where you have plays, even in war-time, called "A Bit of Fluff." Let us get them out of the fluffy atmosphere. When I think that while these men are wining and dining and amusing themselves and attending to the national business when they feel inclined, we have what my daughter calls a living wall of heroes keeping back the enemy; suffering and dying because these elderly civilians do not understand what war is.

They will never have to risk their own skins, and I suppose if invasion comes to us here—and who are we that we should be immune from invasion, when people as good as ourselves have suffered such horrible things—if invasion comes, well, they will have some means of getting away.

God help the women and children whom they are pledged to protect if these things come.

It was to say these things this afternoon that this meeting was called. It is no use women claiming to speak about war and taking part in war work, unless they have the courage to speak out. I have always said that whatever courage men may have—and God knows they have shown courage enough some of them in this war—there is a kind of courage which women have I believe in a larger measure than men and that is moral courage. I know that many men who are honoured in this country share our views about this matter. I know I have not said a word from this platform that many men who know, do not believe quite as strongly as I do.

Well with all the earnestness of which I am capable, I beg those men to have the moral courage to speak out now, before our Empire is dismembered; before our honour is lost; before all that our forefathers sacrificed to build up is destroyed.

Speak out now while there is time. There is time to retrieve these blunders, to find a better way. Let us have the moral courage to do our duty and if we do our duty as we see it, then at least we shall have played our part and have done what we could to redeem our national honour, and we shall have been true to those generations which come after us, who if we do our duty, will carry on the traditions of our nation, but who if we fail, will inherit the shame and the disgrace brought upon them by this generation. (Applause.)

The Speakers at the London Pavilion Meeting on Thursday, November 11, will be Mrs. Pankhurst and Miss Annie Kenney. Admission to these Meetings is free, but reserved seats, price 2s., can be obtained from the Ticket Secretary, Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

SERBIA'S APPEAL TO OUR HONOUR!

A Serbian, the Rev. Nicholas Velmirovich, of Belgrade University, appeals as follows to Britain, Serbia's Ally

SERBIA'S PLEA TO BRITAIN

[Published in the "Morning Post."]

The question which is now the most troublesome and the most acute amongst the questions in this country, "Shall Serbia be supported by England or not?" is a question which means nothing else than the choice between Bible and Haeckel. If England answers at this moment, "Serbia must be supported!" that is justice! Haeckel and the whole monkey's-materialism of Germany is defeated. If, on the contrary, England answers, "Serbia shall not be supported because that is English interest!" the Bible may be cast in the Atlantic.

Serbia once stopped the terrible *Drang nach Osten*. Serbia fought alone last winter; she was victorious, but the price of her victory was a million losses in her population. Serbia was from the beginning of the world-war the most loyal and most unselfish ally. She asked nothing, she sacrificed everything. She did her sad duty and was silent. In the beginning of the Nineteenth Century Serbia opened the merciless struggle against the Turkish rule in Europe. She had no ally except Heaven, but she endured. In the beginning of the Twentieth Century Serbia opened the merciless struggle with the most wretched and most immoral State in history—Austria-Hungary. Serbia was alone in her fighting for a very long time. And finally Serbia opened the struggle with the Mongols of Bulgaria, of a nation which was under the rule of Austria in the person of an unscrupulous and degenerated King. Serbia was condemned by many and many. But to-day Serbia is quite justified in every one of her struggles. To-day the whole civilised world is allied with Serbia in the struggle with Turkey, Austria-Hungary, and Bulgaria.

In this moment all the evils of this world are fighting against Serbia: the Prussian paganism, the Bulgarian fury and treachery, and cowardliness from every side. Serbia is pressed very, very hard. She needs just now a real and quick support. England did not make a decision: Shall Serbia be helped or not? Even this morning I read in the papers that merchandise still goes on: Yes, no; yes, no!

That is the greatest moment in the history of England. During more than a thousand years this people read the Bible and so prepared themselves to be able in such a moment as to-day to decide without vacillation which way is right and which way is wrong. The churches, from Westminster Abbey to the poorest wooden chapel in the village, are witnesses of this long preparation, of this long religious education of the British people.

Will England to-day continue her glorious Christian history or will she break with it and begin a new pagan history? Will she follow the Bible or Haeckel?

The moment is very short and absolutely decisive for the whole future of England: Will you help Serbia or not? Please say: Yes.—NICHOLAS VELMIROVICH.

QUO VADIS, BRITANNIA?

To the few, alas, the very few British troops sent to help Serbia the Rev. Nicholas Velmirovich addressed the following letter, also published in the "Morning Post":—

SIR.—Somebody may ask the armed Britons going now to the Balkans, "Quo Vadis?" I would like to give answer to such a question.

1. You are going, brave Britons, to fight against the same enemy who crushed Belgium and killed by bombs so many babies in London, and, because of his pride and ambition, transformed the whole of Europe into a hell of fire and suffering. You must be victorious over this enemy of yours and of mankind, no matter where you will fight against him. He is encircled from every side, and he cannot breathe; but he is trying to find any door to catch the air. He is trying to come through the Balkans to appear in Asia. He smiles to India and Egypt. He threatens the whole of Asia and Africa. His plans are colossal. You are going, brave Britons, to stop this enemy on the Danube. You are told: "But it is too far to go over there!" Yes; but are not the Balkans nearer than Palestine? And if he is not stopped in the Balkans it will be almost impossible to stop him in Palestine.

2. You are going to hinder German *Drang nach Osten*, the greatest peril for your magnificent Empire. If the Germans crush Serbia they will have the whole of the Balkans *volens volens* included in their plans and ambitions. The Balkans will be for them by far more valuable than Poland, or Galicia, or Belgium. If they did succeed in crushing Serbia there will be no more neutrals in the Balkans; *everybody will be your enemy except the dead and enslaved*. Serbia is waiting for you, desperately struggling against death and slavery. You will prevent the greatest peril, *Drang nach Osten*, and save the situation and help Serbia, and suggest respect to Serbia's neighbours and enemies only—only if you come *in time* and in the needed quantity.

3. You are going to help Serbia. Serbia once stopped the *Drang nach Osten*. But Serbia is now attacked not only by the invader from the North but by a ferocious enemy from the East. Be sure Serbia will do more than she can, but how could she resist with 300,000 men against 700,000? I know: Serbia is now a touchstone for England. Will England help Serbia or

not? That is a double question: firstly, of the conscience and honour; secondly, of the interests. Is that not the same? Can there be any durable English interest which is against English conscience and honour?

Why did Providence make Great Britain great, if not in order to impose upon her the duty to protect the little and oppressed ones? The greatness of Great Britain is now put to the test. The language: "I have to defend myself!" is a language suitable to Bulgars, Albanians, Magyars and Kurds, and not a language of a nation like Great Britain, who is the guide of mankind in Humanity and Civilisation.

To think that Providence gave greatness to England only for England's sake is the same as to think that Providence gave the light and warmth to the Sun for the Sun's sake. What were the Sun if it kept the light and warmth only for itself? A miserable, black spot in the universe.

You are going, brave Britons, to help Serbia and hereby to justify the greatness of your country before God and History. That is a way of suffering you are going. But do not be afraid; that is the *only* way of honour, glory and true greatness.

Nailed on her cross Serbia—in the presence of the Universe, of Past and Future—puts you this question: "Will you come and help me?" All the world, past and future, hears this question. That is a great temptation for you.

But be not indecisive. Now is the most sublime and at the same time the most tragic moment in British history.

SERBIA'S CRY FOR HELP

M. Pashitch, the Serbian Premier and Minister for Foreign Affairs, last week sent the following cablegram to a friend in England:—

Serbia is making superhuman efforts to defend her existence in response to the advice and desire of her great Allies.

For this she is condemned to death by Austro-Germans and Bulgarians. For twenty days our common enemies have tried to annihilate us. In spite of the heroism of our soldiers our resistance cannot be expected to be maintained indefinitely.

We beg of you, the many friends of Serbia in England, to do everything that you can to ensure your troops reaching us as soon as possible that they may help our Army and that we may defend together the common cause that is now so gravely menaced.

(Signed) PASHITCH,
Minister for Foreign Affairs.

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GERMAN FEET SWIFTER THAN BRITAIN'S THOUGHTS

By the Rev. NICHOLAS VELMIROVICH, Serbia's Greatest Preacher

[Reprinted from the "Weekly Dispatch,"
October 31st.]

IF anyone were to ask me what was the exact point at issue in the present crisis I would answer "The feet of German soldiers move swifter than the thoughts of British statesmen."

We are fighting the material and spiritual battle of civilisation. The German Empire is as much a danger to Europe as Turkey was four hundred years ago, the only difference being that then the alternative was between Christ and Mahomet; to-day it is between Religion and Atheism—the Bible or Haeckel.

Everywhere you hear our neighbours crying: "We want this and that territory," or "We must be on the side of the victors." Serbia alone says: "We only wish freedom, justice and peace."

Yet how can you expect us to conquer alone a danger which is threatening the whole world? No! It is you in England—you who have been spared the huge toll of blood and treasure—that must come to the rescue, not merely of Serbia, but of the world.

There is something nobler than merely fighting for one's existence. To-morrow we may perish, but no matter if our honour survives and justice prevail. Is England less noble?

We are small. We are poor. We are a race of peasants—our kings and our nobles having paid the price of Europe's salvation—but our people have learnt in the university of suffering the great lesson of the value of life.

As a priest I say England is now faced with the most terrible temptation in her whole history—the temptation to save herself at all costs; and I call it terrible because, having alone of the nations the power to crush the monster, you may not realise the danger you run by not exerting your full strength.

If you do not—I pray God that you do—then the days of your Empire are numbered: for if once the German flood breaks through the Balkan dam it will flow on to the confines of India and into the very heart of Africa.

That is why I do not hesitate to say that the annihilation of Serbia will be as fatal to your Fleet as the incarceration of the German vessels at Kiel is to the Fatherland, for the eye of the seer discerns in that downward thrust of the Kaiser the change of the whole commercial trade route of the world from sea to land, which would mean the changing of the supremacy from England to Germany.

I cannot—cannot—understand you all!

You are still looking for the end of the war: we are wondering when it is going really to begin in the sense of the whole of civilisation realising that every principle on which it is built is at stake.

You will conquer—of that I am convinced—though whether it be before we have ceased to be counted among the nations of the earth or after we have passed away into some glorious epitaph, like that over the heroes of Thermopylae—I cannot tell.

Of this rest assured, however. You will never conquer until you have contemplated as an actual imminent reality the possibility of your total collapse as an Empire.

God grant this come not too late, for we cry out to you in our death agony; but it is more for your own sake I say this, because

I feel that England to-day is at the beginning of a new era and is at the parting of the ways; and must decide whether she is to write yet another glorious page in the history of Christianity or whether she is to close it for ever and hand over the world to that paganism we call Germany.

I need not tell you of our gratitude if we are saved. We all feel like a poor peasant I saw once in hospital who, though wounded, struggled out of bed to try to get back to the battlefield when he heard that an English doctor who had come out to help our wounded had himself died on the field of battle.

What the Turk failed to do be sure the German will fail to do—for the same God that saved us from the one will save us from the other.

If we fail now it will only mean the postponement of the inevitable dawn.

Our founders were not merely statesmen; they were saints. Our champions were not merely soldiers, but martyrs. Our cause was not empirical, but ever just and free, and these will be our ideals to the end.

I look to England, therefore, not merely as a source of strength to Serbia but as a source of idealism, and idealism alone can save the world to-day.

That is why I say, "Join with us in this great moment of our national crisis," because it is only by realising that the world is fighting materialism and materialism alone that our children and our children's children, nay, all posterity can be saved.

WE ARE SACRIFICING EVERYTHING

Dr. Svetosar Gragich writes as follows to BRITANNIA:—As a visitor of the great Pavilion meeting yesterday and as a Serbian, I am feeling not only for my privilege, but for my duty too, to express my heartiest thanks for the great and noble work you are, Madame, performing for our cause and race.

There was not any doubt before the meeting that we will have the chance to hear on the meeting the real feelings of your race and of the noble English womanhood towards our cause, but what we had the pleasure to listen at the meeting itself, was still nobler and greater than we could expect.

Positively there is not any Serbian or South Slav being on the meeting who would not share my opinion in this way. It is not necessary for me to describe you, Madame, all the terrible luck we are now passing through, although I am just coming from my country, having yesterday the chance to convince myself that you, Madame, are not only at the best informed of all matters concerning our affairs and fate, but that the luck of Serbians' is occupying a great part of your noble heart. **Only one thing is there I would like to communicate to you. Among the greatest disasters in our country, sacrificing the lives of our soldiers, our fathers, our women, our children, our homes, our independence, we are sacrificing everything worth to a man and to a race, BUT THE OFFERINGS ARE NEVER TOO HIGH IN DEFENDING THE HONOUR OF OUR RACE.**

Yet we are not in despair from the blood of the brutal Germans. Car Carisme must come the resurrection of the Serbs.

SERBIA CANNOT BE LOST

Mr. Janitsch writes as follows to BRITANNIA:—The Serbian tragedy is the most important topic of to-day's talking and writing. Yesterday I attended the Women's Patriotic Meeting in the London Pavilion. I saw the Serbian flags; I heard the Serbian Anthem; I applauded the enthusiastic speeches of the brilliant British women; and I was proud, as a British subject, to see and hear how the people of this country are awakened and how conscious of the gravity for the present moment not only for the little heroic Serbia, but for England and the English civilisation as well. I came home deeply touched and convinced that Serbia cannot be lost. My conviction was much more strengthened as I read in the evening a letter of a friend from Monastir (Serbia).

My friend writes: "We are going now through the most sublime moment in our Serbian history. Encircled by her enemies and traitors, Serbia is cheerfully fighting. Not one of us is tired, nobody fearful, nobody pessimistic. Mixed with the French, our soldiers, singing, rush into the hell of fire. They jump in the first rank to serve as an example to the French and to protect them. Wonderful! I ask myself, Could Serbia ever be greater in her history and could she even be greater? No, my friend. Our national dream is realised; we see with our eyes and touch with our hands our dream of a Greater Serbia, yea of the *Greatest Serbia!* I regret only that you are not here with us. I regret everybody in the world who is not now here present. How beautiful is the death! Amongst our soldiers there is now going on a real competition who will die more beautifully. Come down to us: that is a great day which never repeats in history. King Peter is resolute to die with us. He said that, and his word produced a frantic enthusiasm even for death. He is a saint indeed, like our King Lazare who died on the field of Kossovo. This is probably my last letter to you. To-night I am going towards the Bulgarian frontier. Be sure I am as joyful as if I am going to a wedding. The only regret that fills my heart is that you cannot die so beautiful a death. Adio! my friend, I am going to a true life. **SERBIA CANNOT BE LOST!** Be so kind and tell that to the whole civilised world where you are living. Adio!"



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