

"Britannia," November 12, 1915.

FOR KING · FOR COUNTRY · FOR FREEDOM

Britannia

With which is incorporated
"THE SUFFRAGETTE"

Official Organ of the Women's Social
and Political Union

Edited by CHRISTABEL PANKHURST

No. 5. Vol. V.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1915

Price 1d. Weekly (Post-Free)
11d.

300,000 MEN MUST BE SENT TO SERBIA!

For Honour's Sake and for the
Safety of Our Empire.

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Mrs. Pankhurst, Mr. Annan Bryce, M.P., Lord Willoughby de Broke, and Miss Annie Kenney will speak at the Royal Albert Hall next Thursday evening, November 18, at 8 o'clock.

Review of the Week.

Grey and Asquith Must Go.

Mr. Asquith announces that there is to be closer consultation between ourselves and France. Actions speak louder than words, and it is a pity that this close co-operation has not begun by our sending to the Balkans an adequate force of men. The British military assistance is, so far, both in promise and performance, tragically inadequate to make up the number of men required in the Balkans—300,000.

Another reason why Mr. Asquith's announcement falls flat is that Sir Eyre Crowe continues to be principal permanent servant at the Foreign Office, although he is the nephew of Admiral Von Holtzendorff, who is chief of the German Naval Staff.

Mr. Asquith's announcement is flat, stale, and profitless, and worse because it means

that Sir Edward Grey and he remain in their positions.

The presence of one Frenchman in London will certainly not cure the grave evils of British national management which have led to the betrayal of Serbia. Nothing that Mr. Asquith has said justifies his continuance and the continuance of Sir Edward Grey in office. The betrayal of Serbia, and the menace which that involves to the life of the British Empire and the liberties of the world, is a proof which nothing can destroy that Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Asquith must go.

Who Is He?

Who is this Brigadier-General Howel who sends out to persons, not of the Army, type-written circulars concerning military policy? He is married to a relation of the Buxton brothers, whose Balkan policy is so far from desirable. On October 12th he sent to various persons a circular headed "Notes on the Balkans," in the course of which he argued that "failure to assist the Serbs would mean a temporary loss of prestige in Oriental countries, but we must not overrate this bogey."

He is described as being "one of the chief men on the Staff," but this may be an exaggeration. He is said to have expressed himself in favour of "an early peace"! Spasmodically he has acted as a journalist. On the outbreak of war he was a major—his promotion took place a few months ago. It is to be hoped he is not at the present time anywhere near Salonica.

When Is a Pledge Not a Pledge?

Sir Edward Grey's effort to explain away his solemn pledge to Serbia fully justifies, even without all the rest, the demand for his resignation. His plea is in effect that the promise was made to Greece and not to Serbia and that because Greece did not fulfil her obligations to Serbia, we British were relieved from our obligation to fulfil the pledge made in our name by Sir Edward Grey on September 28th. It was not in the sense Sir Edward Grey now tries to give it that this pledge of September 28th was understood, either by this country or by the Serbs, or by the world in general. But apart from any question of a specific pledge, surely the

obligation of one Ally to another and especially of a great country to a small country with which it is in alliance, involves the speedy rendering of all possible help against the common enemy! Moreover, the very fact that Greece was not prepared to carry out her Treaty with Serbia put upon our own country a far stronger duty to rush to the help of our hard-pressed Serbian Ally. Had the Greeks been fighting by the side of the Serbs, then British help would not have been so desperately needed as, owing to the defection of the Greeks, it has been and still is.

But instead of trying to fulfil our obligations to Serbia, based upon definite pledges and upon the general and imperative obligations of an Ally, Sir Edward Grey opposed and resisted the sending of British troops to help Serbia.

And what evil idea is this of making promises of military help to neutrals which Sir Edward Grey is not prepared to make to a tried and faithful Ally!

Grey Answered.

Sir Edward Grey's contention that there has been no delay in preparing or sending British help to Serbia, was crushingly disposed of in the House of Commons by Sir Edward Carson and others. Sir Edward Carson, as we now know, resigned from the Cabinet as a protest against abandoning Serbia to her fate, an abandonment which as he maintained in his speech in the House of Commons, could not be carried out without national dishonour. He said:

The Balkan question has been staring us in the face certainly ever since I went into the Cabinet and long before; but on September 28 the Foreign Secretary made a statement in this House which he made as the considered policy of the Government, and which he made no doubt with the full knowledge of the military adviser of the Government, and it was this:—"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 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." That was one of the most important declarations that could be made in this House. I believed it, when I was a party to it, to be the policy of His Majesty's Government, but I believe more;

I believe that our military advisers never would have allowed us to make that declaration unless we had actual preparations and plans which were ready when the moment came, to enable us to strike and assist our gallant little Ally in the field of battle.

He Resigned.

Explaining his resignation, Sir Edward Carson said: "For my own part, when I learned that that was no longer the policy of the Government, and when I learned that there were no plans, I severed my connection with the Cabinet." Sir Edward Carson, as the whole country believes, was entirely justified in his resignation. The mistake he made was that he did not at once tell the public the whole reason for his resignation. Had the country known on October 12 the dreadful facts concerning the betrayal of Serbia which were known only on October 26, through the medium of Lord Lansdowne's speech, much wrong and suffering might have been prevented.

All Government denials and excuses concerning the betrayal of Serbia, split and are destroyed upon the rock of Sir Edward Carson's resignation and are refuted by his letter of October 12th.

With Orders Not to Move.

Another Member of Parliament, Mr. L. S. Amery—who, as it happens, has lately been in the Balkans—also made a crushing reply to Sir Edward Grey. He told how, "while the French troops were up country doing gallant service, our little contingent was kept sitting at Salonica with orders not to move." He asked the House to imagine the shame and indignation of the Irish 10th Division sitting there inactive, while the Serbs and the French were looking for their help and neutral onlookers were laughing at them.

Wanted! Not Words, But 300,000 Men.

Speaking in the House of Commons, Mr. Asquith gave to Serbia, in exchange for the Government's already broken pledges and obligations to her, this new assurance:—

"We cannot allow Serbia to become the prey of the sinister and nefarious combination of Germany, Austria and Bulgaria. Serbia

may be assured, as far as I am able to do so, and I give her that assurance on the part of the British Government to-day, that her independence is regarded by us as one of the essential objects of the Allied Powers."

These words are no assurance against the savage attack by the Powers who are Britain's enemies, no less than the enemies of Serbia herself.

Concerning Bulgaria.

We have before now drawn attention to the obvious pro-Germanism of the ostentatious devotion to Bulgaria, shown by persons who are known to be indifferent to the liberties and aspirations of other small nations, including Belgium and Serbia. This significant devotion to Bulgaria evinced by the persons in question was due to the fact that Bulgaria was known by them to be an instrument of Austro-German policy.

Mr. David Low, whose contribution to the *Daily Chronicle* we reproduce on page 58, draws attention to the newspaper and other manœuvres whereby Bulgaria has been favourably advertised at the expense of her neighbours and in particular of Serbia.

Sir Edward Grey's diplomacy has been characterised by strong pro-Bulgarianism and this meant playing directly into Germany's hands. And now that Bulgaria and its Austro-German directors have derived this enormous advantage from British Foreign Office diplomacy, we have Mr. Radoslavoff's official organ completely taking off the mask and saying:—

Bulgaria with her army aided by God fights with the Central Powers to dismember England and secure the liberty of the world by punishing these parasites who suck the blood of millions of men throughout the whole world in order to live in debauchery.

This shows how hostile the Bulgarian policy is and that they are entirely united with Germany and that all the Bulgarian policy is against England.

The American Note.

The American Note raises the question of Britain's Naval rights—in other words, of Britain's national existence. On such a question there can be no compromise. As Sir Edward Grey has unmistakably shown

himself totally unqualified to uphold British Naval rights, it is imperative that he and his associates shall leave the Foreign Office before the reply to the American Note is written.

The Financial Position.

What right had the Prime Minister to speak of the financial position as "serious"? The use of such words showed no proper sense of responsibility, thrown out, as they were, unaccompanied by any practical statement as to means to be taken to secure greater economy, either public or private. What impression—we should like him to explain—did Mr. Asquith intend to convey? To all understanding minds Mr. Asquith's manner of referring to the financial position is another proof that he is not the right man for the position he holds.

The Reason of the Peace Intrigues.

It is said that Germany is already faced by serious difficulties in regard to men and supplies, difficulties that will rapidly increase—provided the situation in the Balkans is saved for the Allies! This would account for the peace intrigues of Prince Bulow. It constitutes another reason why at all costs we must save Serbia and beat the Austro-Germans in that quarter. Among the war materials of which Germany fears a shortage is cotton! Consider how the Foreign Office lengthened the war by allowing the unrestricted passage of cotton to Germany during many months of the war!

And to think that owing to the betrayal of Serbia we are faced by the possibility of a German success in the Balkans and a vast extension and prolongation of the war!

The Dardanelles Affair.

The Prime Minister gave a long-awaited explanation of the Dardanelles affair. He confessed that it was undertaken in defiance of the doubts and hesitations in the mind of the Government's principal naval adviser at that time, Lord Fisher.

It has been suggested by some inquiring minds that perhaps at the very bottom of the whole mystery would be found Germany. The power of German suggestion is, as we have seen in the affair of Serbia, only too strong.

Sir EYRE CROWE

is the

Principal Permanent Servant

at the

British Foreign Office.

HE IS THE NEPHEW
OF THE CHIEF OF THE GERMAN
NAVAL WAR STAFF,
Admiral von Holtzendorff

This fact solves many mysteries.

Considering who Sir Eyre Crowe's uncle is no wonder our Foreign Office ordered that Germany's Reservists should be allowed to cross the sea to fight against Great Britain and the Allies.

No wonder the Foreign Office for many months allowed cotton to go to Germany to feed the German guns and kill our soldiers.

Considering who Sir Eyre Crowe's uncle is no wonder Sir Edward Grey inspired by Sir Eyre Crowe believes in the German principle of the Freedom of the Seas!

And considering who Sir Eyre Crowe's uncle is NO WONDER SERBIA WAS BETRAYED!

NO WONDER THE GERMAN OBJECT OF WORLD DOMINATION WAS THUS PROMOTED!

NO WONDER THE OFFER OF GREECE TO FIGHT WITH US AGAINST THE GERMANS WAS REJECTED!!

Britannia

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

PRICE ONE PENNY WEEKLY.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1915.

A STATEMENT OF FACT.

Save Serbia.

The help which the French have sent, and the tardy and as yet insufficient help which we have sent to Serbia has already had its effect and proved how practically wise as well as essential to our honour is the policy of sending troops to Serbia.

300,000 Men.

The help we British have arranged to send is dangerously insufficient. Three hundred thousand men must be sent to Serbia, and this not only can be done—it **must** be done. It is a matter of life and death, not to Serbia alone, but to all the Allies. If 300,000 men are sent, Greece and Roumania will join forces with us. If they are not sent, then we must be prepared to see the contrary!

The Duty of Civilians.

While the British Army is doing its best to make up for the time lost owing to the betrayal by Sir Edward Grey, it is for British civilians to strive to discharge their debt of honour in the first place by preventing any continuance or repetition of the betrayal of Serbia in any form, and in the second place by doing everything possible to relieve the material necessities and dangers of the civilian population of Serbia, and especially of the Serbian children, who are to carry on the nation which their elders are fighting and dying to save.

More Questions for Sir Edward Grey.

(1) You yourself admit that "the German sympathies of the King of the Bulgarians have always been known and that reports of Bulgarian negotiations with Turkey under German influence came from Balkan sources as early as April."

Then why did you lead the public to imagine the contrary by your reference in the House of Commons on September 28th to the Bulgarian Government's assurances to you of their peaceful intentions?

(2) You yourself admit that the Serbian Government told you as early as April that

Ferdinand of Bulgaria was acting in complicity with the Austro-Germans? Then why did you lead the public to believe that this was not the case?

(3) WHEN GREECE OFFERED IN APRIL LAST TO FIGHT ON OUR SIDE ON CONDITION THAT WE SHOULD GUARANTEE THE INTEGRITY OF GREEK TERRITORY WHY DID YOU REFUSE THIS OFFER?

(4) Why did you forbid our Ally Serbia to forestall the Bulgarian attack which she knew was certainly coming? By so doing you helped the Bulgarians, the Austrians and the Germans to pursue their policy of destroying Serbia.

Is This Britain or Bulgaria?

Is this Britain or is it Bulgaria? That question is forced upon everyone's intelligence by the conduct of Sir Edward Grey. His betrayal of Serbia has been just as much a stab in the back to Serbia as Lord Lansdowne rightly declared Bulgaria's attack upon Serbia to be. Just as Sir Edward Grey by the betrayal of Serbia degraded his country to the level of Bulgaria, so he degraded himself to the level of Ferdinand. Moreover, the Grey policy concerning Serbia has been in its effect, if not in its intention, just as helpful to German ambition as the policy of Ferdinand has been.

Grey Did Not Want Serbia to be Helped.

Sir Edward Grey's words have put an even blacker complexion upon his action than it had before these words were uttered. The first answer to be made to Sir Edward Grey's attempted self-defence is this: You opposed and resisted and tried to prevent any British military help being sent to Serbia. That is to say, it is not merely a question of British military help having been delayed, terrible as that would be, it is a question of the attempt which you, as British Foreign Minister, made to prevent Serbia receiving any British help at all. In your speech in Parliament you said nothing about the fact that you did not want British troops to go to the rescue of Serbia, but it is a fact known, not only to your countrymen, but to the whole of Europe, neutral as well as belligerent.

Britain Dishonoured in the Eyes of Europe.

Though the mass of our countrymen are filled with shame at the betrayal of Serbia,

which in their name Sir Edward Grey has committed, there are evidently some who do not yet fully realise the dreadful blow sustained by British honour and reputation in the eyes of Europe, including neutral Europe. No matter how hard any British man may try to hide his head in the sand, that does not alter the fact that whereas Britain's attitude in the early stages of the war had produced the best impression upon Europe, the treatment of Serbia has revived in Europe the old idea of perfidious Albion. It is nothing short of tragic, that the British people, who are a loyal and honest people, should have been dishonoured by the betrayal of Serbia by Sir Edward Grey and the Prime Minister. Yet as Gladstone truly said, "it is impossible to absolve a people from full responsibility to another people for the conduct of its Government."

Therefore, British men are now driven to choose between loss of honour on the one hand and the dismissal of Grey and Asquith on the other. The question they have now to answer is—do they value Grey and Asquith more than national honour!

Important! What Onlookers Think!

It is not only British honour that is at stake, but the British reputation for sheer common sense. For the European lookers on at this war are able very closely to follow the game. They form their own conclusions as to the meaning of Sir Edward Grey's abandonment of the Balkans to the Germans, an abandonment begun by his peculiar Balkan diplomacy and accentuated by his opposition to sending British help to Serbia.

From a German source has just been given to the world suggested German terms of peace. These include as important points the absolute "freedom" of the seas and Austro-German control of the Balkans!

To Sir Edward Grey's dangerous attempt to commit this country to the "freedom" of the seas we have often drawn attention. And now, by his diplomacy and his resistance to helping Serbia, he has acted in a manner facilitating Austro-German control of the Balkans.

These things, as we have said, onlookers in Europe (and we may add, America) are careful to observe and the conclusion they are likely to draw is, that Sir Edward Grey, personally would be ready to make peace with Germany on the basis of the freedom of the seas and the subjugation by Austro-Germany of the Balkans and beyond. So now, perhaps, the men of the country can understand why it is dangerous to our reputation and credit to have Sir Edward Grey as Minister for Foreign Affairs.

CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

TRIUMPH OR RUIN IN THE BALKANS!

BRITAIN'S HONOUR AND SECURITY AT STAKE

300,000 Men Needed to Save Serbia and the Empire

A Neutral Officer's Opinion.

NEUTRAL onlookers are inclined to the belief that the British besides losing their sense of honour have taken leave of their senses.

That is because of the British delay in sending—and for a time the refusal to send—military forces to the Balkans to aid Serbia and stop the German march towards the goal of Egypt and India.

It is only just dawning upon these neutral onlookers that it is not the British people that have committed this combined crime and folly, but simply Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Asquith!

Yet, the consequence of this Grey-Asquith policy is none the less grave and the neutrals who are remarkably outspoken in their judgment of the doings of Britain and other belligerents are frankly astonished that the British people will tolerate the things done and left undone in their name.

What these neutrals say is this: "Your policy of wait and and worse than wait and see, means death, massacre, to your allies the Serbs. It also means that, to put it mildly, you lose caste morally, in the eyes of the world. It means that you prolong the war and increase the sacrifices imposed upon all the nations allied with you.

"It means too that you lay your Empire open to German attack.

If Germany should in this war get control of the Balkans if nothing more, she thereby lays the foundations for another, more terrible and, for her, more successful war in the near future.

"If Serbia is destroyed, then now or later the British Empire goes."

A neutral, an officer, who thus knows that of which he speaks, has said, in so many words, as follows:

"The British positively must fight in the Balkans. It is there that she can, if she makes a sufficient military effort, stop the German advance to Constantinople and the German invasion of Egypt and India.

"Even if, as the consequence of the delays in which the British have indulged, the Germans should take Constantinople, to menace their line of communication is easy. This line cut, the Germans would find themselves entrapped."

This same neutral observer affirms, which is indeed the conviction of many other people, that if the Allies had 300,000 men in the Balkans, Roumania and Greece would join forces with them and would fight against Germany.

This neutral observer further expresses the opinion, and he declares that he has many supporters in this, that the British could subtract from the million men they have in France, three hundred thousand men for immediate service in Serbia and this without really diminishing the effectiveness of British aid on the Western Front!

Considering the immensity of the issues at stake in the Balkans, this opinion relating to this transfer of a great body of British troops from the Western to the Eastern Front should be weighed very seriously.

For the sinister consequences that would follow a German success must not and cannot be minimised.

We learn that Germany is running short of men and running short of cotton and other war necessities.

But victory in the Balkans would transform the situation for Germany. It would impose upon us long and heavy sacrifices, would create perils which must be avoided by bringing sufficient British military force to bear in the Balkans.

In the Balkans is our danger and our responsibility—and at the same time the possibility of inflicting a great defeat upon the Germans.

Therefore we must gather up all available military force—and bring it to bear in the Balkans. For it is in the Balkans that British honour and the British Empire may be saved or be forever lost.

GLADSTONE IN PRAISE OF THE SOUTHERN SLAVS

"The greatness of human action and of human character do not principally depend on the dimensions of the stage where they are exhibited."

Gladstone contributed to the "Nineteenth Century" of May, 1877, an article on the Southern Slavs and more particularly Montenegro, Serbia's sister State. We reproduce the following passages:—

It is sometimes said, in relation to individuals, that the world does not know its greatest men. It might at least as safely be averred, in speaking of large numbers, that Christendom does not know its most extraordinary people.

The name of Montenegro, until within the last two years, was perhaps less familiar to the European public than that of Monaco; or even than that of San Marino. And yet it would, long ere this, have risen to world-wide and immortal fame, had there been a Scott to learn and tell the marvels of its history, or a Byron to spend and be spent on its behalf.

The vast cyclone of Ottoman conquest, the most formidable that the world has ever seen, having crossed the narrow sea from Asia in the fourteenth century, made rapid advances westward; and blasted, by its successive acquisitions, the fortunes of countries, the chief part of which were then among the most civilised, Italy alone being excepted, of all Europe. I shall not here deal with the Hellenic lands. It is enough to say that Bulgaria, Serbia (as now known), Bosnia, Herzegovina, Albania, gradually gave way.

Before telling the strange tale of those who, like some strong oak that the lightning fails to rive, breasted all the wrath of the tempest, and never could be slaves, let me render a tribute to the fallen.

For the most part, they did not succumb without gallant resistance. The Serbian sovereigns of the Fifteenth century were great and brave men, ruling a stout and brave people.

They reached their zenith when, in 1347, Stephen Dushan entitled himself Emperor of Serbs, Greeks and Bulgarians. In an evil hour, and to its own ruin, the Greek Empire invoked against him the aid of the Ottoman Turks. In 1356, he closed a prosperous career by a sudden death. On the fatal field of Kossovo, in 1389, treachery allied itself with Ottoman prowess to bring about the defeat of the Serbian army; and again it was by treacherous advance that a qualified subjection was converted into an absolute servitude.

The West, with all its chivalry, can cite no grander examples of martial heroism than those of Marko Kraljevitich, so fondly cherished in the Serbian lands, and of George Castriotes of Scanderbeg, known far and wide, and still commemorated in the name of a very humble vicolo of Rome.

The indifference, or even contempt, with which we are apt to regard this field of history, ought to be displaced by a more rational, as well as a more honourable, sentiment of gratitude.

It was these races, principally Slavonian, who had to encounter in its unbroken strength, and to reduce, the mighty wave, of which only the residue, passing the Danube and the Save, all but overwhelmed not Hungary alone, but Austria and Poland. It was with a Slavonic population that the Austrian Emperor fortified the north bank of the Save, in the formation of the famous military Frontier.

It was Slav resistance, unaided by the West, which abated the impetus of the Ottoman attack just to such a point, that its reserve force became capable of being checked by European combinations.

Among the Serbian lands was the flourishing Principality of Zeta. It took its name from the stream, which flows southward from the citadel of rock towards the Lake of Scutari. It comprised the territory now known as Montenegro or Tsernagora, together with the seaward frontier, of which a niggardly and unworthy jealousy had not then deprived it, and with the rich and fair plains encircling the irregular outline of the inhospitable mountain. Land after land had given way; but Zeta ever stood firm under the Balchid family. At last, in 1478, Scutari was taken on the south, and in 1483 the ancestors of the still brave population of Herzegovina on the north submitted to the Ottomans. Ivan Tchernoevitch, the Montenegrin hero of the day, hard pressed on all sides, applied to the Venetians for the aid he had often given, and was refused.

Thereupon he, and his people with him, quitted, in 1484, the sunny tracts in which they had basked for some seven hundred years, and sought, on the rocks and amidst the precipices, surety for the two gifts, by far the most precious to mankind, their faith and their freedom.

To them, as to the Pomaks of Bulgaria, and the Bosnian Begg, it was open to purchase by conformity a debasing peace. Before them, as before others, lay the *trinoda necessitas*; the alternative of death, slavery, or the Koran.

They were not to die, for they had a work to do. To the Koran or to slavery they preferred a life of cold, want, hardship, and perpetual peril. Such is their *Magna Charta*; and, without reproach to others, it is, as far as I know, the noblest in the world.

To become a centre for his mountain home, Ivan had built a monastery at Cetinje, and declared the place to be the metropolis of Zeta. What is most of all remarkable in the whole transaction is, that he carried with him into the hills a printing-press. This was in 1484, in a petty principality; tenanted by men worsted in war, and flying for their lives. Again, it was only seven years after the earliest Volume had been printed by Caxton in the rich and populous metropolis of England; and it was when there was no printing-press in Oxford or in Cambridge, or in Edinburgh. It was only sixteen years after the first printing-press had been established (1468) in Rome, the capital of

Christendom: only twenty-eight years after the appearance (1456) of the earliest printed book, the first-born of the great discovery.

Then and there,

"They few, they happy few, they band of brothers," voted unanimously their fundamental law, that, in time of war against the Turk, no son of Tsernagora could quit the field without the order of his chief; that a runaway should be for ever disgraced, and banished from his people; that he should be dressed in woman's clothes, and presented with a distaff; and that the women, striking him with their distaffs, should hunt the coward away from the sanctuary of freedom. And, now for four centuries wanting only seven years, they have maintained in full force the covenant of that awful day, through an unbroken series of trials, of dangers, and of exploits, to which it is hard to find a parallel in the annals of Europe, perhaps even of mankind.

It was not to be expected that the whole mass of any race or people should have the almost preterhuman energy, which their lot required. All along, from time to time, the weaker brethren have fallen away; and there were those who said to Ivan, as the Israelites said to Moses: "Wherefore have ye made us to come up out of Egypt, to bring us unto this evil place?" The great Ivan died in 1490, and was succeeded by his eldest son George, who in 1499 was persuaded by his Venetian wife to go back into the habitable world; not of Islam, however, but at Venice. Worse than this, his younger brother Stephen had gone with a band of companions to Constantinople, and had proposed to Bajazet the Second the betrayal of his country. He, and those whom he took with him, were required to turn Mahometans, and they did it. None could be so fit, as traitors, to be renegades. They then set out, with an Ottoman force, for the work of conquest. They were met by George, and utterly defeated. But these victors, the men of the printing-press as well as of the sword, were no savages by nature; only afterwards, when the Turks in time made them so. They took back their renegade fellow-countrymen into Montenegro, and allowed them the free exercise of their religion.

On the retirement of George, which seems only to have become final in 1516, the departing Prince made over the sovereign power to the Metropolitan. And now began, and lasted for 336 years, an ecclesiastical government in miniature over laymen, far more noble than that of the Popes in its origin, and purer in its exercise, as well as in some respects not less remarkable.

The epithet I have last used may raise a smile. But the greatness of human action, and of human character, do not principally depend on the dimensions of the stage where they are exhibited.

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SERB AND BULGAR

Dispelling a Balkan Legend

By DAVID H. LOW (Formerly Lecturer in the University of Belgrade)

Reprinted from the "Daily Chronicle," November 4.

UNTIL the other day it was the policy of our leading newspapers to point the finger of admiration at Bulgaria. Her capital was the most progressive, her people the finest, her army the most efficient in the whole Balkanic peninsula. Contrasted with this bright picture we were shown the gloomy outlines of a barbarous Serbia, and if we had no means of correcting the impression our sympathy inevitably went out to Bulgaria and was withheld from the neighbour State. Thus there developed a sort of Bulgarian legend with which the friends of Serbia have long struggled in vain.

The extraordinary newspaper bias in favour of Bulgaria was itself determined by the fact that that country lay outside the main currents of European rivalry, whereas Serbia had the misfortune to lie right across the path of Germanic ambition. This consideration explains the persistence with which German and Austro-Hungarian newspapers poured out gall and wormwood upon hapless Serbia. When these attacks became more than ordinarily virulent, it was pretty safe to assume that some new act of aggression was in contemplation. Thus the disgraceful Agram trial and the scandalous Friedjung case heralded the annexation of Bosnia in 1908. Shortly before this fateful step was taken, Prince Ferdinand paid a visit to Vienna, and when Austria announced the annexation, Ferdinand simultaneously threw off the last vestige of Turkish suzerainty and proclaimed himself Tsar. The remarkable manner in which the two events synchronised was a sinister sign of close co-operation between Sofia and Vienna.

A Rapacious Programme

The writer, who was in Bulgaria at the time, took note of the public rejoicings and was particularly struck by the utterance of a functionary with whom he came in contact: "It will not be long now," remarked this gentleman, "until we take over Macedonia." "But you will have to take Serbia's claim into consideration," observed his interlocutor. The Bulgarian stared, shrugged his shoulders and said slowly, "We care nothing for Serbia."

The brazen effrontery of their noisy demand for the whole of Macedonia is a thing to marvel at, but stranger still is the well-marked British tendency to mistake noise for truth. Macedonia is not a Bulgarian enclave, although violent assertion from Sofia seems to have persuaded many excellent people that it is. We are never told that the Serbians believe their own claim to be a far sounder one and that impartial outside authorities admit the strength of their case. The great Macedonian revolution of 1903, organised in Bulgaria, failed miserably of its purpose just because the bulk of the population was Bulgarian neither in sympathy nor in fact.

Before the opening of the first Balkan War the Bulgarians, in their overweening self-confidence, promised to support the Serbians with a force of at least 50,000 men, but before

long Serbia received a touching appeal to hasten to the aid of Bulgaria. To this appeal she made an immediate and generous response, and when Adrianople fell it was to the Serbian army that Shukri Pasha surrendered his keys and his person.

Throughout the campaign the Bulgarian higher command showed that they had assimilated some of the tricks and subterfuges of their German models. The published reports of their notorious bogus correspondent is a case in point. This mysterious personage was alleged to be the only foreigner privileged to follow the campaign from the Bulgarian side. He seemed to have more than mortal skill in getting hold of the wires and dispatching his version of events before the authorities had had time to dispatch theirs. As the official reports when they came, invariably confirmed what the correspondent had already said, our leaders hailed the shadowy figure as a new journalistic genius. It is, however, difficult to imagine anything more despicable than the following: When the Serbs had struck the first shattering blow against the Turks at Kumanovo, the Bulgarians, in order to detract from the credit of this achievement, had the audacity to invent a brilliant victory of their own on the self-same date (October 24). Everybody has heard of the Bulgarian triumph at Kirk-Killisse. It will be news to many that the battle was never fought.

Bulgarian Treachery.

At the close of the war, when Austria prevented the Serbians from acquiring a port on the Adriatic, they naturally pressed for compensation from their allies. They urged the unforeseen sacrifices they had made on behalf of Bulgaria, and with the consent of Greece, offered to refer the whole matter to the arbitration of Russia. But Ferdinand was well aware that any just and equitable decision would inevitably strip him of a large part of the territory which he was bent on obtaining. He pretended to negotiate and when discussion was proceeding he issued a secret army order in obedience to which Bulgaria made a base and treacherous attack on her former allies. Many Serbian officers who had supped with their Bulgarian *confères* the night before were seized in their tents as they were dressing and so deadly and unexpected was the onslaught that it all but succeeded.

Last year, during the great Austrian invasion, at a time when Serbia was in desperate straits, Bulgarians blew up the Strumnitza bridge on the Salonica railway, and for eight terrible days the only line of supply was cut. Yet the Serbs have shown a surprisingly conciliatory attitude towards their treacherous neighbours and every assurance was offered, backed by the guarantee of the Entente, that Bulgarian national claims would be fairly and equitably met. But it is not justice that Ferdinand seeks, but aggrandisement. He hopes to merit for his unhappy people the proud title of the "Prussians of the Balkans" and it seems not unlikely that he may succeed.

SERBIA'S ANGUISH

OUR PLEDGE AND DUTY

By SIDNEY LOW.

Reprinted from the "Daily Mail," November 5.

That dramatic word-picture of Serbia in the clutch of the despoilers which the correspondent of a Milan newspaper has drawn ought to make the blood of Englishmen boil with rage and shame: rage against the savage marauders, but shame, deep and bitter shame, for ourselves.

We had ample warning. For nine months we were engaged in negotiations which were at least likely, if they were not certain, to fail. Weeks before Mackensen appeared on the Danube the Serbians told us that King Ferdinand meant war. On September 23 they informed the Allied Powers that the Bulgars were concentrating on the frontier. Three days later they urged that the Bulgarians should be required to demobilise at once. Failing compliance, they declared that they were ready to fall upon their neighbours before the mobilisation was complete and march upon Sofia.

The representations and the appeals were alike disregarded. The Serbs were told to confide in the diplomacy and the military strength of their great champions. And it turned out that our diplomacy and our strategy were equally impotent when the storm burst. The Austro-German army which had been preparing for months for the movement that Lord Lansdowne now finds "natural" and "obvious" crossed the rivers. The Bulgarians broke in all along the eastern frontier. And England, which as late as October 15 had renewed its promise to give the Serbs "all the support in our power in the manner that will be most welcome to them," sent 13,000 men to Salonica! The Serbs fought as scarcely any troops but Serbs can fight, and saved the bulk of their army. But they could not save the people of the invaded districts, who have been harried, tortured, ruined by the Hun soldiery and the ruffians of the Bulgarian *comitadjis*. That is an "indelible blot" on the fair name and the good faith of England, or at least a blot that will take a most serious amount of wiping out. And our first duty just now, as a nation and as individuals, is to remove the reproach by doing what we can still do for the little nation we have driven into the hands of the destroyers.

Mr. Asquith has stated that "we cannot allow Serbia to become the prey of this sinister and nefarious combination." These are fine words, but Serbia will not be saved by adjectives or promises. What is needed is action—prompt action and, above all, right action. If time is wasted in consideration and consultation, in awaiting reports from emissaries taking a comprehensive survey of the whole Mediterranean problem; above all, if we forget Serbia in our anxiety over Constantinople or anything else, then we may be too late again. Let us remember that our first duty is to Serbia. Let public opinion impress this truth upon our rulers and our Allies. Let us insist that the road to Constantinople, the chastisement of Bulgaria, the control of the Black Sea—all these great ultimate objects of our policy—can wait. But Serbia cannot wait. We must strike for her deliverance at once and with no diversion of energy from this immediate purpose.

We can settle with the Turk and King Ferdinand later; we shall do that the more easily if we make our foothold in Serbia secure. But Serbia must be our first consideration—on strategical grounds, I believe; moral and political grounds, I am sure. The best, and just now the only, atonement we can make to the Serbs for the mistakes of the past is to pour our troops into Salonica as fast as we can get them there, and push them up the Vardar as we can get them out. *Save Serbia first*: that is, or should be, the *mot d'ordre* for the statesmen and the generals of the Alliance.

WANTED! A CROMWELL

By ANNIE KENNEY

From a Speech delivered at the London Pavilion, on Thursday, November 4, 1915.

AFTER reading the speeches delivered in the House of Commons by Sir Edward Grey and the Prime Minister one felt not bitter disappointment because we did not really expect to hear anything, but deep humiliation. We women, though we have not the vote and thus have not political power, warn the people of this country that unless we can get rid of Sir Edward Grey, unless we can get rid of the Prime Minister (applause)—we are not only going to betray Serbia—indeed Serbia has been betrayed, it is not a case of our going to betray her, we have betrayed her and it is a matter of touch and go whether our soldiers arrive there in time. I say that we shall find that not only has Sir Edward Grey betrayed Serbia, but that he has betrayed our own country.

I say that he started the betrayal at the time of the Declaration of London and by his indulgence to Germans at sea since the war began. He went on with his betrayal by trying to surrender the Balkans to Germany, because that is what his Balkan diplomacy means. He knew, the Foreign Office knew, many months ago that Bulgaria was not to be trusted. They "trusted" Bulgaria at the expense of Serbia. And what is the result of it all! The people of this country who are patriotic, who care for their country more than anything personal, more than anything that touches them individually, all feel as Mrs. Pankhurst said last week, humiliated and ashamed that our country is governed by politicians who have betrayed an Ally as well as ourselves.

Another thing is this: the American Note has arrived. How is Sir Edward Grey going to answer that Note? I do not know what you feel about it, but I have a heavy heart, and I almost feel frightened when I imagine that man consulting with his evil genius Haldane and with his other evil genius Sir Eyre Crowe. We know perfectly well that Sir Edward Grey's reply to the American Note will be full of compromise and weakness.

Now furthermore we should like to ask with regard to this Balkan political situation whether the men who have political power and representatives in the House of Commons, realise what it will mean to this country if Serbia is crushed. It is not only Serbia that we are protecting even looking at it all from the point of view of our own interests, we shall be protecting our Empire by defending and protecting Serbia and keeping her intact. If we give her all the support that is hers by right we are saving ourselves!

Sir Edward Grey in a most abominable and shamefaced way is trying to make the people of this country believe that he did not, on September 28, promise to send help to Serbia. Well all the more shame to Sir Edward Grey if he did not promise or intend to help Serbia.

What we need to-day is some Cromwell who will come forth and say to Grey, Asquith, Haldane and Crowe, "Away with you, that we may put others in your place!"

Remember that the people of this country must either get rid of the men who have betrayed Serbia and in so doing betrayed us, or they must be responsible before the world for these men's acts.

THE FOREIGN OFFICE.

The following letter by Mr. Gibson Bowles appeared in the "Morning Post," November 2.

Our ineffable Foreign Office, which has already brought this country into ridicule and contempt, will soon bring it to ruin unless it be now purged and the foolish things it does in secret brought into some public knowledge and under some sort of control.

It has gone wrong throughout; before the war in its secret attempts in 1907 at The Hague and in 1909 at London to surrender our Sea Power; in the secret arrangements for military intervention begun in 1906 and concealed for over five years even from the Cabinet; in the consequent prevention of any due preparations for the war, which, without the knowledge of the Cabinet, could not even be begun, and which were in fact not begun until after the war had broken out, Lord Kitchener was called in; and in the refusal to say at the last moment either that England would or that she would not take part in the war.

Most especially has it gone wrong and failed during the war. Having, by the Order in Council of March 11, 1915, declared its own intention, and His Majesty's decision, to "prevent commodities of any kind from reaching or leaving Germany," it has since been engaged in preventing that very prevention, so that the Fleet has sadly to recognise that, because of the conditions imposed upon it, *nine-tenths* of the commodities that were to be stopped on the seas are "reaching and leaving" as they were before the Order.

In its Balkan policy the Office has especially shown its incapacity and its want of knowledge and judgment. According to a statement accredited by the Press, we some time ago offered Smyrna to Greece to induce that country to join us against Germany. Now, it would seem, we have offered Cyprus in return for Greek aid, failing which the next offer will perhaps be the Isle of Wight to Australia.

The folly of such offers is patent. Roumania, Bulgaria and Greece are all alike determined to make what they can for themselves out of the war. Their present attitude towards us is manifestly—nay, avowedly—dictated by the fact that they have arrived at the conclusion that Germany and Austria are winning and will win, and that they themselves must, therefore, not, in any case, take sides against the Central Powers. Believing that, no one of them would dare so to take sides. And no gift of Cyprus nor of all the isles of the sea can avail, so long as they hold that belief, to tempt them—for the simple reason that if their belief is justified by the event they would but be punished for hostility to Germany by having the gift taken away again from them—together with much more to boot.

This week brings the announcement of yet another folly in the shape of an Order in Council ordering that "Article 57 of the Declaration of London shall cease to be adopted and put in force." This is little less than comic. The Declaration, Article 57 and all, is non-existent. For by an Order in Council of August 20, 1914, it was ordered that the Declaration of London "shall be adopted and put in force as if the same had been (which it had not been) ratified by His Majesty." This very Order inadvertently destroyed the very Declaration it ordered to be enforced by making it subject to "additions and modifications" which in its very nature and by its expressed conditions the Declaration does not and cannot admit. So true, so undeniable, so undoubted is this, that

nine months later Sir John Simon, speaking as Attorney-General on behalf of His Majesty's Government in the Admiralty Prize Court on May 17, 1915, declared that "the Declaration of London, 1909, is not a binding document on any of the nations of the world." That seems authoritative and final enough. Yet despite that we now have the Foreign Office affecting to believe that this very Declaration still subsists and is still binding, and affecting, moreover, to make it just a little less binding by another "modification" therein. The Office has apparently learnt nothing from the Attorney-General. It has learnt nothing from the Declaration itself. Otherwise it would know that the thing it has twice attempted to do cannot be done. The Declaration must be adopted as it was signed on February 26, 1909, with all its articles as they stand, unchanged and unmodified, or it cannot be adopted at all. Unless with every single article accepted it cannot exist. Change one, omit one, and the Declaration all goes with it. Article 65 says (in the sole binding French text) that "Les dispositions de la présente Déclaration forment un ensemble indivisible," as to which the Report of the Drafting Committee (made by M. Renault) says "cet article est très important et conforme à ce qui avait été admis pour la Déclaration de Paris. . . . Une attente légitime serait trompée si une Puissance pouvait faire des réserves à propos d'une règle à laquelle une autre Puissance attache une importance particulière." For the benefit of Sir Edward Grey and of the Foreign Office clerks in general, I will venture to translate the article more accurately, as well as more succinctly, than they have succeeded in doing in the very faulty translation they have published. This is how I read it: "Article 65. The provisions of the present Declaration form an indivisible whole." And yet now again the Foreign Office, disregarding its own previous failure, avowed by His Majesty's Government through its Attorney-General, disregarding the Declaration itself and disregarding also the cogent reasons adduced by M. Renault, once more attempts to divide the indivisible, and to break up the whole! What are we to make of such an Office?

At this moment Sir Edward Grey, the titular Foreign Secretary, is, to the regret of all, afflicted by an indisposition which impairs his powers; Lord Crewe, who appears to be acting very irregularly as a kind of Lieutenant-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, has neither the authority nor, if it may be said without offence, the special knowledge and experience or the peculiar abilities which that post now requires. And Sir Eyre Crowe, the "principal permanent servant of the Foreign Secretary," is unfortunately one of those who were foremost in the attempted surrenders of our sea power at The Hague in 1907 and at London in 1909.

In the face of the complete failure, before the war, during the war, and up to this very week, of the Foreign Office, the conclusion seems to me now pre-emptorily and finally dictated that no one of these gentlemen, nor all three of them together, can any longer be trusted with the initiation of policy or the conduct of our affairs abroad in so supreme a crisis, and that unless they now one and all are removed to other spheres of activity the country must inevitably continue to be brought into the greatest danger, and probably even to disaster.

THOS. GIBSON BOWLES.

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Speakers:

LORD WILLOUGHBY DE BROKE

J. ANNAN BRYCE, Esq., M.P.

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