

"Britannia," December 3, 1915.

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# Britannia

With which is incorporated  
"THE SUFFRAGETTE"

Official Organ of the Women's Social  
and Political Union

Edited by CHRISTABEL PANKHURST

No. 8. Vol. V.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1915

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## Great Britain is falling into a German Trap!

Under the "leadership" of Sir Edward Grey, and Mr. Asquith (with Lord Haldane wire-pulling in the background and Sir Eyre Crowe, nephew of the Chief of the German Naval Staff assisting) Great Britain and the British Empire are entering upon the road to ruin.

That is to say, instead of cutting short the German advance eastward in the Balkans, the misleaders above named are preparing to "resist" Germany somewhere on the other side of Constantinople—even as far away as Bagdad as one of their apologists expresses it!

That is just the policy that the Germans want us to adopt, *i.e.*, they want to be given a free hand to destroy Serbia and get the Balkans under their control. They want us to allow them to establish themselves at Constantinople. They want to get command of the resources of Asia Minor. They want to get as far as they can before they find us on their path.

The part marked black on this map shows what the Germans (even if they do not annex an inch of territory on the West or the Russian Front) would gain as the result of getting a free pass to Bagdad.

And with Germany in command of the men and the resources of the vast territory marked black, how should we fare in the next war the Kaiser would make in order to complete his domination of the world?



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### Review of the Week.

#### Faithful Unto Death.

"We will be true to our Allies. We will die honourably."

That is Serbia's message. If Serbia dies, she dies for us and she dies because of Sir Edward Grey who has betrayed her!

#### Serbia as Our Protection.

Serbia's offence in German eyes is that she bars the German road to the Orient and stands as a protecting barrier between Germany and the British Empire which Germany wishes to destroy.

Thus "Sir Edward Grey in betraying Serbia has betrayed his own country too."

#### Grey Must Go.

While Serbia is ready to die rather than sacrifice her honour, Sir Edward Grey, who has dishonourably opposed the fulfilment of British pledges and obligations to send help to Serbia, continues to be British Minister for Foreign Affairs. The shame of it! Have all the real men of Britain gone away to the war, that those who are left at home to manage the country's affairs tolerate the continuance in office of Sir Edward Grey?

#### He Sentenced an Ally to Death.

Our country will be terribly punished for the offence of Grey and his associates. We shall reap a bitter harvest after the seed that Grey has sown. What we must do now is to try and avert the worst results to Serbia and ourselves of the Balkan policy of Sir Edward Grey.

Consider the message left by the dead Serbian novelist:

Serbia's fate is too unjust. A brave people like the Serbs deserved a better lot. Life is too ugly and unjust to be lived.

That tragic cry is, to those who know and understand the facts, the death knell of Sir Edward Grey's reputation for it is he who by his policy of leaving Serbia to fight alone

against Germany Austria and Bulgaria sentenced Serbia to death.

### BUT SERBIA SHALL NOT DIE. HER ARMY IS STILL A MAGNIFICENT FORCE.

But Serbia shall not die. In spite of Sir Edward Grey, the Serbian Army is still in being, still a magnificent fighting force. Yes, in spite of the repeated and false statements (made by those whose wish was surely father to the thought) that the Serbian Army was crushed, it is still in being, still a marvellous instrument for the salvation of Serbia and her Allies. The tardy arrival and inadequate numbers of the British troops landed at Salonica and the deplorable delay in sending them into action in support of the Serbs—all that has done immense harm and is to some extent in line with the Grey policy of not helping Serbia at all. But the public must insist on a drastic and immediate reform.

#### That German Trap!

There is another danger to the common cause of Serbia, Britain and the Allies. It is that too many in our midst have fallen into the trap laid by the Germans and their friends. In other words they are ready to serve Germany's purpose by making no fight in the Balkans and postponing the resistance to the German Drang nach Osten to some later date and some distant and indefinite place! That would mean the final desertion of noble and beautiful Serbia who is faithful unto death. But Serbia must not die. Her own transcendently great effort must now be worthily supported by this country.

#### Those Other Troops!—Send Them to Serbia!

Writing of the Serbian situation the military correspondent of the *Temps* has said that the bad weather and snow must greatly hamper the advance of the enemy in the mountainous regions which they are disputing with the Serbs but that it is nevertheless urgently necessary to aid the Serbs and get munitions to them, adding in reference to a reported concentration of Turkish troops in Thrace:

It is not temerarious to think that if the Allies had in the first instance sent imposing forces to Salonica, and they were able to do so, the Turks would have less readily obeyed the German suggestions. All is not yet lost if the Allies decide to act with promptness and to send to Serbia the Allied troops that are waiting at other points in the region of the Mediterranean until the Turco-Germans come and attack them.

#### Strange Excuses.

The excuses even now being made for not doing more for Serbia are truly amazing. "We haven't enough transports!" is one. A nice thing for those who come after us to learn! The great British Empire, Queen of the Seas, could not save Serbia, and thus save itself, for want of transports!

Then they say that we are short of artillery suited for use in mountainous country. Cannot the French lend some! But why did Sir Edward Grey, (having "always known" as he expresses it, the German sympathies of the King of Bulgaria,) fail to notify the proper department months ago that mountain artillery would be needed? We shall want some more evidence to convince us that

shortage of artillery prevents effective action in the Balkans. And the partisans of letting things slide in the Balkans go so far as to say we have no troops or even to belittle the quality of our troops. Anything, in fact, is said in the attempt to justify the fatal policy of surrendering the Balkans to Germany!

#### Most Shameful of All!

Most shameful of all are the repeated and lying statements to which we have already drawn attention that the Serbian Army is destroyed. And whose fault if it were! The fault of Sir Edward Grey and of those who aided and abetted his opposition to sending military help to Serbia. But the Serbian Army is not destroyed although statements to that effect have been made and then promptly refuted by the exploits of that same wonderful army wonderfully led.

#### A Comment on the Situation.

One who has made a first-hand study of Balkan conditions writes to the following effect:

Sir Edward Grey's pro-Bulgarianism has been a great obstacle to securing a satisfactory military situation in the Balkans. The Bulgarians are the Prussians of the Balkans and their predominance there is as unacceptable to their Balkan neighbours, as is German predominance to Europe in general.

Our troops are undoubtedly being kept quiet both at Salonica and further inland so that they may not attack the Bulgarians.

Already rumours are being spread of their making peace when they have secured all they want, i.e., a peace at Serbia's expense!

#### That Strange Circular!

It is because we have foreseen some such manoeuvre as our correspondent indicates that we have pointedly enquired whether Mr. Asquith's pledge to make the independence of Serbia an essential object of the Allies means that Serbia's INTEGRITY has been made an essential object of the Allies!

#### To Bribe Bulgaria at Our Ally's Expense!

For apparently certain persons who support the policy of making no fight in the Balkans contemplate the possibility that the Bulgarians would stop fighting for Germany if they obtained the whole or part of Serbia's possessions. That is to say, such persons think that we, by sacrificing Serbia wholly or in part, could and they even seem to think should bribe Bulgaria to break away from Germany. Yet in reality we should by this iniquitous policy be strengthening the Germanic Alliance, firstly because Bulgaria finds in Germany its natural affinity and chosen partner in conquest and secondly because, even if that were not so, the Germans whatever momentary and shallow pretence they might make, will never let Bulgaria free. They hold that country body and soul and always will hold it so long as German military might remains undestroyed. In fact, concessions to Bulgaria are to all intents and purposes concessions to Germany!

#### The One Sane and Honourable Policy.

There is one honourable and sane policy and it is to fight the Austrian, German, Bulgarian forces in the Balkans and defeat them

there. Greece and Roumania are only waiting to help us until they see us willing and able to help ourselves and willing and able to protect them from the horrors in which, thanks to Sir Edward Grey, Serbia has been involved. **The men who oppose the policy of helping Serbia are not the right men to carry it out.** The inaction of the British forces in the Balkans was alleged in the despatch from Salonica dated 21st November and published in the *Morning Post*, as the reason why General Sarrail and the French Army did not effect an attempted junction with the Serbs.

M. Rallis, Greek Minister for Justice recently complained that while certain representations were being made to his Government "not one British soldier has shed his blood for Serbia." Why is it, as further stated in the *Morning Post* despatch, that so late as November 21st "the only troops of the Allied forces in the Balkans that had been in action were the French."

We have before now pointed-out that those who have opposed the sending of any help to Serbia are not the men to show vigour and promptitude and enthusiasm in helping Serbia, now that their policy of deserting her has been overruled. We have no confidence whatever that the best will be done and done quickly for Serbia so long as the men who opposed the policy of helping her remain in office.

#### Why?

For Serbia to go under means, as has been truly said, not only that Germany gets access to new supplies of men, cotton, copper, oil and corn, but also that the Allies are deprived of the real field of a promising offensive through the Balkans and Hungary.

We ask the following question in order to elicit information of interest:—Was there, before the Gallipoli expedition was undertaken, a scheme on foot to make an attack through the Balkans and Hungary upon Germany? And was the Gallipoli scheme put forward and adopted as an alternative and if so why? And did a certain member of Parliament, among others, advocate months ago this policy of an attack on Germany by way of the Balkans and Hungary? But it is still not too late to do what ought to have been done before and must be done now! Imagine though, how German and pro-German influence works against this!

#### What the Enemy Says.

The Austro-Germans are rejoicing already in the prospect of establishing (as the result of defeating Serbia) a direct connection between Berlin and Vienna and Constantinople, which they maintain will change the face of the world! "Once the way to the Orient is open to the Central Empires" says one of the great Germanic financiers, "our ambitions will be realised and after that we shall be able to wait." That reminds us of the Kaiser's saying, in the letter published some time ago, that, provided he can gain something in this war, he will accomplish the rest in a future war.

#### An Inglorious Page.

"That inglorious page with regard to Serbia." Such is the description given by Sir Henry Dalziel, M.P., of Sir Edward Grey's treatment of Serbia.

An inglorious page! What right has Sir Edward Grey to write such a page while our Armies, composed now chiefly of men who

have given up a civil career and are sacrificing everything for the sake of honour and country and Allies? While these brave men are writing pages of glory, Sir Edward Grey injures them as well as Serbia by writing an inglorious page that will remain bound up for all time in the book of history.

The tragedy of it! Great Britain went to war for honour and for the glory that comes of keeping faith, of succouring the weak, of maintaining the rights and liberties of nations small as well as great. But because of Sir Edward Grey, the nation's high purpose and the nation's great sacrifice are where the most heroic and most noble of the small nations is concerned brought to nothing and worse than nothing.

"That inglorious page with regard to Serbia!" Those are not our words. They are the words of a Member of Parliament who moreover, belongs to the same political party as Sir Edward Grey himself.

#### THE ARAB PEOPLES.

##### Free Them from the Turk and Avert a Pan-Islamic Revolt.

In our issue of November 19th we published an article drawing attention to the necessity of forestalling the Kaiser's probable appeal to the Moslems to take hostile action against the Entente Powers. The following words taken from the article may be repeated here:—

In order to prevent a Pan-Islamic rising in response to such an appeal, it is absolutely essential to detach the Arabs of the Ottoman Empire from the cause of the Kaiser and the Sultan. The cardinal fact in this connection is—

That the Sultan has usurped the Khalifate and is not legitimately the Khalif, in other words, the Khalifate of the Sultan is not a fact but a sham.

The Arabs' detestation of Turkish rule is a circumstance of the greatest importance in this connection.

The action to be taken by the Allies generally, and by Great Britain in particular, therefore consists in this. They must offer to the Arabs deliverance from the Turkish yoke under which they have been for four hundred years. They must restore to the Arabs a Khalif duly elected and of the Arab race.

The Allies should occupy Mecca and then procure the election of a Khalif and make the necessary arrangements for the civil welfare and protection of the Arab people.

Such a policy as this, which will free the Arabs from the cruel and hated domination of the Turks and give them justice in the sphere of their religion, will also go far towards averting the German menace to the British Empire.

We may take this opportunity of correcting a misprint, the dropping of a word, which occurred in the copies of that issue which were first taken off the machine, but was corrected in the remainder of the issue. The full title of the article was

#### THE ARAB PEOPLES.

##### FREE THEM FROM THE TURK AND

##### AVERT A PAN-ISLAMIC REVOLT.

## AS OTHERS SEE THEM!

### A Neutral Comment on the Government's Position.

The "JOURNAL DE GENEVE" prints a long telegram from its LONDON CORRESPONDENT, from which we take the following:

Mr. Churchill by leaving the Ministry has given a proof of his customary adroitness. He realises, as everybody does, that the Government is no longer popular in the country and that, in spite of the goodwill of all the political parties, misfortune might well come upon it. The young and brilliant statesman therefore makes his bow to his former colleagues and goes courageously to the front, where we know he will do his whole duty and more than his duty.

Before leaving, Mr. Churchill gave to Parliament explanations of his departure which have in no way augmented the prestige of the late Government or even that of the present Government.

Let us not forget that Mr. Churchill possesses more than anyone the gift of knowing when the time has come to retrace his steps. The adroit fashion in which he manoeuvred in the past and left the Conservative Party in order to join the Liberal Party when it was on the eve of securing triumphantly an enormous electoral majority in 1905, proves that this clever politician has the rare gift of knowing how to be ahead of the movement of public opinion. Does he by any chance foresee a coming Ministerial crisis?

Already the departure of Sir Edward Carson has dealt a hard blow at the Cabinet. In a single night the former Orange leader has become the favourite hero of the popular masses by whom he is considered as an honest man who has resigned a fine position in order to obey his conscience. Moreover, the criticisms which he has addressed to the Cabinet have never been refuted in a satisfactory manner.

Sir Edward Carson remains, from the point of view of the public, the man of action par excellence, he who would have acted in time and was not listened to.

Let us notice this verdict of the popular mind. One never knows what the future has in store. If there should be need of a new Prime Minister, of a sort of dictator, there would be a good chance of Sir Edward Carson filling that post. But let us remember also that no one is more modest, more patriotic than this Irish Protestant who has no personal ambition and is above all a man of principles.

If then, there should be changes in the high administration of the country, we must not see in that any sign of weakness or of irresolution on the part of England, but simply a renewal of the personnel charged with continuing to the very end the war against the enemy.

# THE EMPIRE IN DANGER!

## A Warning and an Appeal.

Dr. H. HINKOVIC, a Southern Slav subject of Austria-Hungary, Deputy to the Croatian Parliament and Delegate to the Budapest Parliament, writes as follows in appeal for SERBIA and in warning to the British people as to the deadly peril which the German advance in the Balkans and the German attempt to destroy Serbia mean to the BRITISH EMPIRE.

During this war Serbia has roused the admiration of the whole world by her heroic exploits which are without parallel. This small nation has shown itself one of the greatest heroes ever known. But even the greatest heroism has its limits where achieving practical success is concerned. The most formidable military Power the world has ever seen—Germany—considered herself unable to crush Serbia—alone! She therefore joined her armies to those of Austria-Hungary, and won Bulgaria over to a fratricidal attack from behind.

At this moment Serbia is suffering the fourth invasion—the most dreadful of them all—since the beginning of the war. The world is anxiously watching the gigantic struggle of the little Serbian David against the huge Austro-Hungarian, German, and Bulgarian Goliath. By such overwhelming foes and so many of them, little David must be overpowered if he be not speedily helped.

All the leading statesmen of the Allies, and especially those of Great Britain, have repeatedly declared that they entered upon the war to defend the principle of nationality, and the rights of the small nations. By this pledge Serbia should have the right to be defended by her great friends. But I do not invoke this as a reason for the claim to be helped.

Of course Serbia is fighting for her own national existence. But she is at the same time struggling for the most vital interests of her mighty Allies, and especially those of Great Britain. And this is the principal foundation of her claim. Serbia never did any wrong to anybody. Her only crime is her geographical position, in blocking the way to German Imperialism.

Serbia and the present Jugo-Slav territories had in the past an historical mission. They have another one now. They were a barrier to the Turkish invasion five centuries ago. They stood firm in defending Western civilisation to the uttermost against the Asiatic barbarians. Serbia was not helped then by anyone. She fell, and the flood of barbarism overflowed the Christian countries as far as Vienna. There the Polish King Sobieski defeated the Turks, and the flood began to subside.

At this moment Serbia and the Jugo-Slavs are once more a barrier against another barbarian flood coming from the North-West towards the South-East. It is the German Drang nach Osten. If this dam is broken, what shall happen?

Of course Serbia would perish as an independent nation. She would become an Austro-Hungarian province and the Balkan peninsula a German dependency. You could read in the paper during these last days, that the population of some parts of Serbia has been absolutely exterminated by the invaders. On the other hand Austria-Hungary is systematically exterminating her Jugoslav population. What does this mean? It means that the two Central Powers wish to clear the way from Berlin to Constantinople and Bagdad, and to settle German colonies along this route.

You can imagine what the downfall of Serbia means. It means Egypt and India threatened, Persia going under German power, and your great Empire in deadly peril.

To prevent this you must help Serbia. You wish to beat down Germany? You cannot do it otherwise than by saving Serbia. The way to Berlin leads not through Belgium or the Rhine, it leads as Dr. Seton Watson rightly says—through the great plains of Hungary.

Before all things you must save the Serbian army.

Serbia is your most gallant and loyal ally. She was several times approached with peace proposals by the Austro-Germans. They promised her not only the guarantee of her territorial integrity, but Bosnia Herzegovina and an outlet on the Adriatic. She had only to permit the German armies to pass through her territory. She rejected all these proposals with indignation. She could have saved her life, but would have lost her honour. She did not hesitate one moment in her choice. Life without honour seemed to her not worth living.

I say you must before all things save the Serbian army.

Notwithstanding its most cruel losses that army exists still as a military force. Once the army is encircled and captured or annihilated it would mean the loss of a quarter of a million of most brave soldiers who are fighting with and for the Allies. It would mean worse. The way to Constantinople being open, the Germans could, with the Serbian rifles and guns, arm 250,000 Turks. The Allies would be obliged to increase their forces by at least half a million men.

If Serbia falls, Greece and Roumania will certainly follow the victors. Not only would the Allies be deprived of the million Roumanian and Greek soldiers, who would go with them if they are able to save Serbia; but they would have them as enemies, so that then the Allies would really require one million men more to keep the balance.

If Serbia goes down, Germany will turn to and equip hundreds of thousands of excellent Turkish soldiers in Asia Minor. Where WOULD, where COULD you raise new armies to counter-balance this new and formidable danger?

Germany has already gained possession of the rich copper mines of Bor in Serbia; she

would certainly utilise for her war purposes the immense resources in cotton, corn, and other materials she will find in Asia Minor.

How could the Allies then prevent her from manufacturing all she requires for indefinitely continuing the war? And if it is true that he will win who is able to stand longest, how could the Allies then hope to win?

To my greatest amazement I see that Bulgaria still has some sympathisers in this country. Everyone who sympathises with Bulgaria is necessarily, if not an enemy to Serbia, at least opposed to helping her! Do these people not realise that Bulgaria is claiming the hegemony in the Balkans, and that she is hand in glove with the Central Powers—that is: she will by no means try to check the German thrust to the East—their Drang nach Osten? Bulgaria is the friend of Great Britain's enemies. How can there be even one Englishman who sympathises with the enemy of his country?

Serbia alone is the barrier which keeps the Gates of your Empire. Therefore you must save Serbia.

And you must make every possible effort to strengthen this barrier. In saving Serbia you will render possible the liberation of eight million Jugoslavs, who are longing to be united with their Serbian brothers.

Thus the liberation of us, Jugoslavs, and our union with Serbia is of the greatest importance for the future of Great Britain. Therefore Great Britain ought not only to save Serbia, but to associate herself with our Jugoslav aspirations and our whole national program.

Including our brothers in Serbia and Montenegro, we should be a nation of about thirteen million souls with a magnificent territory. Like the Serbians, we, other Jugoslavs, too, are excellent soldiers. Misused by our Austrian oppressors, we have fought for them on all the battlefields of Europe. What heroes shall we be defending ourselves, our future Jugoslavia!

And, people of Great Britain, remember that in defending ourselves, we shall necessarily also defend the integrity of your Empire.

Therefore you must help us. You must send more and more troops to Serbia.

It is a tragic moment at which I am addressing you. Serbia is bleeding from thousands of wounds. Nearly all her territory is occupied and devastated; a great part of her population slaughtered. It is a carnage of such cruelty as the world has never seen! And hundreds of thousands of old men, women, and children are flying to the mountains, starving there of cold and hunger. Will Serbia survive this awful cataclysm?

This is in God's hand. But Great Britain, more than any other nation, ought to support her little friend in the hour of its agony.

If Serbia is saved; if we, Jugoslavs, are saved with her, there will be established between us and our saviour's a bond of blood, shed for each other, and which shall endure until the last of our race has perished.

(The conclusion will be found on pages 93 and 96.)

# Britannia

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

PRICE ONE PENNY WEEKLY.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1915.

## Sir Edward Grey's Responsibility.

"After God, it is to you that I owe victory."

Such was the message telegraphed by the present Kaiser's grandfather to the Tsar Alexander II. at the close of the Franco-German War in 1871. The message was one of thanks to the Tsar for standing aside and thus enabling the Germans to defeat the French.

This same message: "*It is to you that I owe this victory*" will surely be sent by the Kaiser to Sir Edward Grey if once the defeat of Serbia should be achieved.

For Sir Edward Grey's contribution to such a victory for the Germans would be accounted a big one!

Sir Edward Grey it is who would not accept the offer made by Greece in April to fight on our side, though the help of Greece would have meant saving Serbia and sparing her the tortures she is now enduring.

Sir Edward Grey it is who "always knew" that Ferdinand was for the Germans and yet kept this fact secret, and would not let the newspapers give the least warning of the awful danger in which Serbia consequently stood.

Sir Edward Grey it was who prevented the Serbs from forestalling Bulgaria's treacherous attack.

Sir Edward Grey it was who, as late as September 28th, gave the House of Commons and the public to understand that Bulgaria's mobilisation was friendly to Serbia and not hostile.

Sir Edward Grey it was who on that same day promised help to Serbia in the following words:

If the Bulgarian mobilisation were to result in Bulgaria assuming an aggressive attitude on the side of our enemies, then 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.

This pledge Sir Edward Grey afterwards repudiated in so far as it applied to Serbia—on the ground so it might appear that he regarded Serbia neither as friend nor ally. Certainly he has not treated her as such.

For Sir Edward Grey it is who opposed and resisted the sending of military help to Serbia.

Sir Edward Grey it is who merely caused delays in the arrival of British troops at Salonica—delays which according to British report printed in British newspapers have had deplorable military results which it will need the most vigorous and speedy action in the Balkans to repair.

And the inaction of the British troops, which has continued after their landing! What has Sir Edward Grey to do with that?

Sir Edward Grey it is who by his pro-Bulgarianism, so helpful to Germany in its practical result, has alarmed the still neutral Balkan countries who abhor the idea of a Bulgarian hegemony in the Balkans as the rest of us abhor the idea of a German hegemony in Europe!

Sir Edward Grey's pro-Bulgarianism it is which has even given rise to rumours of a peace between Britain and Bulgaria based upon territorial concessions at Serbia's expense—concessions which would moreover make Bulgaria (and through Bulgaria, Germany) the dominant power in the Balkans to the injury not of Serbia alone but of Rumania and Greece.

Sir Edward Grey it is who—because his pro-Bulgarianism is the occasion of these rumours and because he opposed the sending of the British troops needed to encourage Greece and Rumania to face the horrors of a war with the Germanic Alliance—is largely responsible for the lamentable neutrality of those two nations.

Yes! indeed, the Kaiser has great reason to thank Sir Edward Grey.

To clear and smoothe the Kaiser's way through the Balkans, to Constantinople and beyond, that is one immense service that Sir Edward Grey, by his Balkan diplomacy and his resistance to helping Serbia has rendered to the Kaiser.

By facilitating the destruction of Serbia, who is the soul and rallying point of Balkan liberty and independence, Sir Edward Grey has worked towards the attainment of the pan-Germanist aim. Serbia is not yet destroyed and shall be saved in spite of Sir Edward Grey! But his policy, if successful, would mean the triumph of pan-Germanism.

## The Slav Peoples as the World's Defence Against German Domination.

The foregoing is all the more true, because the triumph of pan-Germanism depends upon the subjection, the enslavement of the Slav world by Germany. How well the Germans know that! They have long maintained a predominant influence in Russia. They mean to make it all powerful there if they win this war—to make of Russia a huge subject province.

No wonder the Russian people have rushed into battle armed only with sticks and stones if they could get no other weapons!

Serbia is the leader, the hope of another and an independent branch of the Slav family—the Southern Slavs. Her kith and kin still are under a foreign yoke. But once united with Serbia in a great, free, and enlightened nation, the Southern Slavs will be the means of maintaining a true balance in the world.

Without the Slavs, a free humanity cannot exist, for Germany will now or later prevail—will be over all.

Knowing this only too well, Germany tries to put fear and distrust of the Slav peoples into the heart of the Western Allies.

How long the Germans have profited and advanced towards their aim of world domination by fostering dissension and promoting jealousy between the Slavs in the East and the peoples of the West and especially Britain. Germany is playing that old game to-day—playing it at this moment especially at Serbia's expense. Selfish ignorance is imposed upon by this trickery. Pro-Germanism rapturously takes a hand in it.

The idealist Slav is sacrificed in the interest and to the profit of the materialist German.

But let this be understood!—Never, never, never can the German peril be held in check and German world domination be prevented save by the help of the Slav peoples free and united in friendship with the rest of us.

Why! In order to guarantee the world's safety against German attack we need the very force of numbers of the Slavs. And the Germanic Alliance taking advantage of Sir Edward Grey's policy of inaction in the Balkans is trying to exterminate the Southern Slavs in Serbia and beyond Serbia's limits.

More than the Slav numbers, we need the idealism, the morale, the superhuman courage, the adoration of liberty that Serbia, the glory and fine flower of Slavdom shows to-day.

If we let Serbia perish, Heaven will be the witness that it is a people of whom the world is not worthy.

CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

# A NATION'S FAITH.

We fight to the last breath, believing that there is a justice, a higher morality in this world and that our Allies will take into account so much suffering already proudly endured and all the efforts that we are still resolved to make by their side.

Helped by the Armies of our Allies, our Serbian Army will recover its forces and will once more astonish the world by its glorious and rapid resurrection.

Interviewed by the 'PETIT JOURNAL,' M. VESNITCH, the Serbian Minister in Paris, spoke in the following terms:

With the best faith in the world—that goes without saying—a number of newspapers have given too much faith to news of German origin or inspiration published in the neutral press relative to the operations on the Balkan front. From this, results the really excessively alarming character assumed by the news published in France.

Remember, for example, the story of the 130 cannon captured by the Austro-Germans at Kraleivo. Telegrams from Berlin and Vienna represented these as Serbian cannon. In reality it was a question of pieces of artillery conquered by us in time past from the enemy.

Another day, the Wolff Agency dared to speak of 800 cannon captured at Krouchevatz. But according to that we should hardly have had any cannon left!

And then the news relative to the 70 tons of copper daily extracted from the Serbian mines. What bluff! Do you suppose that before abandoning these mines, we did not take the precautions necessary to prevent them, at least for a certain time, from being worked?

We find the same thing again in what relates to the repairing of our railways. If we were to believe the German newspapers, that was the affair of a week. What an exaggeration! From Nish to the Bulgarian frontier for example, the railways run through wild defiles in which tunnels abound,—tunnels which we have destroyed and will not be easy, I assure you, to repair promptly! And have they not said in the German newspapers that King Peter has been taken prisoner, that M. Pasitch has been the object of an attack perpetrated by a Serbian commander, that one of our colonels had been put to death by his soldiers in revolt?

On the other hand, what is true is that the Serbs made prisoners by the Bulgarians, are massacred. The case has been cited of one of our officers who was shot under the eyes of his soldiers before they themselves were put to death. I can also affirm that 50 Serbian soldiers accompanying a convoy and taken prisoners were stripped of their clothes and were hacked by blows with sabres. Some of them who managed to escape have been able to testify to this.

Against all these atrocities, the Serbian Government has, moreover, already made protest.

Do you understand now why in certain neutral newspapers one reads statements according to which the Bulgarian Army can show no Serbian officers among their prisoners? These officers, we are told, kill themselves rather than allow themselves to be taken prisoners. A machiavellian explanation, the object of which is to make out that the victims of Bulgarian ferocity have killed themselves!

The situation that has been made for us is certainly grave, but while retreating before superior forces, our Army has defended our soil inch by inch and has retarded the march of the enemy as much as possible. It has been able to take the offensive at a suitable moment. In the direction of Leskovatz it has inflicted upon the Bulgarians a serious defeat and in the direction of Uskub again securing a brilliant success it has captured several enemy cannon.

You remember the striking image, the ferocious expression which the Austro-Germans used the other day. It was a question, they said, of putting a rope round the neck of the Serbian Army. Well, the Serbian Army has so far escaped the rope. It is not upon the eve of being strangled. It is still erect. Intact, no, alas, since it fights every day and every hour! But however tried it may be, it inflicts upon its adversary losses heavier than it suffers.

Read the radio telegrams of the enemy, especially the latest. They speak of nothing but the desperate resistance of the Serbs. You understand what that means. It is an involuntary homage rendered to the heroism of the soldiers of King Peter. It also means an admission of the enormous losses sustained, an admission which is, moreover, made superfluous by the crowded state of the Bulgarian hospitals.

No, the Serbian Army is not yet encircled. Still, and for a long time yet you will continue to hear of it. If a retreat upon Monastir is no longer possible, we shall seek an impregnable refuge in the direction of Albania and Montenegro.

The brilliant Armies of France and England have already begun to strike and another will not be long before it arrives. It is the army of him whom we call "the Czar of the Snows," whose army, formed in order to call Bulgaria to life, made sacrifices of which history retains the memory.

At the beginning of this horrible war, let loose by Germanic greed, Nicholas II. proclaimed that he would not consent to the crushing of Serbia. We know to-day that

all the Allied Powers share the same sentiment. It is under their star that the Serbian Army, momentarily exhausted, will recover its forces and will once more astonish the world by its rapid and glorious resurrection.

In the newspapers yesterday and to-day, you read no doubt news from various sources relating the offers of peace that Germany has just made to Serbia through the intermediary of Marshal Mackensen. This peace was to be preceded by an armistice, and you were not surely surprised to learn at the same time of the refusal the Crown Prince made to this proposition.

What is not yet known—the whole world will some day know it—is that the Central Powers, or to speak more precisely, Germany, offered to Serbia at the beginning of October, before attacking her in connivance with the Bulgarians, a peace which was not too disadvantageous to our country, on the sole condition of allowing the Austro-German Armies to make their junction with the Army of King Ferdinand.

Need I explain to you what answer our Government proposed to this offer? It is written with the blood of the most noble and the most precious of our soldiers, with the tears of our women, of our children, it resounds in the cries of suffering of our old men and of our wounded and our crippled soldiers. It is this:

All these sacrifices we do not regret. We are ready to make others. Yes, we live in this hope, in this conviction—that there is a justice, that there is a higher morality in this world and that our noble Allies will take into account so much suffering already proudly endured and all the efforts that we are still resolved to make by their side."

It is to the last breath that the Government, the people and the Army of Serbia will continue the supreme struggle, convinced as we are that the discussions in view of the general peace cannot be opened on the side of the Allies unless they have as the point of departure the independence and integrity of the territory of each of the Allies, and consequently the independence and the integrity of Serbia.

Point of departure, did I say? Need I explain what I mean by that? Our ambition is known moreover by the whole world—we have never made a secret of it. It is the Unity of our race, a legitimate ambition which moreover agrees absolutely with the generous principles that the Allies, from the beginning of the European conflagration, have inscribed upon their common flag.

## WHAT THE WAR MEANS.

### Germany and Germanism Explained by an American Citizen.

*An American Citizen at present living in Europe has written to his family in the United States, as follows:*

The things which we have seen and learned of, and the events since we have been in Europe have made a pretty strong impression on us, and given us very strong and not distinctly pro-German opinions.

I hope you will put out of your mind any prejudices, and sit down to read this letter over coolly several times before forming an opinion, in the same spirit that I shall try to write it. If that should result in a radical alteration of feeling I shall think my time well spent, and you would get nearer to a state of mind which a lot of Americans in the Central West will be forced into sooner or later by the long development of this war and the causes back of it.

#### Source of Information.

First I want to talk about the source of my information. You travel over the United States pretty well and so are able to add to your inborn American feeling and education a fairly broad view of the situation as it appears in different parts of America. We are just as much American in feeling and education as ever, and by travelling over Europe from Hungary to France and Scandinavia to Italy, we have got some view of the conspicuous features, of the conditions preceding and during the war which have brought it about and will determine the future of Europe and the United States.

We lived in Berlin during one of the years of the preparation for the war, read German newspapers, overlooked the Exercise Place where they trained the recruits, and the boulevard along which the Emperor, the Crown Prince and their suites bowled in their automobiles, and along which the troops marched to and from Potsdam; the children went to German schools and being young absorbed German information and ideas pretty readily. Then we lived two years in Belgium, travelling into Germany, England and France, and the children attended again a German school. We read Belgian, German and English newspapers. Then we were driven out into England by the invasion, and have had now a year in England to see the British point of view.

#### Have It Down to Perfection.

In Germany the control of the people's opinions is carried to wonderful perfection. A hundred years ago the schools were established under Government control, and the study courses and papers are now provided by an officer of the Central Government for all Germany, under whose direction examinations and conferring degrees are conducted. The school books are censored and everything which appears in them is directed to-

ward increasing the German's idea of his own importance. The professors in the universities are paid by and hold their positions by permission of the Government, and they are not allowed to say anything in their lectures which is not in accordance with the Government policy.

Before Bismarck's time the use of newspapers for continuing the education of the public mind after its formative days in school along the lines of Governmental policy was appreciated, but Bismarck reduced the control of writers and periodicals by subsidising and punishment to a fine art, and extended the arrangement into other countries, to form opinion favourable to Germany.

You have seen something in the newspapers of how well they have done it in the United States. Add to that the effect of our Government's admonition to maintain neutrality, the influence of German advertisers and bankers, and the tendency to avoid offending the German population, and you will see how little chance there is that the truth will get out in the Middle West. I have the periodical you sent.

#### To Dominate the World.

All that is preliminary. **The great outstanding fact of this war is the Prussian military aristocracy and its effort to dominate the rest of the world.**

I want to tell you something about that. I once dropped off in a little German town, Altenberg, of about 30,000 people. There was a broad and fertile plain with some factories and a good many productive farms. In the centre of the town a rather high rocky hill, and on the top of it an ancient feudal castle, the walls built flush with the precipitous sides of the hill, with a winding approach fitted with strong defences, and tall stone towers overlooking the country for miles. The towers were built in 1100. Since that date this town was the residence of a family of feudal barons who owned as much as they wanted of the surrounding country, controlled as much as they liked the population and business of it, and levied toll upon or appropriated what they wanted of the traffic passing through. **They kept the people in subjection by means of soldiers who lived in the castle, who persuaded them with the aid of curious old weapons and torture apparatus of which there is a large collection in the towers.** The principal buildings are richly furnished with costly articles from France. The old count, a member of the family still lives in the castle, on the proceeds of the immense accumulated wealth of the family.

This family trained the peasantry about it by controlling the education and churches, by benevolence to the poor, by always taking a portion of their produce and demanding always a percentage of the labour for their

own purposes, by torturing, imprisoning, or killing objectors, and through it all by claiming to have a heaven-given right to do all this, to regard the family as something sacred and quite set apart from the common herd that lived in the plain below.

#### For Eight Centuries.

The generations for eight centuries developed progressively a reverence for the family, an unquestioning obedience to its demands of any kind, and a submission to having their destinies determined by the baron, of which we Americans trained to a different manner of thinking, can form no adequate conception even when we see it under our eyes. If the country was invaded by neighbouring barons these barons organised and brought together the men to defend it.

When the aggregation of German feudal estates into states began members of this family represented the family interests and incidentally those of the people in the conferences, settled the state boundaries and the relations of the reigning families amongst themselves, determined the taxes and the disposition of them and in general treated the land and the people as if they belonged to the family. On their side the members of this family regard themselves as of a different breed from the herd below, themselves worthy of riches and education and power by some divine gift which was not given to the herd. Until recently they had the power of life and death over the people and could rob, imprison, rape, or kill them at will. **They can still do all those things when they wear military uniforms. Still the submissive people give the family the right, and still the haughty family takes the right as a perquisite of their superior birth.**

#### Dotted With Feudal Castles.

Germany is dotted all over with that sort of feudal castle. **Germany is the one place where the ideas and feelings underlying the feudal system are, under the guise of the military system, essentially unchanged.** In other countries the free education and thinking of the people has made them deny such rights and throw off the yoke, while the industrial development has given wealth and power to many to balance those of the feudal families. In Germany the Government has kept control of the military, the education, the press and the industrial development, and has carried these things consistently along the same course into these times.

**The Hohenzollern family have been robber barons for five centuries, and on the whole have used their power more remorselessly and with greater profit to themselves than any other families. The Kaiser is one of the richest men in Europe. Germany is dominated by Prussia, and Prussia by the Hohenzollerns and their court.**

(To be continued.)

## THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN GOLIATH AND THE SERBIAN DAVID.

### The History of their Relations.

A Speech recently delivered by Dr. H. HINKOVIC at Liverpool!

Napoleon, who was not only one of the greatest military geniuses, but also a great statesman, fully recognised the great importance of the Jugoslavs, and created a great Yugoslav province, consisting of all the Yugoslav territories in his possession. He called this province Illyria after the ancient inhabitants of the Balkans, previous to the Yugoslav settlement. Unfortunately the province of Illyria was doomed to a very short existence. The Napoleonic régime was the best the Jugoslavs ever knew after the fall of their national dynasties, and the memory of it is still vivid in the grateful hearts of the people.

Another very important attempt to a Yugoslav unification but only in a cultural or intellectual sense, was the Illyrian movement by Lyndevid Gaj in 1835. But it was soon crushed by the Austrian Government which saw in it a great danger, and Lyndevid Gaj was imprisoned for high treason.

During the second half of last century the Yugoslav aspirations were most actively personified by the great Croatian bishop Strossmayer the friend of Gladstone.

Meanwhile Austria-Hungary sought to counteract these aspirations by the precept, *divide et impera*. She stirred up everything able to produce fierce antagonism between the Croats and the Serbs. Especially she incited them against each other over the difference of their religions, the Croats being Catholics and the Serbs orthodox—although the religious tolerance of both of them is attested by our proverb: "Brat miji mio, poje vjere bio"—I love my brother, of whichever religion he may be.

At last the Austro-Hungarian Jugoslavs discovered that by fighting among themselves they were merely playing the game of their common enemies. They constituted the Serbo-Croat political Coalition which was preceded by a very vigorous cultural rapprochement between the Austro-Hungarian Jugoslavs and the Serbs of Serbia—a fraternity which was inaugurated upon the occasion of King Peter's coronation in Belgrade in 1904, at which many Jugoslavs from Austria-Hungary were present.

The Serbo-Croat Coalition, proclaiming the racial unity of the Croats and the Serbs, declared that they would henceforth fight shoulder to shoulder for their political rights in Austria-Hungary.

Austria and the Magyars at once perceived

that their hegemony in Austria-Hungary was greatly endangered by this movement, and from that time began a most cruel persecution of the Serbo-Croat Coalition, its leaders, and many prominent Croat and Serb patriots. But these persecutions only made things worse. The Croatian Parliament was five times dissolved since 1906, but the Coalition was always returned with a majority. Twice the Croatian Constitution was suspended, and Governors with dictatorial powers were appointed. Several attempts upon the lives of these Governors attested the extreme exasperation of the population.

But in the opinion of the Austro-Hungarian diplomats the peril lay not only in the Austro-Hungarian Jugoslavs; it was, above all things, Serbia herself who constituted the danger. It was obvious that on the one hand the Austro-Magyar persecutions and on the other the marvellous rise of Serbia after King Peter's accession should irresistibly compel all the Austro-Hungarian Jugoslavs towards their brothers in Serbia.

In order to neutralise this coming danger the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Office suddenly decided upon the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Although Austria-Hungary by the Treaty of Berlin was entitled only to a temporary administration of these two Turkish provinces, it was clear to everyone that this "temporary" arrangement was really meant to be permanent. **Why then proceed to an annexation, a dangerous breach of an international Treaty?**

No other reason can be assigned for this, except an intention to provoke Serbia to some imprudent act. The population of Bosnia-Herzegovina is entirely Serbian, and it was to be expected that Serbia would not accept the change of a provisional occupation into a definite annexation without some protest. The former state of affairs would have left her a platonic hope that she might one day redeem her kinsmen; which hope was mercilessly knocked on the head by their definitely passing under Austro-Hungarian rule. **Serbia's expected protest would have given Austria-Hungary the opportunity of crushing her.** On the other hand, Austria-Hungary desired to show and to convince Europe that she was forced into the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina by Serbia herself, who was supposed to entertain a revolutionary movement in all Yugoslav provinces, especially in Bosnia-Herzegovina with the purpose of incorporating them with herself.

Serbia was to be denounced as a dangerous disturber of the peace of Europe.

With this object Austria-Hungary staged the Zagreb high treason trial and the Friedjung affair. By these two actions the Serbian Government and even King Peter himself were to be compromised; the leaders of the Serbo-Croat Coalition were accused of being in Serbian pay and of inciting the Austro-Hungarian Jugoslavs to rise against Austria-Hungary and on behalf of Serbia.

Towards the end of July, 1908, a pamphlet entitled "Finale," was published, in which many details and names were given concerning a pan-Serb terrorist propaganda, initiated by a political club in Belgrade, the "Slovenski Jug" (the Slav South), under the patronage of King Peter and the Heir apparent. The author of the pamphlet appropriately enough named Nastie—a very ominous name in English—was a notorious spy and *agent provocateur*, salaried by the Bosnian (Austrian) Government. This nasty person, who at one time was convicted for stealing opera glasses in a theatre in Vienna, became the chief witness for the Crown in the trial. Upon his evidence a large number of Serbs were imprisoned. The sittings of the court lasted from March 3rd to October 5th 1909—6 months. I had the honour of being leading counsel for the defence. In this scandalous trial was proved that, besides Nastie, many other false witnesses were actually paid by the Government. Finally the action was abolished by the Emperor. In a Press-campaign I protested against this hypocritical show of mercy on the part of the Emperor, stating that his reason was to protect not the innocent Serbs, but rather the compromised Government officials. For this I was sentenced to six months hard labour. Thus, of all the accused, it was only their counsel who was in the end condemned!

In the height of the Annexation crisis, on March 27th 1909, the Austrian historian Friedjung, a favourite of the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Office, published an article in the Vienna newspaper, the *Neue Freie Presse*, in which he announced his possession of documents proving that certain leaders of the Serbo-Croat Coalition were in the pay of the Serbian Government, to provoke an insurrectional rising in the Austro-Hungarian Yugoslav provinces. The attacked leaders sued the author for libel in the competent Vienna Court, where the trial took place in December 1909.

In this trial Professor Friedjung produced

Continued on page 96.

## EMPRUNT DE LA DÉFENSE NATIONALE



*N'oubliez pas de souscrire... pour  
la Victoire!... et le retour!*

PUBLIÉ SOUS LES AUSPICES DE LA FÉDÉRATION NATIONALE DE LA MUTUALITÉ FRANÇAISE  
QUI FAIT APPEL A TOUS LES TRAVAILLEURS, A TOUS LES PRÉVOYANTS A TOUS LES PATRIOTES  
POUR LA LIBÉRATION DU TERRITOIRE ET LA VICTOIRE FINALE.

Reproduction of a poster by Poulbot in support of the French War Loan. The soldier husband calls out a last reminder to his wife, the keeper of the family purse to subscribe to the War Loan—in other words for victory and for his safe return.

## THE DARDANELLES TRAGEDY.

### A Few Questions for Ministers.

By A MAN FROM GALLIPOLI.

Under the heading given above the "Clarion" publishes the following article: We might suggest to the Man from Gallipoli that things are only too likely to go wrong so long as Sir Edward Grey, Sir Eyre Crowe (nephew of the Chief of the German Naval Staff), with Lord Haldane vigorously wire-pulling in the background, are in command of the British nation's affairs in War time!

This is an inquisitive generation, and it is only too prone to ask the why and the wherefore of every order given by those in authority over it. Generally speaking, this characteristic is a grave defect in a fighting man or a fighting race, and is one which must be eradicated by discipline. But in the corporate life of every army comes a time when one can see the mark of interrogation stamped clearly on every face from private to colonel, and when this happens it is time to begin to think, and to think furiously.

Far away in the Eastern Mediterranean there is a vast concourse of well-trained fighting Englishmen, who are full of this spirit of inquiry at the present moment—so full that some telepathic current has reached us here in England, and caused the general feeling of uneasiness with regard to the whole of the Dardanelles campaign, which has had its outcome in a few vague questions in the House, and an equally vague demand for an "inquiry."

Unfortunately no one here seems quite to know what to ask or what to inquire about; everyone has a vague feeling that things have gone wrong, but how or why no one knows.

If the Dardanelles Army could be embodied, horse, foot, guns, into one composite creature, that creature would ask one question which goes to the root of the whole matter. That question would be, "Why did we not land at Bulair?"

Look at the map of the Gallipoli Peninsula.

It lies like a narrow, outstretched hand, palm upwards, on the surface of the Mediterranean. The tip of its fingers at Helles or Seddul Bahr, its outstretched thumb at Suvla, and its wrist at Bulair. The palm of the hand is one mass of jagged mountains—very steep, rising sheer from their narrow, rocky, waterless valleys to 1,300 feet in height. It is a bit of God's waste land—a sort of scrap-heap for unwanted mountains thrown down by Zeus from Olympus! No water, no trees, no roads, no shade from the vertical tropic sun; wind-blown and sand-scoured, it is a hell on earth to fight in if ever there was one.

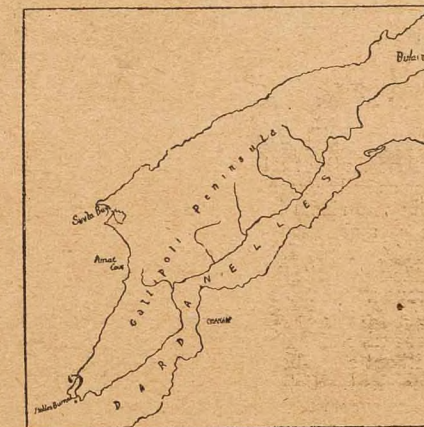
Now look north at Bulair. The narrow tip of this giant's hand. It is a low, level, flat isthmus, of six to seven miles long, through which runs the main road to the coast, and thence to Constantinople. It is to some extent cultivated and watered, and bears no resemblance to the saw-edged mountain ridges further south.

Now, when a surgeon wishes to amputate a hand does he begin by cutting off the finger-tips, or does he cut at the best place in the wrist? This appears a childish question, but the English Army was set the gigantic task of cutting off this hand which holds fast-shut the gates of Constantinople, and, unlike the surgeon, it began at the very tips of the fingers!

The first landing was at Helles, then Anzac, then Suvla, each time further north. Why not Bulair, the wrist?

Of the English officer I say nothing, but the ordinary English Tommy, in his ordinary common-sense way, wants to know quite a lot of things.

When first our Fleet got to the accursed



land, odd parties of marines were landed, and took a stroll through the northern part of Gallipoli as far as the town of Gallipoli itself, and up to the Bulair isthmus, whilst the Fleet bombarded the southern forts.

Tommy wants to know why he was not there, too (in his thousands), and why his attack was left until it cost 10,000 men to make a landing, and 100,000 all told to keep practically only the bare patches of ground he landed on.

He would like to know who thought out the brilliant scheme of fighting a passage through the whole length of this impossible peninsula—through fifty miles of waterless hill country—when by the exercise of a little more rapid thought a landing could have been made at Bulair, and the whole peninsula cut off together with the Turkish army and guns in it.

Tommy is foolish enough to wonder why, if the objective was Constantinople, he was not landed at the nearest point to it (again Bulair) instead of fifty miles further away—and such a fifty miles!

We cannot but think Tommy has some right to ask. He has "inquired" into Gallipoli on the lines laid down for him to the extent of 100,000 casualties and such discomfort as probably no army has ever faced before—and gained nothing! Surely he has a right to wonder if perhaps the ordinary common-sense way of cutting off a hand at the wrist was not the best?

Perhaps some "gentleman of England who sits at home at ease" (with £400 a year) will ask Tommy's question for him in the House.

**Mr. ROBERT BLATCHFORD, Editor of the "Clarion," makes the following observations:**

Months before Bulgaria disclosed her treachery she was more than suspect in most newspaper offices. Some of us had as much faith in Greece as in Bulgaria. . . . We had to trust the Government, hoping against hope that the Government would not be taken in a very apparent snare. To-day the position of Greece is no longer a mystery. Like several other heroic neutrals she is waiting for a chance to come in on the winning side.

Let us take another instance. No one who has looked at a map of the Dardanelles can have failed to wonder why the British and French landed on the point of the peninsula instead of at the other end. But I have never until to-day seen any allusion to what looked like an outrageous strategical blunder, and now the allusion occurs in a French paper, which says that for a British force to advance against Turkey from the Suez Canal would be "as fatal a mistake as our landing at the wrong end of the Gallipoli Peninsula."

I suppose that others who have seen the strategic advantages of cutting the Turkish communications at Bulair have refrained from comment because the other plan looked so absurd that one suspected a reason not obvious to one's own mind. By landing where we did (and when we did) we faced the task of storming all the formidable positions along the entire peninsula. By landing at the other end we could have starved the Turks into surrender.

## THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN GOLIATH AND THE SERBIAN DAVID.

(Concluded from page 95.)

a great many photographed copies of documents placed at his disposal by the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Office. It was suggested that the original documents had been stolen and after having been photographed, put back in their respective archives. Unfortunately for the author of the article, these documents were proved and finally acknowledged by himself to be forgeries!

One of the forgers, a man named Vasie, was sentenced to five years hard labour at Belgrade. The celebrated Czech Professor Masaryk, now Professor at King's College, University of London, and myself attended this trial, in which full material evidence was produced, proving that these "documents" were both written and photographed in the Austro-Hungarian Legation at Belgrade, by two officials in the employ of the Legation, and, in collaboration with the accused Vasie, and under the patronage of Count Forgach, the Austro-Hungarian minister at Belgrade.

At this trial Vasie produced an "original" document of which Professor Friedjung possessed the photograph. Vasie told the court that the "original" documents, after having been photographed, had been burnt. He succeeded however in stealing one of these documents so that it was not burnt. Into the text of this document Vasie had inserted the sentence: "Very foolish is he who believes all this rubbish," and naturally this sentence was duly reproduced in the photograph. The document was written in Cyrilline letters—the two employees of the Legation had not noticed the blunder and Professor Friedjung who based his charge on these documents, had no knowledge of the Serbian language!

As usual in Austria-Hungary, Count Forgach was rewarded for his crime by a substantial promotion (he was transferred to Dresden) and he was later on one of the authors of the famous Ultimatum to Serbia which unchained the present war.

Thus both trials—the Zagreb high treason trial and the Friedjung trial—were failures. But failures only because war with Serbia was at the last moment avoided. Russia exhausted after the disastrous Japanese war, requested Serbia to submit; and Germany not yet prepared, did not urge Austria-Hungary. But if war against Serbia had been declared, all the accused in the Zagreb trial and all calumniated by the Viennese Professor, would certainly have been condemned on the ground of false evidence and forged documents, and perhaps put to death.

Why all the implacable attacks upon Serbia? Because Serbia by her very existence obstructs the thrust to the East. The way from Berlin and Vienna to Salonica and Constantinople, to Suez and the Persian Gulf, to Egypt and to India, leads through the Morava Valley. That is why Serbia is doomed to death by the Central Powers.

I have shown you that Austria-Hungary brought about the Annexation Crisis in the hope of gaining an opportunity of crushing Serbia. Since then she has steadily lain in wait in her ambush to lure Serbia into a trap. The treacherous Bulgarian King was from the first a willing instrument of Austria-Hungary. The Balkan Alliance was signed by him only after securing the explicit approval of Francis Joseph. Vienna was delighted to see Serbia engaged in a war against a great military Power such a Turkey was then rightly considered to be, being convinced that Serbia would be defeated. Serbia's overthrow would have provided a favourable opportunity for Austrian intervention and an Austrian occupation of Serbia. Of course, the diplomats of Vienna judged Serbia and her army by what they have been in the time of Milan and Alexander. They had no idea how splendidly had been reorganised the whole country and especially the army since the accession of King Peter.

The splendid Serbian victory at Kumanovo, followed by many others not less brilliant, was a revelation to the world and a dreadful shock for Austria-Hungary. Her fury became more open and violent from day to day.

She accused Serbian officers of having abominably mutilated M. Prochask, her consul at Prizren. For two or three weeks all Europe was alarmed by the Yellow Press of the Viennese Foreign Office and greatly roused against Serbia. And although there was no truth at all in this horrible story and the consul Prochask had suffered neither injury, nor insult, Vienna demanded ostentatious and humiliating satisfaction from Serbia, which M. Pasie was so wise as to give without hesitation. Serbia once more escaped.

As Serbia is without any sea-board, her economical body is, so to say, without lungs. Without a sea-board she cannot be really independent. So, after her magnificent victories over the Turks, she pushed through Albania to Durazzo. This expedition, through wild Alps, in a hostile country without roads, in the midst of a most rigorous winter, was one of the most wonderful military feats the world has ever seen. Immediately and with the utmost vehemence Austria-Hungary protested against Serbia obtaining access to the sea. The Belgrade Cabinet again bowed before the order of the mighty neighbour and withdrew the army from Durazzo.

Then came the exciting affair of Scutari. After immense sacrifices, Serbia's gallant ally, Montenegro, captured Scutari. Austria-Hungary raised a storm of protest against the occupation of this city which she claimed for Albania. The cruel oppressor of her own Slavs played the rôle of protector of the principle of nationality! Serbia by identifying herself with Montenegro, stood once more at the edge of the precipice. King Nicholas of Montenegro withdrew his army from Scutari and the war with Austria-Hungary was avoided once more.

The more moderate was Serbia's behaviour the more she enraged her antagonist. Once more Austria-Hungary moved the evil genius of the Balkans, the perfidious King of Bulgaria, against Serbia. It was at the instigation of Vienna and in explicit agreement with Vienna that King Ferdinand gave the order treacherously to attack the Serbian army in the night of 29th to 30th of June 1913. The complete Serbian victory on the Bregalnico River was a new cruel disillusionment for Austria-Hungary. She had once more backed the wrong horse. She could not forgive Serbia her victories. The Treaty of Bucharest was a defeat for Austria-Hungary.

I could proceed to show you how pertinaciously Austria-Hungary has sought to uick a quarrel with Serbia and for pretexts to attack her. For instance the question of the oriental railway was kept ready until the first opportunity. But I think that further evidence is superfluous, when we remember the statements of Signor Giolitti and M. Take Jonescu, who both declared that Austria-Hungary, shortly after the Treaty of Bucharest, on various occasions, announced her plan to attack Serbia, asking which attitude Italy and Bulgaria would be likely to adopt in this case.

Thus it is absurd to assume that the assassination of the Archduke Francis Joseph was the real cause of the present war. All the more, as it is now known that his life was already seriously endangered by a form of violent mania, and his death expected in a short time. I say expected, because he was not sympathetic to anybody, least of all to the Viennese Court, because of his wife, and to the Magyars because of his tendencies, although these were certainly not sincere. It is very probable that the Archduke's murders were mysteriously inspired by factors who certainly are far away from Belgrade.

However, the long sought pretext had at last been found. And although Serbia went on her knees before the insolent Ultimatum the war broke out. This time Germany was completely prepared, and virtually the war was already decided upon in the beginning of the summer of 1914, at an interview between the Kaiser and the Archduke Francis Ferdinand.

## THE SERBO-MONTENEGRIN FORCES.

Writing in *La Guerre Sociale* M. André Chéradame points out that the Germans "with infernal cleverness" spread their manufactured news through the press even of the Allied nations—this by reason of the "want of defensive organisation against falsified news coming from abroad."

The Balkan situation especially has been

injured as a result. For example the public of the Allies has been led to believe the existing Serbian Army to be smaller than it is and thus less able to be saved by timely aid! M. Chéradame advances the following figures as holding good at the date of writing, November 23rd:

Number of Montenegrin effectives	30,000
Number of Serbian effectives	283,000
Total	313,000

"There are thus" says he "313,000 marvellous Allied soldiers to save and afterwards to utilise."