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From July 15 to August 15, 1915

By a Military Expert

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H. M. HUSSEIN KEMAL
The New Sultan of Egypt, Which Was
Recently Declared a British
Protectorate



THE RUSSIAN ROYAL FAMILY
The Children of the Czar Have Inherited
the Regal Beauty of Their Mother

(Photo from Paul Thompson)

The New York Times

CURRENT HISTORY

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

THE EUROPEAN WAR

APRIL, 1915

Germany's War Zone and Neutral Flags

The German Decree and Interchange of Notes Answering American
Protests to Germany and Britain

BERLIN, Feb. 4, (by wireless to Sayville, L. I.)—The German Admiralty today issued the following communication:

The waters around Great Britain and Ireland, including the whole English Channel, are declared a war zone on and after Feb. 18, 1915.

Every enemy merchant ship found in this war zone will be destroyed, even if it is impossible to avert dangers which threaten the crew and passengers.

Also neutral ships in the war zone are in danger, as in consequence of the misuse of neutral flags ordered by the British Government on Jan. 31, and in view of the hazards of naval warfare, it cannot always be avoided that attacks meant for enemy ships endanger neutral ships.

Shipping northward, around the Shetland Islands, in the eastern basin of the North Sea, and a strip of at least thirty nautical miles in breadth along the Dutch coast, is endangered in the same way.

AMERICAN NOTE TO GERMANY.

Feb. 10, 1915.

The Secretary of State has instructed Ambassador Gerard at Berlin to present to the German Government a note to the following effect:

The Government of the United States, having had its attention directed to the proclamation of the German Admiralty, issued on the 4th of February, that the waters surrounding Great Britain and Ireland, including the whole of the English Channel, are to be considered as comprised within the seat of war; that all enemy merchant vessels found in those waters after the 18th inst. will be destroyed, although it may not always be possible to save crews and passengers; and that neutral vessels expose themselves to danger within this zone of war because, in view of the misuse of neutral flags said to have been ordered by the British Government on the 31st of January and of the contingencies of maritime warfare, it may not be possible always to exempt neutral vessels from

attacks intended to strike enemy ships, feels it to be its duty to call the attention of the Imperial German Government, with sincere respect and the most friendly sentiments, but very candidly and earnestly, to the very serious possibilities of the course of action apparently contemplated under that proclamation.

The Government of the United States views those possibilities with such grave concern that it feels it to be its privilege, and, indeed, its duty, in the circumstances to request the Imperial German Government to consider before action is taken the critical situation in respect of the relation between this country and Germany which might arise were the German naval forces, in carrying out the policy foreshadowed in the Admiralty's proclamation, to destroy any merchant vessel of the United States or cause the death of American citizens.

It is, of course, not necessary to remind the German Government that the sole right of a belligerent in dealing with neutral vessels on the high seas is limited to visit and search, unless a blockade is proclaimed and effectively maintained, which this Government does not understand to be proposed in this case. To declare or exercise a right to attack and destroy any vessel entering a prescribed area of the high seas without first certainly determining its belligerent nationality and the contraband character of its cargo would be an act so unprecedented in naval warfare that this Government is reluctant to believe that the Imperial Government of Germany in this case contemplates it as possible.

The suspicion that enemy ships are using neutral flags improperly can create no just presumption that all ships traversing a prescribed area are subject to the same suspicion. It is to determine exactly such questions that this Government understands the right of visit and search to have been recognized.

This Government has carefully noted the explanatory statement issued by the Imperial German Government at the same time with the proclamation of the German Admiralty, and takes this occasion to remind the Imperial German

Government very respectfully that the Government of the United States is open to none of the criticisms for unneutral action to which the German Government believes the Governments of certain other neutral nations have laid themselves open; that the Government of the United States has not consented to or acquiesced in any measures which may have been taken by the other belligerent nations in the present war which operate to restrain neutral trade, but has, on the contrary, taken in all such matters a position which warrants it in holding those Governments responsible in the proper way for any untoward effects on American shipping which the accepted principles of international law do not justify; and that it, therefore, regards itself as free in the present instance to take with a clear conscience and upon accepted principles the position indicated in this note.

If the commanders of German vessels of war should act upon the presumption that the flag of the United States was not being used in good faith and should destroy on the high seas an American vessel or the lives of American citizens, it would be difficult for the Government of the United States to view the act in any other light than as an indefensible violation of neutral rights, which it would be very hard, indeed, to reconcile with the friendly relations now happily subsisting between the two Governments.

If such a deplorable situation should arise, the Imperial German Government can readily appreciate that the Government of the United States would be constrained to hold the Imperial Government of Germany to a strict accountability for such acts of their naval authorities, and to take any steps it might be necessary to take to safeguard American lives and property and to secure to American citizens the full enjoyment of their acknowledged rights on the high seas.

The Government of the United States, in view of these considerations, which it urges with the greatest respect and with the sincere purpose of making sure that no misunderstandings may arise, and no circumstances occur, that might even

cloud the intercourse of the two Governments, expresses the confident hope and expectation that the Imperial German Government can and will give assurance that American citizens and their vessels will not be molested by the naval forces of Germany otherwise than by visit and search, though their vessels may be traversing the sea area delimited in the proclamation of the German Admiralty.

It is stated for the information of the Imperial Government that representations have been made to his Britannic Majesty's Government in respect to the unwarranted use of the American flag for the protection of British ships.

AMERICAN NOTE TO ENGLAND.

Feb. 10, 1915.

The Secretary of State has instructed Ambassador Page at London to present to the British Government a note to the following effect:

The department has been advised of the declaration of the German Admiralty on Feb. 4, indicating that the British Government had on Jan. 31 explicitly authorized the use of neutral flags on British merchant vessels, presumably for the purpose of avoiding recognition by German naval forces. The department's attention has also been directed to reports in the press that the Captain of the *Lusitania*, acting upon orders or information received from the British authorities, raised the American flag as his vessel approached the British coasts, in order to escape anticipated attacks by German submarines. Today's press reports also contain an alleged official statement of the Foreign Office defending the use of the flag of a neutral country by a belligerent vessel in order to escape capture or attack by an enemy.

Assuming that the foregoing reports are true, the Government of the United States, reserving for future consideration the legality and propriety of the deceptive use of the flag of a neutral power in any case for the purpose of avoiding capture, desires very respectfully to point out to his Britannic Majesty's Government the serious consequences which may result to American vessels and

American citizens if this practice is continued.

The occasional use of the flag of a neutral or an enemy under the stress of immediate pursuit and to deceive an approaching enemy, which appears by the press reports to be represented as the precedent and justification used to support this action, seems to this Government a very different thing from an explicit sanction by a belligerent Government for its merchant ships generally to fly the flag of a neutral power within certain portions of the high seas which are presumed to be frequented with hostile warships. The formal declaration of such a policy of general misuse of a neutral's flag jeopardizes the vessels of the neutral visiting those waters in a peculiar degree by raising the presumption that they are of belligerent nationality regardless of the flag which they may carry.

In view of the announced purpose of the German Admiralty to engage in active naval operations in certain delimited sea areas adjacent to the coasts of Great Britain and Ireland, the Government of the United States would view with anxious solicitude any general use of the flag of the United States by British vessels traversing those waters. A policy such as the one which his Majesty's Government is said to intend to adopt would, if the declaration of the German Admiralty be put in force, it seems clear, afford no protection to British vessels, while it would be a serious and constant menace to the lives and vessels of American citizens.

The Government of the United States, therefore, trusts that his Majesty's Government will do all in their power to restrain vessels of British nationality in the deceptive use of the United States flag in the sea area defined by the German declaration, since such practice would greatly endanger the vessels of a friendly power navigating those waters and would even seem to impose upon the Government of Great Britain a measure of responsibility for the loss of American lives and vessels in case of an attack by a German naval force.

You will impress upon his Majesty's Government the grave concern which this Government feels in the circumstances in regard to the safety of American vessels and lives in the war zone declared by the German Admiralty.

You may add that this Government is making earnest representations to the German Government in regard to the danger to American vessels and citizens if the declaration of the German Admiralty is put into effect.

GERMANY'S ANSWER.

BERLIN, (via London,) Feb. 18.—The German Government's reply to the American note follows:

The Imperial Government has examined the communication from the United States Government in the same spirit of good-will and friendship by which the communication appears to have been dictated. The Imperial Government is in accord with the United States Government that for both parties it is in a high degree desirable to avoid misunderstandings which might arise from measures announced by the German Admiralty and to provide against the occurrence of incidents which might trouble the friendly relations which so far happily exist between the two Governments.

With regard to the assuring of these friendly relations, the German Government believes that it may all the more reckon on a full understanding with the United States, as the procedure announced by the German Admiralty, which was fully explained in the note of the 4th inst., is in no way directed against legitimate commerce and legitimate shipping of neutrals, but represents solely a measure of self-defense, imposed on Germany by her vital interests, against England's method of warfare, which is contrary to international law, and which so far no protest by neutrals has succeeded in bringing back to the generally recognized principles of law as existing before the outbreak of war.

In order to exclude all doubt regarding these cardinal points, the German

Government once more begs leave to state how things stand. Until now Germany has scrupulously observed valid international rules regarding naval warfare. At the very beginning of the war Germany immediately agreed to the proposal of the American Government to ratify the new Declaration of London, and took over its contents unaltered, and without formal obligation, into her prize law.

The German Government has obeyed these rules, even when they were diametrically opposed to her military interests. For instance, Germany allowed the transportation of provisions to England from Denmark until today, though she was well able, by her sea forces, to prevent it. In contradistinction to this attitude, England has not even hesitated at a second infringement of international law, if by such means she could paralyze the peaceful commerce of Germany with neutrals. The German Government will be the less obliged to enter into details, as these are put down sufficiently, though not exhaustively, in the American note to the British Government dated Dec. 29, as a result of five months' experience.

All these encroachments have been made, as has been admitted, in order to cut off all supplies from Germany and thereby starve her peaceful civil population—a procedure contrary to all humanitarian principles. Neutrals have been unable to prevent the interruption of their commerce with Germany, which is contrary to international laws.

The American Government, as Germany readily acknowledges, has protested against the British procedure. In spite of these protests and protests from other neutral States, Great Britain could not be induced to depart from the course of action she had decided upon. Thus, for instance, the American ship *Wilhelmina* recently was stopped by the British, although her cargo was destined solely for the German civil population, and, according to the express declaration of the German Government, was to be employed only for this purpose.

Germany is as good as cut off from

her overseas supply by the silent or protesting toleration of neutrals, not only in regard to such goods as are absolute contraband, but also in regard to such as, according to acknowledged law before the war, are only conditional contraband or not contraband at all. Great Britain, on the other hand, is, with the toleration of neutral Governments, not only supplied with such goods as are not contraband or only conditional contraband, but with goods which are regarded by Great Britain, if sent to Germany, as absolute contraband, namely, provisions, industrial raw materials, &c., and even with goods which have always indubitably been regarded as absolute contraband.

The German Government feels itself obliged to point out with the greatest emphasis that a traffic in arms, estimated at many hundreds of millions, is being carried on between American firms and Germany's enemies. Germany fully comprehends that the practice of right and the toleration of wrong on the part of neutrals are matters absolutely at the discretion of neutrals, and involve no formal violation of neutrality. Germany, therefore, did not complain of any formal violation of neutrality, but the German Government, in view of complete evidence before it, cannot help pointing out that it, together with the entire public opinion of Germany, feels itself to be severely prejudiced by the fact that neutrals, in safeguarding their rights in legitimate commerce with Germany according to international law, have up to the present achieved no, or only insignificant, results, while they are making unlimited use of their right by carrying on contraband traffic with Great Britain and our other enemies.

If it is a formal right of neutrals to take no steps to protect their legitimate trade with Germany, and even to allow themselves to be influenced in the direction of the conscious and willful restriction of their trade, on the other hand, they have the perfect right, which they unfortunately do not exercise, to cease contraband trade, especially in arms, with Germany's enemies.

In view of this situation, Germany,

after six months of patient waiting, sees herself obliged to answer Great Britain's murderous method of naval warfare with sharp counter-measures. If Great Britain in her fight against Germany summons hunger as an ally, for the purpose of imposing upon a civilized people of 70,000,000 the choice between destitution and starvation or submission to Great Britain's commercial will, then Germany today is determined to take up the gauntlet and appeal to similar allies.

Germany trusts that the neutrals, who so far have submitted to the disadvantageous consequences of Great Britain's hunger war in silence, or merely in registering a protest, will display toward Germany no smaller measure of toleration, even if German measures, like those of Great Britain, present new terrors of naval warfare.

Moreover, the German Government is resolved to suppress with all the means at its disposal the importation of war material to Great Britain and her allies, and she takes it for granted that neutral Governments, which so far have taken no steps against the traffic in arms with Germany's enemies, will not oppose forcible suppression by Germany of this trade.

Acting from this point of view, the German Admiralty proclaimed a naval war zone, whose limits it exactly defined. Germany, so far as possible, will seek to close this war zone with mines, and will also endeavor to destroy hostile merchant vessels in every other way. While the German Government, in taking action based upon this overpowering point of view, keeps itself far removed from all intentional destruction of neutral lives and property, on the other hand, it does not fail to recognize that from the action to be taken against Great Britain dangers arise which threaten all trade within the war zone, without distinction. This a natural result of mine warfare, which, even under the strictest observance of the limits of international law, endangers every ship approaching the mine area. The German Government considers itself entitled to hope that all neutrals will acquiesce in these measures,

as they have done in the case of the grievous damages inflicted upon them by British measures, all the more so as Germany is resolved, for the protection of neutral shipping even in the naval war zone, to do everything which is at all compatible with the attainment of this object.

In view of the fact that Germany gave the first proof of her good-will in fixing a time limit of not less than fourteen days before the execution of said measures, so that neutral shipping might have an opportunity of making arrangements to avoid threatening danger, this can most surely be achieved by remaining away from the naval war zone. Neutral vessels which, despite this ample notice, which greatly affects the achievement of our aims in our war against Great Britain, enter these closed waters will themselves bear the responsibility for any unfortunate accidents that may occur. Germany disclaims all responsibility for such accidents and their consequences.

Germany has further expressly announced the destruction of all enemy merchant vessels found within the war zone, but not the destruction of all merchant vessels, as the United States seems erroneously to have understood. This restriction which Germany imposes upon itself is prejudicial to the aim of our warfare, especially as in the application of the conception of contraband practiced by Great Britain toward Germany—which conception will now also be similarly interpreted by Germany—the presumption will be that neutral ships have contraband aboard. Germany naturally is unwilling to renounce its rights to ascertain the presence of contraband in neutral vessels, and in certain cases to draw conclusions therefrom.

Germany is ready, finally, to deliberate with the United States concerning any measures which might secure the safety of legitimate shipping of neutrals in the war zone. Germany cannot, however, forbear to point out that all its efforts in this direction may be rendered very difficult by two circumstances: First, the misuse of neutral flags by British merchant vessels, which is indubitably

known to the United States; second, the contraband trade already mentioned, especially in war materials, on neutral vessels.

Regarding the latter point, Germany would fain hope that the United States, after further consideration, will come to a conclusion corresponding to the spirit of real neutrality. Regarding the first point, the secret order of the British Admiralty, recommending to British merchant ships the use of neutral flags, has been communicated by Germany to the United States and confirmed by communication with the British Foreign Office, which designates this procedure as entirely unobjectionable and in accordance with British law. British merchant shipping immediately followed this advice, as doubtless is known to the American Government from the incidents of the *Lusitania* and the *Laertes*.

Moreover, the British Government has supplied arms to British merchant ships and instructed them forcibly to resist German submarines. In these circumstances, it would be very difficult for submarines to recognize neutral merchant ships, for search in most cases cannot be undertaken, seeing that in the case of a disguised British ship from which an attack may be expected the searching party and the submarine would be exposed to destruction.

Great Britain, then, was in a position to make the German measures illusory if the British merchant fleet persisted in the misuse of neutral flags and neutral ships could not otherwise be recognized beyond doubt. Germany, however, being in a state of necessity, wherein she was placed by violation of law, must render effective her measures in all circumstances, in order thereby to compel her adversary to adopt methods of warfare corresponding with international law, and so to restore the freedom of the seas, of which Germany at all times is the defender and for which she today is fighting.

Germany therefore rejoices that the United States has made representations to Great Britain concerning the illegal use of their flag, and expresses the ex-

pectation that this procedure will force Great Britain to respect the American flag in the future. In this expectation, commanders of German submarines have been instructed, as already mentioned in the note of Feb. 4, to refrain from violent action against American merchant vessels, so far as these can be recognized.

In order to prevent in the surest manner the consequences of confusion—though naturally not so far as mines are concerned—Germany recommends that the United States make its ships which are conveying peaceful cargoes through the British war zone discernible by means of convoys.

Germany believes it may act on the supposition that only such ships would be convoyed as carried goods not regarded as contraband according to the British interpretation made in the case of Germany.

How this method of convoy can be carried out is a question concerning which Germany is ready to open negotiations with the United States as soon as possible. Germany would be particularly grateful, however, if the United States would urgently recommend to its merchant vessels to avoid the British naval war zone, in any case until the settlement of the flag question. Germany is inclined to the confident hope that the United States will be able to appreciate in its entire significance the heavy battle which Germany is waging for existence, and that from the foregoing explanations and promises it will acquire full understanding of the motives and the aims of the measures announced by Germany.

Germany repeats that it has now resolved upon the projected measures only under the strongest necessity of national self-defense, such measures having been deferred out of consideration for neutrals.

If the United States, in view of the weight which it is justified in throwing and able to throw into the scales of the fate of peoples, should succeed at the last moment in removing the grounds which make that procedure an obligatory duty for Germany, and if the American Government, in particular, should find a way

to make the Declaration of London respected—on behalf, also, of those powers which are fighting on Germany's side—and there by make possible for Germany legitimate importation of the necessities of life and industrial raw material, then the German Government could not too highly appreciate such a service, rendered in the interests of humane methods of warfare, and would gladly draw conclusions from the new situation.

BRITAIN'S ANSWER.

LONDON, Feb. 19.—*The full text of Great Britain's note regarding the flag, as handed to the American Ambassador, follows:*

The memorandum communicated on the 11th of February calls attention in courteous and friendly terms to the action of the Captain of the British steamer *Lusitania* in raising the flag of the United States of America when approaching British waters, and says that the Government of the United States feels certain anxiety in considering the possibility of any general use of the flag of the United States by British vessels traversing those waters, since the effect of such a policy might be to bring about a menace to the lives and vessels of United States citizens.

It was understood that the German Government announced their intention of sinking British merchant vessels at sight by torpedoes, without giving any opportunity of making any provision for the saving of the lives of non-combatant crews and passengers. It was in consequence of this threat that the *Lusitania* raised the United States flag on her inward voyage.

On her subsequent outward voyage a request was made by United States passengers, who were embarking on board of her, that the United States flag should be hoisted presumably to insure their safety. Meanwhile, the memorandum from your Excellency had been received. His Majesty's Government did not give any advice to the company as to how to meet this request, and it understood that the *Lusitania* left Liverpool under the British flag.

It seems unnecessary to say more as regards the *Lusitania* in particular.

In regard to the use of foreign flags by merchant vessels, the British Merchant Shipping act makes it clear that the use of the British flag by foreign merchant vessels is permitted in time of war for the purpose of escaping capture. It is believed that in the case of some other nations there is similar recognition of the same practice with regard to their flag, and that none of them has forbidden it.

It would, therefore, be unreasonable to expect His Majesty's Government to pass legislation forbidding the use of foreign flags by British merchant vessels to avoid capture by the enemy, now that the German Government have announced their intention to sink merchant vessels at sight with their non-combatant crews, cargoes, and papers, a proceeding hitherto regarded by the opinion of the world not as war, but piracy.

It is felt that the United States Government could not fairly ask the British Government to order British merchant vessels to forego a means, always hitherto permitted, of escaping not only capture but the much worse fate of sinking and destruction.

Great Britain always has, when a neutral, accorded to vessels of other States at war the liberty to use the British flag as a means of protection against capture, and instances are on record when United States vessels availed themselves of this facility during the American civil war. It would be contrary to fair expectation if now, when conditions are reversed, the United States and neutral nations were to grudge to British ships the liberty to take similar action.

The British Government have no intention of advising their merchant shipping to use foreign flags as a general practice or to resort to them otherwise than for escaping capture or destruction. The obligation upon a belligerent warship to ascertain definitely for itself the nationality and character of a merchant vessel before capturing it,

and a fortiori before sinking and destroying it, has been universally recognized.

If that obligation is fulfilled, the hoisting of a neutral flag on board a British vessel cannot possibly endanger neutral shipping, and the British Government holds that if loss to neutrals is caused by disregard of this obligation it is upon the enemy vessel disregarding it and upon the Government giving the orders that it should be disregarded that the sole responsibility for injury to neutrals ought to rest.

ALLIES' DECLARATION OF REPRISALS.

LONDON, March 1.—Following is the text of the statement read by Premier Asquith in the House of Commons today and communicated at the same time to the neutral powers in their capitals as an outline of the Allies' policy of retaliation against Germany for her "war zone" decree:

Germany has declared the English Channel, the north and west coasts of France, and the waters around the British Isles a war area, and has officially given notice that all enemy ships found in that area will be destroyed, and that neutral vessels may be exposed to danger.

This is, in effect, a claim to torpedo at sight, without regard to the safety of the crew or passengers, any merchant vessel under any flag. As it is not in the power of the German Admiralty to maintain any surface craft in these waters, the attack can only be delivered by submarine agency.

The law and customs of nations in regard to attacks on commerce have always presumed that the first duty of the captor of a merchant vessel is bringing it before a prize court, where it may be tried and where regularities of the capture may be challenged, and where neutrals may recover their cargo.

The sinking of prizes is, in itself, a questionable act, to be resorted to only in extraordinary circumstances, and after provision has been made for the safety of all crews and passengers.

The responsibility of discriminating

between neutral and enemy vessels and between neutral and enemy cargoes obviously rests with the attacking ship, whose duty it is to verify the status and character of the vessel and cargo, and to preserve all papers before sinking or capturing the ship. So, also, the humane duty to provide for the safety of crews of merchant vessels, whether neutral or enemy, is an obligation on every belligerent.

It is upon this basis that all previous discussions of law for regulating warfare have proceeded. The German submarine fulfills none of these obligations. She enjoys no local command of the waters wherein she operates. She does not take her captures within the jurisdiction of a prize court. She carries no prize crew which can be put aboard prizes which she seizes. She uses no effective means of discriminating between neutral and enemy vessels. She does not receive on board for safety the crew of the vessel she sinks. Her methods of warfare, therefore, are entirely outside the scope of any international instruments regulating operations against commerce in time of war.

The German declaration substitutes indiscriminate destruction for regulated captures. Germany has adopted this method against the peaceful trader and the non-combatant, with the avowed object of preventing commodities of all kinds, including food for the civilian population, from reaching or leaving the British Isles or Northern France.

Her opponents are, therefore, driven to frame retaliatory measures in order in their turn to prevent commodities of any kind from reaching or leaving Germany.

These measures will, however, be enforced by the British and French Governments without risk to neutral ships or neutral or non-combatant lives, and in strict observation of the dictates of humanity. The British and French Governments will, therefore, hold themselves free to detain and take into port ships carrying goods of presumed enemy destination, ownership, or origin.

It is not intended to confiscate such vessels or cargoes unless they would otherwise be liable to confiscation. Vessels with cargoes which sailed before this date will not be affected.

Britain's New and Original Blockade American Protests Following the "War Zone" Decrees Defined

The first definite statement of the real character of the measures adopted by Great Britain and her allies for restricting the trade of Germany was obtained at Washington on March 17, 1915, when Secretary Bryan made public the text of all the recent notes exchanged between the United States Government and Germany and the Allies regarding the freedom of legitimate American commerce in the war zones. These notes, six in all, show that Great Britain and France stand firm in their announced intention to cut off all trade with Germany. The communications revealed that the United States Government, realizing the difficulties of maintaining an effective blockade by a close guard of an enemy coast on account of the newly developed activity of submarines, asked that "a radius of activity" be defined. Great Britain and France replied with the announcement that the operations of blockade would not be conducted "outside of European waters, including the Mediterranean."

The definition of a "radius of activity" for the allied fleet in European waters, including the Mediterranean, is the first intimation of the geographical limits of the reprisal order. Its limits were not given more exactly, the Allies contend, because Germany was equally indefinite in proclaiming all the waters surrounding Great Britain and Ireland a "war zone." The measures adopted are those of a blockade against all trade to and from Germany—not the historical kind of blockade recognized in international law, but a new and original form.

The several notes between the United States and the belligerent Governments follow. The stars in the German note mean that as it came to the State Department in cipher certain words were omitted, probably through telegraphic error. In the official text of the note the

State Department calls attention to the stars by an asterisk and a footnote saying "apparent omission." In the French note the same thing occurs, and is indicated by the footnote "undecipherable group," meaning that the cipher symbols into which the French note was put by our Embassy in Paris could not be translated back into plain language by the State Department cipher experts. From the context it is apparent that the omitted words in the German note are "insist upon," or words to that effect.

I.

AMERICAN NOTE TO THE BELLIGERENTS.

The following identic note was sent by the Secretary of State to the American Ambassadors at London and Berlin:

WASHINGTON, Feb. 20, 1915.

YOU will please deliver to Sir Edward Grey the following identic note, which we are sending England and Germany:

In view of the correspondence which has passed between this Government and Great Britain and Germany, respectively, relative to the declaration of a war zone by the German Admiralty, and the use of neutral flags by the British merchant vessels, this Government ventures to express the hope that the two belligerent Governments may, through reciprocal concessions, find a basis for agreement which will relieve neutral ships engaged in peaceful commerce from the great dangers which they will incur in the high seas adjacent to the coasts of the belligerents.

The Government of the United States respectfully suggests that an agreement in terms like the following might be entered into. This suggestion is not to be regarded as in any sense a proposal made by this Government, for it of course fully recognizes that it is not its privilege to propose terms of agreement between Great Britain and Germany, even though the matter be one in which it and the people of the United States are directly and deeply interested. It is merely venturing to take the liberty, which it hopes may be accorded a sincere friend desirous of embarrassing neither nation involved, and of serving, if it may, the common interests of humanity. The course outlined is offered in the hope that it may draw forth the views and elicit the suggestions of the British and German Gov-

ernments on a matter of capital interest to the whole world.

Germany and Great Britain to agree:

First—That neither will sow any floating mines, whether upon the high seas or in territorial waters; that neither will plant on the high seas anchored mines, except within cannon range of harbors for defensive purposes only; and that all mines shall bear the stamp of the Government planting them, and be so constructed as to become harmless if separated from their moorings.

Second—That neither will use submarines to attack merchant vessels of any nationality, except to enforce the right of visit and search.

Third—That each will require their respective merchant vessels not to use neutral flags for the purpose of disguise or ruse de guerre.

Germany to agree: That all importations of food or foodstuffs from the United States (and from such other neutral countries as may ask it) into Germany shall be assigned to agencies to be designated by the United States Government; that these American agencies shall have entire charge and control without interference on the part of German Government of the receipt and distribution of such importations, and shall distribute them solely to retail dealers bearing licenses from the German Government entitling them to receive and furnish such food and foodstuffs to non-combatants only; that any violation of the terms of the retailers' licenses shall work a forfeiture of their rights to receive such food and foodstuffs for this purpose, and that such food and foodstuffs will not be requisitioned by the German Government for any purpose whatsoever, or be diverted to the use of the armed forces of Germany.

Great Britain to agree: That food

and foodstuffs will not be placed upon the absolute contraband list, and that shipments of such commodities will not be interfered with or detained by British authorities, if consigned to agencies designated by the United States Government in Germany for the receipt and distribution of such cargoes to licensed German retailers for distribution solely to the non-combatant population.

In submitting this proposed basis of agreement this Government does not wish to be understood as admitting or denying any belligerent or neutral right established by the principles of international law, but would consider the agreement, if acceptable to the interested powers, a *modus vivendi* based upon expediency rather than legal right, and as not binding upon the United States either in its present form or in a modified form until accepted by this Government.

BRYAN.

II.

GERMANY'S REPLY.

The German reply, handed to the American Ambassador at Berlin, follows:

BERLIN, March 1, 1915.

The undersigned has the honor to inform his Excellency, Mr. James W. Gerard, Ambassador of the United States of America, in reply to the note of the 22d inst., that the Imperial German Government have taken note with great interest of the suggestion of the American Government that certain principles for the conduct of maritime war on the part of Germany and England be agreed upon for the protection of neutral shipping. They see therein new evidence of the friendly feelings of the American Government toward the German Government, which are fully reciprocated by Germany.

It is in accordance with Germany's wishes also to have maritime war conducted according to rules, which, without discriminatingly restricting one or the other of the belligerent powers in the use of their means of warfare, are equally considerate of the interests of neutrals and the dictates of humanity. Consequently it was intimated in the German note of the 16th inst. that obser-

vation of the Declaration of London on the part of Germany's adversaries would create a new situation from which the German Government would gladly draw the proper conclusions.

Proceeding from this view, the German Government have carefully examined the suggestion of the American Government and believe that they can actually see in it a suitable basis for the practical solution of the questions which have arisen.

With regard to the various points of the American note, they beg to make the following remarks:

First—With regard to the sowing of mines, the German Government would be willing to agree, as suggested, not to use floating mines and to have anchored mines constructed as indicated. Moreover, they agree to put the stamp of the Government on all mines to be planted. On the other hand, it does not appear to them to be feasible for the belligerents wholly to forego the use of anchored mines for offensive purposes.

Second—The German Government would undertake not to use their submarines to attack mercantile of any flag except when necessary to enforce the right of visit and search. Should the enemy nationality of the vessel or the presence of contraband be ascertained, submarines would proceed in accordance with the general rules of international law.

Third—As provided in the American note, this restriction of the use of the submarines is contingent on the fact that enemy mercantile abstain from the use of the neutral flag and other neutral distinctive marks. It would appear to be a matter of course that such mercantile vessels also abstain from arming themselves and from all resistance by force, since such procedure contrary to international law would render impossible any action of the submarines in accordance with international law.

Fourth—The regulation of legitimate importations of food into Germany suggested by the American Government appears to be in general acceptable. Such regulation would, of course, be confined to importations by sea, but that would,

on the other hand, include indirect importations by way of neutral ports. The German Government would, therefore, be willing to make the declarations of the nature provided in the American note so that the use of the imported food and foodstuffs solely by the non-combatant population would be guaranteed. The Imperial Government must, however, in addition (****) having the importation of other raw material used by the economic system of non-combatants, including forage, permitted. To that end the enemy Governments would have to permit the free entry into Germany of the raw material mentioned in the free list of the Declaration of London, and to treat materials included in the list of conditional contraband according to the same principles as food and foodstuffs.

The German Government venture to hope that the agreement for which the American Government have paved the way may be reached after due consideration of the remarks made above, and that in this way peaceable neutral shipping and trade will not have to suffer any more than is absolutely necessary from the unavoidable effects of maritime war. These effects could be still further reduced if, as was pointed out in the German note of the 16th inst., some way could be found to exclude the shipping of munitions of war from neutral countries to belligerents on ships of any nationality.

The German Government must, of course, reserve a definite statement of their position until such time as they may receive further information from the American Government enabling them to see what obligations the British Government are, on their part, willing to assume.

The undersigned avails himself of this occasion, &c. VON JAGOW.

Dated, Foreign Office, Berlin, Feb. 28, 1915. GERARD.

*Apparent omission.

III.

GREAT BRITAIN'S REPLY.

The reply of Great Britain to the American note of Feb. 20, handed to the

American Ambassador at London, was as follows:

LONDON, March 15, 1915.

Following is the full text of a memorandum dated March 13, which Grey handed me today:

"On the 22d of February last I received a communication from your Excellency of the identic note addressed to his Majesty's Government and to Germany respecting an agreement on certain points as to the conduct of the war at sea. The reply of the German Government to this note has been published and it is not understood from the reply that the German Government are prepared to abandon the practice of sinking British merchant vessels by submarines, and it is evident from their reply that they will not abandon the use of mines for offensive purposes on the high seas as contrasted with the use of mines for defensive purposes only within cannon range of their own harbors, as suggested by the Government of the United States. This being so, it might appear unnecessary for the British Government to make any further reply than to take note of the German answer.

"We desire, however, to take the opportunity of making a fuller statement of the whole position and of our feeling with regard to it. We recognize with sympathy the desire of the Government of the United States to see the European war conducted in accordance with the previously recognized rules of international law and the dictates of humanity. It is thus that the British forces have conducted the war, and we are not aware that these forces, either naval or military, can have laid to their charge any improper proceedings, either in the conduct of hostilities or in the treatment of prisoners or wounded. On the German side it has been very different.

"1. The treatment of civilian inhabitants in Belgium and the North of France has been made public by the Belgian and French Governments and by those who have had experience of it at first hand. Modern history affords no precedent for the sufferings that have been inflicted on the defenseless and non-

combatant population in the territory that has been in German military occupation. Even the food of the population was confiscated until in Belgium an international commission, largely influenced by American generosity and conducted under American auspices, came to the relief of the population and secured from the German Government a promise to spare what food was still left in the country, though the Germans still continue to make levies in money upon the defenseless population for the support of the German Army.

"2. We have from time to time received most terrible accounts of the barbarous treatment to which British officers and soldiers have been exposed after they have been taken prisoner, while being conveyed to German prison camps. One or two instances have already been given to the United States Government founded upon authentic and first-hand evidence which is beyond doubt. Some evidence has been received of the hardships to which British prisoners of war are subjected in the prison camps, contrasting, we believe, most unfavorably with the treatment of German prisoners in this country. We have proposed, with the consent of the United States Government, that a commission of United States officers should be permitted in each country to inspect the treatment of prisoners of war. The United States Government have been unable to obtain any reply from the German Government to this proposal, and we remain in continuing anxiety and apprehension as to the treatment of British prisoners of war in Germany.

"3. At the very outset of the war a German mine layer was discovered laying a mine field on the high seas. Further mine fields have been laid from time to time without warning, and, so far as we know, are still being laid on the high seas, and many neutral as well as British vessels have been sunk by them.

"4. At various times during the war German submarines have stopped and sunk British merchant vessels, thus making the sinking of merchant vessels a

general practice, though it was admitted previously, if at all, only as an exception, the general rule to which the British Government have adhered being that merchant vessels, if captured, must be taken before a prize court. In one case already quoted in a note to the United States Government a neutral vessel carrying foodstuffs to an unfortified town in Great Britain has been sunk. Another case is now reported in which a German armed cruiser has sunk an American vessel, the William P. Frye, carrying a cargo of wheat from Seattle to Queens-town. In both cases the cargoes were presumably destined for the civil population. Even the cargoes in such circumstances should not have been condemned without the decision of a prize court, much less should the vessels have been sunk. It is to be noted that both these cases occurred before the detention by the British authorities of the *Wilhelmina* and her cargo of foodstuffs, which the German Government allege is the justification for their own action.

"The Germans have announced their intention of sinking British merchant vessels by torpedo without notice and without any provision for the safety of the crews. They have already carried out this intention in the case of neutral as well as of British vessels, and a number of non-combatant and innocent lives on British vessels, unarmed and defenseless, have been destroyed in this way.

"5. Unfortified, open, and defenseless towns, such as Scarborough, Yarmouth, and Whitby, have been deliberately and wantonly bombarded by German ships of war, causing in some cases considerable loss of civilian life, including women and children.

"6. German aircraft have dropped bombs on the east coast of England, where there were no military or strategic points to be attacked. On the other hand, I am aware of but two criticisms that have been made on British action in all these respects:

"1. It is said that the British naval authorities also have laid some anchored mines on the high seas. They have done

so, but the mines were anchored and so constructed that they would be harmless if they went adrift, and no mines whatever were laid by the British naval authorities till many weeks after the Germans had made a regular practice of laying mines on the high seas.

"2. It is said that the British Government have departed from the view of international law which they had previously maintained, that foodstuffs destined for the civil population should never be interfered with, this charge being founded on the submission to a prize court of the cargo of the *Wilhelmina*. The special considerations affecting this cargo have already been presented in a memorandum to the United States Government, and I need not repeat them here.

"Inasmuch as the blockade of all foodstuffs is an admitted consequence of blockade, it is obvious that there can be no universal rule based on considerations of morality and humanity which is contrary to this practice. The right to stop foodstuffs destined for the civil population must therefore in any case be admitted if an effective 'cordon' controlling intercourse with the enemy is drawn, announced, and maintained. Moreover, independently of rights arising from belligerent action in the nature of blockade, some other nations, differing from the opinion of the Governments of the United States and Great Britain, have held that to stop the food of the civil population is a natural and legitimate method of bringing pressure to bear on an enemy country as it is upon the defense of a besieged town. It is also upheld on the authority of both Prince Bismarck and Count Caprivi, and therefore presumably is not repugnant to German morality.

"The following are the quotations from Prince Bismarck and Count Caprivi on this point. Prince Bismarck in answering, in 1885, an application from the Kiel Chamber of Commerce for a statement of the view of the German Government on the question of the right to declare as contraband foodstuffs that were not intended for military forces said: 'I reply to the Chamber of Commerce that any disadvantage our com-

mercial and carrying interests may suffer by the treatment of rice as contraband of war does not justify our opposing a measure which it has been thought fit to take in carrying on a foreign war. Every war is a calamity which entails evil consequences not only on the combatants but also on neutrals. These evils may easily be increased by the interference of a neutral power with the way in which a third carries on the war to the disadvantage of the subjects of the interfering power, and by this means German commerce might be weighted with far heavier losses than a transitory prohibition of the rice trade in Chinese waters. The measure in question has for its object the shortening of the war by increasing the difficulties of the enemy and is a justifiable step in war if impartially enforced against all neutral ships.'

"Count Caprivi, during a discussion in the German Reichstag on the 4th of March, 1892, on the subject of the importance of international protection for private property at sea, made the following statements: 'A country may be dependent for her food or for her raw products upon her trade. In fact, it may be absolutely necessary to destroy the enemy's trade.' 'The private introduction of provisions into Paris was prohibited during the siege, and in the same way a nation would be justified in preventing the import of food and raw produce.'

"The Government of Great Britain have frankly declared, in concert with the Government of France, their intention to meet the German attempt to stop all supplies of every kind from leaving or entering British or French ports by themselves stopping supplies going to or from Germany. For this end, the British fleet has instituted a blockade effectively controlling by cruiser 'cordon' all passage to and from Germany by sea. The difference between the two policies is, however, that, while our object is the same as that of Germany, we propose to attain it without sacrificing neutral ships or non-combatant lives, or inflicting upon neutrals the damage that must be entailed when a vessel and its cargo are

sunk without notice, examination, or trial.

"I must emphasize again that this measure is a natural and necessary consequence of the unprecedented methods repugnant to all law and morality which have been described above which Germany began to adopt at the very outset of the war and the effects of which have been constantly accumulating."

American Ambassador, London.

IV.

AMERICAN INQUIRY ON REPRISAL METHOD.

The American Government on March 5 transmitted identic messages of inquiry to the Ambassadors at London and Paris inquiring from both England and France how the declarations in the Anglo-French note proclaiming an embargo on all commerce between Germany and neutral countries were to be carried into effect. The message to London was as follows:

WASHINGTON, March 5, 1915.

In regard to the recent communications received from the British and French Governments concerning restraints upon commerce with Germany, please communicate with the British Foreign Office in the sense following:

The difficulty of determining action upon the British and French declarations of intended retaliation upon commerce with Germany lies in the nature of the proposed measures in their relation to commerce by neutrals.

While it appears that the intention is to interfere with and take into custody all ships, both outgoing and incoming, trading with Germany, which is in effect a blockade of German ports, the rule of blockade that a ship attempting to enter or leave a German port, regardless of the character of its cargo, may be condemned is not asserted.

The language of the declaration is "the British and French Governments will, therefore, hold themselves free to detain and take into port ships carrying goods of presumed enemy destination, ownership, or origin. It is not intended to confiscate such vessels or cargoes unless

they would otherwise be liable to condemnation."

The first sentence claims a right pertaining only to a state of blockade. The last sentence proposes a treatment of ships and cargoes as if no blockade existed. The two together present a proposed course of action previously unknown to international law.

As a consequence neutrals have no standard by which to measure their rights or to avoid danger to their ships and cargoes. The paradoxical situation thus created should be changed and the declaring powers ought to assert whether they rely upon the rules governing a blockade or the rules applicable when no blockade exists.

The declaration presents other perplexities. The last sentence quoted indicates that the rules of contraband are to be applied to cargoes detained. The rules covering non-contraband articles carried in neutral bottoms is that the cargoes shall be released and the ships allowed to proceed.

This rule cannot, under the first sentence quoted, be applied as to destination. What, then, is to be done with a cargo of non-contraband goods detained under the declaration? The same question may be asked as to conditional contraband cargoes.

The foregoing comments apply to cargoes destined for Germany. Cargoes coming out of German ports present another problem under the terms of the declaration. Under the rules governing enemy exports only goods owned by enemy subjects in enemy bottoms are subject to seizure and condemnation. Yet by the declaration it is purposed to seize and take into port all goods of enemy "ownership and origin." The word "origin" is particularly significant. The origin of goods destined to neutral territory on neutral ships is not, and never has been, a ground for forfeiture, except in case a blockade is declared and maintained. What, then, would the seizure amount to in the present case except to delay the delivery of the goods? The declaration does not indicate what disposition would be made of such cargoes

if owned by a neutral or if owned by an enemy subject. Would a different rule be applied according to ownership? If so, upon what principles of international law would it rest? And upon what rule, if no blockade is declared and maintained, could the cargo of a neutral ship sailing out of a German port be condemned? If it is not condemned, what other legal course is there but to release it?

While this Government is fully alive to the possibility that the methods of modern naval warfare, particularly in the use of submarines for both defensive and offensive operations, may make the former means of maintaining a blockade a physical impossibility, it feels that it can be urged with great force that there should be also some limit to "the radius of activity," and especially so if this action by the belligerents can be construed to be a blockade. It would certainly create a serious state of affairs if, for example, an American vessel laden with a cargo of German origin should escape the British patrol in European waters only to be held up by a cruiser off New York and taken into Halifax.

Similar cablegrams sent to Paris.

BRYAN.

V.

BRITISH REPLY TO THE AMERICAN INQUIRY.

The reply from the British Government transmitted by the American Ambassador at London to the Secretary of State concerning the method of enforcing the reprisal order follows:

LONDON, March 15, 1915.

Following is the full text of a note dated today and an Order in Council I have just received from Grey:

"1. His Majesty's Government have had under careful consideration the inquiries which, under instructions from your Government, your Excellency addressed to me on the 8th inst., regarding the scope and mode of application of the measures foreshadowed in the British and French declarations of the 1st of March, for restricting the trade of Germany. Your Excellency explained and illustrated by reference to certain con-

tingencies the difficulty of the United States Government in adopting a definite attitude toward these measures by reason of uncertainty regarding their bearing upon the commerce of neutral countries.

"2. I can at once assure your Excellency that subject to the paramount necessity of restricting German trade his Majesty's Government have made it their first aim to minimize inconvenience to neutral commerce. From the accompanying copy of the Order in Council, which is to be published today, you will observe that a wide discretion is afforded to the prize court in dealing with the trade of neutrals in such manner as may, in the circumstances, be deemed just, and that full provision is made to facilitate claims by persons interested in any goods placed in the custody of the Marshal of the prize court under the order. I apprehend that the perplexities to which your Excellency refers will for the most part be dissipated by the perusal of this document, and that it is only necessary for me to add certain explanatory observations.

"3. The effect of the Order in Council is to confer certain powers upon the executive officers of his Majesty's Government. The extent to which those powers will be actually exercised and the degree of severity with which the measures of blockade authorized will be put into operation are matters which will depend on the administrative orders issued by the Government and the decisions of the authorities specially charged with the duty of dealing with individual ships and cargoes, according to the merits of each case. The United States Government may rest assured that the instructions to be issued by his Majesty's Government to the fleet and customs officials and Executive Committees concerned will impress upon them the duty of acting with the utmost dispatch consistent with the object in view, and of showing in every case such consideration for neutrals as may be compatible with that object, which is, succinctly stated, to establish a blockade to prevent vessels from carrying goods for or coming from Germany.



HERR VON JAGOW
German Secretary for Foreign Affairs
(Photo from Rogers)



MAXIMILIAN HARDEN
Editor of *Die Zukunft*, Germany's Most Brilliant Journalist,
Who Has Been Severe in His Strictures Upon the United States
(Photo from Brown Bros)

"4. His Majesty's Government has felt most reluctant, at the moment of initiating a policy of blockade, to exact from neutral ships all the penalties attaching to a breach of blockade. In their desire to alleviate the burden which the existence of a state of war at sea must inevitably impose on neutral sea-borne commerce, they declare their intention to refrain altogether from the exercise of the right to confiscate ships or cargoes which belligerents have always claimed in respect of breaches of blockade. They restrict their claim to the stopping of cargoes destined for or coming from the enemy's territory.

"5. As regards cotton, full particulars of the arrangements contemplated have already been explained. It will be admitted that every possible regard has been had to the legitimate interests of the American cotton trade.

"6. Finally, in reply to the penultimate paragraph of your Excellency's note, I have the honor to state that it is not intended to interfere with neutral vessels carrying enemy cargo of non-contraband nature outside European waters, including the Mediterranean."

(Here follows the text of the Order in Council, which already has been printed.)

American Ambassador, London.

VI.

FRENCH GOVERNMENT'S ANSWER.

The French Government transmitted the following message:

PARIS, March 14, 1915.

French Government replies as follows:

"In a letter dated March 7 your Excellency was good enough to draw my attention to the views of the Government of the United States regarding the recent communications from the French and British Governments concerning a restriction to be laid upon commerce with Germany. According to your Excellency's letter, the declaration made by the allied Governments presents some uncertainty as regards its application, concerning which the Government of the United States desires to be enlightened

in order to determine what attitude it should take.

"At the same time your Excellency notified me that, while granting the possibility of using new methods of retaliation against the new use to which submarines have been put, the Government of the United States was somewhat apprehensive that the allied belligerents might (if their action is to be construed as constituting a blockade) capture in waters near America any ships which might have escaped the cruisers patrolling European waters. In acknowledging receipt of your Excellency's communication I have the honor to inform you that the Government of the republic has not failed to consider this point as presented by the Government of the United States, and I beg to specify clearly the conditions of application, as far as my Government is concerned of the declaration of the allied Governments. As well set forth by the Federal Government, the old methods of blockade cannot be entirely adhered to in view of the use Germany has made of her submarines, and also by reason of the geographical situation of that country. In answer to the challenge to the neutrals as well as to its own adversaries contained in the declaration, by which the German Imperial Government stated that it considered the seas surrounding Great Britain and the French coast on the Channel as a military zone, and warned neutral vessels not to enter the same on account of the danger they would run, the allied Governments have been obliged to examine what measures they could adopt to interrupt all maritime communication with the German Empire and thus keep it blockaded by the naval power of the two allies, at the same time, however, safeguarding as much as possible the legitimate interests of neutral powers and respecting the laws of humanity which no crime of their enemy will induce them to violate.

"The Government of the republic, therefore, reserves to itself the right of bringing into a French or allied port any ship carrying a cargo presumed to be of German origin, destination, or own-

ership, but it will not go to the length of seizing any neutral ship except in case of contraband. The discharged cargo shall not be confiscated. In the event of a neutral proving his lawful ownership of merchandise destined to Germany, he shall be entirely free to dispose of same, subject to certain conditions. In case the owner of the goods is a German, they shall simply be sequestered during the war.

"Merchandise of enemy origin shall only be sequestered when it is at the same time the property of an enemy. Merchandise belonging to neutrals shall be held at the disposal of its owner to be returned to the port of departure.

"As your Excellency will observe, these measures, while depriving the enemy of important resources, respect the rights of neutrals and will not in any way jeopardize private property, as even the enemy owner will only suffer from the suspension of the enjoyment of his rights during the term of hostilities.

"The Government of the republic, being desirous of allowing neutrals every facility to enforce their claims, (here occurred an undecipherable group of words,) give the prize court, an inde-

pendent tribunal, cognizance of these questions, and in order to give the neutrals as little trouble as possible it has specified that the prize court shall give sentence within eight days, counting from the date on which the case shall have been brought before it.

"I do not doubt, Mr. Ambassador, that the Federal Government, comparing on the one hand the unspeakable violence with which the German Military Government threatens neutrals, the criminal actions unknown in maritime annals already perpetrated against neutral property and ships, and even against the lives of neutral subjects or citizens, and on the other hand the measures adopted by the allied Governments of France and Great Britain, respecting the laws of humanity and the rights of individuals, will readily perceive that the latter have not overstepped their strict rights as belligerents.

"Finally, I am anxious to assure you that it is not and it has never been the intention of the Government of the republic to extend the action of its cruisers against enemy merchandise beyond the European seas, the Mediterranean included."
SHARP.

British Order in Council

Declaring a Blockade of German Ports

LONDON, March 15.—The British Order in Council decreeing retaliatory measures on the part of the Government to meet the declaration of the Germans that the waters surrounding the United Kingdom are a military area, was made public today. The text of the order follows:

Whereas, the German Government has issued certain orders which, in violation of the usages of war, purport to declare that the waters surrounding the United Kingdom are a military area in which all British and allied merchant vessels will be destroyed irrespective of the safety and the lives of the passengers and the crews, and in which neutral shipping will

be exposed to similar danger in view of the uncertainties of naval warfare, and

Whereas, in the memorandum accompanying the said orders, neutrals are warned against intrusting crews, passengers, or goods to British or allied ships, and

Whereas, such attempts on the part of the enemy give to his Majesty an unquestionable right of retaliation; and

Whereas, his Majesty has therefore decided to adopt further measures in order to prevent commodities of any kind from reaching or leaving Germany, although such measures will be enforced without risk to neutral ships or to neutral or non-

combatant life and in strict observance of the dictates of humanity; and

Whereas, the allies of his Majesty are associated with him in the steps now to be announced for restricting further the commerce of Germany, his Majesty is therefore pleased by and with the advice of his Privy Council to order, and it is hereby ordered, as follows:

First—No merchant vessel which sailed from her port of departure after March 1, 1915, shall be allowed to proceed on her voyage to any German port. Unless this vessel receives a pass enabling her to proceed to some neutral or allied port to be named in the pass, the goods on board any such vessel must be discharged in a British port and placed in custody of the Marshal of the prize court. Goods so discharged, if not contraband of war, shall, if not requisitioned for the use of his Majesty, be restored by order of the court and upon such terms as the court may in the circumstances deem to be just to the person entitled thereto.

Second—No merchant vessel which sailed from any German port after March 1, 1915, shall be allowed to proceed on her voyage with any goods on board laden at such port. All goods laden at such port must be discharged in a British or allied port. Goods so discharged in a British port shall be placed in the custody of the Marshal of the prize court, and if not requisitioned for the use of his Majesty shall be detained or sold under the direction of the prize court.

The proceeds of the goods so sold shall be paid into the court and dealt with in such a manner as the court may in the circumstances deem to be just, provided that no proceeds of the sale of such goods shall be paid out of the court until the conclusion of peace, except on the application of a proper officer of the Crown, unless it be shown that the goods had become neutral property before the issue of this order, and provided also that nothing herein shall prevent the release of neutral property, laden at such enemy port, on the application of the proper officer of the Crown.

Third—Every merchant vessel which

sailed from her port of departure after March 1, 1915, on her way to a port other than a German port and carrying goods with an enemy destination, or which are enemy property, may be required to discharge such goods in a British or allied port. Any goods so discharged in a British port shall be placed in the custody of the Marshal of the prize court, and unless they are contraband of war shall, if not requisitioned for the use of his Majesty, be restored by an order of the court upon such terms as the court may in the circumstances deem to be just to the person entitled thereto, and provided that this article shall not apply in any case falling within Article 2 or 4 of this order.

Fourth—Every merchant vessel which sailed from a port other than a German port after March 1, 1915, and having on board goods which are of enemy origin, or are enemy property, may be required to discharge such goods in a British or allied port. Goods so discharged in a British port shall be placed in the custody of the Marshal of the prize court, and, if not requisitioned for the use of his Majesty, shall be detained or sold under the direction of the prize court. The proceeds of the goods so sold shall be paid into the court and be dealt with in such a manner as the court may in the circumstances deem to be just, provided that no proceeds of the sale of such goods shall be paid out of the court until the conclusion of peace except on the application of a proper officer of the Crown, unless it be shown that the goods had become neutral property before the issue of this order, and provided also that nothing herein shall prevent the release of neutral property of enemy origin on application of the proper officer of the Crown.

Fifth—Any person claiming to be interested in or to have any claim in respect of any goods not being contraband of war placed in the custody of the Marshal of the prize court under this order, or in the proceeds of such goods, may forthwith issue a writ in the prize court against the proper officer of the Crown and apply for an order that the

goods should be restored to him, or that their proceeds should be paid to him, or for such other order as the circumstances of the case may require.

The practice and procedure of the prize court shall, so far as applicable, be followed *mutatis mutandis* in any proceedings consequential upon this order.

Sixth—A merchant vessel which has cleared for a neutral port from a British or allied port, or which has been allowed to pass as having an ostensible destination to a neutral port and proceeds to an enemy port, shall, if captured on

any subsequent voyage be liable to condemnation.

Seventh—Nothing in this order shall be deemed to affect the liability of any vessel or goods to capture or condemnation independently of this order.

Eighth—Nothing in this order shall prevent the relaxation of the provisions of this order in respect of the merchant vessels of any country which declares that no commerce intended for or originating in Germany, or belonging to German subjects, shall enjoy the protection of its flag.

Germany's Submarine War

LONDON, March 13.—The Admiralty announced tonight that the British collier *Invergyle* was torpedoed today off Cresswell, England, and sunk. All aboard were saved.

This brings the total British losses of merchantmen and fishing vessels, either sunk or captured during the war, up to 137. Of these ninety were merchant ships and forty-seven were fishing craft.

A further submarine casualty today was the torpedoing of the Swedish steamer *Halma* off Scarborough, and the loss of the lives of six of her crew.

The Admiralty announces that since March 10 seven British merchant steamers have been torpedoed by submarines. Two of them, it is stated, were sunk, and of two others it is said that "the sinking is not confirmed." Three were not sunk.

The two steamers officially reported sunk were the *Invergyle* and the *Indian City*, which was torpedoed off the Scilly Islands on March 12. The crew of the *Indian City* was reported rescued.

The two steamers whose reported sinking is not yet officially confirmed are the *Florazan*, which was torpedoed at the mouth of the Bristol Channel on

March 11, all of her crew being landed at Milford Haven, with the exception of one fireman, and the *Andalusian*, which was attacked off the Scilly Islands on March 12. The crew of the *Andalusian* is reported to have been rescued.

The *Adenwen* was torpedoed in the English Channel on March 11, and has since been towed into Cherbourg. Her crew was landed at Brisham.

The steamer *Headlands* was torpedoed on March 12 off the Scilly Islands. It is reported that her crew was saved. The steamer *Hartdale* was torpedoed on March 13 off South Rock, in the Irish Channel. Twenty-one of her crew were picked up and two were lost.

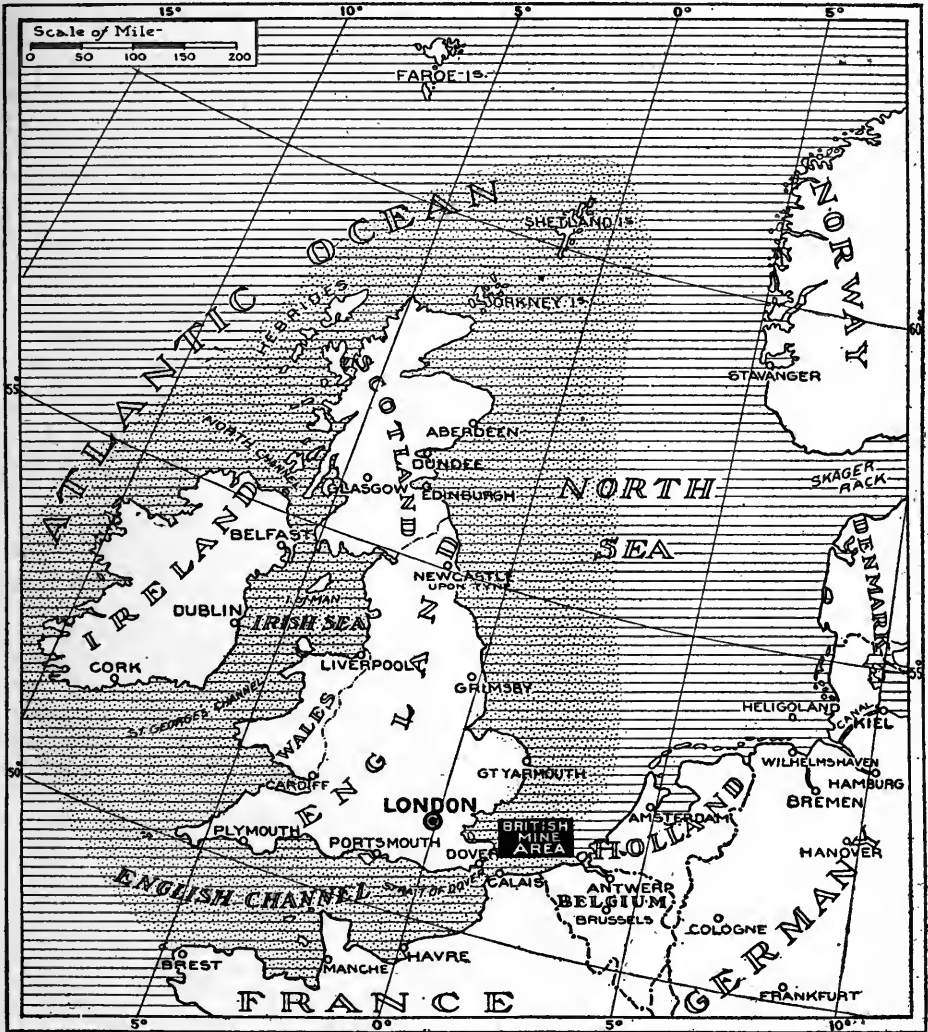
Supplementary to the foregoing the Admiralty tonight issued a report giving the total number of British merchant and fishing vessels lost through hostile action from the outbreak of the war to March 10. The statement says that during that period eighty-eight merchant vessels were sunk or captured. Of these fifty-four were victims of hostile cruisers, twelve were destroyed by mines, and twenty-two by submarines. Their gross tonnage totaled 309,945.

In the same period the total arrivals

and sailings of overseas steamers of all nationalities of more than 300 tons net were 4,745.

Forty-seven fishing vessels were sunk or captured during this time. Nineteen

of these were blown up by mines and twenty-eight were captured by hostile craft. Twenty-four of those captured were caught on Aug. 26, when the Germans raided a fishing fleet.



Dotted portion indicates the limits of "War Zone" defined in the German order which became effective Feb. 18, 1915.

German People Not Blinded

By Karl Lamprecht

[Published in New York by the German Information Service, Feb. 3, 1915.]

Denying flatly that the German people were swept blindly and ignorantly into the war by the headlong ambitions of their rulers—the view advanced by Dr. Charles W. Eliot, President Emeritus of Harvard University, and Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia—Dr. Karl Lamprecht, Professor of History in the University of Leipsic and world-famous German historian, has addressed the open letter which appears below to the two distinguished American scholars. Dr. Lamprecht asserts that under the laws which govern the German Empire the people as citizens have a deciding will in affairs of state and that Germany is engaged in the present conflict because the sober judgment of the German people led them to resort to arms.

Dr. C. W. Eliot, President Emeritus of Harvard University; Dr. N. M. Butler, President of Columbia University.

Gentlemen: I feel confident that you are not in ignorance of my regard and esteem for the great American Republic and its citizens. They have been freely expressed on many occasions and have taken definite form in the journal of my travels through the United States, published in the booklet "Americana," 1905.

My sentiments and my judgment have not changed since 1905. I now refer, gentlemen, to the articles and speeches which you have published about my country and which have aroused widespread interest. I will not criticise your utterances one by one. If I did that I might have to speak on occasion with a frankness that would be ungracious, considering the fine appreciation which both of you still feel for old Germany. It would be specially ungracious toward you, President Eliot, for in quite recent times you honored me by your ready help in my scientific labors. All I want to do is to remove a few fundamental errors—in fact, only one. I feel in duty bound to do so, since many well-disposed Americans share that error.

The gravest and perhaps most widely spread misconception about us Germans is that we are the serfs of our Princes, (Fuerstenknechte,) servile and dependent in political thought. That false notion has probably been dispelled during the initial weeks of the present war.

With absolute certainty the German

Nation, with one voice and correctly, diagnosed the political situation without respect to party or creed and unani- mously and of its own free will acted.

But this misconception is so deep rooted that more extended discussion is needed. I pass on to other matters.

The essential point is that public opinion have free scope of development. Every American will admit that. Now, public opinion finds its expression in the principles that govern the use of the suffrage. The German voting system is the freest in the world, much freer than the French, English, or American system, because not only does it operate in accordance with the principle that every one shall have a direct and secret vote, but the powers of the State are exercised faithfully and conscientiously to carry out that principle in practice. The constitutional life of the German Nation is of a thoroughly democratic character.

Those who know that were not surprised that our Social Democrats marched to war with such enthusiasm. Already among their ranks many have fallen as heroes, never to be forgotten by any German when his thoughts turn to the noble blood which has saturated foreign soil—thank God, foreign soil! Many of the Socialist leaders and adherents are wearing the Iron Cross, that simple token that seems to tell you when you speak of its bearer, "Now, this is a fearless and faithful soul."

Let it be said once and for all: He who

wants to understand us must accept our conception that constitutionally we enjoy so great a political freedom that we would not change with any country in the world. Everybody in America knows that our manners and customs have been democratic for centuries, while in France and England they have been ever aristocratic. Americans, we know, always feel at home on German soil.

But the Kaiser, you will say, speaks of "his monarchy," therefore must the Germans be *Fuerstenknechte*, (servants of Princes.)

First of all, as to the phrase "*Fuerstenknechte*." Does not the King of England speak of his "subjects"? That word irritates a German, because he is conscious that he is not a subject, but a citizen of the empire. Yet he will not infer from the English King's use of the term in formal utterances that an Englishman is a churl, a "servant of his King." That would be a superficial political conception.

As to our Princes, most of us, including the Social Democrats, are glad in our heart of hearts that we have them. As far back as our history runs, and that is more than 2,000 years, we have had Princes. They have never been more than their name, "*Fuerst*," implies, the first and foremost of German freemen, "*primi inter pares*." Therefore they have never acted independently, never without taking the people into counsel. That would have been contrary to the most important fundamental principles of German law; hence our people have never been "*de jure*" without their representatives. Even in the times of absolute monarchy the old "estates of the realm" had their being as a representative body, and wherever and whenever these privileges were suppressed it was regarded as a violation of our fundamental rights and is so still regarded.

Our princely houses are as old as our monasteries, our cities, and our cathedrals. A thousand years ago the Guelphs were a celebrated family, and the Wettins have ruled over their lands for eight centuries. In the twelfth century the Wittelsbachs and Thuringians were

Princes under the great Kaisers of the Hohenstaufen dynasty. Among these great families the Hapsburgs (thirteenth century) and the Hohenzollerns (fifteenth century) are quite young. All have their roots in Germany and belong to the country.

We glory in our Princes. They link our existence with the earliest centuries of our history. They preserve for us the priceless independence of our small home States.

We are accused of militarism. What is this new and terrible crime? Since the years of the wars of liberation against France and Napoleon we have had what amounts practically to universal conscription. Only two generations later universal suffrage was introduced. The nation has been sternly trained by its history in the ways of discipline and self-restraint. Germans are very far from mistaking freedom for license and independence for licentiousness.

Germany has a long past. She enjoys the inheritance of an original and priceless civilization. She holds clearly formulated ideals. To the future she has all this to bequeath and, in addition, the intellectual wealth of her present stage of development. Consider Germany's contributions to the arts, the poetical achievements of the period of Schiller and Goethe, the music of Handel, Bach, Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven; the thought systems of Kant, Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel!

The last decade has reawakened these great men in the consciousness of the German Nation. Enriched by the consciousness and message of an intellectual past, our people were moving forward to new horizons.

At that moment the war hit us. If you could only have lived these weeks in Germany I do not doubt that what you would have seen would have led your ripe experience to a fervent faith in a Divinely guided future of mankind. The great spiritual movement of 1870, when I was a boy growing up, was but a phantom compared to July and August of 1914. Germany was a nation stirred by the most sacred emotions, humble and

strong, filled with just wrath and a firm determination to conquer—a nation disciplined, faithful, and loving.

In that disposition we have gone to war and still fight. As for the slanders of which we have been the victims, ask the thousands of Frenchmen who housed German soldiers in 1870 and 1871, or ask the Belgians of Ghent and Bruges! They

will give you a different picture of the "Furor Teutonicus." They will tell you that the "raging German" generally is a good-natured fellow, ever ready for service and sympathy, who, like Parsifal, gazes forth eagerly into a strange world which the war has opened to his loyal and patriotic vision.

KARL LAMPRECHT.

REVEILLE

By JOHN GALSWORTHY.

[From King Albert's Book.]

IN my dream I saw a fertile plain, rich with the hues of Autumn. Tranquil it was and warm. Men and women, children, and the beasts worked and played and wandered there in peace. Under the blue sky and the white clouds low-hanging, great trees shaded the fields; and from all the land there arose a murmur as from bees clustering on the rose-colored blossoms of tall clover. And, in my dream, I roamed, looking into every face, the faces of prosperity, broad and well favored—of people living in a land of plenty, of people drinking of the joy of life, caring nothing for the morrow. But I could not see their eyes, that seemed ever cast down, gazing at the ground, watching the progress of their feet over the rich grass and the golden leaves already fallen from the trees. The longer I walked among them the more I wondered that never was I suffered to see the eyes of any, not even of the little children, not even of the beasts. It was as if ordinance had gone forth that their eyes should be banded with invisibility.

While I mused on this, the sky began to darken. A muttering of distant winds and waters came traveling. The children stopped their play, the beasts raised their heads; men and women halted and cried to each other: "The River—the River is rising! If it floods, we are lost! Our beasts will drown; we, even we, shall drown! The River!" And women stood like things of stone, listening; and men shook their fists at the black sky and at that traveling mutter of the winds and waters; and the beasts sniffed at the darkening air.

Then, clear, I heard a Voice call: "Brothers! The dike is breaking! The River comes! Link arms, brothers; with the dike of our bodies we will save our home! Sisters, behind us, link arms! Close in the crevices, children! The River!" And all that multitude, whom I had seen treading quietly the grass and fallen leaves with prosperous feet, came hurrying, their eyes no longer fixed on the rich plain, but lifted in trouble and defiance, staring at that rushing blackness. And the Voice called: "Hasten, brothers! The dike is broken. The River floods!"

And they answered: "Brother, we come!"

Thousands and thousands they pressed, shoulder to shoulder—men, women, and children, and the beasts lying down behind, till the living dike was formed. And that blackness came on, nearer, nearer, till, like the whites of glaring eyes, the wave crests glinted in the dark rushing flood. And the sound of the raging waters was as a roar from a million harsh mouths.

But the Voice called: "Hold, brothers! Hold!"

And from the living dike came answer: "Brother! We hold!"

Then the sky blackened to night. And the terrible dark water broke on that dike of life; and from all the thin living wall rose such cry of struggle as never was heard.

But above it ever the Voice called: "Hold! My brave ones, hold!"

And ever the answer came from those drowning mouths, of men and women, of little children and the very beasts: "Brother! We hold!" But the black flood rolled over and on. There, down in its dark tumult, beneath its cruel tumult, I saw men still with arms linked; women on their knees, clinging to earth; little children drifting—dead, all dead; and the beasts dead. And their eyes were still open facing that death. And above them the savage water roared. But clear and high I heard the Voice call: "Brothers! Hold! Death is not! We live!"

Can Germany Be Starved Out?

An Answer by Sixteen German Specialists*

[From The Annalist of New York, March 1, 1915.]

BERLIN, Feb. 1, 1915.

PROBABLY the most interesting economic problem in the world at this moment is whether England can succeed in starving out Germany. While the world at large is chiefly interested in the vast political issues involved, the question interests the Germans not only from that standpoint, but also—and how keenly!—from the mere bread-and-butter standpoint. For if Germany cannot feed its own population during the long war that its foes are predicting with so much assurance, her defeat is only a question of time.

That the German Government is keenly aware of the dangers of the situation is evident from the rigorous measures that it has taken to conserve and economize the food supply. After having fixed maximum prices for cereals soon after the war began, the Government last week decided to requisition and monopolize all the wheat and rye in the country, and allow the bakers to sell only a limited quantity of bread (2.2 pounds per capita a week) to each family. It had previously taken measures to restrict the consumption of cereals for other purposes than breadmaking; the feeding of rye was prohibited and its use in producing alcohol was restricted by 40 per cent.; a percentage of potato flour was ordered added to rye flour, and of the latter to wheat flour in making bread. These are but a few of the economic measures

adopted by the Government since the outbreak of the war.

The general opinion of the people in Germany is that the country cannot be starved out, and this opinion is asserted with a great deal of patriotic fervor, particularly by newspaper editors. The leading scientists of the country, moreover, have taken up the question in a thoroughgoing way and investigated it in all its bearings. A little book ("Die Deutsche Volksernährung und der Englische Aushungerungsplan") has just been issued, giving the conclusions of sixteen specialists in various fields, which will be briefly summarized here. Economists, statisticians, physiologists, agricultural chemists, food specialists, and geologists have all taken part in producing a composite view of the whole subject; it is not a book of special contributions by individual specialists, but is written in one cast and represents the compared and boiled-down conclusions of the sixteen scholars.

The authors by no means regard the problem of feeding Germany without foreign assistance as an easy and simple one; on the contrary, they say it is a serious one, and calls for the supreme effort of the authorities and of every individual German; and only by energetic, systematic, and continued efforts of Government and people can they prevent a shortage of food from negating the success of German arms. Yet they feel bound to grapple the problem as one calling for solution by the German people alone, for very small imports of food products can be expected from the neutral countries of Europe, and none at all from the United States and other oversea countries, and the small quantities that do come in will hardly be more than enough to make good the drain upon Germany's own available stocks in help-

*Die Deutsche Volksernährung und der Englische Aushungerungsplan. Eine Denkschrift von Friedrich Aereboe, Karl Ballod, Franz Beyschlag, Wilhelm Caspari, Paul Eltzbacher, Hedwig Heyl, Paul Krusch, Robert Kuczynski, Kurt Lehmann, Otto Lemmermann, Karl Oppenheimer, Max Rubner, Kurt von Rümker, Bruno Tacke, Hermann Warmbold, und Nathan Zuntz. Herausgegeben von Paul Eltzbacher. (Friedr. Vieweg and Sohn. Braunschweig. 1914.)

ing to feed the people of Belgium and Poland.

The simplest statistical elements of the problem are the following: Germany, with a population of 68,000,000, was consuming food products, when the war broke out, equivalent to an aggregate of 90,420 billion calories, including 2,307,000 tons of albumen; whereas the amount now available, under unchanged methods of living and feeding, is equal to only 67,870 billion calories, with 1,543,000 tons of albumen. Thus, there will be an apparent deficit of 22,590 billion calories and 764,000 tons of albumen. On the other hand, the authors hold that the minimum physiological requirements are only 56,750 billion calories, containing 1,605,000 tons of albumen, which would give a large surplus of calories and a small deficit of albumen, but they make certain recommendations which, if carried into effect, would bring the available supply up to 81,250 billion calories and 2,023,000 tons of albumen.

Germany raises (average for 1912-13) about 4,500,000 tons of wheat and imports nearly 2,000,000 tons, (about 73,000,000 bushels.) On the other hand, it exports about 530,000 tons net of the 11,900,000 tons of rye produced. It imports nearly 3,000,000 tons of low-grade barley and about 1,000,000 of maize, both chiefly for feeding stock. Its net imports of grain and legumes are 6,270,000 tons. Of its fruit consumption, about 30 per cent. has been imported. While Germany has been producing nearly its entire meat supply at home, this has been accomplished only by the very extensive use of foreign feedstuffs. The authors of this work estimate that the imports of meats and animals, together with the product from domestic animals fed with foreign feedstuffs, amount to not less than 33 per cent. of the total consumption. They also hold that about 58 per cent. of the milk consumed in Germany represents imports and the product of cows fed with foreign feedstuffs. Nearly 40 per cent. of the egg consumption was hitherto imported. The consumption of fish has averaged 576,000 tons, of which not less than 62 per cent. was imported;

and the home fisheries are now confined, besides the internal waters, almost wholly to the Baltic Sea—which means the loss of the catch of 142,000 tons hitherto taken from the North Sea. Even the German's favorite beverage, beer, contains 13 per cent. of imported ingredients.

The authors assume, as already intimated, that nearly all of these imports will be lost to Germany during the full duration of the war, and they take up, under this big limitation, the problem of showing how Germany can live upon its own resources and go on fighting till it wins. They undertake to show how savings can be made in the use of the supplies on hand, and also how production can be increased or changed so as to keep the country supplied with food products.

In the first place, they insist that the prohibition of the export of grain be made absolute; in other words, the small exception made in favor of Switzerland, which has usually obtained most of its grain from Germany, must be canceled. Savings in the present supplies of grain and feedstuffs must be made by a considerable reduction in the live stock, inasmuch as the grain, potatoes, turnips, and other stuffs fed to animals will support a great many more men if consumed directly by them. From the stock of cattle the poorer milkers must be eliminated and converted into beef, 10 per cent. of the milch cows to be thus disposed of. Then swine, in particular, must be slaughtered down to 65 per cent. of the present number, they being great consumers of material suitable for human food. In Germany much skim milk and buttermilk is fed to swine; the authors demand that this partial waste of very valuable albumens be stopped. The potato crop—of which Germany produces above 50,000,000 tons a year, or much more than any other land—must be more extensively drawn upon than hitherto for feeding the people. To this end potato-drying establishments must be multiplied; these will turn out a rough product for feeding animals, and a better sort for table use. It may be added here that the Prussian Government last Autumn decided to give financial aid to

agricultural organizations for erecting drying plants; also, that the Imperial Government has decreed that potatoes up to a maximum of 30 per cent. may be used by the bakers in making bread—a measure which will undoubtedly make the grain supply suffice till the 1915 crop is harvested. It is further recommended that more vegetables be preserved, whether directly in cold storage or by canning or pickling. Moreover, the industrial use of fats suitable for human food (as in making soaps, lubricating oils, &c.) must be stopped, and people must eat less meat, less butter, and more vegetables. Grain must not be converted into starch. People must burn coke rather than coal, for the coking process yields the valuable by-product of sulphate of ammonia, one of the most valuable of fertilizers, and greatly needed by German farmers now owing to the stoppage of imports of nitrate of soda from Chile.

In considering how the German people may keep up their production of food, the authors find that various factors will work against such a result. In the first place, there is a shortage of labor, nearly all the able-bodied young and middle-aged men in the farming districts being in the war. There is also a scarcity of horses, some 500,000 head having already been requisitioned for army use, and the imports of about 140,000 head (chiefly from Russia) have almost wholly ceased. The people must therefore resort more extensively to the use of motor plows, and the State Governments must give financial assistance to insure this wherever necessary; and such plows on hand must be kept more steadily in use through company ownership or rental. It may be remarked here, again, that the Prussian Government is also assisting agricultural organizations to buy motor plows. The supply of fertilizers has also been cut down by the war. Nitrate has just been mentioned. The authors recommend that the Government solve this problem by having many of the existing electrical plants turn partly to recovering nitrogen from the atmosphere. This, they say, could be done without

reducing the present production of electricity for ordinary purposes, since only 19 per cent. of the effective capacity of the 2,000,000 horse power producible by the electrical plants of Germany is actually used. The supply of phosphoric fertilizers is also endangered through the stoppage of imports of phosphate rock (nearly 1,000,000 tons a year) as well as the material from which to make sulphuric acid; also, through the reduction in the production of the iron furnaces of the country, from the slag of which over 2,000,000 tons of so-called Thomas phosphate flour was produced, will involve a big reduction in the make of that valuable fertilizer. Thus, there is a lack of horses, of fertilizers, and of the guiding hand of man. This last, however, can be partly supplied by utilizing for farm work such of the prisoners of war as come from the farm. As Germany now holds considerably more than 600,000 prisoners, it can draw many farm laborers from among them. Prisoners are already used in large numbers in recovering moorland for agricultural purposes.

This latter remark suggests one of the recommendations of the authors for increasing agricultural production—the increased recovery of moorlands. They show that Germany has at least 52,000 square miles (more than 33,000,000 acres) of moors convertible into good arable land, which, with proper fertilizing, can be made at once richly productive; they yield particularly large crops of grain and potatoes. Moreover, the State Governments must undertake the division of large landed estates among small proprietors wherever possible—and this is more possible just now than ever, owing to the fact that many large owners have been killed in battle. The reason for such a division is that the small holder gets more out of the acre than the large proprietor.

As Germany makes a large surplus of sugar, the authors advise that the area planted in beets be reduced and the land thus liberated be planted in grain, potatoes, and turnips; as a matter of fact, it is reported that the Government is now considering the question of reducing

the beetroot acreage by one-fourth. The authors also recommend that sugar be used to some extent in feeding stock, sweetening low-grade hay and roots with it to make them more palatable and nutritious. It is also regarded as profitable to leave 20 per cent. of sugar in the beets, so as to secure a more valuable feed product in the remnants. Still another agricultural change is to increase the crops of beans, peas, and lentils—vegetables which contain when dried as much nutrition as meat. Germany will need to increase its home production of these crops to replace the 300,000 tons of them hitherto imported.

Such are the principal points covered by these experts. Their conclusion is that, if their recommendations be carried out fully, and various economies be practiced—they could not be touched on in the limits of this article—Germany can manage to feed its people. But they insist, in their earnest, concluding words, that this can only be done by carrying out thoroughly all the methods of producing and saving food products advised by them. It is a serious problem, indeed, but one which, all Germany is convinced, can and will be solved.

HOCH DER KAISER

BY GEORGE DAVIES

HOCH DER KAISER! Amen! Amen!
*We of the pulpit and bar,
 We of the engine and car;
 Hail to the Caesar who's given us men,
 Our rightful heritage back again.*

Who kicks the dancing shoes from our feet;
 Snatches our mouths from the hot forced
 meat;
 Drags us away from our warm padded stalls;
 From our ivory keys, our song books and
 balls;
 Orders man's hands from the children's go-
 carts;
 Closes our fool schools of "ethics" and
 "arts."
 Puts our ten fingers on triggers and swords,
 Marshals us into War's legions by hordes.

*Hoch der Kaiser! Amen! Amen!
 We of the sea and the land;
 We of the clerking band;
 Hail to the Caesar who's given us men
 Our rightful heritage back again.*

WHO SUMMONS:

These women who write of loves that are
 loose,
 (Those little perversionist scribblers of the
 Deuce!)
 Laughter of lies litling lewd at their lips,
 Their souls and brains both in a maudlin
 eclipse;

Their bosoms as bare as their stories and
 songs;
 These coaxers of dogs with their "rights"
 and their wrongs.

WHO COMMANDS:

Strike from their shoulders the transparent
 mesh;
 Mark the Red Cross on the cloth for their
 flesh.

WHO ORDAINS:

Ye, men who seem women in work and at
 play;
 Ye, who do blindly as women may say;
 Ye, who kill life in the smug cabarets;
 Ye, all, at the beck of the little tea-tray;
 Ye, all, of the measure of daughters of clay.

Waken to face me: be women no more;
 But fellow-men-born, from top branch to
 the core;
 Men who must fight—who can kill, who can
 die,
 While women once more shall be covered
 and shy.

*Hoch der Kaiser! Amen! Amen!
 We of the hills and the homes;
 We of the plows and the tomes;
 Hail to the Caesar who's given us men
 Our rightful heritage back again.*

The Submarine of 1578

[From The London Times, Jan. 16, 1915.]

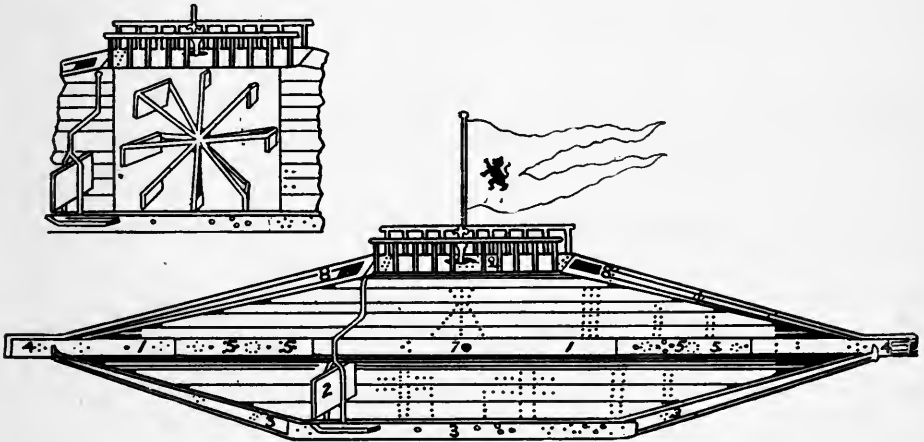
THE earliest description of a practical under-water boat is given by William Bourne in his book entitled "Inventions or Devices," published in 1578. Instructions for building such a boat are given in detail, and it has been conjectured that Cornelius van Drebbel, a Dutch physician, used this information for the construction of the vessel with which in the early part of the seventeenth century he carried out some experiments on the Thames. It is doubtful, however, whether van Drebbel's boat was ever entirely submerged, and the voyage with which he was credited, from Westminster to Greenwich, is supposed to have been made in an awash condition, with the head of the inventor above the surface. More than one writer at the time referred to van Drebbel's boat and en-

deavored to explain the apparatus by which his rowers were enabled to breathe under water.

Van Drebbel died in 1634, and no illustration of his boat has been discovered. Nineteen years later the vessel illustrated here was constructed at Rotterdam from the designs of a Frenchman named de Son. This is supposed to be the earliest illustration of any submarine, and the inscription under the drawing, which was printed at Amsterdam in the Calverstraat, (in the Three Crabs,) is in old Dutch, of which the following is a translation

The inventor of this ship will undertake to destroy in a single day a hundred vessels, and such destruction could not be prevented by fire, storm, bad weather, or the force of the waves, saving only that the Almighty should otherwise will it.

Vain would it be for ships lying in



The figures on the drawing refer to the following explanations:

1. The beam wherewith power shall be given to the ship.
2. The rudder of the ship, somewhat aft.
3. The keel plate.
4. The two ends of the ship, iron plated.
5. Iron bolts and screws.
6. How deep the ship goes into the water when awash.
7. The pivots on which the paddle-wheel turns.
8. Air holes.
9. Gallery along which men can move.

The inset is a drawing of the paddle-wheels which fill the centre portion of the boat and which work upon the pivot marked 7.

harbor to be regarded as safe, for the inventor could reach anywhere unless prevented by betrayal. None but he could control the craft. Therefore it may truly be called the lightning of the sea.

Its power shall be proven by a trip to the East Indies in six weeks or to France and back in a day, for as fast as a bird flieeth can one travel in this boat.

This boat was 72 feet in length, and her greatest height was 12 feet, while the greatest breadth was 8 feet, tapering off to points at the end. Capt. Murray Sueter in his book on submarines gives these and other particulars of the vessel. At either end the boat had a cabin, the air in which remained good for about three hours, and in the middle of the boat was a large paddlewheel rotated by clock-work mechanism, which, it was claimed,

would run for eight hours when once wound up. The iron tips at the ends of the vessel were intended for ramming, and the inventor was confident he could sink the biggest English ship afloat by crushing in her hull under water. The boat was duly launched, but on trial of the machinery being made the paddle-wheel, though it revolved in air, would not move in the water, the machinery being not powerful enough. This, says Capt. Sueter, was apparently the only reason for de Son's failure, for his principles were distinctly sound, and he was certainly the first inventor of the mechanically propelled semi-submarine boat. After her failure de Son exhibited her for a trifle to any casual passer-by.

THE TORPEDO.

By Katherine Drayton Mayrant Simons, Jr.

DEATH, our mother, gave us her three gray gifts from the sea—
(Cherish your birthright, Brothers!)—speed, cunning, and certainty.
And mailèd Mars, he blest us—but his blessing was most to me!

For the swift gun sometimes falters, sparing the foe afar,
And the hid mine wastes destruction on the drag's decoying spar,
But I am the wrath of the Furies' path—of the war god's avatar!

Mine is the brain of thinking steel man made to match his own,
To guard and guide the death disks packed in the war head's hammered cone
To drive the cask of the thin air flask as the gyroscope has shown.

My brother, the gun, shrieks o'er the sea his curse from the covered deck,
My brother, the mine, lies sullen-dumb, agape for the dreadnought's wreck,
I glide on the breath of my mother, Death, and my goal is my only check!

More strong than the strength of armored ships is the firing pin's frail spark,
More sure than the helm of the mighty fleet are my rudders to their mark,
The faint foam fades from the bright screw blades—and I strike from the under dark!

Death, our mother, gave us her three gray gifts from the sea—
(Cherish your birthright, Brothers!)—speed, cunning, and certainty.
And mailèd Mars, he blest us—but his blessing was most to me!

"God Punish England, Brother"

A New Hymn of Germany's Gospel of Hatred

[From Public Opinion, London, Feb. 5, 1915.]

THE amazing outburst of hatred against England in Germany is responsible for a new form of greeting which has displaced the conventional formulas of salutation and farewell: "God punish England!" ("Gott strafe England!") is the form of address, to which the reply is: "May God punish her!" ("Gott mög'es strafen!")

"This extraordinary formula," says The Mail, "which is now being used all over Germany, is celebrated in a set of verses by Herr Hochstetter in a recent number of the well-known German weekly, Lustige Blätter. In its way this poem is as remarkable as Herr Ernst Lissauer's famous 'Hymn of Hate.'"

Among the prayers at Bruges Cathedral on the Kaiser's birthday was this German chant of hate, "God Punish England!"

A HYMN OF HATE.

Translated by

G. VALENTINE WILLIAMS.

This is the German greeting
When men their fellows meet,
The merchants in the market-place,
The beggars in the street.
A pledge of bitter enmity,
Thus runs the winged word:
"God punish England, brother!—
Yea! Punish her, O Lord!"

With raucous voice, brass-throated,
Our German shells shall bear
This curse that is our greeting
To the "cousin" in his lair.
This be our German battle cry,
The motto on our sword:
"God punish England, brother!—
Yea! Punish her, O Lord!"

By shell from sea, by bomb from air,
Our greeting shall be sped,
Making each English homestead
A mansion of the dead.
And even Grey will tremble
As falls each iron word:
"God punish England, brother!—
Yea! Punish her, O Lord!"

This is the German greeting
When men their fellows meet,
The merchants in the market-place,
The beggars in the street.
A pledge of bitter enmity,
Thus runs the winged word:
"God punish England, brother!—
Yea! Punish her, O Lord!"

"What German Lutheran pastors think of the gospel of hate that is at present being preached throughout the Fatherland may be judged from an article on the subject written for the Vossische Zeitung of Berlin, by Dr. Julius Schiller of Nürnberg, who describes himself as a royal Protestant pastor," says The Morning Post.

"Before the war, the pastor writes, it was considered immoral to hate; now, however, Germans know that they not only may, but they must hate. Herr Lissauer's 'Hymn of Hate' against England is, he declares, a faithful expression of the feelings cherished in the depths of the German soul.

"All protests against this hate," the pastor writes, "fall on deaf ears; we strike down all hands that would avert it. We cannot do otherwise; we must hate the brood of liars. Our hate was provoked, and the German can hate more thoroughly than any one else. A feeling that this is the case is penetrating into England, but the fear of the German hate is as yet hidden. There is a grain of truth in Lord Curzon's statement that the phlegmatic temperament of his countrymen is incapable of hating as the Germans hate.

"We Germans do, as a matter of fact, hate differently than the sons of Albion. We Germans hate honorably, for our hatred is based on right and justice. England, on the other hand, hates mendaciously, being impelled by envy, ill-will, and jealousy. It was high time that we tore the mask from England's face,

that we finally saw England as she really is.

"We hate with a clean conscience, although religion seems to condemn as unæsthetic everything that is included in the word hate.' The Pastor concludes by asserting that 'we, who are fighting for truth and right with clean hands and a clean conscience, must have Him on our side Who is stronger than the strongest battalions. Hence our courage and our confidence in a fortunate outcome of the world conflagration. The dawn will soon appear that announces that the "Day of Harvest" for Germany has broken."

"The avowal that the love of good Germans for Germany is inseparable from hatred of other countries shows how deeply the aggressiveness of German

policy has sunk into the nation's mood," says The Times. "Only by constantly viewing their own country as in a natural state of challenge to all others can Germans have come to absorb the view that hatred is the normal manifestation of patriotism. It is a purely militarist conception.

"Hate is at bottom a slavish passion, and remote from that heroic spirit of the warrior with which the Germans represent themselves as facing a world in arms. The hater subjects his mind to the domination of what he hates; he loses his independence and volition and becomes the prey of the hated idea. At last he cannot free his mind from the obsession; and the deliberate cultivation of hate in the conscientious German manner is a kind of mental suicide."

THE GREAT HOUR.

By HERMANN SUDERMANN.

WHETHER, O Father in Heaven, we still put our trust in You,
Whether You are but a dream of a sacred past,

See now, we swear to You, Witness of Truth,

Not we have wanted it—
This murder, this world-ending murder—
Which now, with blood-hot sighs,
Stamps o'er the shuddering earth.
True to the earth, the bread-giving earth,
Happy and cheery in business and trade,
Peaceful we sat in the oak tree's shade,
Peaceful,
Though we were born to the sword.

Circled around us, for ever and ever.
Greed, sick with envy, and nets lifted high,
Full of inherited hatred.
Every one saw it, and every one felt
The secret venom, gushing forth,
Year after year,
Heavy and breath-bated years.
But hearts did not quiver
Nor hands draw the sword.

And then it came, the hour
Of sacred need, of pregnant Fate,
And what it brings forth, we will shape,
The brown gun in our mastering hand.

Ye mothers, what ye once have borne,
In honor or in vice,
Bring forth to every sacred shrine—
Your country's sacrifice.

Ye brides, whom future happiness,
Once kissed—it but seemed true,
Bring back to fair Germania
What she has given you.

Ye women, in silks or in linen,
Offer your husbands now.
Bid them goodbye, with your children,
With smiles and a blessing vow.

Ye all are doomed to lie sleepless,
Many a desolate night,
And dream of approaching conquests
And of your hero's might.

And dream of laurel and myrtle,
Until he shall return,
Till he, your master and shepherd,
Shall make the old joys burn.

And if he fell on the Autumn heath
And fell deep into death,
He died for Germania's greatness,
He died for Germania's breath.

The Fatherland they shall let stand,
Upon his blood-soaked loam,
And ne'er again shall they approach
Our sacred, peaceful home.
—Translated by Herman J. Mankiewicz.



H. M. GUSTAF V
King of Sweden
(Photo from Underwood & Underwood)



H. M. HAAKON VII
King of Norway
(Photo from Underwood & Underwood)

The Peace of the World

A Famous Englishman's Diagnosis of the War Disease and His Prescription for a Permanent Cure

By H. G. Wells

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I.

PROBABLY there have never been before in the whole past of mankind so many people convinced of the dreadfulness of war, nor so large a proportion anxious to end war, to rearrange the world's affairs so that this huge hideousness of hardship, suffering, destruction, and killing that still continues in Europe may never again be repeated.

The present writer is one of this great majority. He wants as far as possible to end war altogether, and contrive things so that when any unavoidable outbreak does occur it may be as little cruel and mischievous as it can be.

But it is one thing to desire a thing and another thing to get it. It does not follow because this aspiration for world-peace is almost universal that it will be realized. There may be faults in ourselves, unsuspected influences within us and without, that may be working to defeat our superficial sentiments. There must be not only a desire for peace, but a will for peace, if peace is to be established forever. If out of a hundred men ninety-nine desire peace and trouble no further, the one man over will arm himself and set up oppression and war again. Peace must be organized and maintained. This present monstrous catastrophe is the outcome of forty-three years of skillful, industrious, systematic world armament. Only by a disarmament as systematic, as skillful, and as devoted may we hope to achieve centuries of peace.

No apology is needed, therefore, for a discussion of the way in which peace

may be organized and established out of the settlement of this war. I am going to set out and estimate as carefully as I can the forces that make for a peace organization and the forces that make for war. I am going to do my best to diagnose the war disorder. I want to find out first for my own guidance, and then with a view to my co-operation with other people, what has to be done to prevent the continuation and recrudescence of warfare.

Such an inquiry is manifestly the necessary first stage in any world pacification. So manifestly that, of course, countless others are also setting to work upon it. It is a research. It is a research exactly like a scientific exploration. Each of us will probably get out a lot of truth and a considerable amount of error; the truth will be the same and the errors will confute and disperse each other. But it is clear that there is no simple panacea in this matter, and that only by intentness and persistence shall we disentangle a general conception of the road the peace-desiring multitude must follow.

Now, first be it noted that there is in every one a certain discord with regard to war. Every man is divided against himself. On the whole, most of us want peace. But hardly any one is without a lurking belligerence, a lurking admiration for the vivid impacts, the imaginative appeals of war. I am sitting down to write for the peace of the world, but immediately before I sat down to write I was reading the morning's paper, and particularly of the fight between the

Sydney and the Emden at Cocos Island.

I confess to the utmost satisfaction in the account of the smashing blows delivered by the guns of the Australian. There is a sensation of greatness, a beautiful tremendousness, in many of the crude facts of war; they excite in one a kind of vigorous exaltation; we have that destructive streak in us, and it is no good pretending that we have not; the first thing we must do for the peace of the world is to control that. And to control it one can do nothing more effective than to keep in mind the other side of the realities of war.

As my own corrective I have at hand certain letters from a very able woman doctor who returned last week from Calais. Lockjaw, gangrene, men tied with filthy rags and lying bitterly cold in coaly sheds; men unwounded, but so broken by the chill horrors of the Yser trenches as to be near demented—such things make the substance of her picture. One young officer talked to her rather dryly of the operations, of the ruined towns and villages, of the stench of dead men and horses, of the losses and wounds and mutilations among his men, of the list of pals he had lost. "Suddenly he began to cry. He broke down just like an overtaxed child. And he could not stop crying. He cried and cried, and I could do nothing to help him." He was a strong man and a brave man, and to that three months of war had brought him.

And then this again:

There were a fair number of Belgian doctors, but no nurses except the usual untrained French girls, almost no equipment, and no place for clean surgery. We heard of a house containing sixty-one men with no doctor or nurses—several died without having received any medical aid at all. Mrs. ——— and I even on the following Wednesday found four men lying on straw in a shop with leg and foot wounds who had not been dressed since Friday and had never been seen by a doctor. In addition there were hundreds and hundreds of wounded who could walk trying to find shelter in some corner, besides the many unwounded French and Belgian soldiers quartered in the town.

As if this inferno of misery were not enough, there were added the refugees! These were not Belgians, as I had imagined, but French. It appears that both

English and French armies have to clear the civil population out of the whole fighting area—partly to prevent spying and treachery, (which has been a curse to both armies,) and partly because they would starve. They are sent to Calais, and then by boat to Havre.

That first Sunday evening an endless procession flowed from the station to the quays in the drenching rain. Each family had a perambulator, (a surprisingly handsome one, too,) piled with sticks of bread, a few bundles of goods, and, when we peered inside, a couple of crying babies. There were few young people; mostly it was whimpering, frightened-looking children and wretched, bent old men and women. It seemed too bad to be true; even when they brushed past us in the rain we could not believe that their sodden figures were real. They were dematerialized by misery in some odd way.

Some of them slept in skating rinks, trucks, some in the *Amiral Ganteaume*. (One's senses could not realize that to the horrors of exile these people had added those of shipwreck next day.) Some certainly stood in the Booking Hall outside our hotel all night through. This sort of thing went on all the week, and was going on when we left.

Nevertheless, I was stirred agreeably by the imagination of the shells smashing the Emden and the men inside the Emden, and when I read the other day that the naval guns had destroyed over 4,000 men in the German trenches about Middlekirche I remarked that we were "doing well." It is only on the whole that we who want to end war hate and condemn war; we are constantly lapsing into fierceness, and if we forget this lurking bellicosity and admiration for hard blows in our own nature then we shall set about the task of making an end to it under hopelessly disabling misconceptions. We shall underrate and misunderstand altogether the very powerful forces that are against pacifist effort.

Let us consider first, then, the forces that are directly opposed to the pacification of the world, the forces that will work openly and definitely for the preservation of war as a human condition. And it has to be remembered that the forces that are for a thing are almost always more unified, more concentrated and effective than the forces that are against it. We who are against war and want to stop it are against it for a

great multitude of reasons. There are other things in life that we prefer, and war stops these other things. Some of us want to pursue art, some want to live industrious lives in town or country, some would pursue scientific developments, some want pleasures of this sort or that, some would live lives of religion and kindness, or religion and austerity.

But we all agree in fixing our minds upon something else than war. And since we fix our minds on other things, war becomes possible and probable through our general inattention. We do not observe it, and meanwhile the people who really care for war and soldiering fix their minds upon it. They scheme how it shall be done, they scheme to bring it about. Then we discover suddenly—as the art and social development, the industry and pleasant living, the cultivation of the civil enterprise of England, France, Germany, and Russia have discovered—that everything must be pushed aside when the war thinkers have decided upon their game. And until we of the pacific majority contrive some satisfactory organization to watch the war-makers we shall never end war, any more than a country can end crime and robbery without a police. Specialist must watch specialist in either case. Mere expressions of a virtuous abhorrence of war will never end war until the crack of doom.

The people who actually want war are perhaps never at any time very numerous. Most people sometimes want war, and a few people always want war. It is these last who are, so to speak, the living nucleus of the war creature that we want to destroy. That liking for an effective smash which gleamed out in me for a moment when I heard of the naval guns is with them a dominating motive. It is not outweighed and overcome in them as it is in me by the sense of waste, and by pity and horror and by love for men who can do brave deeds and yet weep bitterly for misery and the deaths of good friends. These war-lovers are creatures of a simpler constitution. And they seem capable of an ampler hate.

You will discover, if you talk to them

skillfully, that they hold that war “ennobles,” and that when they say ennobles they mean that it is destructive to the ten thousand things in life that they do not enjoy or understand or tolerate, things that fill them, therefore, with envy and perplexity—such things as pleasure, beauty, delicacy, leisure. In the cant of modern talk you will find them call everything that is not crude and forcible in life “degenerate.” But back to the very earliest writings, in the most bloodthirsty outpourings of the Hebrew prophets, for example, you will find that at the base of the warrior spirit is hate for more complicated, for more refined, for more beautiful and happier living.

The military peoples of the world have almost always been harsh and rather stupid peoples, full of a virtuous indignation of all they did not understand. The modern Prussian goes to war today with as supreme a sense of moral superiority as the Arabs when they swept down upon Egypt and North Africa. The burning of the library of Alexandria remains forever the symbol of the triumph of a militarist “culture” over civilization. This easy belief of the dull and violent that war “braces” comes out of a real instinct of self-preservation against the subtler tests of peace. This type of person will keep on with war if it can. It is to politics what the criminal type is to social order; it will be resentful and hostile to every attempt to fix up a pacific order in the world.

This heavy envy which is the dominant characteristic of the pro-military type is by no means confined to it. More or less it is in all of us. In England one finds it far less frequently in professional soldiers than among sedentary learned men. In Germany, too, the more uncompromising and ferocious pro-militarism is to be found in the frock coats of the professors. Just at present England is full of virtuous reprehension of German military professors, but there is really no monopoly of such in Germany, and before Germany England produced some of the most perfect specimens of aggressive militarist conceivable. To read Froude upon Ireland or

Carlyle upon the Franco-German War is to savor this hate-dripping temperament in its perfection.

Much of this literary bellicosity is pathological. Men overmuch in studies and universities get ill in their livers and sluggish in their circulations; they suffer from shyness, from a persuasion of excessive and neglected merit, old maid's melancholy, and a detestation of all the levities of life. And their suffering finds its vent in ferocious thoughts. A vigorous daily bath, a complete stoppage of wine, beer, spirits, and tobacco, and two hours of hockey in the afternoon would probably make decently tolerant men of all these fermenting professional militarists. Such a regimen would certainly have been the salvation of both Froude and Carlyle. It would probably have saved the world from the vituperation of the Hebrew prophets—those models for infinite mischief.

The extremist cases pass to the average case through insensible degrees. We are all probably, as a species, a little too prone to intolerance, and if we do in all sincerity mean to end war in the world we must prepare ourselves for considerable exercises in restraint when strange people look, behave, believe, and live in a manner different from our own. The minority of permanently bitter souls who want to see objectionable cities burning and men fleeing and dying form the real strength in our occasional complications.

The world has had its latest object lesson in the German abuse of English and French as "degenerates," of the Russians as "Mongol hordes," of the Japanese as "yellow savages," but it is not only Germans who let themselves slip into national vanity and these ugly hostilities to unfamiliar life. The first line of attack against war must be an attack upon self-righteousness and intolerance. These things are the germ of uncompromising and incurable militarism everywhere.

Now, the attack upon self-righteousness and intolerance and the stern, self-satisfied militarism that arises naturally out of these things is to be made in a

number of ways. The first is a sedulous propaganda of the truth about war, a steadfast resolve to keep the pain of warfare alive in the nerves of the careless, to keep the stench of war under the else indifferent nose. It is only in the study of the gloomily megalomaniac historian that aggressive war becomes a large and glorious thing. In reality it is a filthy outrage upon life, an idiot's smashing of the furniture of homes, a mangling, a malignant mischief, a scalding of stokers, a disemboweling of gunners, a raping of caught women by drunken soldiers. By book and pamphlet, by picture and cinematograph film, the pacifist must organize wisdom in these matters.

And not only indignation and distress must come to this task. The stern, uncompromising militarist will not be moved from his determinations by our horror and hostility. These things will but "brace" him. He has a more vulnerable side. The ultimate lethal weapon for every form of stupidity is ridicule, and against the high silliness of the militarist it is particularly effective. It is the laughter of wholesome men that will finally end war. The stern, strong, silent man will cease to trouble us only when we have stripped him of his last rag of pretension and touched through to the quick of his vanity with the realization of his apprehended foolishness. Literature will have failed humanity if it is so blinded by the monstrous agony in Flanders as to miss the essential triviality at the head of the present war. Not the slaughter of ten million men can make the quality of the German Kaiser other than theatrical and silly.

The greater part of the world is in an agony, a fever, but that does not make the cause of that fever noble or great. A man may die of yellow fever through the bite of a mosquito; that does not make a mosquito anything more than a dirty little insect or an aggressive imperialist better than a pothouse fool.

Henceforth we must recognize no heroic war but defensive war, and as the only honorable warriors such men as those peasants of Visé who went out with shotguns against the multitudinous

overwhelming nuisance of invasion that trampled down their fields.

Or war to aid such defensive war.

II.

But the people who positively admire and advocate and want war for its own sake are only a small, feverish minority of mankind. The greater obstacle to the pacification of the world is not the war-seeker, but the vast masses of people who for the most various motives support and maintain all kinds of institutions and separations that make for war. They do not want war, they do not like war, but they will not make sacrifices, they will not exert themselves in any way to make war difficult or impossible.

It is they who give the war maniac his opportunity. They will not lock the gun away from him, they will not put a reasonable limit to the disputes into which he can ultimately thrust his violent substitute for a solution. They are like the people who dread and detest yellow fever, but oppose that putting of petrol on the ponds which is necessary to prevent it because of the injury to the water flowers.

Now, it is necessary, if we are to have an intelligently directed anti-war campaign, that we should make a clear, sound classification of these half-hearted people, these people who do not want war, but who permit it. Their indecisions, their vagueness, these are the really effective barriers to our desire to end war forever.

And first, there is one thing very obvious, and that is the necessity for some controlling world authority if treaties are to be respected and war abolished. While there are numerous sovereign States in the world each absolutely free to do what it chooses, to arm its people or repudiate engagements, there can be no sure peace. But great multitudes of those who sincerely desire peace forever cannot realize this. There are, for example, many old-fashioned English liberals who denounce militarism and "treaty entanglements" with equal ardor; they want Britain to stand alone, unaggressive, but free; not realizing

that such an isolation is the surest encouragement to any war-enamored power. Exactly the same type is to be found in the United States, and is probably even more influential there. But only by so spinning a web of treaties that all countries are linked by general obligations to mutual protection can a real world-pacification be achieved.

The present alliance against the insufferable militarism of Germany may very probably be the precursor of a much wider alliance against any aggression whatever in the future. Only through some such arrangement is there any reasonable hope of a control and cessation of that constant international bickering and pressure, that rivalry in finance, that competition for influence in weak neutral countries, which has initiated all the struggles of the last century, and which is bound to accumulate tensions for fresh wars so long as it goes on.

Already several States, and particularly the Government of the United States of America, have signed treaties of arbitration, and The Hague Tribunal spins a first web of obligations, exemplary if gossamer, between the countries of the world. But these are but the faint initial suggestions of much greater possibilities, and it is these greater possibilities that have now to be realized if all the talk we have had about a war to end war is to bear any fruit. What is now with each week of the present struggle becoming more practicable is the setting up of a new assembly that will take the place of the various embassies and diplomatic organizations, of a mediaeval pattern and tradition, which have hitherto conducted international affairs.

This war must end in a public settlement, to which all of the belligerents will set their hands; it will not be a bundle of treaties, but one treaty binding eight or nine or more powers. This settlement will almost certainly be attained at a conference of representatives of the various Foreign Offices involved. Quite possibly interested neutral powers will also send representatives. There is no reason whatever why this conference

should dissolve, why it should not become a permanent conference upon the inter-relations of the participating powers and the maintenance of the peace of the world. It could have a seat and officials, a staff, and a revenue of its own; it could sit and debate openly, publish the generally binding treaties between its constituent powers, and claim for the support of its decisions their military and naval resources.

The predominance of the greater powers could be secured either by the representatives having multiple votes, according to the population represented, or by some sort of proportional representation. Each power could appoint its representatives through its Foreign Office or by whatever other means it thought fit. They could as conveniently be elected by a legislature or a nation. And such a body would not only be of enormous authority in the statement, interpretation, and enforcement of treaties, but it could also discharge a hundred useful functions in relation to world hygiene, international trade and travel, the control of the ocean, the exploration and conservation of the world's supplies of raw material and food supply. It would be, in fact, a World Council.

Today this is an entirely practicable and hopeful proposal if only we can overcome the opposition of those who cling to the belief that it is possible for a country to be at the same time entirely pacific and entirely irresponsible to and detached from the rest of mankind.

Given such a body, such a great alliance of world powers, much else in the direction of world pacification becomes possible. Without it we may perhaps expect a certain benefit from the improved good feeling of mankind and the salutary overthrow of the German military culture, but we cannot hope for any real organized establishment of peace.

I believe that a powerful support for the assembly and continuance of such a world congress as this could be easily and rapidly developed in North and South America, in Britain and the British Empire generally, in France and

Italy, in all the smaller States of northern, central, and western Europe. It would probably have the personal support of the Czar, unless he has profoundly changed the opinions with which he opened his reign, the warm accord-ance of educated China and Japan, and the good will of a renescent Germany. It would open a new era for mankind.

III.

Now, this idea of a congress of the belligerents to arrange the peace settlements after this war, expanding by the accession of neutral powers into a permanent world congress for the enforcement of international law and the maintenance of the peace of mankind, is so reasonable and attractive and desirable that if it were properly explained it would probably receive the support of nineteen out of every twenty intelligent persons.

Nevertheless, its realization is, on the whole, improbable. A mere universal disgust with war is no more likely to end war than the universal dislike for dying has ended death. And though war, unlike dying, seems to be an avoidable fate, it does not follow that its present extreme unpopularity will end it unless people not only desire but see to the accomplishment of their desire.

And here again one is likely to meet an active and influential opposition. Though the general will and welfare may point to the future management of international relations through a world congress, the whole mass of those whose business has been the direction of international relations is likely to be either skeptical or actively hostile to such an experiment. All the foreign offices and foreign ministers, the diplomatists universally, the politicians who have specialized in national assertion, and the courts that have symbolized and embodied it, all the people, in fact, who will be in control of the settlement, are likely to be against so revolutionary a change.

For it would be an entirely revolutionary change. It would put an end to secrecy. It would end all that is usually understood by diplomacy. It would clear

the world altogether of those private understandings and provisional secret agreements, those intrigues, wire-pullings, and quasi-financial operations that have been the very substance of international relations hitherto. To these able and interested people, for the most part highly seasoned by the present conditions, finished and elaborated players at the old game, this is to propose a new, crude, difficult, and unsympathetic game. They may all of them, or most of them, hate war, but they will cling to the belief that their method of operating may now, after a new settlement, be able to prevent or palliate war.

All men get set in a way of living, and it is as little in human nature to give up cheerfully in the middle of life a familiar method of dealing with things in favor of a new and untried one as it is to change one's language or emigrate to an entirely different land. I realize what this proposal means to diplomatists when I try to suppose myself united to assist in the abolition of written books and journalism in favor of the gramophone and the cinematograph. Or united to adopt German as my means of expression. It is only by an enormous pressure of opinion in the world behind these monarchs, ministers, and representatives that they will be induced even to consider the possibility of adapting themselves to this novel style of international dealing through a permanent congress. It is only the consideration of its enormous hopefulness for the rest of the world that gives one the courage to advocate it.

In the question of the possible abolition of the present diplomatic system, just as in the case of the possible abolition of war, while on the side for abolition there must be a hugely preponderating interest and a hugely preponderating majority, it is, nevertheless, a dispersed interest and an unorganized, miscellaneous majority. The minority is, on the other hand, compact, more intensively and more immediately interested and able to resist such great changes with a maximum of efficiency. There is a tremendous need, therefore, for a world congress organization propaganda

if this advantageously posted minority is to be overcome.

And from such countries as the American States in particular, and from the small liberal neutrals in Europe, whose diplomacy is least developed and least influential, liberal-minded people through the world are most disposed to expect, and do expect, a lead in this particular matter. The liberal forces in Britain, France, and Russia are extraordinarily embarrassed and enslaved by the vast belligerent necessities into which their lives have been caught. But they would take up such a lead with the utmost vigor and enthusiasm.

No one who has followed the diplomatic history of the negotiations that led to this war can doubt that if there had been no secret treaties, but instead open proclamations of intentions and an open discussion of international ambitions, the world might have been saved this catastrophe. It is no condemnation of any person or country to say this. The reserves and hesitations and misconceptions that led Germany to suppose that England would wait patiently while France and Belgium were destroyed before she herself received attention were unavoidable under the existing diplomatic conditions. What reasonable people have to do now is not to recriminate over the details in the working of a system that we can now all of us perceive to be hopelessly bad, but to do our utmost in this season of opportunity to destroy the obscurities in which fresh mischief may fester for our children.

Let me restate this section in slightly different words. At the end of this war there must be a congress of adjustment. The suggestion in this section is to make this congress permanent, to use it as a clearing house of international relationships and to abolish embassies.

Instead of there being a British Ambassador, for example, at every sufficiently important capital, and an ambassador from every important State in London, and a complex tangle of relationships, misstatements, and misconceptions arising from the ill-co-ordinated activities of this double system of agents, it is proposed to send one or several

ambassadors to some central point, such as The Hague, to meet there all the ambassadors of all the significant States in the world and to deal with international questions with a novel frankness in a collective meeting.

This has now become a possible way of doing the world's business because of the development of the means of communication and information. The embassy in a foreign country, as a watching, remonstrating, proposing extension of its country of origin, a sort of eye and finger at the heart of the host country, is now clumsy, unnecessary, inefficient, and dangerous. For most routine work, for reports of all sorts, for legal action, and so forth, on behalf of traveling nationals, the consular service is adequate, or can easily be made adequate. What remains of the ambassadorial apparatus might very well merge with the consular system and the embassy become an international court civility, a ceremonial vestige without any diplomatic value at all.

IV.

Given a permanent world congress developed out of the congress of settlement between the belligerents, a world alliance, with as a last resort a call upon the forces of the associated powers, for dealing with recalcitrants, then a great number of possibilities open out to humanity that must otherwise remain inaccessible. But before we go on to consider these it may be wise to point out how much more likely a world congress is to effect a satisfactory settlement at the end of this war than a congress confined to the belligerents.

The war has progressed sufficiently to convince every one that there is now no possibility of an overwhelming victory for Germany. It must end in a more or less complete defeat of the German and Turkish alliance, and in a considerable readjustment of Austrian and Turkish boundaries. Assisted by the generosity of the doomed Austrians and Turks, the Germans are fighting now to secure a voice as large as possible in the final settlement, and it is conceivable that in the end that settlement may

be made quite an attractive one for Germany proper by the crowning sacrifice of suicide on the part of her two subordinated allies.

There can be little doubt that Russia will gain the enormous advantage of a free opening into the Mediterranean and that the battle of the Marne turned the fortunes of France from disaster to expansion. But the rest of the settlement is still vague and uncertain, and German imperialism, at least, is already working hard and intelligently for a favorable situation at the climax, a situation that will enable this militarist empire to emerge still strong, still capable of recuperation and of a renewal at no very remote date of the struggle for European predominance. This is a thing as little for the good of the saner German people as it is for the rest of the world, but it is the only way in which militant imperialism can survive at all.

The alternative of an imperialism shorn of the glamour of aggression, becoming constitutional and democratic—the alternative, that is to say, of a great liberal Germany—is one that will be as distasteful almost to the people who control the destinies of Germany today, and who will speak and act for Germany in the final settlement, as a complete submission to a Serbian conqueror would be.

At the final conference of settlement Germany will not be really represented at all. The Prussian militarist empire will still be in existence, and it will sit at the council, working primarily for its own survival. Unless the Allies insist upon the presence of representatives of Saxony, Bavaria, and so forth, and demand the evidence of popular sanctions—a thing they are very unlikely to demand—that is what "Germany" will signify at the conference. And what is true of Germany will be true, more or less, of several other of the allied powers.

A conference confined purely to the belligerents will be, in fact, a conference not even representative of the belligerents. And it will be tainted with all the traditional policies, aggressions, suspicions, and subterfuges that led up to the war. It will not be the end of the

old game, but the readjustment of the old game, the old game which is such an abominable nuisance to the development of modern civilization. The idealism of the great alliance will certainly be subjected to enormous strains, and the whole energy of the Central European diplomatists will be directed to developing and utilizing these stresses.

This, I think, must be manifest even to the foreign offices most concerned. They must see already ahead of them a terrible puzzle of arrangement, a puzzle their own bad traditions will certainly never permit them to solve. "God save us," they may very well pray, "from our own cleverness and sharp dealing," and they may even welcome the promise of an enlarged outlook that the entry of the neutral powers would bring with it.

Every foreign office has its ugly, evil elements, and probably every foreign office dreads those elements. There are certainly Russian fools who dream about India, German fools who dream about Canada and South America, British fools who dream about Africa and the East; aggressionists in the blood, people who can no more let nations live in peace than kleptomaniacs can keep their hands in their own pockets. But quite conceivably there are honest monarchs and sane foreign ministers very ready to snatch at the chance of swamping the evil in their own Chancelleries.

It is just here that the value of neutral participation will come in. Whatever ambitions the neutral powers may have of their own, it may be said generally that they are keenly interested in preventing the settlement from degenerating into a deal in points of vantage for any further aggressions in any direction. Both the United States of America and China are traditionally and incurably pacific powers, professing and practicing an unaggressive policy, and the chief outstanding minor States are equally concerned in securing a settlement that shall settle.

And moreover, so wide reaching now are all international agreements that they have not only a claim to intervene juridically, but they have the much more

pressing claim to participate on the ground that no sort of readjustment of Europe, Western Asia, and Africa can leave their own futures unaffected. They are wanted not only in the interests of the belligerent peoples, but for their own sakes and the welfare of the world all together.

V.

Now a world conference, once it is assembled, can take up certain questions that no partial treatment can ever hope to meet. The first of the questions is disarmament. No one who has watched the politics of the last forty years can doubt the very great share the business and finance of armament manufacture has played in bringing about the present horrible killing, and no one who has read accounts of the fighting can doubt how much this industry has enhanced the torment, cruelty, and monstrosity of war.

In the old warfare a man was either stabbed, shot, or thrust through after an hour or so of excitement, and all the wounded on the field were either comfortably murdered or attended to before the dawn of the next day. One was killed by human hands, with understandable and tolerable injuries. But in this war the bulk of the dead—of the western Allies, at any rate—have been killed by machinery, the wounds have been often of an inconceivable horribleness, and the fate of the wounded has been more frightful than was ever the plight of wounded in the hands of victorious savages. For days multitudes of men have been left mangled, half buried in mud and filth, or soaked with water, or frozen, crying, raving between the contending trenches. The number of men that the war, without actual physical wounds, has shattered mentally and driven insane because of its noise, its stresses, its strange unnaturalness, is enormous. Horror in this war has overcome more men than did all the arrows of Cressy.

Almost all this enhanced terribleness of war is due to the novel machinery of destruction that science has rendered possible. The wholesale mangling and

destroying of men by implements they have never seen, without any chance of retaliation, has been its most constant feature. You cannot open a paper of any date since the war began without reading of men burned, scalded, and drowned by the bursting of torpedoes from submarines, of men falling out of the sky from shattered aeroplanes, of women and children in Antwerp or Paris mutilated frightfully or torn to ribbons by aerial bombs, of men smashed and buried alive by shells. An indiscriminate, diabolical violence of explosives resulting in cruelties for the most part ineffective from the military point of view is the incessant refrain of this history.

The increased dreadfulness of war due to modern weapons is, however, only one consequence of their development. The practicability of aggressive war in settled countries now is entirely dependent on the use of elaborate artillery on land and warships at sea. Were there only rifles in the world, were an ordinary rifle the largest kind of gun permitted, and were ships specifically made for war not so made, then it would be impossible to invade any country defended by a patriotic and spirited population with any hopes of success because of the enormous defensive capacity of entrenched riflemen not subjected to an unhampered artillery attack.

Modern war is entirely dependent upon equipment of the most costly and elaborate sort. A general agreement to reduce that equipment would not only greatly minimize the evil of any war that did break out, but it would go a long way toward the abolition of war. A community of men might be unwilling to renounce their right of fighting one another if occasion arose, but they might still be willing to agree not to carry arms or to carry arms of a not too lethal sort, to carry pistols instead of rifles or sticks instead of swords. That, indeed, has been the history of social amelioration in a number of communities; it has led straight to a reduction in the number of encounters. So in the same way the powers of the world might be willing to adopt such a limitation of armaments,

while still retaining the sovereign right of declaring war in certain eventualities. Under the assurances of a world council threatening a general intervention, such a partial disarmament would be greatly facilitated.

And another aspect of disarmament which needs to be taken up and which only a world congress can take up must be the arming of barbaric or industrially backward powers by the industrially and artillery forces in such countries as efficient powers, the creation of navies Turkey, Servia, Peru, and the like. In Belgium countless Germans were blown to pieces by German-made guns, Europe arms Mexico against the United States; China, Africa, Arabia are full of European and American weapons. It is only the mutual jealousies of the highly organized States that permit this leakage of power. The tremendous warnings of our war should serve to temper their foolish hostilities, and now, if ever, is the time to restrain this insane arming of the less advanced communities.

But before that can be done it is necessary that the manufacture of war material should cease to be a private industry and a source of profit to private individuals, that all the invention and enterprise that blossoms about business should be directed no longer to the steady improvement of man-killing. It is a preposterous and unanticipated thing that respectable British gentlemen should be directing magnificently organized masses of artisans upon the Tyne-side in the business of making weapons that may ultimately smash some of those very artisans to smithereens.

At the risk of being called "Utopian" I would submit that the world is not so foolish as to allow that sort of thing to go on indefinitely. It is, indeed, quite a recent human development. All this great business of armament upon commercial lines is the growth of half a century. But it has grown with the vigor of an evil weed, it has thrown out a dark jungle of indirect advertisement, and it has compromised and corrupted great numbers of investors and financial people. It is perhaps the most powerful single interest of all those that will fight

against the systematic minimization and abolition of war, and rather than lose his end it may be necessary for the pacifist to buy out all these concerns, to insist upon the various States that have sheltered them taking them over, lock, stock, and barrel, as going businesses.

From what we know of officialism everywhere, the mere transfer will involve almost at once a decline in their vigor and innovating energy. It is perhaps fortunate that the very crown of the private armaments business is the Krupp organization and that its capture and suppression is a matter of supreme importance to all the allied powers. Russia, with her huge population, has not as yet developed armament works upon a very large scale and would probably welcome proposals that minimized the value of machinery and so enhanced that of men. Beyond this and certain American plants for the making of rifles and machine guns only British and French capital is very deeply involved in the armaments trade. The problem is surely not too difficult for human art and honesty.

It is not being suggested that the making of arms should cease in the world, but only that in every country it should become a State monopoly and so completely under Government control. If the State can monopolize the manufacture and sale of spirits, as Russia has done, if it can, after the manner of Great Britain, control the making and sale of such a small, elusive substance as saccharin, it is ridiculous to suppose that it cannot keep itself fully informed of the existence of such elaborated machinery as is needed to make a modern rifle barrel. And it demands a very minimum of alertness, good faith, and good intentions for the various manufacturing countries to keep each other and the world generally informed upon the question of the respective military equipments. From this state of affairs to a definition of a permissible maximum of strength on land and sea for all the high contracting powers is an altogether practicable step. Disarmament is not a dream; it is a thing more practicable than a general hygienic convention and

more easily enforced than custom and excise.

Now none of this really involves the abandonment of armies or uniforms or national service. Indeed, to a certain extent it restores the importance of the soldier at the expense of machinery. A world conference for the suppressing of the peace and the preservation of armaments would neither interfere with such dear incorrigible squabbles as that of the orange and green factions in Ireland, (though it might deprive them of their more deadly weapons,) nor absolutely prohibit war between adjacent States. It would, however, be a very powerful delaying force against the outbreak of war, and it would be able to insist with a quite novel strength upon the observation of the rules of war.

It is no good pretending that mere pacifism will end war; what will end war, what, indeed, may be ending war at the present time, is war—against militarism. Force respects itself and no other power. The hope for a world of peace in the future lies in that, in the possibility of a great alliance, so powerful that it will compel adhesions, an alliance prepared to make war upon and destroy and replace the Government of any State that became aggressive in its militarism. This alliance will be in effect a world congress perpetually restraining aggressive secession, and obviously it must regard all the No-Man's Lands—and particularly that wild waste, the ocean—as its highway. The fleets and marines of the allied world powers must become the police of the wastes and waters of the earth.

VI.

Now, such a collective control of belligerence and international relations is the obvious common sense settlement of the present world conflict, it is so manifest, so straight-forward that were it put plainly to them it would probably receive the assent of nineteen sane men out of twenty in the world. This, or some such thing as this, they would agree, is far better than isolations and the perpetual threat of fresh warfare.

But against it there work forces, within these people and without, that render the attainment of this generally acceptable solution far less probable than a kind of no-solution that will only be a reopening of all our hostilities and conflicts upon a fresh footing. Some of these forces are vague and general, and can only be combated by a various and abundant liberal literature, in a widely dispersed battle in which each right-thinking man must do as his conscience directs him. There are the vague national antagonisms, the reservations in favor of one's own country's righteousness, harsh religious and social and moral cant of the Carlyle type, greed, resentment, and suspicion. The greatest of these vague oppositions is that want of faith which makes man say war has always been and must always be, which makes them prophesy that whatever we do will become corrupted and evil, even in the face of intolerable present evils and corruptions.

When at the outbreak of the war I published an article headed "The War That Will End War," at once Mr. W. L. George hastened to reprove my dreaming impracticability. "War there has always been." Great is the magic of a word! He was quite oblivious to the fact that war has changed completely in its character half a dozen times in half a dozen centuries; that the war we fought in South Africa and the present war and the wars of mediaeval Italy and the wars of the Red Indians have about as much in common as a cat and a man and a pair of scissors and a motor car—namely, that they may all be the means of death.

If war can change its character as much as it has done it can change it altogether; if peace can be kept indefinitely in India or North America, it can be kept throughout the world. It is not I who dream, but Mr. George and his like who are not yet fully awake, and it is their somnolence that I dread more than anything else when I think of the great task of settlement before the world.

It is this rather hopeless, inert, pseudo-sage mass of unbelievers who

render possible the continuation of war dangers. They give scope for the activities of the evil minority which hates, which lives by pride and grim satisfactions, and which is therefore anxious to have more war and more. And it is these inert half-willed people who will obstruct the disentanglement of the settlement from diplomatic hands. "What do we know about the nuance of such things?" they will ask, with that laziness that apes modesty. It is they who will complain when we seek to buy out the armaments people. Probably all the private armament firms in the world could be bought up for seventy million pounds, but the unbelievers will shake their heads and say: "Then there will only be something else instead."

Yet there are many ungauged forces on the side of the greater settlement. Cynicism is never more than a half-truth, and because man is imperfect it does not follow that he must be futile. Russia is a land of strange silences, but it is manifest that whatever the innermost quality of the Czar may be, he is no clap-trap vulgar conqueror of the Wilhelm-Napoleon pattern. He began his reign, and he may yet crown his reign, with an attempt to establish peace on a newer, broader foundation. His religion, it would seem, is his master and not his servant. There has been no Russian Bernhardt.

And there has been much in America, much said and much done, since the war broke out that has surprised the world. I may confess for myself, and I believe that I shall speak for many other Europeans in this matter, that what we feared most in the United States was levity. We expected mere excitement, violent fluctuations of opinion, a confused irresponsibility, and possibly mischievous and disastrous interventions. It is no good hiding an open secret. We judged America by the peace headline. It is time we began to offer our apologies to America and democracy. The result of reading endless various American newspapers and articles, of following the actions of the American Government, of talking to representative Americans, is to realize the existence of a very clear,

strong national mentality, a firm, self-controlled, collective will, far more considerable in its totality than the world has ever seen before.

We thought the United States would be sentimentally patriotic and irresponsible, that they would behave as though the New World was, indeed, a separate planet, and as though they had neither duties nor brotherhood in Europe. It is quite clear, on the contrary, that the people of the United States consider this war as their affair also, and that they have the keenest sense of their responsibility for the general welfare of mankind.

So that as a second chance, after the possibility of a broad handling of the settlement by the Czar, and as a very much bigger probability, is the insistence by America upon her right to a voice in the ultimate settlement and an initiative from the Western Hemisphere that will lead to a world congress. There are the two most hopeful sources of that great proposal. It is the tradition of British national conduct to be commonplace to the pitch of dullness, and all the stifled intelligence of Great Britain will beat in vain against the national passion for the ordinary. Britain, in the guise of Sir Edward Grey, will come to the congress like a family solicitor among the Gods. What is the good of shamming about this least heroic of

Fatherlands? But Britain would follow a lead; the family solicitor is honest and well-meaning. France and Belgium and Italy are too deeply in the affair, or without sufficient moral prestige, for a revolutionary initiative in international relationship.

There is, however, a possible third source from which the proposal for a world congress might come, with the support of both neutrals and belligerents, and that is The Hague. Were there a man of force and genius at The Hague now, a man speaking with authority and not as the scribes, he might thrust enormous benefits upon the world.

It is from these three sources that I most hope for leading now. Of the new Pope and his influence I know nothing. But in the present situation of the world's affairs it behooves us ill to wait idle until leaders clear the way for us. Every man who realizes the broad conditions of the situation, every one who can talk or write or echo, can do his utmost to spread his realization of the possibilities of a world congress and the establishment of world law and world peace that lie behind the monstrous agonies and cruelties and confusions of this catastrophic year. Given an immense body of opinion initiatives may break out effectively anywhere; failing it, they will be fruitless everywhere.

SMALL BUT GREAT-SOULED.

By EMMELINE PANKHURST.

[From King Albert's Book.]

THE women of Great Britain will never forget what Belgium has done for all that women hold most dear.

In the days to come mothers will tell their children how a small but great-souled nation fought to the death against overwhelming odds and sacrificed all things to save the world from an intolerable tyranny.

The story of the Belgian people's defense of freedom will inspire countless generations yet unborn.

Zeppelin Raids on London

By the Naval Correspondent of The London Times

[From The London Times, Jan. 22, 1915.]

SOME doubt has been thrown by correspondents upon the ability of the Zeppelins to reach London from Cuxhaven, the place from which the raiders of Tuesday night appear to have started. The distance which the airships traveled, including their manoeuvres over the land, must have been quite 650 miles. This is not nearly as far as similar airships have traveled in the past. One of the Zeppelins flew from Friedrichshafen, on Lake Constance, to Berlin, a continuous flight of about 1,000 miles, in thirty-one hours. Our naval officers will also recall the occasion of the visit of the First Cruiser Squadron to Copenhagen in September, 1912, when the German passenger airship Hansa was present. The Hansa made the run from Hamburg to Copenhagen, a distance of 198 miles, in seven hours, and Count Zeppelin was on board her. Supposing an airship left Cuxhaven at noon on some day when the conditions were favorable and traveled to London, she could not get back again by noon next day if she traveled at the half-power speed which the vessels on Tuesday appear to have used. But if she did the run at full speed—that is to say, at about fifty miles an hour—she could reach London by 9 o'clock the same evening, have an hour to manoeuvre over the capital, and return by 7 o'clock next morning. With a favorable wind for her return journey, she might make an even longer stay. Given suitable conditions, therefore, as on Tuesday, there appears to be no reason why, as far as speed and fuel endurance are concerned, these vessels should not reach London from Cuxhaven.

With regard also to the amount of ammunition a Zeppelin can carry, this depends, of course, on the lifting power of the airship and the way in which it is

distributed. The later Zeppelins are said to be able to carry a load of about 15,000 pounds, which is available for the crew, fuel for the engines, ballast, provisions, and spare stores, a wireless installation, and armament or ammunition. With engines of 500 horse power, something like 360 pounds of fuel is used per hour to drive them at full speed. Thus for a journey of twenty hours the vessel would need at least 7,200 pounds of fuel. The necessary crew would absorb 2,000 pounds more, and probably another 1,500 pounds would be taken up for ballast and stores. Allowing a weight of 250 pounds for the wireless equipment, there would remain about 4,000 pounds for bombs, or something less than two tons of explosives, for use against a target 458 miles from the base. This amount of ammunition could be increased proportionately as the conditions were altered by using a nearer base, or by proceeding at a slower and therefore more economical speed, &c.

It is noteworthy that although the German airships were expected to act as scouts in the North Sea they do not appear to have accomplished anything in this direction. Possibly this has been due to the fear of attack by our men-of-war or aircraft if the movements were made in daytime, when alone they would be useful for this purpose. What happened during the Christmas Day affair, when, as the official report said, "a novel combat" ensued between the most modern cruisers on the one hand and the enemy's aircraft and submarines on the other, would not tend to lessen this apprehension. On the other hand, the greater stability of the atmosphere at night makes navigation after dark easier, and I believe that it has been usual in all countries for airships to make their trial trips at night.

It is customary also for the airships to

Radius of Action of a Modern Zeppelin



The above outline map, which we reproduce from "The Naval Annual," shows in the dotted circle the comparative radius of action of a modern Zeppelin at half-power—about 36 knots speed—with other types of air machines, assuming her to be based on Cologne. It is estimated that aircraft of this type, with a displacement of about 22 tons, could run for 60 hours at half-speed, and cover a distance equivalent to about 2,160 sea miles. This would represent the double voyage, out and home, from Cologne well to the north of the British Isles, to Petrograd, to Athens, or to Lisbon. The inner circle shows the radius of action of a Parseval airship at half-power—about 30 knots—based on Farnborough, and the small inner circle represents the radius of action of a hydro-aeroplane based on the Medway.

carry, in addition to explosive and incendiary bombs, others which on being dropped throw out a light and thereby help to indicate to the vessel above the object which it is desired to aim at. Probably some of the bombs which were thrown in Norfolk were of this character. It is understood that all idea of carrying an armament on top of the Zeppelins has now been abandoned, and it is obvious that if searchlight equipment or guns of any sort were carried the useful weight for bombs would have to be reduced unless the range of action was diminished. It will have been noticed that the Zeppelins which came on Tuesday appear to have been anxious to get back before daylight, which looks as if they expected to be attacked if they were seen, as it is fairly certain they would have been.

Assuming the raid of Tuesday to have been in the nature of a trial trip, it is

rather curious that it was not made before. Apparently the Zeppelins can only trust themselves to make a raid of this description in very favorable circumstances. Strong winds, heavy rain, or even a damp atmosphere are all hindrances to be considered. That there will be more raids is fairly certain, but there cannot be many nights when the Germans can hope to have a repetition of the conditions of weather and darkness which prevailed this week. It should be possible, more or less, to ascertain the nights in every month in which, given other suitable circumstances, raids are likely to be made. In view of the probability that the attacks made by British aviators on the Zeppelin bases at Düsseldorf and Friedrichshafen caused a delay in the German plans for making this week's attack, it would appear that the most effective antidote would be a repetition of such legitimate operations.

JULIUS CAESAR ON THE AISNE

[From The New Yorker Herold (Morgenblatt.)]

IT has repeatedly been pointed out that 2,000 years ago Julius Caesar fought on the battlegrounds of the Aisne, which are now the location of the fierce fighting between the Germans and the French. It is probably less known, however, that in this present war Caesar's "Commentarii de Bello Gallico" are used by French officers as a practical text book on strategy. The war correspondent of the *Corriere della Serra* reports this some what astonishing fact.

A few weeks ago he visited his friend, a commanding Colonel of a French regiment, in his trench, which was furnished with bare necessities only. In a corner on a small table lay the open volume of "Commentarii Caesaris," which the visitor took into his hand out of curiosity in order to see what passage the Colonel had just been reading. There he found the description of the fight against the Reimer, who, at that time, lived in the neighborhood of the present city of Rheims. Principally with the aid of his Numidian troops, Caesar at that time had prevented the Reimer from crossing the River Axona, today called the Aisne.

Caesar's camp was only a few kilometers from Berry-au-Bac, in the vicinity of Pontavert, the headquarters of the division to which the regiment of the Colonel belonged. This Colonel had received the order to cross the River Aisne with Moroccans and Spahis, and for this purpose he had studied the description of Caesar. To the astonished question of the reporter, what made him occupy his mind with the study of Caesar, the Frenchman replied:

"Caesar's battle descriptions form a book from which even in this present-day war a great deal may be learned. Caesar is by no means as obsolete as you seem to think. I ask you to consider, for instance, that the trenches which have gained so much importance in this war date back to Julius Caesar."



H. M. CHRISTIAN X
King of Denmark
(Photo from Paul Thompson)



PRESENT AND FUTURE QUEENS OF THE
NETHERLANDS
Queen Wilhelmina with Her Little Daughter Juliana,
Princess of Orange

Sir John French's Own Story

Continuing the Famous Dispatches of the British Commander in Chief
to Lord Kitchener

The previous dispatches, reviewing the operations of the British regular and territorial troops on the Continent under Field Marshal French's chief command, appeared in *THE NEW YORK TIMES CURRENT HISTORY* of Jan. 23, 1915, bringing the account of operations to Nov. 20, 1914. The official dispatch to Earl Kitchener presented below records the bitter experiences of the Winter in the trenches from the last week of November until Feb. 2, 1915.

The following dispatch was received on Feb. 12, 1915, from the Field Marshal Commanding in Chief, the British Army in the Field.

*To the Secretary of State for War,
War Office, London, S. W.*

General Headquarters,

Feb. 2, 1915.

MY Lord: I have the honor to forward a further report on the operations of the army under my command.

1. In the period under review the salient feature was the presence of his Majesty the King in the field. His Majesty arrived at Headquarters on Nov. 30 and left on Dec. 5.

At a time when the strength and endurance of the troops had been tried to the utmost throughout the long and arduous battle of Ypres-Armentières the presence of his Majesty in their midst was of the greatest possible help and encouragement.

His Majesty visited all parts of the extensive area of operations and held numerous inspections of the troops behind the line of trenches.

On Nov. 16 Lieutenant his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, K. G., Grenadier Guards, joined my staff as aide de camp.

2. Since the date of my last report the operations of the army under my command have been subject almost entirely to the limitations of weather.

History teaches us that the course of campaigns in Europe, which have been actively prosecuted during the months of December and January, have been largely influenced by weather conditions. It should, however, be thoroughly under-

stood throughout the country that the most recent development of armaments and the latest methods of conducting warfare have added greatly to the difficulties and drawbacks of a vigorous Winter campaign.

To cause anything more than a waste of ammunition long-range artillery fire requires constant and accurate observation; but this most necessary condition is rendered impossible of attainment in the midst of continual fog and mist.

Again, armies have now grown accustomed to rely largely on aircraft reconnaissance for accurate information of the enemy, but the effective performance of this service is materially influenced by wind and weather.

The deadly accuracy, range, and quick-firing capabilities of the modern rifle and machine gun require that a fire-swept zone be crossed in the shortest possible space of time by attacking troops. But if men are detained under the enemy's fire by the difficulty of emerging from a water-logged trench, and by the necessity of passing over ground knee-deep in holding mud and slush, such attacks become practically prohibitive owing to the losses they entail.

During the exigencies of the heavy fighting which ended in the last week of November the French and British forces had become somewhat mixed up, entailing a certain amount of difficulty in matters of supply and in securing unity of command.

By the end of November I was able to concentrate the army under my command in one area, and, by holding a shorter line, to establish effective reserves.

By the beginning of December there

was a considerable falling off in the volume of artillery fire directed against our front by the enemy. Reconnoissance and reports showed that a certain amount of artillery had been withdrawn. We judged that the cavalry in our front, with the exception of one division of the Guard, had disappeared.

There did not, however, appear to have been any great diminution in the numbers of infantry holding the trenches.

3. Although both artillery and rifle fire were exchanged with the enemy every day, and sniping went on more or less continuously during the hours of daylight, the operations which call for special record or comment are comparatively few.

During the last week in November some successful minor night operations were carried out in the Fourth Corps.

On the night of Nov. 23-24 a small party of the Second Lincolnshire Regiment, under Lieut. E. H. Impey, cleared three of the enemy's advanced trenches opposite the Twenty-fifth Brigade, and withdrew without loss.

On the night of the 24th-25th Capt. J. R. Minshull Ford, Royal Welsh Fusiliers, and Lieut. E. L. Morris, Royal Engineers, with fifteen men of the Royal Engineers and Royal Welsh Fusiliers, successfully mined and blew up a group of farms immediately in front of the German trenches on the Touquet-Bridoux Road which had been used by German snipers.

On the night of Nov. 26-27 a small party of the Second Scots Guards, under Lieut. Sir E. H. W. Hulse, Bart., rushed the trenches opposite the Twentieth Brigade, and after pouring a heavy fire into them returned with useful information as to the strength of the Germans and the position of machine guns.

The trenches opposite the Twenty-fifth Brigade were rushed the same night by a patrol of the Second Rifle Brigade, under Lieut. E. Durham.

On Nov. 23 the One Hundred and Twelfth Regiment of the Fourteenth German Army Corps succeeded in capturing some 800 yards of the trenches held by the Indian Corps, but the general officer commanding the Meerut Division organized a powerful counter-attack, which

lasted throughout the night. At day-break on Nov. 24 the line was entirely re-established.

The operation was a costly one, involving many casualties, but the enemy suffered far more heavily.

We captured over 100 prisoners, including 3 officers, as well as 3 machine guns and two trench mortars.

On Dec. 7 the concentration of the Indian Corps was completed by the arrival of the Sirhind Brigade from Egypt.

On Dec. 9 the enemy attempted to commence a strong attack against the Third Corps, particularly in front of the trenches held by the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders and the Middlesex Regiment.

They were driven back with heavy loss, and did not renew the attempt. Our casualties were very slight.

During the early days of December certain indications along the whole front of the allied line induced the French commanders and myself to believe that the enemy had withdrawn considerable forces from the western theatre.

Arrangements were made with the commander of the Eighth French Army for an attack to be commenced on the morning of Dec. 14.

Operations began at 7 A. M. by a combined heavy artillery bombardment by the two French and the Second British Corps.

The British objectives were the Petit Bois and the Maedelsteed Spur, lying respectively to the west and the southwest of the village of Wytschaete.

At 7:45 A. M. the Royal Scots, with great dash, rushed forward and attacked the former, while the Gordon Highlanders attacked the latter place.

The Royal Scots, commanded by Major F. J. Duncan, D. S. O., in face of a terrible machine gun and rifle fire, carried the German trench on the west edge of the Petit Bois, capturing two machine guns and fifty-three prisoners, including one officer.

The Gordon Highlanders, with great gallantry, advanced up the Maedelsteed Spur, forcing the enemy to evacuate their front trench. They were, however, losing heavily, and found themselves unable to

get any further. At nightfall they were obliged to fall back to their original position.

Capt. C. Boddam-Whetham and Lieut. W. F. R. Dobie showed splendid dash, and with a few men entered the enemy's leading trenches; but they were all either killed or captured.

Lieut. G. R. V. Hume-Gare and Lieut. W. H. Paterson also distinguished themselves by their gallant leading.

Although not successful, the operation was most creditable to the fighting spirit of the Gordon Highlanders, most ably commanded by Major A. W. F. Baird, D. S. O.

As the Thirty-second French Division on the left had been unable to make any progress, the further advance of our infantry into the Wytshaete Wood was not practicable.

Possession of the western edge of the Petit Bois was, however, retained.

The ground was devoid of cover and so water-logged that a rapid advance was impossible, the men sinking deep in the mud at every step they took.

The artillery throughout the day was very skillfully handled by the C. A. R. A.'s of the Fourth and Fifth Divisions—Major Gen. F. D. V. Wing, C. B.; Brig. Gen. G. F. Milne, C. B., D. S. O., and Brig. Gen. J. E. W. Headlam, C. B., D. S. O.

The casualties during the day were about 17 officers and 407 other ranks. The losses of the enemy were very considerable, large numbers of dead being found in the Petit Bois and also in the communicating trenches in front of the Gordon Highlanders, in one of which a hundred were counted by a night patrol.

On this day the artillery of the Fourth Division, Third Corps, was used in support of the attack, under orders of the General Officer Commanding Second Corps.

The remainder of the Third Corps made demonstrations against the enemy with a view to preventing him from detaching troops to the area of operations of the Second Corps.

From Dec. 15 to 17 the offensive operations which were commenced on the 14th were continued, but were confined chiefly to artillery bombardment.

The infantry advance against Wytshaete Wood was not practicable until the French on our left could make some progress to afford protection to that flank.

On the 17th it was agreed that the plan of attack as arranged should be modified; but I was requested to continue demonstrations along my line in order to assist and support certain French operations which were being conducted elsewhere.

4. In his desire to act with energy up to his instructions to demonstrate and occupy the enemy, the General Officer Commanding the Indian Corps decided to take the advantage of what appeared to him a favorable opportunity to launch attacks against the advanced trenches in his front on Dec 18 and 19.

The attack of the Meerut Division on the left was made on the morning of the 19th with energy and determination, and was at first attended with considerable success, the enemy's advanced trenches being captured. Later on, however, a counter-attack drove them back to their original position with considerable loss.

The attack of the Lahore Division commenced at 4:30 A. M. It was carried out by two companies each of the First Highland Light Infantry and the First Battalion, Fourth Gurkha Rifles of the Sirhind Brigade, under Lieut. Col. R. W. H. Ronaldson. This attack was completely successful, two lines of the enemy's trenches being captured with little loss.

Before daylight the captured trenches were filled with as many men as they could hold. The front was very restricted, communication to the rear impossible.

At daybreak it was found that the position was practically untenable. Both flanks were in the air, and a supporting attack, which was late in starting, and, therefore, conducted during daylight, failed, although attempted with the greatest gallantry and resolution.

Lieut. Col. Ronaldson held on till dusk, when the whole of the captured trenches had to be evacuated, and the detachment fell back to its original line.

By the night of Dec. 19 nearly all the

ground gained during the day had been lost.

From daylight on Dec. 20 the enemy commenced a heavy fire from artillery and trench mortars on the whole front of the Indian Corps. This was followed by infantry attacks, which were in especial force against Givenchy, and between that place and La Quinque Rue.

At about 10 A. M. the enemy succeeded in driving back the Sirhind Brigade and capturing a considerable part of Givenchy, but the Fifty-seventh Rifles and Ninth Bhopals, north of the canal, and the Connaught Rangers, south of it, stood firm.

The Fifteenth Sikhs of the Divisional Reserve were already supporting the Sirhind Brigade. On the news of the retirement of the latter being received, the Forty-seventh Sikhs were also sent up to reinforce Gen. Bruncker. The First Manchester Regiment, Fourth Suffolk Regiment, and two battalions of French territorials under Gen. Carnegy were ordered to launch a vigorous counter-attack to retake by a flank attack the trenches lost by the Sirhind Brigade.

Orders were sent to Gen. Carnegy to divert his attack on Givenchy village, and to re-establish the situation there.

A battalion of the Fifty-eighth French Division was sent to Annequin in support.

About 5 P. M. a gallant attack by the First Manchester Regiment and one company of the Fourth Suffolk Regiment had captured Givenchy, and had cleared the enemy out of the two lines of trenches to the northeast. To the east of the village the Ninth Bhopal Infantry and Fifty-seventh Rifles had maintained their positions, but the enemy were still in possession of our trenches to the north of the village.

Gen. Macbean, with the Secunderabad Cavalry Brigade, Second Battalion, Eighth Gurkha Rifles, and the Forty-seventh Sikhs, was sent up to support Gen. Bruncker, who, at 2 P. M., directed Gen. Macbean to move to a position of readiness in the second line trenches from Maris northward, and to counter-attack vigorously if opportunity offered.

Some considerable delay appears to

have occurred, and it was not until 1 A. M. on the 21st that the Forty-seventh Sikhs and the Seventh Dragoon Guards, under the command of Lieut. Col. H. A. Lempriere, D. S. O., of the latter regiment, were launched in counter-attack.

They reached the enemy's trenches, but were driven out by enfilade fire, their gallant commander being killed.

The main attack by the remainder of Gen. Macbean's force, with the remnants of Lieut. Col. Lempriere's detachment, (which had again been rallied,) was finally rushed in at about 4:30 A. M., and also failed.

In the northern section of the defensive line the retirement of the Second Battalion, Second Gurkha Rifles, at about 10 A. M. on the 20th, had left the flank of the First Seaforth Highlanders, on the extreme right of the Meerut Division line, much exposed. This battalion was left shortly afterward completely in the air by the retirement of the Sirhind Brigade.

The Fifty-eighth Rifles, therefore, were ordered to support the left of the Seaforth Highlanders, to fill the gap created by the retirement of the Gurkhas.

During the whole of the afternoon strenuous efforts were made by the Seaforth Highlanders to clear the trenches to their right and left. The First Battalion, Ninth Gurkha Rifles, reinforced the Second Gurkhas near the orchard where the Germans were in occupation of the trenches abandoned by the latter regiment. The Garhwal Brigade was being very heavily attacked, and their trenches and loopholes were much damaged; but the brigade continued to hold its front and attack, connecting with the Sixth Jats on the left of the Dehra Dun Brigade.

No advance in force was made by the enemy, but the troops were pinned to their ground by heavy artillery fire, the Seaforth Highlanders especially suffering heavily.

Shortly before nightfall the Second Royal Highlanders, on the right of the Seaforth Highlanders, had succeeded in establishing touch with the Sirhind Brigade; and the continuous line (though dented near the orchard) existed throughout the Meerut Division.

Early in the afternoon of Dec. 20 orders were sent to the First Corps, which was then in general army reserve, to send an infantry brigade to support the Indian Corps.

The First Brigade was ordered to Bethune, and reached that place at midnight on Dec. 20-21. Later in the day Sir Douglas Haig was ordered to move the whole of the First Division in support of the Indian Corps.

The Third Brigade reached Bethune between 8 A. M. and 9 A. M. on the 21st, and on the same date the Second Brigade arrived at Lacon at 1 P. M.

The First Brigade was directed on Givenchy, via Pont Fixe, and the Third Brigade, through Gorre, on the trenches evacuated by the Sirhind Brigade. The Second Brigade was directed to support, the Dehra Dun Brigade being placed at the disposal of the General Officer Commanding Meerut Division.

At 1 P. M. the General Officer Commanding First Division directed the First Brigade in attack from the west of Givenchy in a northeasterly direction, and the Third Brigade from Festubert in an east-northeasterly direction, the object being to pass the position originally held by us and to capture the German trenches 400 yards to the east of it.

By 5 P. M. the First Brigade had obtained a hold in Givenchy, and the ground south as far as the canal; and the Third Brigade had progressed to a point half a mile west of Festubert.

By nightfall the First South Wales Borderers and the Second Welsh Regiment of the Third Brigade had made a lodgment in the original trenches to the northeast of Festubert, the First Gloucestershire Regiment continuing the line southward-along the track east of Festubert.

The First Brigade had established itself on the east side of Givenchy.

By 3 P. M. the Third Brigade was concentrated at Le Touret, and was ordered to retake the trenches which had been lost by the Dehra Dun Brigade.

By 10 P. M. the support trenches west of the orchard had been carried, but the original fire trenches had been so com-

pletely destroyed that they could not be occupied.

This operation was performed by the First Loyal North Lancashire Regiment and the First Northamptonshire Regiment, supported by the Second King's Royal Rifle Corps, in reserve.

Throughout this day the units of the Indian Corps rendered all the assistance and support they could in view of their exhausted condition.

At 1 P. M. on the 22d Sir Douglas Haig took over command from Sir James Willcocks. The situation in the front line was then approximately as follows:

South of the La Bassée Canal the Connaught Rangers of the Ferozepore Brigade had not been attacked. North of the canal a short length of our original line was still held by the Ninth Bhopals and the Fifty-seventh Rifles of the same brigade. Connecting with the latter was the First Brigade, holding the village of Givenchy and its eastern and northern approaches. On the left of the First Brigade was the Third Brigade. Tenth had been lost between the left of the former and the right of the latter. The Third Brigade held a line along, and in places advanced to, the east of the Festubert Road. Its left was in communication with the right of the Meerut Division line, where troops of the Second Brigade had just relieved the First Seaforth Highlanders. To the north, units of the Second Brigade held an indented line west of the orchard, connecting with half of the Second Royal Highlanders, half of the Forty-first Dogras, and the First Battalion Ninth Gurkha Rifles. From this point to the north the Ninth Jats and the whole of the Garhwal Brigade occupied the original line which they had held from the commencement of the operations.

The relief of most units of the southern sector was effected on the night of Dec. 22. The Meerut Division remained under the orders of the First Corps, and was not completely withdrawn until Dec. 27.

In the evening the position at Givenchy was practically re-established, and the Third Brigade had reoccupied the old line of trenches.

During the 23d the enemy's activities ceased, and the whole position was restored to very much its original condition.

In my last dispatch I had occasion to mention the prompt and ready help I received from the Lahore Division, under the command of Major Gen. H. B. B. Watkis, C. B., which was thrown into action immediately on arrival, when the British forces were very hard pressed during the battle of Ypres-Armentières.

The Indian troops have fought with the utmost steadfastness and gallantry whenever they have been called upon.

Weather conditions were abnormally bad, the snow and floods precluding any active operations during the first three weeks of January.

5. At 7:30 A. M. on Jan. 25 the enemy began to shell Bethune, and at 8 A. M. a strong hostile infantry attack developed south of the canal, preceded by a heavy bombardment of artillery, minenwerfers, and, possibly, the explosion of mines, though the latter is doubtful.

The British line south of the canal formed a pronounced salient from the canal on the left, thence running forward toward the railway triangle and back to the main La Bassée-Bethune Road, where it joined the French. This line was occupied by half a battalion of the Scots Guards, and half a battalion of the Coldstream Guards, of the First Infantry Brigade. The trenches in the salient were blown in almost at once, and the enemy's attack penetrated this line. Our troops retired to a partially prepared second line, running approximately due north and south from the canal to the road, some 500 yards west of the railway triangle. This second line had been strengthened by the construction of a keep half way between the canal and the road. Here the other two half battalions of the above-mentioned regiments were in support.

These supports held up the enemy, who, however, managed to establish himself in the brick stacks and some communication trenches between the keep, the road, and the canal—and even

beyond the west of the keep on either side of it.

The London Scottish had in the meantime been sent up in support, and a counter-attack was organized with the First Royal Highlanders, part of the First Cameron Highlanders, and the Second King's Royal Rifle Corps, the latter regiment having been sent forward from the Divisional Reserve.

The counter-attack was delayed in order to synchronize with a counter-attack north of the canal which was arranged for 1 P. M.

At 1 P. M. these troops moved forward, their flanks making good progress near the road and the canal, but their centre being held up. The Second Royal Sussex Regiment was then sent forward, late in the afternoon, to reinforce. The result was that the Germans were driven back far enough to enable a somewhat broken line to be taken up, running from the culvert on the railway, almost due south to the keep, and thence southeast to the main road.

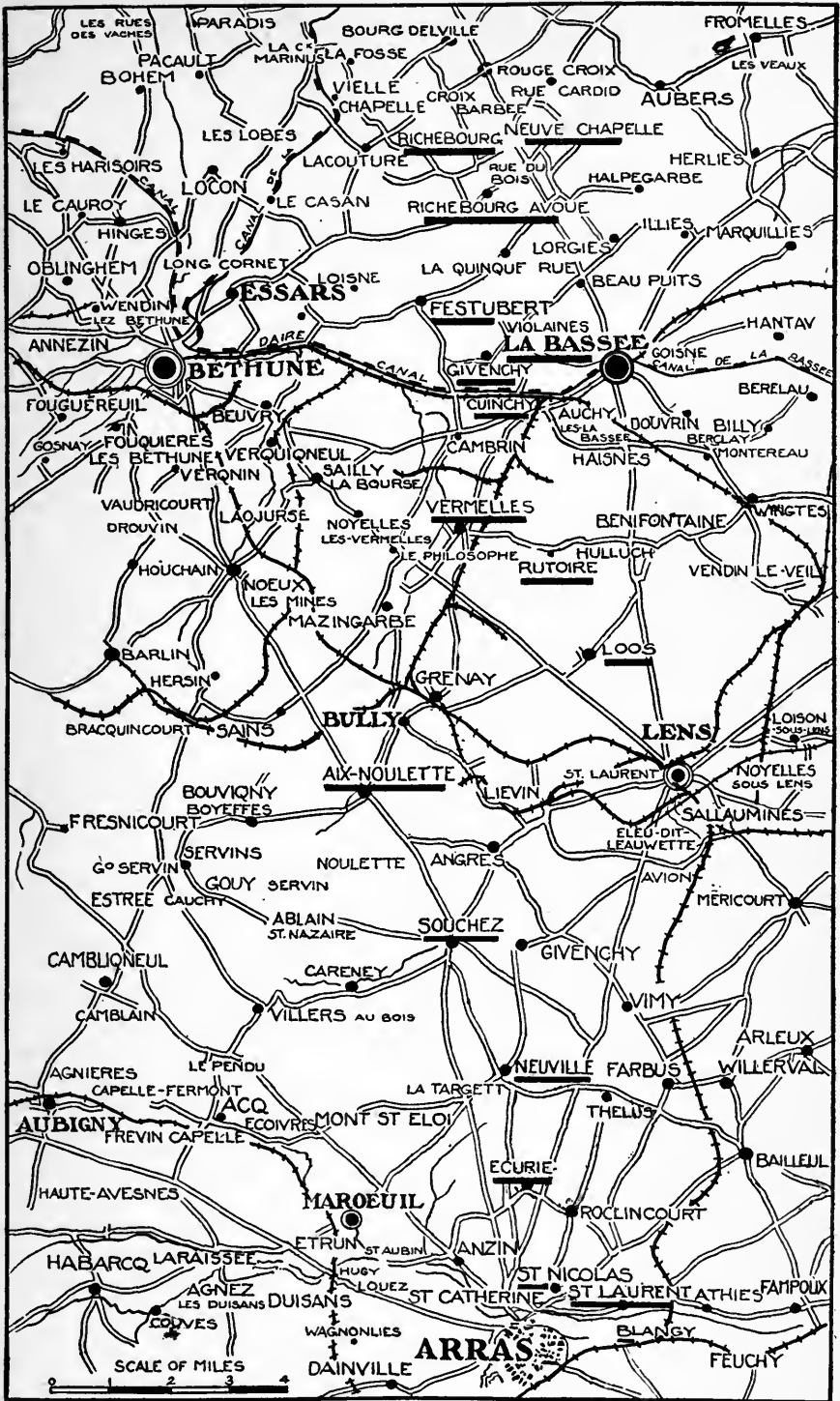
The French left near the road had also been attacked and driven back a little, but not to so great an extent as the British right. Consequently the French left was in advance of the British right, and exposed to a possible flank attack from the north.

The Germans did not, however, persevere further in their attack.

The above-mentioned line was strengthened during the night, and the First Guards Brigade, which had suffered severely, was withdrawn into reserve and replaced by the Second Infantry Brigade.

While this was taking place another and equally severe attack was delivered north of the canal against the village of Givenchy.

At 8:15 A. M., after a heavy artillery bombardment with high explosive shells, the enemy's infantry advanced under the effective fire of our artillery, which, however, was hampered by the constant interruption of telephonic communication between the observers and batteries. Nevertheless, our artillery fire, combined with that of the infantry in the fire trenches, had the effect of driving the enemy from its original direction of ad-



The places underlined in the above map indicate the points around La Bassée and southward to Arras, where part of the British Expeditionary Force was heavily engaged.

vance, with the result that his troops crowded together on the northeast corner of the village and broke through into the centre of the village as far as the keep, which had been previously put in a state of defense.

The Germans had lost heavily, and a well-timed local counter-attack, delivered by the reserves of the Second Welsh Regiment and First South Wales Borderers, and by a company of the First Royal Highlanders, (lent by the First Brigade as a working party—this company was at work on the keep at the time,) was completely successful, with the result that after about an hour's street fighting all who had broken into the village were either captured or killed, and the original line around the village was re-established by noon.

South of the village, however, and close to the canal, the right of the Second Royal Munster Fusiliers fell back in conformity with the troops south of the canal, but after dark that regiment moved forward and occupied the old line.

During the course of the attack on Givenchy the enemy made five assaults on the salient at the northeast of the village about French Farm, but was repulsed every time with heavy loss.

6. On the morning of Jan. 29 attacks were made on the right of the First Corps, south of the canal in the neighborhood of La Bassée.

The enemy, (part of the Fourteenth German Corps,) after a severe shelling, made a violent attack with scaling ladders on the keep, also to the north and south of it. In the keep and on the north side the Sussex Regiment held the enemy off, inflicting on him serious losses. On the south side the hostile infantry succeeded in reaching the Northamptonshire Regiment's trenches, but were immediately counter-attacked and all killed. Our artillery co-operated well with the infantry in repelling the attack.

In this action our casualties were inconsiderable, but the enemy lost severely, more than 200 of his killed alone being left in front of our position.

7. On Feb. 1 a fine piece of work

was carried out by the Fourth Brigade in the neighborhood of Cuinchy.

Some of the Second Coldstream Guards were driven from their trenches at 2:30 A. M., but made a stand some twenty yards east of them in a position which they held till morning.

A counter-attack, launched at 3:15 A. M., by one company of the Irish Guards and half a company of the Second Coldstream Guards, proved unsuccessful, owing to heavy rifle fire from the east and south.

At 10:05 A. M., acting under orders of the First Division, a heavy bombardment was opened on the lost ground for ten minutes; and this was followed immediately by an assault by about fifty men of the Second Coldstream Guards with bayonets, led by Capt. A. Leigh Bennett, followed by thirty men of the Irish Guards, led by Second Lieut. F. F. Graham, also with bayonets. These were followed by a party of Royal Engineers with sand bags and wire.

All the ground which had been lost was brilliantly retaken, the Second Coldstream Guards also taking another German trench and capturing two machine guns.

Thirty-two prisoners fell into our hands.

The General Officer Commanding First Division describes the preparation by the artillery as "splendid, the high explosive shells dropping in the exact spot with absolute precision."

In forwarding his report on this engagement, the General Officer Commanding First Army writes as follows:

Special credit is due—

(i) To Major Gen. Haking, commanding First Division, for the prompt manner in which he arranged this counter-attack and for the general plan of action, which was crowned with success.

(ii) To the General Officer commanding the Fourth Brigade (Lord Cavan) for the thorough manner in which he carried out the orders of the General Officer commanding the division.

(iii) To the regimental officers, non-commissioned officers, and men of the Second Coldstream Guards and Irish Guards, who, with indomitable pluck, stormed two sets of barricades, captured three German trenches, two machine guns, and killed or made prisoners many of the enemy.

8. During the period under report the Royal Flying Corps has again performed splendid service.

Although the weather was almost uniformly bad and the machines suffered from constant exposure, there have been only thirteen days on which no actual reconnaissance has been effected. Approximately, 100,000 miles have been flown.

In addition to the daily and constant work of reconnaissance and co-operation with the artillery, a number of aerial combats have been fought, raids carried out, detrainments harassed, parks and petrol depots bombed, &c.

Various successful bomb-dropping raids have been carried out, usually against the enemy's aircraft material. The principle of attacking hostile aircraft whenever and wherever seen (unless highly important information is being delivered) has been adhered to, and has resulted in the moral fact that enemy machines invariably beat immediate retreat when chased.

Five German aeroplanes are known to have been brought to the ground, and it would appear probable that others, though they have managed to reach their own lines, have done so in a considerably damaged condition.

9. In my dispatch of Nov. 20, 1914, I referred to the reinforcements of territorial troops which I had received, and I mentioned several units which had already been employed in the fighting line.

In the positions which I held for some years before the outbreak of this war I was brought into close contact with the territorial force, and I found every reason to hope and believe that, when the hour of trial arrived, they would justify every hope and trust which was placed in them.

The Lords Lieutenant of Counties and the associations which worked under them bestowed a vast amount of labor and energy on the organization of the territorial force; and I trust it may be some recompense to them to know that I, and the principal commanders serving under me, consider that the territorial force has far more than justified the most sanguine hopes that any of us ventured

to entertain of their value and use in the field. Commanders of cavalry divisions are unstinted in their praise of the manner in which the yeomanry regiments attached to their brigades have done their duty, both in and out of action. The service of divisional cavalry is now almost entirely performed by yeomanry, and divisional commanders report that they are very efficient.

Army corps commanders are loud in their praise of the territorial battalions, which form part of nearly all the brigades at the front in the first line, and more than one of them have told me that these battalions are fast approaching—if they have not already reached—the standard of efficiency of regular infantry.

I wish to add a word about the Officers' Training Corps. The presence of the Artists' Rifles (Twenty-eighth Battalion, the London regiment) with the army in France enabled me also to test the value of this organization.

Having had some experience in peace of the working of the Officers' Training Corps, I determined to turn the Artists' Rifles (which formed part of the Officers' Training Corps in peace time) to its legitimate use. I therefore established the battalion as a training corps for officers in the field.

The cadets passed through a course, which includes some thoroughly practical training, as all cadets do a tour of forty-eight hours in the trenches, and afterward write a report on what they see and notice. They also visit an observation post of a battery or group of batteries, and spend some hours there.

A commandant has been appointed, and he arranges and supervises the work, sets schemes for practice, administers the school, delivers lectures, and reports on the candidates.

The cadets are instructed in all branches of military training suitable for platoon commanders.

Machine-gun tactics, a knowledge of which is so necessary for all junior officers, is a special feature of the course of instruction.

When first started, the school was

able to turn out officers at the rate of seventy-five a month. This has since been increased to 100.

Reports received from divisional and army corps commanders on officers who have been trained at the school are most satisfactory.

10. Since the date of my last report I have been able to make a close personal inspection of all the units in the command. I was most favorably impressed by all I saw.

The troops composing the army in France have been subjected to as severe a trial as it is possible to impose upon any body of men. The desperate fighting described in my last dispatch had hardly been brought to a conclusion when they were called upon to face the rigors and hardships of a Winter campaign. Frost and snow have alternated with periods of continuous rain.

The men have been called upon to stand for many hours together almost up to their waists in bitterly cold water, only separated by one or two hundred yards from a most vigilant enemy.

Although every measure which science and medical knowledge could suggest to mitigate these hardships was employed, the sufferings of the men have been very great.

In spite of all this they presented, at the inspections to which I have referred, a most soldierlike, splendid, though somewhat war-worn, appearance. Their spirit remains high and confident; their general health is excellent, and their condition most satisfactory.

I regard it as most unfortunate that circumstances have prevented any account of many splendid instances of courage and endurance, in the face of almost unparalleled hardship and fatigue in war, coming regularly to the knowledge of the public.

Reinforcements have arrived from England with remarkable promptitude and rapidity. They have been speedily drafted into the ranks, and most of the units I inspected were nearly complete when I saw them. In appearance and quality the drafts sent out have exceeded my most sanguine expectations, and I

consider the army in France is much indebted to the Adjutant General's Department at the War Office for the efficient manner in which its requirements have been met in this most essential respect.

With regard to these inspections I may mention in particular the fine appearance presented by the Twenty-seventh and Twenty-eighth Divisions, composed principally of battalions which had come from India. Included in the former division was the Princess Patricia's Royal Canadian Regiment. They are a magnificent set of men, and have since done excellent work in the trenches.

It was some three weeks after the events recorded in Paragraph 4 that I made my inspection of the Indian Corps, under Sir James Willcocks. The appearance they presented was most satisfactory and fully confirmed my opinion that the Indian troops only required rest and a little acclimatizing to bring out all their fine inherent fighting qualities.

I saw the whole of the Indian Cavalry Corps, under Lieut. Gen. Rimington, on a mounted parade soon after their arrival. They are a magnificent body of cavalry and will, I feel sure, give the best possible account of themselves when called upon.

In the meantime, at their own particular request, they have taken their turn in the trenches and performed most useful and valuable service.

11. The Right Rev. Bishop Taylor Smith, C. V. O., D. D., Chaplain General to the Forces, arrived at my headquarters on Jan. 6, on a tour of inspection throughout the command.

The Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster has also visited most of the Irish regiments at the front and the principal centres on the line of communications.

In a quiet and unostentatious manner the Chaplains of all denominations have worked with devotion and energy in their respective spheres.

The number with the forces in the field at the commencement of the war was comparatively small, but toward the end of last year the Rev. J. M. Simms, D. D.,

K. H. C., principal Chaplain, assisted by his secretary, the Rev. W. Drury, reorganized the branch and placed the spiritual welfare of the soldier on a more satisfactory footing. It is hoped that the further increase of personnel may be found possible.

I cannot speak too highly of the devoted manner in which all the Chaplains, whether with the troops in the trenches or in attendance on the sick and wounded in casualty clearing stations and hospitals on the line of communications, have worked throughout the campaign.

Since the commencement of hostilities the work of the Royal Army Medical Corps has been carried out with untiring zeal, skill, and devotion. Whether at the front under conditions such as obtained during the fighting on the Aisne, when casualties were heavy and accommodation for their reception had to be improvised, or on the line of communications, where an average of some 11,000 patients have been daily under treatment, the organization of the medical service has always been equal to the demands made upon it.

The careful system of sanitation introduced into the army has, with the assistance of other measures, kept the troops free from any epidemic, in support of which it is to be noticed that since the commencement of the war some 500 cases only of enteric have occurred.

The organization for the first time in war of motor ambulance convoys is due to the initiative and organizing powers of Surgeon General T. J. O'Donnell, D. S. O., ably assisted by Major P. Evans, Royal Army Medical Corps.

Two of these convoys, composed entirely of Red Cross Society personnel, have done excellent work under the superintendence of regular medical officers.

Twelve hospital trains ply between the front and the various bases. I have visited several of the trains when halted in stations, and have found them conducted with great comfort and efficiency.

During the more recent phase of the campaign the creation of rest depots at

the front has materially reduced the wastage of men to the line of communications.

Since the latter part of October, 1914, the whole of the medical arrangements have been in the hands of Surgeon General Sir A. T. Sloggett, C. M. G., K. H. S., under whom Surgeon General T. P. Woodhouse and Surgeon General T. J. O'Donnell have been responsible for the organization on the line of communications and at the front respectively.

12. The exceptional and peculiar conditions brought about by the weather have caused large demands to be made upon the resources and skill of the Royal Engineers.

Every kind of expedient has had to be thought out and adopted to keep the lines of trenches and defense work effective.

The Royal Engineers have shown themselves as capable of overcoming the ravages caused by violent rain and floods as they have been throughout in neutralizing the effect of the enemy's artillery.

In this connection I wish particularly to mention the excellent services performed by my Chief Engineer, Brig. Gen. G. H. Fowke, who has been indefatigable in supervising all such work. His ingenuity and skill have been most valuable in the local construction of the various expedients which experience has shown to be necessary in prolonged trench warfare.

13. I have no reason to modify in any material degree my views of the general military situation, as expressed in my dispatch of Nov. 20, 1914.

14. I have once more gratefully to acknowledge the valuable help and support I have received throughout this period from Gen. Foch, Gen. D'Urbal, and Gen. Maud'huy of the French Army. I have the honor to be, your Lordship's most obedient servant,

J. D. P. FRENCH, Field Marshal,
Commanding in Chief, the British Army
in the Field.

The Cathedral of Rheims

BY EMILE VERHAEREN

(From *Les Blés Mouvants*)

Done into English verse by Joyce Kilmer.

HE who walks through the meadows
of Champagne
At noon in Fall, when leaves like
gold appear,
Sees it draw near

Like some great mountain set upon the plain,
From radiant dawn until the close of day,
Nearer it grows
To him who goes

Across the country. When tall towers lay
Their shadowy pall
Upon his way,
He enters, where

The solid stone is hollowed deep by all
Its centuries of beauty and of prayer.

Ancient French temple! thou whose hundred
Kings

Watch over thee, emblazoned on thy walls,
Tell me, within thy memory-hallowed halls
What chant of triumph, or what war-song
rings?

Thou hast known Clovis and his Frankish
train,
Whose mighty hand Saint Remy's hand did
keep

And in thy spacious vault perhaps may sleep
An echo of the voice of Charlemagne.
For God thou hast known fear, when from
His side

Men wandered, seeking alien shrines and new,
But still the sky was bountiful and blue
And thou wast crowned with France's love
and pride.

Sacred thou art, from pinnacle to base;
And in thy panes of gold and scarlet glass
The setting sun sees thousandfold his face;
Sorrow and joy, in stately silence pass
Across thy walls, the shadow and the light;
Around thy lofty pillars, tapers white
Illuminate, with delicate sharp flames,
The brows of saints with venerable names,
And in the night erect a fiery wall,
A great but silent fervor burns in all
Those simple folk who kneel, pathetic, dumb,
And know that down below, beside the Rhine—
Cannon, horses, soldiers, flags in line—
With blare of trumpets, mighty armies come.

Suddenly, each knows fear;
Swift rumors pass, that every one must hear,
The hostile banners blaze against the sky
And by the embassies mobs rage and cry.
Now war has come, and peace is at an end,
On Paris town the German troops descend.
They turned back, and driven to Champagne.
And now, as to so many weary men,
The glorious temple gives them welcome,
when,

It meets them at the bottom of the plain.

At once, they set their cannon in its way.
There is no gable now, nor wall
That does not suffer, night and day,
As shot and shell in crushing torrents fall,
The stricken tocsin quivers through the
tower;

The triple nave, the apse, the lonely choir
Are circled, hour by hour,
With thundering bands of fire
And Death is scattered broadcast among
men.

And then
That which was splendid with baptismal
grace;
The stately arches soaring into space,
The transepts, columns, windows gray and
gold,
The organ, in whose tones the ocean rolled,
The crypts, of mighty shades the dwelling
places,
The Virgin's gentle hands, the Saints' pure
faces,
All, even the pardoning hands of Christ the
Lord
Were struck and broken by the wanton
sword
Of sacrilegious lust.

O beauty slain, O glory in the dust!
Strong walls of faith, most basely over-
thrown!

The crawling flames, like adders glistening
Ate the white fabric of this lovely thing.
Now from its soul arose a piteous moan.
The soul that always loved the just and
fair.

Granite and marble loud their woe confessed,
The silver monstresses that Pope has
blessed,
The chalices and lamps and crosiers rare
Were seared and twisted by a flaming
breath;
The horror everywhere did rage and swell,
The guardian Saints into this furnace fell,
Their bitter tears and screams were stilled
in death.

Around the flames armed hosts are skir-
mishing,

The burning sun reflects the lurid scene;
The German Army fighting for its life,
Rallies its torn and terrified left wing;
And, as they near this place
The imperial eagles see
Before them in their flight,

Here, in the solemn night,
The old cathedrals, to the years to be
Showing, with wounded arms, their own
disgrace.

Music of War

By Rudyard Kipling

The following speech was delivered by Mr. Kipling on Jan. 27, 1915, at a meeting in London promoted by the Recruiting Bands Committee, and held with the object of raising bands in the London district as an aid to recruiting.

THE most useful thing that a civilian can do in these busy days is to speak as little as possible, and if he feels moved to write, to confine his efforts to his check book. [Laughter.] But this is an exception to that very sound rule. We do not know the present strength of the new armies. Even if we did it would not be necessary to make it public. But we may assume that there are several battalions in Great Britain which were not in existence at the end of last July, and some of them are in London. Nor is it any part of our national policy to explain how far these battalions are prepared for the work which is ahead of them. They were born quite rightly in silence. But that is no reason why they should continue to walk in silence for the rest of their lives. [Cheers.] Unfortunately up to the present most of them have been obliged to walk in silence or to no better accompaniment than whistles and concertinas and other meritorious but inadequate instruments of music with which they have provided themselves. In the beginning this did not matter so much. More urgent needs had to be met; but now that the new armies are what they are, we who cannot assist them by joining their ranks owe it to them to provide them with more worthy music for their help, their gratification, and their honor. [Cheers.]

I am not a musician, so if I speak as a barbarian I must ask you and several gentlemen on the platform here to forgive me. From the lowest point of view a few drums and fifes in the battalion mean at least five extra miles in a route march, quite apart from the fact that they can swing a battalion back to quarters happy and composed in its mind, no matter how wet or tired its body may

be. Even when there is no route marching, the mere come and go, the roll and flourishing of drums and fifes around the barracks is as warming and cheering as the sight of a fire in a room. A band, not necessarily a full band, but a band of a dozen brasses and wood-winds, is immensely valuable in the district where men are billeted. It revives memories, it quickens association, it opens and unites the hearts of men more surely than any other appeal can, and in this respect it aids recruiting perhaps more than any other agency. I wonder whether I should say this—the tune that it employs and the words that go with that tune are sometimes very remote from heroism or devotion, but the magic and the compelling power is in them, and it makes men's souls realize certain truths that their minds might doubt.

Further, no one, not even the Adjutant, can say for certain where the soul of the battalion lives, but the expression of that soul is most often found in the band. [Cheers.] It stands to reason that 1,200 men whose lives are pledged to each other must have some common means of expression, some common means of conveying their moods and their thoughts to themselves and their world. The band feels the moods and interprets the thoughts. A wise and sympathetic bandmaster—and the masters that I have met have been that—can lift a battalion out of depression, cheer it in sickness, and steady and recall it to itself in times of almost unendurable stress. [Cheers.] You may remember a beautiful poem by Sir Henry Newbolt, in which he describes how a squadron of weary big dragoons were led to renewed effort by the strains of a penny whistle and a child's drum taken from a toyshop in a wrecked French town. I remember in India, in a

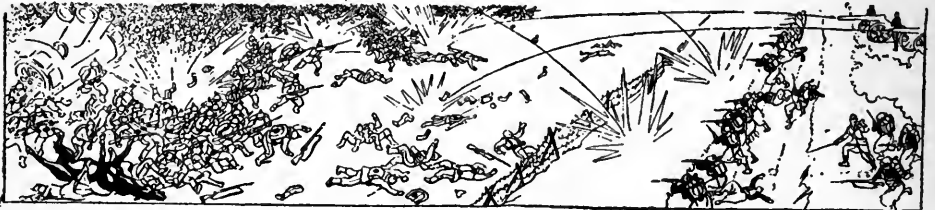
cholera camp, where the men were suffering very badly, the band of the Tenth Lincolns started a regimental sing-song and went on with that queer, defiant tune, "The Lincolnshire Poacher." It was their regimental march that the men had heard a thousand times. There was nothing in it—nothing except all England, all the East Coast, all the fun and daring and horse play of young men bucketing about big pastures in the moonlight. But as it was given, very softly at that bad time in that terrible camp of death, it was the one thing in the world that could have restored, as it did restore, shaken men back to their pride, humor, and self-control. [Cheers.] This may be an extreme instance, but it is not an exceptional one. Any man who has had anything to do with the service will tell you that the battalion is better for music at every turn, happier, more easily handled, with greater zest in its daily routine, if that routine is sweetened with melody and rhythm—melody for the mind and rhythm for the body.

Our new armies have been badly served in this essential. Of all the admirable qualities which they have shown none is more wonderful than the spirit which has carried them through the laborious and distasteful groundwork of their calling without one note of music, except that which the same indomitable spirit provided out of their own heads. We have all seen them marching through the country, through the streets of London, in absolute silence and the crowds through which they passed as silent as themselves for the lack of the one medium that could convey and glorify the thoughts that are in us all today.

We are a tongue-tied brood at the best. The bands can declare on our behalf

without shame and without shyness something of what we all feel and help us to reach a hand toward the men who have risen up to save us. In the beginning the more urgent requirements of the new armies overrode all other considerations. Now we can get to work on some other essentials. The War Office has authorized the formation of bands for some of the London battalions, and we may hope presently to see the permission extended throughout Great Britain. We must not, however, cherish unbridled musical ambitions, because a full band means more than forty pieces, and on that establishment we should even now require a rather large number of men; but I think it might be possible to provide drums and fifes for every battalion, full bands at the depots, and a proportion of battalion bands on half, or even one-third, establishments.

But this is not a matter to be settled by laymen; it must be discussed seriously between bandmasters and musicians—present, past, and dug up. [Laughter.] They may be trusted to give their services with enthusiasm. We have had many proofs in the last six months that people only want to know what the new army needs, and it will be gladly and cheerfully given. The army needs music, its own music, for, more than in any other calling, soldiers do not live by bread alone. From time immemorial the man who offers his life for his land has been compassed at every turn of his service with elaborate ceremonial and observance, of which music is no small part, all carefully designed to support and uphold him. It is not seemly and it is not expedient that any portion of that ritual should be slurred or omitted now. [Cheers.]



America and a New World State

How the United States May Take the Lead in the Formation of a World Confederation for the Prevention of Future Wars

By Norman Angell

The object of this article is to show that however much America may attempt to hold herself free in Europe she will very deeply feel the effects, both material and moral, of upheavals like that which is now shaking the old Continent; that even though there be no aggressive action against her, the militarization of Europe will force upon America also a militarist development; and that she can best avoid these dangers and secure her own safety and free development by taking the lead in a new world policy which is briefly this:

To use her position to initiate and guide a grouping of all the civilized powers having as its object the protection of any one of its members that is the victim of aggression. The aid to be given for such an object should not be, in the case of the United States, military but economic, by means of the definite organization of non-intercourse against the recalcitrant power. America's position of geographical and historical remoteness from European quarrels places her in a particularly favorable position to direct this world organization, and the fact of undertaking it would give her in some sense the moral leadership of the western world, and make her the centre of the World State of the future.

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I.

IN the discussion of America's relation to the rest of the world we have always assumed almost as an axiom that America has nothing to do with Europe, is only in the faintest degree concerned with its politics and developments, that by happy circumstance of geography and history we are isolated and self-sufficing, able to look with calm detachment upon the antics of the distant Europeans. When a European landed on these shores we were pretty certain that he left Europe behind him; only quite recently, indeed, have we realized that we were affected by what he brought with him in the way of morals and traditions, and only now are we beginning dimly to realize that what goes on on the other side of the world can be any affair of ours. The famous query of a certain American statesman, "What has America to do with abroad?" probably represented at bottom the feelings of most of us.

In so far as we established commercial relations with Europe at all, we felt and still feel probably that they were relations of hostility, that we were one

commercial unit, Europe another, and that the two were in competition. In thinking thus, of course, we merely accepted the view of international politics common in Europe itself, the view, namely, that nations are necessarily trade rivals—the commercial rivalry of Britain and Germany is presumed to be one of the factors explaining the outbreak of the present war. The idea that nations do thus compete together for the world's trade is one of the axioms of all discussion in the field of international politics.

Well, both these assumptions in the form in which we make them involve very grave fallacies, the realization of which will shortly become essential to the wise direction of this country's policy. If our policy, in other words, is to be shrewd and enlightened, we must realize just how both the views of international relationship that I have indicated are wrong.

I will take first the more special one—that of the assumed necessary rivalry of nations in trade—as its clearer understanding will help in what is for us the larger problem of the general relationship of this country to other civilized

powers. I will therefore try and establish first this proposition—that nations are not and can not be trade rivals in the sense usually accepted; that, in other words, there is a fundamental misconception in the prevailing picture of nations as trading units—one might as well talk of red-haired people being the trade rivals of black-haired people.

And I will then try and establish a second proposition, namely, that we are intimately concerned with the condition of Europe, and are daily becoming more so, owing to processes which have become an integral part of our fight against nature, of the feeding and clothing of the world; that we cannot much longer ignore the effects of those tendencies which bind us to our neighbors; that the elementary consideration of self-protection will sooner or later compel us to accept the facts and recognize our part and lot in the struggles of Christendom; and that if we are wise, we shall not take our part therein reluctantly, dragged at the heels of forces we cannot resist, but will do so consciously, anticipating events. In other words, we shall take advantage of such measure of detachment as we do possess, to take the lead in a saner organization of western civilization; we shall become the pivot and centre of a new world State.

There is not the faintest hope of America taking this lead unless a push or impetus is given to her action by a widespread public feeling, based on the recognition of the fallacy of the two assumptions with which I began this article. For if America really is independent of the rest of the world, little concerned with what goes on therein, if she is in a position to build a sort of Chinese wall about herself, and, secure in her own strength, to develop a civilization and future of her own, still more if the weakness and disintegration of foreign nations, however unfortunate for them, is for America an opportunity of expanding trade and opportunities, why then, of course, it would be the height of folly for the United States to incur all the risks and uncertainties of an adventure into the sea of foreign politics.

What as a matter of simple fact is the

real nature of trade between nations? If we are to have any clear notion at all as to just what truth there is in the notion of the necessary commercial rivalry of States, we must have some fairly clear notion of how the commercial relationship of nations works. And that can best be illustrated by a supposititious example. At the present time we are talking, for instance, of "capturing" German or British or French trade.

Now, when we talk thus of "German" trade in the international field, what do we mean? Here is the ironmaster in Essen making locomotives for a light railway in an Argentine province, (the capital for which has been subscribed in Paris)—which has become necessary because of the export of wool to Bradford, where the trade has developed owing to sales in the United States, due to high prices produced by the destruction of sheep runs, owing to the agricultural development of the West.

But for the money found in Paris, (due, perhaps, to good crops in wine and olives, sold mainly in London and New York,) and the wool needed by the Bradford manufacturer, (who has found a market for blankets among miners in Montana, who are smelting copper for a cable to China, which is needed because the encouragement given to education by the Chinese Republic has caused Chinese newspapers to print cable news from Europe)—but for such factors as these, and a whole chain of equally interdependent ones throughout the world, the ironmaster in Essen would not have been able to sell his locomotives.

How, therefore, can you describe it as part of the trade of "Germany" which is in competition with the trade of "Britain" or "France" or "America"? But for the British, French, and American trade, it could not have existed at all. You may say that if the Essen ironmaster could have been prevented from selling his locomotives the order would have gone to an American one.

But this community of German workmen, called into existence by the Argentina trade, maintains by its consumption of coffee a plantation in Brazil, which buys its machinery in Chicago. The de-



H. M. PETER I
King of Serbia



WALTER H. PAGE
American Ambassador to Great Britain
(Photo from Paul Thompson)

struction, therefore, of the Essen trade, while it might have given business to the American locomotive maker, would have taken it from, say, an American agricultural implement maker. The economic interests involved sort themselves, irrespective of the national groupings. I have summarized the whole process as follows, and the need for getting some of these simple things straight is my excuse for quoting myself:

Co-operation between nations has become essential for the very life of their peoples. But that co-operation does not take place as between States at all. A trading corporation, "Britain" does not buy cotton from another corporation, "America." A manufacturer in Manchester strikes a bargain with a merchant in Louisiana in order to keep a bargain with a dyer in Germany, and three or a much larger number of parties enter into virtual, or, perhaps, actual, contract, and form a mutually dependent economic community, (numbering, it may be, with the work people in the group of industries involved, some millions of individuals)—an economic entity, so far as one can exist, which does not include all organized society.

The special interests of such a community may become hostile to those of another community, but it will almost certainly not be a "national" one, but one of a like nature, say a shipping ring or groups of international bankers or Stock Exchange speculators. The frontiers of such communities do not coincide with the areas in which operate the functions of the State.

How could a State, say Britain, act on behalf of an economic entity such as that just indicated? By pressure against America or Germany? But the community against which the British manufacturer in this case wants pressure exercised is not "America" or "Germany"—both Americans and Germans are his partners in the matter. He wants it exercised against the shipping ring or the speculators or the bankers who are in part British. * * *

This establishes two things, therefore: The fact that the political and economic units do not coincide, and the fact which follows as a consequence—that action by political authorities designed to control economic activities which take no account of the limits of political jurisdiction is necessarily irrelevant and ineffective.—(From "Arms and Industry: A Study of the Foundations of International Polity." Page 28. Putnams: New York.)

The fallacy of the idea that the groups we call nations must be in conflict because they struggle together for bread and the means of sustenance is demonstrated immediately when we recall the

simple facts of historical development. When, in the British Islands, the men of Wessex were fighting with the men of Sussex, far more frequently and bitterly than today the men of Germany fight with those of France, or either with those of Russia, the separate States which formed the island were struggling with one another for sustenance, just as the tribes which inhabited the North American Continent at the time of our arrival there were struggling with one another for the game and hunting grounds. It was in both cases ultimately a "struggle for bread."

At that time, when Britain was composed of several separate States, that struggled thus with one another for land and food, it supported with great difficulty anything between one and two million inhabitants, just as the vast spaces now occupied by the United States supported about a hundred thousand, often subject to famine, frequently suffering great shortage of food, able to secure just the barest existence of the simplest kind.

Today, although Britain supports anything from twenty to forty times, and North America something like a thousand times, as large a population in much greater comfort, with no period of famine, with the whole population living much more largely and deriving much more from the soil than did the men of the Heptarchy, or the Red Indians, the "struggle for bread" does not now take the form of struggle between groups of the population. The more they fought, the less efficiently did they support themselves; the less they fought one another, the more efficiently did they all support themselves.

This simple illustration is at least proof of this, that the struggle for material things did not involve any necessary struggle between the separate groups or States; for those material things are given in infinitely greater abundance when the States cease to struggle. Whatever, therefore, was the origin of those conflicts, that origin was not any inevitable conflict in the exploitation of the earth. If those conflicts were concerned with material things at all, they arose

from a mistake about the best means of obtaining them, exploiting the earth, and ceased when those concerned realized the mistake.

Just as Britain supported its population better when Englishmen gave up fighting between themselves, so the world as a whole could support its population better if it gave up fighting.

Moreover, we have passed out of the stage when we could massacre a conquered population to make room for us. When we conquer an inferior people like the Filipinos, we don't exterminate them, we give them an added chance of life. The weakest don't go to the wall.

But at this point parenthetically I want to enter a warning. You may say, if this notion of the rivalry of nations is false, how do you account for the fact of its playing so large a part in the present war?

Well, that is easily explained—men are not guided necessarily by their interest even in their soberest moments, but by what they believe to be their interest. Men do not judge from the facts, but from what they believe to be the facts. War is the "failure of human understanding." The religious wars were due to the belief that two religions could not exist side by side. It was not true, but the false belief provoked the wars. Our notions as to the relation of political power to a nation's prosperity are just as false, and this fallacy, like the older one, plays its part in the causation of war.

Now, let us for a moment apply the very general rule thus revealed to the particular case of the United States at this present juncture.

American merchants may in certain cases, if they are shrewd and able, do a very considerably increased trade, though it is just as certain that other merchants will be losing trade, and I think there is pretty general agreement that as a matter of simple fact the losses of the war so far have for America very considerably and very obviously overbalanced the gains. The loss has been felt so tangibly by the United States Government, for instance, that a special loan had to be voted in order to stop some of the gaps.

Whole States, whose interests are bound up with staples like cotton, were for a considerable time threatened with something resembling commercial paralysis.

While we may admit advances and gains in certain isolated directions, the extra burden is felt in all directions of commerce and industry. And that extra burden is visible through finance—the increased cost of money, the scarcity of capital, the lower negotiability of securities, the greater uncertainty concerning the future. It is by means of the financial reaction that America, as a whole, has felt the adverse effects of this war. There is not a considerable village, much less a considerable city, not a merchant, not a captain of industry in the United States that has not so felt it. It is plainly evident that by the progressive dearth of money, the lower standard of living that will result in Europe, the effect on immigration, and other processes which I will touch upon at greater length later, any temporary stimulus which a trade here and there may receive will be more than offset by the difficulties due to financial as apart from industrial or commercial reactions.

This war will come near to depriving America for a decade or two of its normal share of the accumulated capital of the older peoples, whether that capital be used in paying war indemnities or in paying off the cost of the war or in repairing its ravages. In all cases it will make capital much dearer, and many enterprises which with more abundant capital might have been born and might have stimulated American industry will not be born. For the best part of a generation perhaps the available capital of Europe will be used to repair the ravages of war there, to pay off the debts created by war, and to start life normally once more. We shall suffer in two ways.

In a recent report issued by the Agricultural Department at Washington is a paragraph to the effect that one of the main factors which have operated against the development of the American farm is the difficulty that the farmer has found in securing abundant capital and the high price that he has to pay for it

when he can secure it. It will in the future be of still higher price, and still less abundant, because, of course, the capital of the world is a common reservoir—if it is dearer in one part, it is dearer to some extent in all parts.

So that if for many years the American farmhouse is not so well built as it might be, the farm not so well worked, rural life in America not so attractive as it might be, the farmer's wife burdened with a little more labor than she might otherwise have, and if she grows old earlier than she might otherwise, it will be in part because we are paying our share of the war indemnities and the war costs.

But this scarcity of capital operates in another way. One of the most promising fields for American enterprise is, of course, in the undeveloped lands to the south of us, but in the development of those lands we have looked and must look for the co-operation of European capital. Millions of French and British money have poured into South America, building docks and railroads and opening up the country, and that development of South America has been to our advantage because quite frequently these enterprises were under the actual management of Americans, using to the common advantage the savings of the thrifty Frenchman and the capital of the wealthy Englishman.

For, of course, as between the older and the newer worlds there has gone on this very beneficial division of labor: the Old World having developed its soil, built its cities, made its roads, has more capital available for outside employment than have the population of newer countries that have so much of this work before them. And now this possibility of fruitful co-operation is, for the time being, and it may be for many years, suspended. I say nothing of the loss of markets in the older countries which will be occasioned by sheer loss of population and the lower standard of living. That is one of the more obvious but not perhaps the most important of the ways in which the war affects us commercially.

Speaking purely in terms of commercial advantage—and these, I know, do not

tell the whole story (I am not for a moment pretending they do)—the losses that we shall suffer through this war are probably very much more considerable than those we should suffer by the loss of the Philippines in the event, say, of their being seized by some hostile power; and we suffer these losses, although not a single foreign soldier lands upon our soil. It is literally and precisely true to say that there is not one person from Hudson Bay to Cape Horn that will not be affected in some degree by what is now going on in Europe. And it is at least conceivable that our children and children's children will feel its effects more deeply still.

Nor is America escaping the military any more than she has escaped the commercial and financial effects of this war. She may never be drawn into active military co-operation with other nations, but she is affected none the less. Indeed the military effects of this war are already revealing themselves in a demand for a naval programme immensely larger than any American could have anticipated a year ago, by plans for an enormously enlarged army. All this is the most natural result.

Just consider, for instance, the ultimate effect of a quite possible outcome of the present conflict—Germany victorious and the Prussian effort next directed at, say, the conquest of India. Imagine India Prussianized by Germany, so that, with the marvelous efficiency in military organization which she has shown, she is able to draw on an Asiatic population of something approaching 400,000,000.

Whether the situation then created would really constitute a menace for us or not, this much would be certain—that the more timid and timorous among us would believe it to be a menace, and it would furnish an irresistible plea for a very greatly enlarged naval and military establishment. We too, in that case would probably be led to organize our nation on the lines on which the European military nations have organized theirs, with compulsory military service, and so forth.

Indeed, even if Germany is not victorious the future contains possibilities of a

like result; imagine, what is quite possible, that Russia becomes the dominant factor in Europe after this war and places herself at the head of a great Slav confederacy of 200,000,000, with her power extending incidentally to the Pacific coast of Asia, and, it may be the day after tomorrow, over 100,000,000 or 200,000,000 of Asiatics. We should thus have a militarized power of 200,000,000 or 300,000,000 or 400,000,000 souls, autocratically governed, endowed with western technical knowledge in the manipulation of the instruments of war, occupying the Pacific coast line directly facing our Pacific coast line. It is quite conceivable, therefore, that as the outcome of either of the two possible results of this war we may find ourselves embarked upon a great era of militarization.

Our impregnability does not protect us from militarism. It is quite true that this country, like Russia, cannot be permanently invaded; it is quite true that hostile navies need not necessarily be resisted by navies of our own so far as the protection of our coasts is concerned. But there is no such thing as absolute certainty in these matters. While personally I believe that no country in the world will ever challenge the United States, that the chances are a hundred to one against it, it is on just that one chance that the militarist bases his plea for armaments and secures them.

But, unfortunately, we are already committed to a good deal more than just mere defense of American territory; problems arising out of the Philippines and the Panama Canal and the Monroe Doctrine have already committed us to a measure of intervention in the political affairs of the outside world. In brief, if the other nations of the world have great armies and navies—and tomorrow those other nations will include a reorganized China as they already include a westernized Japan—if there is all that weight of military material which might be used against us, then in the absence of those other guarantees which I shall suggest, we shall be drawn into piling up a corresponding weight of material as against that of the outside world.

And, of course, just as we cannot es-

cape the economic and the military reaction of European development, neither can we escape the moral. If European thought and morality did, by some fatality, really develop in the direction of a Nietzschean idealization of military force, we might well get in the coming years a practical submergence of that morality which we believe to be distinctively American, and get throughout the older hemisphere a type of society based upon authority, reproducing it may be some features of past civilizations, Mongol, Asiatic, or Byzantine. If that were to happen, if Europe were really to become a mere glorified form of, say, certain Asiatic conceptions that we all thought had had their day, why, then, of course America could not escape a like transformation of outlook, ideals, and morals.

For there is no such thing as one nation standing out and maintaining indefinitely a social spirit, an attitude toward life and society absolutely distinct and different from that of the surrounding world. The character of a society is determined by the character of its ideas, and neither tariffs nor coastal defenses are really efficient in preventing the invasion of ideas, good or bad. The difference between the kind of society which exists in Illinois today and that which existed there 500 years ago is not a difference of physical vigor or of the raw materials of nature; the Indian was as good a man physically as the modern Chicagoan, and possessed the same soil. What makes the difference between the two is accumulated knowledge, the mind. And there never was yet on this planet a change of ideas which did not sooner or later affect the whole planet.

The "nations" that inhabited this continent a couple of thousand years ago were apparently quite unconcerned with what went on in Europe or Asia, say, in the domain of mathematical and astronomical knowledge. But the ultimate effect of that knowledge on navigation and discovery was destined to affect them—and us—profoundly. But the reaction of European thought upon this continent; which originally required twenty, or, for that matter, two hundred or two thousand years to show itself, now shows it-

self, in the industrial and commercial field, for instance, through our banking and Stock Exchanges, in as many hours, or, for that matter, minutes.

It is difficult, of course, for us to realize the extent to which each nation owes its civilization to others, how we have all lived by taking in each other's washing. As Americans, for instance, we have to make a definite effort properly to realize that our institutions, the sanctity of our homes and all the other things upon which we pride ourselves, are the result of anything but the unaided efforts of a generation or two of Americans, perhaps owing a little to certain of the traditions that we may have taken from Britain.

One has to stop and uproot impressions that are almost instinctive, to remember that our forefathers reached these shores by virtue of knowledge which they owed to the astronomical researches of Egyptians and Chaldeans, who inspired the astronomers of Greece, who inspired those of the Renaissance in Italy, Spain, and Germany, keeping alive and developing not merely the art of measuring space and time, but also that conception of order in external nature without which the growth of organized knowledge, which we call science, enabling men to carry on their exploitation of the world, would have been impossible; that our very alphabet comes from Rome, who owed it to others; that the mathematical foundation of our modern mechanical science—without which neither Newton nor Watt nor Stevenson nor Ericson nor Faraday nor Edison could have been—is the work of Arabs, strengthened by Greeks, protected and enlarged by Italians; that our conceptions of political organization, which have so largely shaped our political science, come mainly from the Scandinavian colonists of a French province; that British intellect, to which perhaps we owe the major part of our political impulses, has been nurtured mainly by Greek philosophy; that our Anglo-Saxon law is principally Roman, and our religion almost entirely Asiatic in its origins; that for those things which we deem to be the most important in our lives, our spiritual and religious aspirations, we go to a Jewish book interpreted

by a Church Roman in origin, reformed mainly by the efforts of Swiss and German theologians.

And this interaction of the respective elements of the various nations, the influence of foreigners, in other words, and of foreign ideas, is going to be far more powerful in the future than it has been in the past. Morally, as well as materially, we are a part of Europe. The influence which one group exercises on another need not operate through political means at all; indeed, the strongest influences are non-political.

American life and civilization may be transformed by European developments, though the Governments of Europe may leave us severely alone. Luther and Calvin had certainly a greater effect in England than Louis XIV. or Napoleon. Gutenberg created in Europe a revolution more powerful than all the military revolutions of the last ten centuries. Greece and Palestine did not transform the world by their political power. Yet these simple and outstanding truths are persistently ignored by our political and historical philosophers and theorists. For the most part our history is written with a more sublime disregard of the simple facts of the world than is shown perhaps in any other department of human thought and inquiry.

You may today read histories of Europe written by men of worldwide and pre-eminent reputation, professing to tell the story of the development of human society, in which whole volumes will be devoted to the effect of a particular campaign or military alliance in influencing the destinies of a people like the French or the German. But in those histories you will find no word as to the effect of such trifles as the invention of the steam engine, the coming of the railroad, the introduction of the telegraph and cheap newspapers and literature on the destiny of those people; volumes as to the influence which Britain may have had upon the history of France or Germany by the campaigns of Marlborough, but absolutely not one word as to the influence which Britain had upon the destinies of those people by the work of Watt and Stephenson.

A great historian philosopher laying it down that the "influence" of England was repelled or offset by this or that military alliance, seriously stated that "England" was losing her influence on the Continent at a time when her influence was transforming the whole lives of Continental people to a greater degree than they had been transformed since the days of the Romans.

I have gone into this at some length to show mainly two things—first, that neither morally nor materially, neither in our trade nor in our finance, nor in our industry, nor in all those intangible things that give value to life can there be such a thing as isolation from the rest of Christendom. If European civilization takes a "wrong turning"—and it has done that more than once in the past—we can by no means escape the effects of that catastrophe. We are deeply concerned, if only because we may have to defend ourselves against it and in so doing necessarily transform in some degree our society and ourselves.

And I wanted to show, secondly, that not only as a simple matter of fact as things stand are we in a very real sense dependent upon Europe, that we want European capital and European trade, and that if we are to do the best for American prosperity we must increase that dependence, but that if we are effectively to protect those things that go deeper even than trade and prosperity, we must co-operate with Europe intellectually and morally. It is not for us a question of choice. For good or evil, we are part of the world affected by what the rest of the world becomes and affected by what it does. And I want to show in my next article that only by frankly facing the fact (which we cannot deny) that we are a part of the civilized world and must play our part in it, shall we achieve real security for our material and moral possessions and do the best that we know for the general betterment of American life.

II.

AMERICA'S FUTURE ATTITUDE

In my last article I attempted to show how deeply must America feel, sooner or later, and for good or evil, the

moral and material results of the upheavals in Europe and the new tendencies that will be generated by them. I attempted to show, too, how impossible it is for us to escape our part of all the costs, how we shall pay our share of the indemnities, and how our children and children's children may be affected even more profoundly than we ourselves.

The shells may not hit us, yet there is hardly a farmhouse in our country that will not, however unconsciously, be affected by these far-off events. We may not witness the trains of weary refugees trailing over the roads, but (if we could but see the picture) there will be an endless procession of our own farmers' wives with a hardened and shortened life and their children with less ample opportunities.

And our ideals of the future will in some measure be twisted by the moral and material bankruptcy of Europe. Those who consider at all carefully, the facts hinted at in my last article—too complex to be more than hinted at in the space available—will realize that the "isolation" of America is an illusion of the map, and is becoming more so every day; that she is an integral part of Occidental civilization whether she wishes it or not, and that if civilization in Europe takes the wrong turn we Americans would suffer less directly but not less vitally than France or Britain or Germany.

All this, of course, is no argument for departing from our traditional isolation. Our entrance into the welter might not change things or it might change them for the worse or the disadvantages might be such as to outweigh the advantages. The sensible question for America is this: "Can we affect the general course of events in Europe—in the world, that is—to our advantage by entering in; and will the advantage of so doing be of such extent as to offset the risks and costs?"

Before answering that question I want to indicate by very definite proposals or propositions a course of action and a basis for estimating the effect. I will

put the proposal with reference to America's future attitude to Europe in the form of a definite proposition thus:

That America shall use her influence to secure the abandonment by the powers of Christendom of rival group alliances and the creation instead of an alliance of all the civilized powers having as its aim some common action—not necessarily military—which will constitute a collective guarantee of each against aggression.

Thus when Germany, asked by the Allies at the prospective peace to remove the menace of her militarism by reducing her armaments, replies, "What of my protection against Russia?" Christendom should, with America's help, be in a position to reply: "We will all protect you against Russia, just as we would all protect Russia against you."

The considerations which support such a policy on America's part are mainly these: First, that if America does not lend the assistance of her detachment from European quarrels to such an arrangement, Europe of herself may not prove capable of it. Second, that if Europe does not come to some such arrangement the resulting unrest, militarism, moral and material degeneration, for the reasons above indicated and for others to be indicated presently, will most unfavorably affect the development of America, and expose her to dangers internal and external much greater than those which she would incur by intervention. Third, that if America's influence is in the manner indicated made the deciding factor in the establishment of a new form of world society, she would virtually take the leadership of Western civilization, and her capital become the centre of the political organization of the new world State. While "world domination" by military means has always proved a dangerous diet for all nations that have eaten of it heretofore, the American form of that ambition would have this great difference from earlier forms—that it would be welcomed instead of being resisted by the dominated. America would have given a new meaning to the term and found a means of satisfying national pride, certainly more beneficial than that which comes of military glory.

I envisage the whole problem, however, first and last in this discussion on the basis of America's interest; and the test which I would apply to the alternatives now presenting themselves is simply this: What on balance is most advantageous, in the broadest and largest sense of the term, in its moral as well as its material sense, to American interest?

Now I know full well that there is much to be said against the step which I think America should initiate. I suppose the weight of the reasons against it would be in some such order as the following: First, that it is a violation of the ancient tradition of American statecraft and of the rule laid down by Washington concerning the avoidance of entangling alliances. Second, that it may have the effect which he feared of dragging this country into war on matters in which it had no concern. Third, that it will militarize the country, and so, Fourth, lead to the neglect of those domestic problems upon which the progress of our nation depends.

I will take the minor points first and will deal with the major consideration presently.

First, I would remind the reader of what I pointed out in the last article, that there is no such thing as being unaffected by the military policies of Europe, and there never has been. At this present moment a campaign for greatly increased armaments is being waged on the strength of what is taking place in the Old World, and our armaments are directly and categorically dictated by what foreign nations do in the matter. So that it is not a question in practice of being independent of the policies of other nations; we are not independent of their policies.

We may refuse to co-operate with them, to have anything to do with them. Even then our military policy will be guided by theirs, and it is at least conceivable that in certain circumstances we should become thoroughly militarized by the need for preparing against what our people would regard as the menace of European military ambitions. This tendency, if it became sufficiently acute, would

cause neglect of domestic problems hardly less mischievous than that occasioned by war.

In my last article I touched upon a quite possible turn of the alliance groupings in Europe—the growing influence of Russia, the extension of that influence to the Asiatic populations on her borders, (Japan and Russia are already in alliance,) so that within the quite measurable future we may be confronted by a military community drawing on a population of 500,000,000 souls, autocratically governed and endowed with all the machinery of destruction which modern science has given to the world. A Russo-Chino-Japanese alliance might on behalf of the interest or dignity of one of the members of such a group challenge this country in some form or another, and a Western Europe with whom we had refused to co-operate for a common protection might as a consequence remain an indifferent spectator of the conflict.

Such a situation would certainly not relieve us from the burdens of militarism merely because we declined to enter into any arrangement with the European powers. As a matter of fact, of course, this present war destroyed the nationalist basis of militarism itself. The militarist may continue to talk about international agreement between nations being impossible as a means of insuring a nation's safety, and a nation having no security but the strength of its own arms, but when it actually comes to the point even he is obliged to trust to agreement with other nations and to admit that even in war a nation can no longer depend merely upon the strength of its arms; it has to depend upon co-operation, which means an agreement of some kind with other nations as well.

Just as the nations have by forces stronger than their own volition been brought into industrial and commercial co-operation, so, strangely enough, have they been brought by those same forces into military co-operation. While the warrior and militarist have been talking the old jargon of nationalism and holding international co-operation up to derision as a dream, they have themselves been

brought to depend upon foreigners. War itself has become internationalist.

There is something of sardonic humor in the fact that it is the greatest war of history which is illustrating the fact that even the most powerful of the European nations must co-operate with foreigners for its security. For no one of the nine or ten combatants of the present war could have maintained its position or defended itself alone. There is not one nation involved that would not believe itself in danger of destruction but for the help of foreigners; there is not one whose national safety does not depend upon some compact or arrangement with foreign nations. France would have been helpless but for the help of Britain and of Russia. Russia herself could not have imposed her will upon Germany if Germany could have thrown all her forces on the eastern frontier. Austria could certainly not have withstood the Russian flood single handed. Quite obviously the lesser nations, Serbia, Belgium, and the rest, would be helpless victims but for the support of their neighbors.

And it should be noted that this international co-operation is not by any means always with similar and racially allied nations. Republican France finds itself, and has been for a generation, the ally of autocratic Russia. Australia, that much more than any other country has been obsessed by the yellow peril and the danger from Japan, finds herself today fighting side by side with the Japanese. And as to the ineradicable hostility of races preventing international co-operation, there are fighting together on the soil of France as I write, Flemish, Walloons, and negroes from Senegal, Turcos from Northern Africa, Gurkhas from India, co-operating with the advance on the other frontier of Cossacks, and Russians of all descriptions. This military and political co-operation has brought together Mohammedan and Christian; Catholic, Protestant, and Orthodox; negro, white and yellow; African, Indian, and European; monarchist, republican, Socialist, reactionary—there seems hardly a racial, religious, or political difference that has stood in the way

of rapid and effective co-operation in the common need.

Thus the soldier himself, while defending the old nationalist and exclusive conceptions, is helping to shrink the spaces of the world and break down old isolations and show how interests at the uttermost ends of the earth react one upon the other.

But even apart from this influence, as already noted, America cannot escape the military any more than she has escaped the commercial and financial effects of this war. She may never be drawn into active military co-operation with other nations, but she is affected none the less—by a demand for a naval programme immensely larger than any American could have anticipated a year since, by plans for an enormously enlarged army.

That, it will be argued, is the one thing needed—to be stronger than our prospective enemy. And, of course, any enemy—whether he be one nation or a group—who really does contemplate aggression, would on his side take care to be stronger than us. War and peace are matters of two parties, and any principle which you may lay down for one is applicable to the other. When we say "*Sis vis pacem, para bellum*" we must apply it to all parties. One eminent upholder of this principle has told us that the only way to be sure of peace is to be so much stronger than your enemy that he will not dare to attack you. Apply that to the two parties and you get this result—here are two nations or two groups of nations likely to quarrel. How shall they keep the peace? And we say quite seriously that they will keep the peace if each is stronger than the other.

This principle, therefore, which looks at first blush like an axiom, is, as a matter of fact, an attempt to achieve a physical impossibility and always ends, as it has ended in Europe on this occasion, in explosion. You cannot indefinitely pile up explosive material without an accident of some sort occurring; it is bound to occur. But you will note this: that the militarist—while avowing by his conduct that nations can no longer in a military sense be independent, that

they are obliged to co-operate with others and consequently depend upon some sort of an arrangement, agreement, compact, alliance with others—has adopted a form of compact which merely perpetuates the old impossible situation on a larger scale! He has devised the "balance of power."

For several generations Britain, which has occupied with reference to the Continent of Europe somewhat the position which we are now coming to occupy with regard to Europe as a whole, has acted on this principle—that so long as the powers of the Continent were fairly equally divided she felt she could with a fair chance of safety face either one or the other. But if one group became so much stronger than the other that it was in danger of dominating the whole Continent, then Britain might find herself faced by an overwhelming power with which she would be unable to deal. To prevent this she joined the weaker group. Thus Britain intervened in Continental politics against Napoleon as she has intervened today against the Kaiser.

But this policy is merely a perpetuation on a larger scale of the principle of "each being stronger than the other." Military power, in any case, is a thing very difficult to estimate; an apparently weaker group or nation has often proved, in fact, to be the stronger, so that there is a desire on the part of both sides to give the benefit of the doubt to themselves. Thus the natural and latent effort to be strongest is obviously fatal to any "balance." Neither side, in fact, desires a balance; each desires to have the balance tilted in its favor. This sets up a perpetual tendency toward rearrangement, and regroupings and reshufflings in these international alliances sometimes take place with extraordinary and startling rapidity, as in the case of the Balkan States.

It is already illustrated in the present war; Italy has broken away from a definite and formal alliance which every one supposed would range her on the German side. There is at least a possibility that she may finally come down upon the Anglo-Franco-Russian side. You have Japan, which little more than a

decade ago was fighting bitterly against Russia, today ranged upon the side of Russia.

The position of Russia is still more startling. In the struggles of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries Britain was almost always on the side of Russia; then for two generations she was taught that any increase of the power of Russia was a particularly dangerous menace. That once more was a decade ago suddenly changed, and Britain is now fighting to increase both relatively and absolutely the power of a country which her last war on the Continent was fought to check. The war before that which Great Britain fought upon the Continent was fought in alliance with Germans against the power of France. As to the Austrians, whom Britain is now fighting, they were for many years her faithful allies. So it is very nearly true to say of nearly all the combatants respectively that they have no enemy today that was not, historically speaking, quite recently an ally, and not an ally today that was not in the recent past an enemy.

These combinations, therefore, are not, never have been, and never can be permanent. If history, even quite recent history, has any meaning at all, the next ten or fifteen or twenty years will be bound to see among these ten combatants now in the field rearrangements and permutations out of which the crushed and suppressed Germany that is to follow the war—a Germany which will embrace, nevertheless, a hundred million of the same race, highly efficient, highly educated, trained for co-ordination and common action—will be bound sooner or later to find her chance.

If America should by any catastrophe join Britain or any other nation for the purpose of maintaining a "balance of power" in the world, then indeed would her last state be worse than her first. The essential vice of the balance of power is that it is based upon a fundamentally false assumption as to the real relationship of nations and as to the function and nature of force in human affairs. The limits of the present article preclude any analysis of most of the

monstrous fallacies, but a hint can be given of one or two.

First, of course, if you could get such a thing as a real "balance of power"—two parties confronting one another with about equal forces—you would probably get a situation most favorable to war. Neither being manifestly inferior to the other, neither would be disposed to yield; each being manifestly as good as the other, would feel in "honor" bound to make no concession. If a power quite obviously superior to its rival makes concessions the world may give it credit for magnanimity in yielding, but otherwise it would always be in the position of being compelled to vindicate its courage. Our notions of honor and valor being what they are, no situation could be created more likely to bring about deadlocks and precipitate fights. All the elements are there for bringing about that position in which the only course left is "to fight it out."

The assumption underlying the whole theory of the balance of power is that predominant military power in a nation will necessarily—or at least probably—be exercised against its weaker neighbors to their disadvantage. Thus Britain has acted on the assumption that if one power dominated the Continent, British independence, more truly perhaps British predominance in the world would be threatened.

Now, how has a society of individuals—the community within the frontiers of a nation—met this difficulty which now confronts the society of nations, the difficulty that is of the danger of the power of an individual or a group? They have met it by determining that no individual or group shall exercise physical power or predominance over others; that the community alone shall be predominant. How has that predominance been secured? By determining that any one member attacked shall be opposed by the whole weight of the community, (exercised, say, through the policeman.) If A flies at B's throat in the street with the evident intention of throttling him to death, the community, if it is efficient, immediately comes to the support of B.

And you will note this: that it does not allow force to be used for the settlement of differences by anybody. The community does not use force as such at all; it merely cancels the force of units and determines that nobody shall use it. It eliminates force. And it thus cancels the power of the units to use it against other units (other than as a part of the community) by standing ready at all times to reduce the power of any one unit to futility. If A says that B began it, the community does not say, "Oh, in that case you may continue to use your force; finish him off." It says, on the contrary, "Then we'll see that B does not use his force; we'll restrain him, we won't have either of you using force. We'll cancel it and suppress it wherever it rears its head." For there is this paradox at the basis of all civilized intercourse: force between men has but one use—to see that force settles no difference between them.

And this has taken place because men—individually—have decided that the advantage of the security of each from aggression outweighs the advantage which each has in the possible exercise of aggression. When nations have come to the same decision—and not a moment before—they will protect themselves from aggression in precisely the same way—by agreeing between them that they will cancel by their collective power the force of any one member exercised against another.

I emphasize the fact that you must get this recognition of common interest in a given action before you can get the common action. We have managed it in the relations between individuals because, the numbers being so much greater than in the case of nations, individual dissent goes for less. The policeman, the judge, the jailer have behind them a larger number relatively to individual exceptions than is the case with nations. For the existence of such an arrangement by no means implies that men shall be perfect, that each shall willingly obey all the laws which he enforces. It merely implies that his interest in the law as a whole is greater than his interest in its general violation.

No man for a single day of his life observes all the Ten Commandments, yet you can always secure a majority for the support of the Ten Commandments, for the simple reason that while there are a great many who would like to rob, all are in favor of being protected against the robber. While there are a great many who would like on occasion to kill, all are in favor of being protected against being killed. The prohibition of this act secures universal support embracing "all of the people all of the time"; the positive impulse to it is isolated and occasional—with some individuals perhaps all the time, but with all individuals only some of the time; if ever.

When you come to the nations, there is less disproportion between the strength of the unit and the society. Hence nations have been slower than individuals in realizing their common interest. Each has placed greater reliance on its own strength for its protection. Yet the principle remains the same. There may be nations which desire for their own interest to go to war, but they all want to protect themselves against being beaten. You have there an absolutely common interest. The other interest, the desire to beat, is not so universal; in fact, if any value can be given whatever to the statement of the respective statesmen, such an interest is non-existent.

There is not a single statesman in Christendom today who would admit for a moment that it is his desire to wage war on a neighboring nation for the purpose of conquering it. All this warfare is, each party to it declares, merely a means of protecting itself against the aggression of neighbors. Whatever insincerity there may be in these declarations we can at least admit this much, that the desire to be safe is more widespread than the desire to conquer, for the desire to be safe is universal.

We ought to be able, therefore, to achieve, on the part of the majority, action to that end. And on this same principle there can be no doubt that the nations as a whole would give their support to any plan which would help to secure them from being attacked. It is time for the society of nations to take

this first step toward the creation of a real community; to agree, that is, that the influence of the whole shall be thrown against the one recalcitrant member.

The immensely increased contact between nations which has set up a greater independence (in the way hinted at in my last article) has given weight to the interest in security and taken from the interest in aggression. The tendency to aggression is often a blind impulse due to the momentum of old ideas which have not yet had time to be discredited and disintegrated by criticism. And of organization for the really common interest—that of security against aggression—there has, in fact, been none. If there is one thing certain it is that in Europe last July the people did not want war; they tolerated it, passively dragged by the momentum of old forces which they could not even formulate. The really general desire has never been organized; any means of giving effect to a common will—such as is given it in society within the frontiers—has never so far been devised.

I believe that it is the mission of America in her own interest to devise it; that the circumstances of her isolation, historical and geographical, enable her to do for the older peoples—and herself—a service which by reason of their circumstances, geographical and historical, they cannot do for themselves.

The power that she exercises to this end need not be military. I do not think that it should be military. This war has shown that the issues of military conflict are so uncertain, depending upon all sorts of physical accidents, that no man can possibly say which side will win. The present war is showing daily that the advantage does not always go with numbers, and the outcome of war is always to some extent a hazard and a gamble, but there are certain forces that can be set in operation by nations situated as the United States, that are not in any way a gamble and a hazard, the effect of which will be quite certain.

I refer to the pressure of such a thing as organized non-intercourse, the sending of a country to moral, social, economic Coventry. We are, I know, here

treading somewhat unknown ground, but we have ample evidence to show that there do exist forces capable of organization, stronger, and more certain in their operation than military forces. That the world is instinctively feeling this is demonstrated by the present attitude of all the combatants in Europe to the United States. The United States relatively to powers like Russia, Britain, and Germany is not a great military power, yet they are all pathetically anxious to secure the good-will of the United States.

Why?

It can hardly be to save the shock to their moral feelings which would come from the mere disapproval of people on the other side of the world. If any percentage of what we have read of German methods is true, if German ethics bear the faintest resemblance to what they are so often represented to be, Germany must have no feeling in the political sphere to be hurt by the moral disapproval of the people of the United States. If German statesmen are so desperately anxious as they evidently are to secure the approval and good-will of the United States it is because they realize, however indistinctly, that there lie in the hands of the United States powers which could be loosed, more portentous than those held by the masters of many legions.

Just what these powers are and how they might be used to give America greater security than she could achieve by arms, to place her at the virtual head of a great world State, and to do for mankind as a whole a service greater than any yet recorded in written history, must be left to the third and concluding article of this series.

III.

AMERICA AS LEADER.

In the preceding article I indicated that America might undertake at this juncture of international affairs an intervention in the politics of the Old World which is of a kind not heretofore attempted by any nation, an intervention, that is to say, that should not be military, but in the first instance mediatory and moral, having in view if needs be the employment of certain organized

social and economic forces which I will detail presently.

The suggestion that America should take any such lead is resisted first on the ground that it is a violation of her traditional policy, and secondly that "economic and social forces" are bound to be ineffective unless backed by military, so that the plea would involve her in a militarist policy. With reference to these two points, I pointed out in the preceding article that America's isolation from a movement for world agreement would infallibly land her in a very pronounced militarist policy, the increase of her armaments, the militarization of her civilization and all that that implies.

There are open to America at this present moment two courses: one which will lead her to militarism and the indefinite increase of armaments—that is the course of isolation from the world's life, from the new efforts that will be made toward world organization; the other to anticipate events and take the initiative in the leadership of world organization, which would have the effect of rendering western civilization, including herself, less military, less dependent upon arms, and put the development of that civilization on a civilist rather than a militarist basis.

I believe that it is the failure to realize that this intervention can be non-military in character which explains the reluctance of very many Americans to depart from their traditional policy of non-intervention. With reference to that point it is surely germane to remember that the America of 1914 is not the America of 1776; circumstances which made Washington's advice sound and statesmanlike have been transformed. The situation today is not that of a tiny power not yet solidified, remote from the main currents of the world's life, out-matched in resources by any one of the greater powers of Europe. America is no longer so remote as to have little practical concern with Europe. Its contacts with Europe are instantaneous, daily, intimate, innumerable—so much so indeed that our own civilization will be intimately affected and modified by cer-

tain changes which threaten in the older world.

I will put the case thus: Suppose that there are certain developments in Europe which would profoundly threaten our own civilization and our own security, and suppose further that we could without great cost to ourselves so guide or direct those changes and developments as to render them no longer a menace to this country. If such a case could be established, would not adherence to a formula established under eighteenth century conditions have the same relation to sound politics that the incantations and taboos of superstitious barbarians have to sound religion? And I think such a case can be established.

I wonder whether it has occurred to many Americans to ask why all the belligerents in this present war are showing such remarkable deference to American public opinion. Some Americans may, of course, believe that it is the sheer personal fascination of individual Americans or simple tenderness of moral feeling that makes Great Britain, France, Russia, Germany, and Austria take definitely so much trouble at a time when they have sufficient already, to demonstrate that they have taken the right course, that they are obeying all the laws of war, that they are not responsible for the war in any way, and so forth. Is it simply that our condemnation would hurt their feelings? This hardly agrees with certain other ideas which we hold as to the belligerents.

There is something beyond this order of motive at the bottom of the immense respect which all the combatants alike are paying to American opinion. It happened to the writer recently to meet a considerable number of Belgian refugees from Brussels, all of them full of stories (which I must admit were second or third or three-hundredth hand) of German barbarity and ferocity. Yet all were obliged to admit that German behavior in Brussels had on the whole been very good. But that, they explained, was "merely because the American Consul put his foot down." Yet one is not aware that President Wilson had author-

ized the American Consul so much as to hint at the possible military intervention of America in this war. Nevertheless there can be no doubt that these "Huns," so little susceptible in our view for the most part to moral considerations, were greatly influenced by the opinion of America; and we know also that the other belligerents have shown the same respect for the attitude of the United States.

I think we have here what so frequently happens in the development of the attitude of men toward large general questions: the intuitive recognition of a truth which those who recognize it are quite unable to put into words. It is a self-protective instinct, a movement that is made without its being necessary to think it out. (In the way that the untaught person is able instantly to detect the false note in a tune without knowing that such things as notes or crotchets and quavers exist.)

It is quite true that the Germans feared the bad opinion of the world because the bad opinion of the world may be translated into an element of resistance to the very ends which it is the object of the war to achieve for Germany.

Those ends include the extension of German influence, material and moral, of German commerce and culture. But a world very hostile to Germany might quite conceivably check both. We say, rightly enough, probably, that pride of place and power had its part—many declare the prominent part—in the motives that led Germany into this war. But it is quite conceivable that a universal revulsion of feeling against a power like Germany might neutralize the influence she would gain in the world by a mere extension of her territorial conquests.

Russia, for instance, has nearly five times the population and very many times the area of France; but one may doubt whether even a Russian would assert that Russian influence is five or ten times greater than that of France; still less that the world yielded him in any sense a proportionately greater deference than it yields the Frenchman. The extent to which the greatest power can impose itself by bayonets is very lim-

ited in area and depth. All the might of the Prussian Army cannot compel the children of Poland or of Lorraine to say their prayers in German; it cannot compel the housewives of Switzerland or Paraguay or of any other little State that has not a battleship to its name to buy German saucapans if so be they do not desire to. There are so many other things necessary to render political or military force effective, and there are so many that can offset it altogether.

We see these forces at work around us every day accomplishing miracles, doing things which a thousand years of fighting was never able to do—and then say serenely that they are mere "theories." Why do Catholic powers no longer execute heretics? They have a perfect right—even in international law—to do so. What is it that protects the heretic in Catholic countries? The police? But the main business of the police and the army used to be to hunt him down. What is controlling the police and the army?

By some sort of process there has been an increasing intuitive recognition of a certain code which we realize to be necessary for a decent society. It has come to be a sanction much stronger than the sanction of law, much more effective than the sanction of military force. During the German advance on Paris in August last I happened to be present at a French family conference. Stories of the incredible cruelties and ferocity of the Germans were circulating in the Northern Department, where I happened to be staying.

Every one was in a condition of panic, and two Frenchmen, fathers of families, were seeing red at the story of all these barbarities. But they had to decide—and the thing was discussed at a little family conference—where they should send their wives and children. And one of these Frenchmen, the one who had been most ferocious in his condemnation of the German barbarian, said quite naïvely and with no sense of irony or paradox: "Of course, if we could find an absolutely open town which would not be defended at all the women folk and children would be all right." His instinct, of course, was perfectly just. The Ger-

man "savage" had had three quarters of a million people in his absolute power in Brussels, and so far as we know, not a child or a woman has been injured.

Indeed, in normal times our security against foreigners is not based upon physical force at all. I suppose during the last century some hundreds of thousands of British and American tourists have traveled through the historic cities of Germany, their children have gone to the German educational institutions, their invalids have been attended by German doctors and cut up by German surgeons in German sanatoria and health resorts, and I am quite sure that it never occurred to any one of these hundreds of thousands that their little children when in the educational institutions of these "Huns" were in any way in danger. It was not the guns of the American Navy or the British Navy that were protecting them; the physical force of America or of Great Britain could not certainly be the factor operative in, say, Switzerland or Austria, yet every Summer tens of thousands of them trust their lives and those of their women and children in the remote mountains of Switzerland on no better security than the expectation that a foreign community over whom we have no possibility of exercising force will observe a convention which has no sanction other than the recognition that it is to their advantage to observe it.

And we thus have the spectacle of millions of Anglo-Saxons absolutely convinced that the sanctity of their homes and the safety of their property are secure from the ravages of the foreigner only because they possess a naval and military force that overawes him, yet serenely leaving the protection of that military force, and placing life and property alike within the absolute power of that very foreigner against whose predatory tendencies we spend millions in protecting ourselves.

No use of military power, however complete and overwhelming, would pretend to afford a protection anything like as complete as that afforded by these moral forces. Sixty years ago Britain

had as against Greece a preponderance of power that made her the absolute dictator of the latter's policy, yet all the British battleships and all the threats of "consequences" could not prevent British travelers being murdered by Greek brigands, though in Switzerland only moral forces—the recognition by an astute people of the advantage of treating foreigners well—had already made the lives and property of Britons as safe in that country as in their own.

In the same way, no scheme of arming Protestants as against Catholics, or Catholics as against Protestants (the method which gave us the wars of religion and massacre of St. Bartholomew) could assure that general security of spiritual and intellectual possessions which we now in large measure enjoy. So indeed with the more material things, France, Great Britain, and some of the older nations have sunk thousands of millions in foreign investments, the real security of which is not in any physical force which their Government could possibly exercise, but the free recognition of foreigners that it is to their advantage to adhere to financial obligations. Englishmen do not even pretend that the security of their investments in a country like the United States or the Argentine is dependent upon the coercion which the British Government is able to exercise over these communities.

The reader will not, I think, misunderstand me. I am not pleading that human nature has undergone or will undergo any radical transformation. Rather am I asserting that it will not undergo any; that the intention of the man of the tenth century in Europe was as good as that of the man of the twentieth, that the man of the tenth century was as capable of self-sacrifice—was, it may be, less self-seeking. But what I am trying to hint is that the shrinking of the world by our developed intercommunication has made us all more interdependent.

The German Government moves its troops against Belgium; a moratorium is immediately proclaimed in Rio de Janeiro, a dozen American Stock Exchanges are promptly closed and some hundreds of thousands of our people are

affected in their daily lives. This world-wide effect is not a matter of some years or a generation or two. It is a matter of an hour; we are intimately concerned with the actions of men on the other side of the world that we have never seen and never shall see; and they are intimately concerned with us. We know without having thought it out that we are bound together by a compact; the very fact that we are dependent upon one another creates as a matter of fact a partnership. We are expecting the other man to perform his part; he has been doing so uninterruptedly for years, and we send him our goods or we take his bill of exchange, or our families are afloat in his ships, expecting that he will pay for his goods, honor the bill of exchange, navigate safely his ship—he has undertaken to do these things in the world-wide partnership of our common labor and then he fails. He does not do these things, and we have a very lively sense of the immorality of the doctrine which permits him to escape doing them.

And so there are certain things that are not done, certain lengths to which even in war time we cannot go. What will stop the war is not so much the fighting, any more than Protestant massacres prevented Catholic massacres. Men do not fear the enemy soldiers; they do fear the turning of certain social and moral forces against them. The German Government does not hesitate for a moment to send ten thousand of its own people to certain death under enemy guns even though the military advantage of so doing may be relatively trifling. But it dare not order the massacre of ten thousand foreign residents in Berlin. There is some force which makes it sometimes more scrupulous of the lives of its enemy than of the lives of its own people.

Yet why should it care? Because of the physical force of the armies ranged against it? But it has to meet that force in any case. It fears that the world will be stirred. In other words, it knows that the world at large has a very lively realization that in its own interest certain things must not be done, that the world would not live together as we now

know it, if it permitted those things to be done. It would not so permit them.

At the bottom of this moral hesitation is an unconscious realization of the extent of each nation's dependence upon the world partnership. It is not a fear of physical chastisement; any nation will go to war against desperate odds if a foreign nation talks of chastising it. It is not that consideration which operates, as a thousand examples in history prove to us. There are forces outside military power more visible and ponderable than these.

There exists, of course, already a world State which has no formal recognition in our paper constitutions at all, and no sanction in physical force. If you are able to send a letter to the most obscure village of China, a telegram to any part of the planet, to travel over most of the world in safety, to carry on trade therewith, it is because for a generation the Post Office Departments of the world have been at work arranging traffic and communication details, methods of keeping their accounts; because the ship owner has been devising international signal codes; the banker arranging conditions of international credit; because, in fact, not merely a dozen but some hundreds of international agreements, most of them made not between Governments at all, but between groups and parties directly concerned, have been devised.

There is no overlord enforcing them, yet much of our daily life depends upon their normal working. The bankers or the shipowners or the makers of electric machinery have met in Paris or Brussels and decided that such shall be the accepted code, such the universal measurement for the lamp or instrument, such the conditions for the bill of exchange and from the moment that there is an agreement you do not need any sanction. If the instrument does not conform to the measurement it is unsalable and that is sanction enough.

We have seen in the preceding article that the dependence of the nations goes back a good deal further than we are apt to think; that long before the period of fully developed intercommunication, all



ANTONIO SALANDRA
Minister of the Interior and President of the Italian Ministry
(Photo from Bain)



JAMES W. GERARD
American Ambassador to the German Empire

nations owed their civilization to foreigners. It was to their traffic with Gaul and the visits of the Phoenician traders that the early inhabitants of the British Isles learned their first steps in arts and crafts and the development of a civilized society, and even in what we know as the Dark Ages we find Charlemagne borrowing scholars from York to assist him in civilizing the Continent.

The civilization which our forefathers brought with them to America was the result of centuries of exchange in ideas between Britain and the Continent, and though in the course of time it had become something characteristically Anglo-Saxon, its origins were Greek and Arabic and Roman and Jewish. But the interdependence of nations today is of an infinitely more vital and insistent kind, and despite superficial setbacks becomes more vital every day. As late as the first quarter of the nineteenth century, for instance, Britain was still practically self-sufficing; her very large foreign trade was a trade in luxuries. She could still produce her own food, her population could still live on her own soil.

But if today by some sort of magic Britain could kill off all foreigners the means of livelihood for quite an appreciable portion of her population would have disappeared. Millions would be threatened by actual starvation. For Britain's overseas trade, on which so large a proportion of the population actually lives, is mainly with the outside world and not with her own empire. We have seen what isolation merely from two countries has meant for Great Britain. Britain is still maintaining her contacts with the world as a whole, but the cessation of relationship with two countries has precipitated the gravest financial crisis known in all her history, has kept her Stock Exchanges closed for months, has sent her Consols to a lower point than any known since the worst period of the Napoleonic wars, and has compelled the Government ruthlessly to pledge its credit for the support of banking institutions and all the various trades that have been most seriously hit.

Nor is Germany's isolation altogether complete. She manages through neutral

countries and otherwise to maintain a considerable current of relationship with the outside world, but how deeply and disastrously the partial severance of contact has affected Germany we shall not at present, probably at no time, in full measure know.

All this gives a mere hint of what the organized isolation by the entire world would mean to any one nation. Imagine the position of a civilized country whose ports no ship from another country would enter, whose bills no banker would discount, a country unable to receive a telegram or a letter from the outside world or send one thereto, whose citizens could neither travel in other countries or maintain communications therewith. It would have an effect in the modern world somewhat equivalent to that of the dreadful edicts of excommunication and interdiction which the papal power was able to issue in the mediaeval world.

I am aware, of course, that such a measure would fall very hardly upon certain individuals in the countries inflicting this punishment, but it is quite within the power of the Governments of those countries to do what the British Government has done in the case of persons like acceptors of German bills who found themselves threatened with bankruptcy and who threatened in consequence to create great disturbance around them because of the impossibility of securing payment from the German indorsers. The British Government came to the rescue of those acceptors, used the whole national credit to sustain them. It is expensive, if you will, but infinitely less expensive than a war, and, finally, most of the cost of it will probably be recovered.

Now if that were done, how could a country so dealt with retaliate? She could not attack all the world at once. Upon those neighbors more immediately interested could be thrown the burden of taking such defensive military measures as the circumstances might dictate. You might have a group of powers probably taking such defensive measures and all the powers of Christendom co-operating economically by this suggested non-intercourse. It is possible even that the

powers as a whole might contribute to a general fund indemnifying individuals in those States particularly hit by the fact of non-intercourse. I am thinking, for instance, of shipping interests in a port like Amsterdam if the decree of non-intercourse were proclaimed against a power like Germany.

We have little conception of the terror which such a policy might constitute to a nation. It has never been tried, of course, because even in war complete non-intercourse is not achieved. At the present time Germany is buying and selling and trading with the outside world, cables from Berlin are being sent almost as freely to New York as cables from London and German merchants are making contracts, maintaining connections of very considerable complexity. But if this machinery of non-intercourse were organized as it might be, there would be virtually no neutrals, and its effect in our world today would be positively terrifying.

It is true that the American administration did try something resembling a policy of non-intercourse in dealing with Mexico. But the thing was a fiction. While the Department of State talked of non-intercourse the Department of the Treasury was busy clearing ships for Mexico, facilitating the dispatch of mails, &c. And, of course, Mexico's communication with Europe remained unimpaired; at the exact moment when the President of the United States was threatening Huerta with all sorts of dire penalties Huerta's Government was arranging in London for the issue of large loans and the advertisements of these Mexican loans were appearing in *The London Times*. So that the one thing that might have moved Huerta's Government the United States Government was unable to enforce. In order to enforce it, it needed the co-operation of other countries.

I have spoken of the economic world State—of all those complex international arrangements concerning Post Offices, shipping, banking, codes, sanctions of law, criminal research, and the rest, on which so much of our civilized life de-

pends. This world State is unorganized, incoherent. It has neither a centre nor a capital, nor a meeting place. The shipowners gather in Paris, the world's bankers in Madrid or Berne, and what is in effect some vital piece of world regulation is devised in the smoking room of some Brussels hotel. The world State has not so much as an office or an address. The United States should give it one. Out of its vast resources it should endow civilization with a Central Bureau of Organization—a Clearing House of its international activities as it were, with the funds needed for its staff and upkeep.

If undertaken with largeness of spirit, it would become the capital of the world. And the Old World looks to America to do this service, because it is the one which it cannot do for itself. Its old historic jealousies and squabbles, from which America is so happily detached, prevent any one power taking up and putting through this work of organization, but America could do it, and do it so effectively that from it might well flow this organization of that common action of all the nations against any recalcitrant member of which I have spoken as a means of enforcing non-militarily a common decision.

It is this world State which it should be the business of America during the next decade or two to co-ordinate, to organize. Its organization will not come into being as the result of a week-end talk between Ambassadors. There will be difficulties, material as well as moral, jealousies to overcome, suspicions to surmount. But this war places America in a more favorable position than any one European power. The older powers would be less suspicious of her than of any one among their number. America has infinitely greater material resources, she has a greater gift for improvised organization, she is less hidebound by old traditions, more disposed to make an attempt along new lines.

That is the most terrifying thing about the proposal which I make—it has never been tried. But the very difficulties constitute for America also an immense op-

portunity. We have had nations give their lives and the blood of their children for a position of supremacy and superiority. But we are in a position of superiority and supremacy which for the most part would be welcomed by the world as a whole and which would not demand of America the blood of one of her children. It would demand some enthusiasm, some moral courage, some sustained effort, faith, patience, and persistence. It would establish new standards in, and let us hope a new kind of, international rivalry.

One word as to a starting point and a possible line of progress. The first move toward the ending of this present war may come from America. The President of the United States will probably act as mediator. The terms of peace will probably be settled in Washington. Part of the terms of peace to be exacted by the Allies will probably be, as I have already hinted, some sort of assurance against future danger from German militarist aggression.

The German, rightly or wrongly, does not believe that he has been the aggressor—it is not a question at all of whether he is right or wrong; it is a question of what he believes. And he believes quite honestly and sincerely that he is merely defending himself. So what he will be mainly concerned about in the future is his security from the victorious Allies.

Around this point much of the discussion at the conclusion of this present war will range. If it is to be a real peace and not a truce an attempt will have to be made to give to each party security from the other, and the question will then arise whether America will come into that combination or not. I have already indicated that I think she should not come in, certainly I do not think she will come in, with the offer of military aid. But if she stays out of it altogether she will have withdrawn from this world congress that must sit at the end of the war a mediating influence which may go far to render it nugatory.

And when, after it may be somewhat weary preliminaries, an international council of conciliation is established to

frame the general basis of the new alliance between the civilized powers for mutual protection along the lines indicated, America, if she is to play her part in securing the peace of the world, must be ready to throw at least her moral and economic weight into the common stock, the common moral and economic forces which will act against the common enemy, whoever he may happen to be.

That does not involve taking sides, as I showed in my last article. The policeman does not decide which of two quarrelers is right; he merely decides that the stronger shall not use his power against the weaker. He goes to the aid of the weaker, and then later the community deals with the one who is the real aggressor. One may admit, if you will, that at present there is no international law, and that it may not be possible to create one. But we can at least exact that there shall be an inquiry, a stay; and more often than not that alone would suffice to solve the difficulty without the application of definite law.

It is just up to that point that the United States should at this stage be ready to commit herself in the general council of conciliation, namely, to say this: "We shall throw our weight against any power that refuses to give civilization an opportunity at least of examining and finding out what the facts of the dispute are. After due examination we may reserve the right to withdraw from any further interference between such power and its antagonist. But, at least, we pledge ourselves to secure that by throwing the weight of such non-military influence as we may have on to the side of the weaker." That is the point at which a new society of nations would begin, as it is the point at which a society of individuals has begun. And it is for the purpose of giving effect to her undertaking in that one regard that America should become the centre of a definite organization of that world State which has already cut athwart all frontiers and traversed all seas.

It is not easy without apparent hyperbole to write of the service which America would thus render to mankind. She

would have discovered a new sanction for human justice, would have made human society a reality. She would have done something immeasurably greater, immeasurably more beneficent than any of the conquests recorded in the long story of man's mostly futile struggles. The democracy of America would have done something which the despots and

the conquerors of all time, from Alexander and Caesar to Napoleon and the Kaiser, have found to be impossible. Dangerous as I believe national vanity to be, America would, I think, find in the pride of this achievement—this American leadership of the human race—a glory that would not be vain, a world victory which the world would welcome.

SIR CHRISTOPHER CRADOCK.

By JOHN E. DOLSON.

THROUGH the fog of the fight we could dimly see,
As ever the flame from the big guns flashed,
That Cradock was doomed, yet his men and he,
With their plates shot to junk, and their turrets smashed,
Their ship heeled over, her funnels gone,
Were fearlessly, doggedly fighting on.

Out-speeded, out-metalead, out-ranged, out-shot
By heavier guns, they were not out-fought.
Those men—with the age-old British phlegm,
That has conquered and held the seas for them,
And the courage that causes the death-struck man
To rise on his mangled stumps and try,
With one last shot from his heated gun,
To score a hit ere his spirit fly,
Then sink in the welter of red, and die
With the sighting squint fixed on his dead,
glazed eye—
Accepted death as part of the plan.

So the guns belched flame till the fight had run
Into night; and now, in the distance dim,
We could see, by the flashes, the dull, dark loom
Of their hull, as it bore toward the Port of Doom,
Away on the water's misty rim—
Cradock and his few hundred men,
Never, in time, to be seen again.

While into the darkness their great shells streamed,
Little the valiant Germans dreamed
That Cradock was teaching them how to go
When the fate their daring, itself, had sealed,
Waiting, as yet, o'er the ocean's verge,
To their eyes undaunted would stand revealed;
And, snared by a swifter, stronger foe,
Out-classed, out-metalead, out-ranged, out-shot
By heavier guns, but not out-fought,
They, too, would sink in the sheltering surge.

Battle of the Suez Canal

A First-Hand Account of the Unsuccessful Turkish Invasion

[From The London Times, Feb. 19, 1915.]

ISMAILIA, Feb. 10.

THOUGH skirmishing had taken place between the enemy's reconnoitring parties and our outposts during the latter part of January, the main attack was not developed until Feb. 2, when the enemy began to move toward the Ismailia Ferry. They met a reconnoitring party of Indian troops of all arms, and a desultory engagement ensued, to which a violent sand storm put a sudden end about 3 o'clock in the afternoon. The main attacking force pushed forward toward its destination after nightfall. From twenty-five to thirty galvanized iron pontoon boats, seven and a half meters in length, which had been dragged in carts across the desert, were hauled by hand toward the water, with one or two rafts made of kerosene tins in a wooden frame. All was ready for the attack.

The first warning of the enemy's approach was given by a sentry of a mountain battery, who heard, to him, an unknown tongue across the water. The noise soon increased. It would seem that Mudjah Ideen ("Holy Warriors")—said to be mostly old Tripoli fighters—accompanied the pontoon section and regulars of the Seventy-fifth Regiment, for loud exhortations often in Arabic of "Brothers die for the faith; we can die but once," betrayed the enthusiastic irregular.

The Egyptians waited till the Turks were pushing their boats into the water; then the Maxims attached to the battery suddenly spoke and the guns opened with case at point-blank range at the men and boats crowded under the steep bank opposite them.

Immediately a violent fire broke out on both sides of the canal, the enemy replying to the rifles and machine gun fire and the battery on our bank. Around the guns it was impossible to

stand up, but the gunners stuck to the work, inflicting terrible punishment.

A little torpedo boat with a crew of thirteen patrolling the canal dashed up and landed a party of four officers and men to the south of Tussum, who climbed up the eastern bank and found themselves in a Turkish trench, and escaped by a miracle with the news. Promptly the midjet dashed in between the fires and enfiladed the eastern bank amid a hail of bullets, and destroyed several pontoon boats lying unlaunched on the bank. It continued to harass the enemy, though two officers and two men were wounded.

As the dark, cloudy night lightened toward dawn fresh forces came into action. The Turks, who occupied the outer, or day, line of the Tussum post, advanced, covered by artillery, against the Indian troops holding the inner, or night, position, while an Arab regiment advanced against the Indian troops at the Serapeum post.

The warships on the canal and lake joined in the fray. The enemy brought some six batteries of field guns into action from the slopes west of Kataib-el-Kheil. Shells admirably fused made fine practice at all the visible targets, but failed to find the battery above mentioned, which, with some help from a detachment of infantry, beat down the fire of the riflemen on the opposite bank and inflicted heavy losses on the hostile supports advancing toward the canal. A chance salvo wounded four men of the battery, but it ran more risk from a party of about twenty of the enemy who had crossed the canal in the dark and sniped the gunners from the rear till they were finally rounded up by the Indian cavalry and compelled to surrender.

Supported by land naval artillery the Indian troops took the offensive. The

Serapeum garrison, which had stopped the enemy three-quarters of a mile from the position, cleared its front, and the Tussum garrison by a brilliant counter-attack drove the enemy back. Two battalions of Anatolians of the Twenty-eighth Regiment were thrown vainly into the fight. Our artillery gave them no chance, and by 3:30 in the afternoon a third of the enemy, with the exception of a force that lay hid in bushy hollows on the east bank between the two posts, were in full retreat, leaving many dead, a large proportion of whom had been killed by shrapnel.

Meanwhile the warships on the lake had been in action. A salvo from a battleship woke up Ismailia early, and crowds of soldiers and some civilians climbed every available sandhill to see what was doing till the Turkish guns sent shells sufficiently near to convince them that it was safer to watch from cover. A husband and wife took a carriage and drove along the lake front, much peppered by shells, till near the old French hospital, when they realized the danger and suddenly whisked around and drove back full gallop to Ismailia.

But the enemy's fire did more than startle. At about 11 in the morning two six-inch shells hit the Hardinge near the southern entrance of the lake. The first damaged the funnel and the second burst inboard. Pilot Carew, a gallant old merchant seaman, refused to go below when the firing opened and lost a leg. Nine others were wounded. One or two merchantmen were hit, but no lives were lost. A British gunboat was struck.

Then came a dramatic duel between the Turkish big gun or guns and a warship. The Turks fired just over and then just short of 9,000 yards. The warship sent in a salvo of more six-inch shells than had been fired that day.

During the morning the enemy moved toward Ismailia Ferry. The infantry used the ground well, digging shelter pits as they advanced, and were covered by a well-served battery. An officer, apparently a German, exposed himself with the greatest daring, and watchers were interested to see a yellow "pie dog," which also escaped, running about

the advancing line. Our artillery shot admirably and kept the enemy from coming within 1,000 yards of the Indian outposts. In the afternoon the demonstration—for it was no more—ceased but for a few shells fired as "a nightcap." During the dark night that followed some of the enemy approached the outpost line of the ferry position with a dog, but nothing happened, and day found them gone.

At the same time as the fighting ceased at the ferry it died down at El Kantara. There the Turks, after a plucky night attack, came to grief on our wire entanglements. Another attempt to advance from the southeast was forced back by an advance of the Indian troops. The attack, during which it was necessary to advance on a narrow front over ground often marshy with recent inundations against our strong position, never had a chance. Indeed, the enemy was only engaged with our outpost line.

Late in the afternoon of the 3d there was sniping from the east bank between Tussum and Serapeum and a man was killed in the tops of a British battleship. Next morning the sniping was renewed, and the Indian troops, moving out to search the ground, found several hundred of the enemy in the hollow previously mentioned. During the fighting some of the enemy, either by accident or design, held up their hands, while others fired on the Punjabis, who were advancing to take the surrender, and killed a British officer. A sharp fight with the cold steel followed, and a British officer killed a Turkish officer with a sword thrust in single combat. The body of a German officer with a white flag was afterward found here, but there is no proof that the white flag was used. Finally all the enemy were killed, captured, or put to flight.

With this the fighting ended, and the subsequent operations were confined to "rounding up" prisoners and to the capture of a considerable amount of military material left behind. The Turks who departed with their guns and baggage during the night of the 3d still seemed to be moving eastward.

So ended the battle of the Suez Canal. Our losses have been amazingly small, totaling about 111 killed and wounded.

Our opponents have probably lost nearly 3,000 men. The Indian troops bore the brunt of the fighting and were well sup-



Showing the Turkish points of concentration in Palestine and the principal routes leading thence to the Suez Canal. The intervening desert Peninsula of Sinai constitutes a formidable obstacle to an invading force. Inset is a map of the Ottoman Empire showing in the northeast the Caucasus, where the Turks were routed by the Russians, who later advanced on Erzerum and Tabriz. The British expedition in the Persian Gulf region occupied Basra and was on Feb. 1, 1915, at Kurna, the point of confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates.

ported by the British and French warships and by the Egyptian troops. The Turks fought bravely and their artillery shot well if unluckily, but the intentions of the higher command are still a puzzle to British officers.

Did Djemal Pasha intend to try to break through our position under cover of demonstrations along a front over ninety miles in length with a total force, perhaps, of 25,000 men, or was he attempting a reconnoissance in force? If the former is the case, he must have had a low idea of British leadership or an amazing belief in the readiness and ability of sympathizers in Egypt to support the Turk. Certainly he was misinformed as to our positions, and on the 4th we buried on the eastern bank the bodies of two men, apparently Syrians or Egyptians, who were found with their hands tied and their eyes bandaged. Probably they were guides who had been summarily killed, having unwittingly led the enemy astray. If, on the other hand, Djemal Pasha was attempting a reconnoissance, it was a costly business and gave General Wilson a very handsome victory.

Till the last week of January there had been some doubt as to the road by which the Ottoman Commander in Chief in Syria intended to advance on the canal. Before the end of the month it was quite clear that what was then believed to be the Turkish advanced guard, having marched with admirable rapidity from Beersheba via El Auja, Djebel Libni, and Djifjaffa, was concentrating in the valleys just east of Kataib-el-Kheil, a group of hills lying about ten miles east of the canal, where it enters Lake Tim-sah. A smaller column detached from this force was sighted in the hills east of Ismailia Ferry. Smaller bodies had appeared in the neighborhood of El Kantara and between Suez and the Bitter Lakes.

The attacks on our advanced posts at El Kantara on the night of Jan. 26 and 27, and at Kubri, near Suez, on the fol-

lowing night, were beaten off. Hostile guns fired occasional shells, while our warships returned the compliment at any hostile column that seemed to offer a good target, and our aeroplanes dropped bombs when they had the chance; but in general the enemy kept a long distance off and was tantalizing. Our launches and boats, which were constantly patrolling the canal, could see him methodically intrenching just out of range of the naval guns.

By the night of Feb. 1 the enemy had prepared his plan of attack. To judge both from his movements during the next two days and the documents found on prisoners and slain, it was proposed to attack El Kantara while making a demonstration at El Ferdan, further south, and prevent reinforcements at the first-named post. The demonstration at Ismailia Ferry by the right wing of the Kataib-el-Kheil force which had been partly refused till then in order to prevent a counter-attack from the ferry, was designed to occupy the attention of the Ismailia garrison, while the main attack was delivered between the Tussum post, eight miles south of Ismailia, and the Serapeum post, some three miles further south. Eshref Bey's highly irregular force in the meantime was to demonstrate near Suez.

The selection of the Tussum and Serapeum section as the principal objective was dictated both by the consideration that success here would bring the Turks a few miles from Ismailia, and by the information received from patrols that the west bank of the canal between the posts, both of which may be described as bridgeheads, were unoccupied by our troops. The west bank between the posts is steep and marked by a long, narrow belt of trees. The east bank also falls steeply to the canal, but behind it are numerous hollows, full of brushwood, which give good cover. Here the enemy's advanced parties established themselves and intrenched before the main attack was delivered.

A Full-Fledged Socialist State

While Germany's Trade and Credit Are Holding Their Breath

By J. Laurence Laughlin

[From THE NEW YORK TIMES, March 9, 1915.]

Professor Laughlin, who makes the following remarkable study of the German financial emergency, was lecturer on political economy in Berlin on the invitation of the Prussian Cultur Ministerium in 1906, and since 1892 has been head of the Department of Political Economy in the University of Chicago. He is acknowledged to be one of the foremost American economists and the views here expressed are based on wide information.

IN a great financial emergency conditions are immediately registered in the monetary and credit mechanism. Although the German Government and the Reichsbank had obviously been preparing for war long before, as soon as mobilization was ordered there was a currency panic. The private banks stopped payment in gold. Crowds then besieged the Reichsbank in order to get its notes converted into gold. Then the Banking act was suspended, so that the Reichsbank and private banks were freed from the obligation to give out gold for notes. At once all notes went to a discount in the shops as compared with gold. Thereupon, in summary fashion, the Military Governor of Berlin declared the notes to be a full legal tender and announced that any shop refusing to take them at par would be punished by confiscation of goods.

In Germany, as is well known, the main currency is supplied by the Reichsbank, covered by at least 33 1-3 per cent. in gold or silver, and the remaining two-thirds by commercial paper. Immediately after the outbreak of war there was a prodigious increase of loans at the Reichsbank, in consequence of which borrowers received notes or deposit accounts. Usually transactions are carried through by use of notes, and not by checks, as with us. On July 23, 1914, the notes stood at \$472,500,000; deposits at \$236,000,000; discounted bills and advances at \$200,000,000. On Aug. 31 notes had increased to \$1,058,500,000; deposits to \$610,000,000; discounts and advances to \$1,113,500,000, (by October

this amount was lowered to about \$750,000,000.) On the latter date the specie reserve stood at \$409,500,000, or more than the legal one-third. Loans had been increased 556 per cent.; notes 223 per cent., and deposits 258 per cent. In short, \$586,000,000 of notes had been issued beyond the amount required in normal times, (July 23.) Clearly this additional amount was not required by an increased exchange of goods, but by those persons whose resources were tied up and who needed a means of payment. The same was true of the large increase of deposits which resulted from the larger loans. A liberal policy of discounting was followed by which loans were given on the basis of securities or stocks of goods on hand. That is, non-negotiable assets were converted into a means of payment either in the form of notes or deposit credits.

At this juncture there was created a currency something after the fashion of the Aldrich-Vreeland emergency notes in this country. War credit banks were established by law to issue notes (Darlehnskassenscheine) in denominations of 10, 15, 20, and 50 marks as loans on stocks in trade and securities of all kinds, and were charged 6½ per cent. interest. The goods on which these notes could be issued were not removed, but stamped with a Government seal. While not a legal tender, the notes were receivable at all imperial agencies. On securities classed at the Reichsbank as Class I. loans could be made up to 60 per cent. of their value as of July 31; as Class II., 40 per cent.; on the other German securities bearing a fixed rate

of return, 50 per cent.; on other German securities bearing a varying rate of return, 40 per cent.; on Russian securities, a lower percentage. These institutions, therefore, took up some of the burden that would otherwise have fallen on the loan item of the Reichsbank. Hence the Reichsbank account does not show the whole situation.

To this point the methods followed were much the same as in London. Then came unusual happenings. In London for a few days the banks had wavered as to maintaining gold payments, but only temporarily. In Berlin drastic measures were undertaken to accumulate gold in the Reichsbank. Vienna reports it to be well known that Germany had been for eighteen months before straining every nerve to obtain gold. Whatever sums of gold were included in the so-called "war chest" in Spandau (said to be \$30,000,000) were also deposited with the Reichsbank. Gold was even smuggled across the borders of Holland on the persons of spies. Urgent demands were made upon the people to turn in gold from patriotic motives. In this way over \$400,000,000 of gold was gathered by July, 1914; and by the end of the year, after five months of war, it had risen to \$523,000,000. Was Germany to maintain gold payments as well as Great Britain?

Evidently not. Gold was not given for notes on presentation. For purposes of exchanging goods the notes were in excess. Inconvertible, they must go to a discount with gold or with the money of outside countries using gold. But in order to get imports from other nations, like Holland, Scandinavia, and Denmark, Germany must either send goods, or gold, or securities. German industries, except those making war supplies, were not producing over 25 per cent. of capacity, and many were closed. The Siemens-Schuckert Works, even before the Landsturm was called out, lost 40 per cent. of their men on mobilization. The Humboldt Steel Works, near Cologne, employing 4,000 men, were closed early in August, as were nearly all the great iron works in the district between

Düsseldorf and Duisburg. Probably 50 to 75 per cent. of the workers were called to the colors. The skilled artisans were in the army or in munition factories; the railways were in the hands of the military; and the merchant marine was shut up in home or foreign ports. There were said to be 1,500 idle ships in Hamburg alone. Few goods could be exported. Gold was refused for export, of course. A serious liquidation in foreign securities had been going on long before the war. Some foreign securities must have still remained. However that may be, a claim to funds in Germany (i. e., a bill drawn on Germany) was not redeemable in gold, and it fell in price. In normal times a bill could not fall below the shipping point in gold, (par with us for 4 marks is 95¼ cents in gold;) but, since gold could not be sent, exchange on Germany could fall to any figure, set only by a declining demand. Already bills on Germany have been quoted in New York at 82, showing a depreciation of German money in the international field of about 13 per cent. Likewise, as early as the first week of September, the Reichsbank notes were reported at a discount of 20 per cent., and as practically non-negotiable in a neighboring country like Holland.

The inevitable consequence of a depreciated currency must be a rise of prices, usually greater than the actual percentage of depreciation. To meet this situation there came a device possible in no other commercial country. The Government fixed prices at which goods could be sold. This mediaeval device could be enforced only in a land where such State interference had been habitual, and, of course, could give to the notes the fictitious purchasing power only inside the country. After the Christian Science fashion, one had only to believe the notes were of value to make them so; but in the cold world outside German jurisdiction their value would be gauged by the chances of getting gold for them. Here, then, we find Germany in all the mazes of our ancient "greenbackism," but still in possession

of a large stock of gold. As soon as the war ends she may be able to return to gold payments at an early date—very much as did France after the ordeal of the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-1871.

In the present war conditions, however, largely cut off from other countries, (except some small trade with Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, and the like,) all ordinary relations which would influence German credit and industry must be counted out. There is no comparison of her prices and money with those of other countries in a free market, or with even a limited transportation of exports and imports. All commercial measurements are suspended for the time. Trade and credit are holding their breath. How long can they do it? Germany may have food enough; but how long can the stoppage of industry go on?

Moreover, attention must be called to one momentous thing. We are seeing today, under military law, the greatest experiment in socialism ever witnessed. All wealth, income, industry, capital, and labor are in the direct control and use of a military State. Food, everything, may be taken and distributed in common. I think never before in history have we had such a gigantic, full-fledged illustration of socialism in actual operation.

In the meanwhile, even though food may be provided, the reduction of industry in general has cut incomes right and left. That is, fewer goods are produced and exchanged. But goods are the basis of all credit. The less the goods exchanged, the less the credit operations. Nevertheless, the extraordinary issues of banknotes, the increase of deposits, as a result of quintupling the loans, means that former commitments in goods and securities cannot be liquidated. That is, the enormous increase of bank liabilities, to a considerable and unknown percentage, is not supported by liquid assets. These assets are "canned." Will they keep sweet? There is no new business, no foreign trade, sufficient to take up old

obligations and renew those which are unpayable. Lessened incomes mean lessened consumption and lessened demand for goods. Hence the credit system is based on an uncertain and insecure foundation, dependent wholly upon contingencies far in the future which may, or may not, take the non-liquid assets out of cold storage and give them their original value.

Moreover, apart from definite destruction of wealth and capital in the war—which must be enormous, as represented by the national loans—the losses from not doing business in all main industries during the whole period of the war (except in making war supplies) must be very great. As it affects the income and expenditure of the working classes, it may be roughly measured by the great numbers of unemployed. If they are used on public works, their income is made up from taxes on the wealth of others. Luxuries will disappear, and not be produced or imported. Incomes expressed in goods, or material satisfactions, have been diminished—which is of no serious consequence, if they cover the minimum of actual subsistence. The prolongation of the war will, then, depend on the ability to provide the supplies for war.

The need for a medium of exchange is oversupplied. The lack is in the goods to be exchanged. The enormous extension of German note issues does not, and can not, diminish. In this country the expansion of credit and money immediately after the war (manifested by the issue of Clearing House certificates and emergency banknotes) has been cleared away by liquidation. In Germany the "canned" assets behind the depreciated currency cannot be liquidated until the end of the war. And their worth at that time will depend much on the future course of the war and the terms of peace. If German territory should be overrun and the tangible forms of capital in factories and fixed capital be destroyed, much of the liquidation might be indefinitely prolonged. Whatever of foreign trade is

permanently lost would also increase the difficulties.

In a great financial emergency nearly every country has, at one time or another, been tempted to confuse the monetary with the fiscal functions of the Treasury. To borrow by the issue of money seems to have a seductive charm hard to resist. Lloyd George established a new precedent for Great Britain by issuing nearly \$200,000,000 of Government currency notes, but this was done to provide notes for the public

instead of coin (£1 and 10s.) and made unnecessary any emergency issues by the Bank of England, and a large gold fund has been accumulated behind them so that they are convertible. In Germany it does not seem likely that the Treasury notes will be largely used (having increased from \$16,500,000 to about \$200,000,000) as a means of borrowing, since the new loans are being issued in terms of longer maturities.

J. LAURENCE LAUGHLIN.

LETTERS FROM WIVES

[By Cable to The New York Tribune.]

LONDON, March 8.—Edward Page Gaston, an American business man long resident in London, has just returned from Belgium, and brought with him many sad and touching relics of the battlefields in that distressful country, chiefly from the neighborhood of Mons. These pathetic memorials include letters from wives, sweethearts, and friends at home and letters written by soldiers now dead and never posted.

Turning these letters over, one comes across such an expression as this: "I congratulate you on your promotion. It seems too good to be true. Good-bye and God bless you, dear. God keep you in health and bring you safely back."

Alas! the soldier who got that letter came back no way at all to his sweetheart or his friends.

"If you don't come back, what shall I do?" is the cry that comes from another woman's heart, and he did not come back.

Mr. Gaston is going to put himself into communication with the War Office with regard to the fate of the relics, and as far as possible they will be sent to the rightful owners.

"WAR CHILDREN."

[Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.]

PARIS, Feb. 24.—Professor Pinard of the Academy of Medicine contributes an article to the *Matin* showing that "war children" are stronger and healthier than their predecessors, and that France is rapidly repairing her battle losses.

An analysis of the Paris statistics for the last six months reveals a diminution of the death rate among mothers and children and a decrease in the number of children born dead.

Dr. Pinard further asserts that an extensive comparison of living children with those born earlier shows that the average weight of "war babies" is considerably higher than it used to be. This he considers due to the giving of natural instead of artificial nourishment by the mothers in consequence of the more serious attitude they take to their duty to the State.

This, says the professor, is one more instance of the spirit of regeneration animating France.

No Premature Peace For Russia

Proceedings at Opening of the Duma, Petrograd, Feb. 9, 1915

[From The London Times.]

PETROGRAD, Feb. 9.

THE main impression left upon all who attended today's proceedings in the Duma may be summed up in a few words. The war has not shaken the determination of the Russian people to carry through the struggle to a victorious end.

Practically the whole House had assembled—the few vacant seats were due to death, chiefly on the field of battle—and the patriotic spirit permeating the proceedings was just as deeply emphasized as it was six months ago. The debates were several times interrupted by the singing of the National anthem, thunders of applause greeted the speeches of the President, the Premier, and the Foreign Minister, and the ovation to the British and French Ambassadors was, if anything, warmer and more enthusiastic than on the previous occasion.

I noticed that members applauded with special emphasis the words in which the President expressed his firm conviction that all efforts to disunite the Allies would prove fruitless.

In the course of his address the President eloquently and eulogistically referred to the rôle of Russia's allies in the present war. Speaking of England, he said:

Noble and mighty England, with all her strength, has come forward to defend the right. Her services to the common cause are great, their value inestimable. We believe in her and admire her steadfastness and valor.

The enemies of Russia have already frequently attempted to sow discord in these good and sincere relations, but such efforts are vain. The Russian truth-loving national soul, sensitive of any display of mendacity or insincerity, was able to sift the chaff from the wheat, and faith in our friends is unshaken. There is not a single cloud on the clear horizon of our lasting allied harmony. Heartfelt greetings to you, true friends, rulers of the waves and

our companions in arms. May victory and glory go with you everywhere!

These remarks were constantly interrupted by outbursts of tremendous applause and by an ovation in honor of Sir George Buchanan, who bowed his acknowledgments.

Alluding to temperance reform, the orator fervently exclaimed:

Accept, great monarch, the lowly reverence of thy people. Thy people firmly believe that an end has been put for all eternity to this ancient curse.

The terrible war can not and must not end otherwise than victoriously for us and our allies. We will fight till our foes submit to the conditions and demands which the victors dictate to them. We are weary of the incessant brandishing of the sword, the menaces to Slavdom, and the obstacles to its natural growth. We will fight till the end, till we win a lasting peace worthy of the great sacrifices we have offered to our fatherland. In the name of our electorate, we here declare, "So wishes all Russia."

And you, brave warrior knights in the cold trenches, proudly bearing the standard of Russian imperialism, hearken to this national outburst. Your task is difficult. You are surrounded with trials and privations, but then you are Russian, for whom no obstacles exist.

A scene of indescribable enthusiasm ensued, the House rising and singing the national hymn.

The President's peroration was in part as follows:

The Premier, in the opening sentences of the speech which followed, said: "Our heroic army, the flower and the pride of Russia, strong as never before in its might, notwithstanding all its losses, grows and strengthens." He did not fail to remind his hearers that the war is yet far from ended, but he added that the Government, from the first, had soberly looked the danger in the face and frankly warned the country of the forthcoming sacrifices for the common cause and also for the strengthening of the mutual grav-

itation of the Slavonic races. He briefly referred to the Turkish defeat in the Caucasus as opening before the Russians a bright historical future on the shores of the Black Sea.

The Premier alluded to the tremendous change wrought in the national life by the abolition of the liquor traffic, which he designated a second serfdom vanishing at the behest of the Czar. After a few years of sober, persistent labor, we would no longer recognize Russia. The war had further raised the question of the creation in the world's markets of favorable conditions to the export of our agricultural products, and a general revision of conditions calculated hereafter to guarantee to Russia a healthy development on the principle of entire independence of Germany in all branches of the national life. In this direction the Government had already drafted and was preparing a series of elaborate measures. He concluded with the expression of his conviction that, if all fulfilled their duty in the spirit of profound devotion to the Emperor and of deep faith in the triumph of the country, the near future would open before us perhaps the best pages in Russian history.

The speeches of a peasant Deputy and a Polish representative were particularly impressive and well received. The Socialist leader's demand for peace called forth a smart rejoinder from a member of his own party.

M. SAZANOF'S SPEECH.

This afternoon the session of the Duma was opened in the presence of the whole Cabinet, the members of the Council of the Empire, the Diplomatic Corps, and the Senators. The public galleries were filled.

M. Sazanof began his speech by recalling that six months ago in that place he had explained why Russia, in face of the brutal attempt by Germany and Austria upon the independence of Serbia and Belgium, had been able to adopt no other course than to take up arms in defense of the rights of nations. Russia, standing closely united and admirably unanimous in her enthusiasm against an enemy

which had offered provocation, did not remain isolated, because she was immediately supported by France and Great Britain and, soon afterward, by Japan.

Passing in review the events of the war, the Minister said that the valiant Russian troops, standing shoulder to shoulder with their allies, had secured fresh laurels for their crown of glory. The Russian arms were marching steadfastly toward their goal, assured of final victory against an enemy who, blinded by the hope of an easy victory, was making desperate efforts, having recourse to all kinds of subterfuges, even the distortion of the truth.

To the relations of good neighborliness, faithfully maintained by Russia, Germany had everywhere opposed resistance, seeking to embroil Russia with neighboring countries, especially those to which Russia was bound by important interests.

All this [continued M. Sazanof] is sufficient for us to judge the value of German statements regarding the alleged envelopment of Germany by the Triple Entente. Equally worthless are the assertions that it was not Germany who began the war, for irrefutable documents exist to prove the contrary. Among the malevolent German inventions figure reports of Jewish pogroms which the Russian troops are alleged to have organized. I seize this opportunity of speaking in the parliamentary tribune to deny this calumny categorically, for, if the Jewish population in the theatre of war is suffering, that is an inevitable evil, since the inhabitants of regions where hostilities are proceeding are always severely tried. Moreover, eyewitnesses are unanimous in stating that the greatest devastation in Poland is the work of the Germans and Austrians.

The German Ambassador in Washington has zealously spread these reports in the attempt to create in the United States a feeling hostile to us, but the good sense of the Americans has prevented them from falling into the clumsily laid snare. I hope that the good relations between Russia and America will not suffer from these German intrigues.

The "Orange Book" recently published proved that the events on the Bosphorus which preceded the war with Turkey were the result of German treachery toward the Ottoman Empire, which invited German instructors and the mission of General Liman von Sanders, hoping to perfect its army with the object of assuring its in-

dependence against the Russian danger insinuated by Berlin. Germany, however, took advantage of this penetration into the Turkish Army to make that army a weapon in realizing her political plans.

All the acts of the Turks since the appearance of the Goeben in the Dardanelles had been committed under the pressure of Germany, but the efforts of the Turks to evade responsibility for these acts could not prevent them from falling into the abyss into which they were rolling. The events on the Russo-Turkish frontier, while covering Russian arms with fresh glory, will bring Russia nearer to the realization of the political and economic problems bound up with the question of Russia's access to the open sea.

Passing to the documents relating to reforms in Armenia recently distributed among members of the Duma, M. Sazonof said:

The Russian Government disinterestedly endeavored to alleviate the lot of the Armenians, and the Russo-Turkish agreement of Jan. 26, 1914, is a historical document in which Turkey recognizes the privileged position of Russia in the Armenian question. When the war ends this exclusive position of Russia will be employed by the Imperial Government in a direction favorable to the Armenian population. Having drawn the sword in the defense of Serbia, Russia is acting under the influence of her sentiments toward a sister nation whose grandeur of soul in the present war has closely riveted the two countries.

After referring with satisfaction to the gallantry of Montenegro in fighting as she was doing in the common cause, M. Sazonof proceeded to speak of Greece. The relations of Russia with this tried friend of Serbia, he said, were perfectly cordial, and the tendency of the Hellenic people to put an end to the sufferings of their co-religionists groaning under the Ottoman yoke had the entire sympathy of the Imperial Government.

Passing to Rumania, M. Sazonof said that the relations between Russia and Rumania retained the friendly character which they acquired on the occasion of the visit of the Czar to Constanza. The constant Russophile demonstrations in Bucharest and throughout the whole country during the Autumn had brought into relief the hostile feelings of the

Rumanians toward Austria-Hungary. He continued:

You are probably waiting, gentlemen, for a reply to a question which interests the whole world, viz., the attitude of those non-combatant countries whose interests counsel them to embrace the cause of Russia and that of her allies. In effect, public opinion in these countries, responsive to all that is meant by the national ideal, has long since pronounced itself in this sense, but you will understand that I cannot go into this question very profoundly, seeing that the Governments of these countries, with which we enjoy friendly relations, have not yet taken a definite decision. Now, it is for them to arrive at this decision, for they alone will be responsible to their respective nations if they miss a favorable opportunity to realize their national aspirations.

I must also mention with sincere gratitude the services rendered to us by Italy and Spain in protecting our compatriots in enemy countries. I must also emphasize the care lavished by Sweden on Russian travelers who were the victims of German brutality. I hope that this fact will strengthen the relations of good neighborliness between Russia and Sweden, which we desire to see still more cordial than they are.

Referring to Russo-Persian relations, M. Sazonof said:

Before the war with Turkey, we succeeded in putting an end to the secular Turco-Persian quarrel by means of the delimitation of the Persian Gulf and Mount Ararat region, thanks to which we preserved for Persia a disputed territory with an area of almost 20,000 square versts, part of which the Turks had invaded. Since the war the Persian Government has declared its neutrality, but this has not prevented Germany, Austria, and Turkey from carrying on a propaganda with the object of gaining Persian sympathies. These intrigues have been particularly intense in Azerbaijan, where the Turks succeeded in attracting to their side some of the Kurds in that country. Afterward Ottoman troops, violating Persian neutrality, crossed the Persian frontier and, supported by Kurdish bands, penetrated the districts where our detachments were in cantonments and transformed Azerbaijan into a part of the Russo-Turkish theatre of war.

I must say in passing that the presence of our troops in Persia is in no way a violation of neutrality, for they were sent there some years ago with the object of maintaining order in our frontier territory, and preventing its invasion by the Turks, who wished to establish there an advantageous base of action against the Caucasus. The Persian Government,

powerless to take effective action against this aggression, protested, but without success. I must state that Anglo-Russian relations in regard to Persian affairs are more than ever based on mutual and sincere confidence and co-operation, which are a guarantee of the pacific settlement of any eventual conflict.

Passing to the Far East, M. Sazonof said the agreements signed in 1907 and 1910 with Japan had borne fruit during the present war, for Japan was with them. She had driven the Germans from the Pacific Ocean, and had seized the German base of Kiao-chau. Although Japan did not sign the agreement of Aug. 23, yet, since the Anglo-Japanese alliance contained an undertaking that a separate peace should not be concluded, therefore the German Government could not hope for peace with Japan before she had concluded peace with Great Britain, Russia, and France. Consequently, their relations with Japan gave them a firm friend. The demands addressed by Japan to China contain nothing contrary to our interests.

As for Russo-Chinese interests, he could state their constant improvement. The *pourparlers* in regard to Mongolia, though slow, were friendly, and he hoped to be able to announce shortly the signature of a triple Russo-Chinese-

Mongolian treaty, which, while safeguarding the interests of Russia, would not injure those of China.

In conclusion, M. Sazonof expressed the hope that the close union of all Russians around the throne, which had been manifested since the beginning of the war, would remain unchanged until the completion of the great national task.

Speakers of the Progressist, Octobrist, and Nationalist Centre Parties agreed that a premature peace would be a crime against their country and humanity, and that therefore Russia was prepared to make every sacrifice so that Germany might be definitely crushed.

At the end of the sitting the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

The Duma, saluting the glorious exploits of our soldiers, sends to the Russian Army and Navy a cordial greeting and to our allies an expression of sincere esteem and sympathy. It expresses its firm conviction that the great national and liberating objects of the present war will be achieved, and declares the inflexible determination of the Russian Nation to carry on the war until conditions shall have been imposed on the enemy assuring the peace of Europe and the restoration of right and justice.

TO THE VICTORS BELONG THE SPOILS!

By MADELEINE LUCETTE RYLEY.

[From King Albert's Book.]

THE Victor true is he who conquers fear,
Who knows no time save now—no place
but here.
Who counts no cost—who only plays the
game.
To him shall go the prize—Immortal Fame!

To the illustrious ruler and his gallant
little nation, whose heroism and bravery are
surely unparalleled in the whole of our
world's history, I bow my head in respectful
homage.

Lessons of the War to March Ninth

By Charles W. Eliot

President Emeritus of Harvard University.

CAMBRIDGE, Mass., March 9, 1915.

To the Editor of *The New York Times*:

THE observant world has now had ample opportunity to establish certain conclusions about the new kind of war and its availability as means of adjusting satisfactorily international relations; and it seems desirable in the interest of durable peace in Europe that those conclusions should be accurately stated and kept in public view.

In the first place, the destructiveness of war waged on the scale and with the intensity which conscript armies, the new means of transportation and communication, the new artillery, the aeroplanes, the high explosives, and the continuity of the fighting on battle fronts of unexampled length, by night as well as by day, and in stormy and wintry as well as moderate weather, make possible, has proved to be beyond all power of computation, and could not have been imagined in advance. Never before has there been any approach to the vast killing and crippling of men, the destruction of all sorts of man's structures—buildings, bridges, viaducts, vessels, and docks—and the physical ruin of countless women and children. On the seas vessels and cargoes are sunk, instead of being carried into port as formerly.

Through the ravaging of immense areas of crop-producing lands, the driving away of the people that lived on them, and the dislocation of commerce, the food supplies for millions of non-combatants are so reduced that the rising generation in several countries is impaired on a scale never approached in any previous war.

In any country which becomes the seat

of war an immense destruction of fixed capital is wrought; and at the same time the quick capital of all the combatants, accumulated during generations, is thrown into the furnace of war and consumed unproductively.

In consequence of the enormous size of the national armies and the withdrawal of the able-bodied men from productive industries, the industries and commerce of the whole world are seriously interrupted, whence widespread, incalculable losses to mankind.

These few months of war have emphasized the interdependence of nations the world over with a stress never before equaled. Neutral nations far removed from Europe have felt keenly the effects of the war on the industries and trades by which they live. Men see in this instance that whatever reduces the buying and consuming capacity of one nation will probably reduce also the producing and selling capacity of other nations; and that the gains of commerce and trade are normally mutual, and not one-sided.

All the contending nations have issued huge loans which will impose heavy burdens on future generations; and the yield of the first loans has already been spent or pledged. The first loan issued by the British Government was nearly twice the national debt of the United States; and it is supposed that its proceeds will be all spent before next Summer. Germany has already spent \$1,600,000,000 since the war broke out—all unproductively and most of it for destruction. She will soon have to issue her second great loan. In short, the waste and ruin have been without precedent, the destruction of wealth has been

enormous, and the resulting dislocations of finance, industries, and commerce will long afflict the coming generations in all the belligerent nations.

All the belligerent nations have already demonstrated that neither urban life, nor the factory system, nor yet corroding luxury has caused in them any physical or moral deterioration which interferes with their fighting capacity. The soldiers of these civilized peoples are just as ready for hand-to-hand encounters with cold steel as any barbarians or savages have ever been. The primitive combative instincts remain in full force and can be brought into play by all the belligerents with facility. The progress of the war should have removed any delusions on this subject which Germany, Austria-Hungary, or any one of the Allies may have entertained. The Belgians, a well-to-do town people, and the Serbians, a poor rural population, best illustrate this continuity of the martial qualities; for the Belgians faced overwhelming odds, and the Serbians have twice driven back large Austrian forces, although they have a transport by oxen only, an elementary commissariat, no medical or surgical supplies to speak of, and scanty munitions of war. On the other hand, the principal combatants have proved that with money enough they can all use effectively the new methods of war administration and the new implements for destruction. These facts suggest that the war might be much prolonged without yielding any results more decisive than those it has already yielded; indeed, that its most probable outcome is a stalemate—unless new combatants enter the field.

Fear of Russian invasion seemed at first to prompt Germany to war; but now Germany has amply demonstrated that she has no reason to look with any keen apprehension on possible Russian aggression upon her territory, and that her military organization is adequate for defense against any attack from any quarter. The military experience of the last seven months proves that the defense, by the temporary intrenchment method, has a great advantage over the attack;

so that in future wars the aggressor will always be liable to find himself at a serious disadvantage, even if his victim is imperfectly prepared.

These same pregnant months have also proved that armies can be assembled and put into the field in effective condition in a much shorter time than has heretofore been supposed to be possible; provided there be plenty of money to meet the cost of equipment, transportation, and supplies. Hence, the advantages of maintaining huge active armies, ready for instant attack or defense, will hereafter be less considerable than they have been supposed to be—if the declaration of war by surprise, as in August last, can hereafter be prevented. These considerations, taken in connection with the probable inefficacy against modern artillery of elaborate fortifications, suggest the possibility of a reduction throughout Europe of the peace-footing armies. It is conceivable that the Swiss militia system should satisfy the future needs of most of the European States.

Another important result of the colossal war has been achieved in these seven months. It has been demonstrated that no single nation in any part of the world can dominate the other nations, or, indeed, any other nation, unless the other principal powers consent to that domination; and, in the present state of the world, it is quite clear that no such domination will be consented to. As soon as this proposition is accepted by all the combatants, this war, and perhaps all war between civilized nations, will cease. It is obvious that in the interest of mankind the war ought not to cease until Germany is convinced that her ambition for empire in Europe and the world cannot be gratified. *Deutschland über alles* can survive as a shout of patriotic enthusiasm; but as a maxim of international policy it is dead already, and should be buried out of the sight and memory of men.

It has, moreover, become plain that the progress in civilization of the white race is to depend not on the supreme power of any one nation, forcing its peculiar civilization on other nations,

but on the peaceful development of many different nationalities, each making contributions of its own to the progress of the whole, and each developing a social, industrial, and governmental order of its own, suited to its territory, traditions, resources, and natural capacities.

The chronic irritations in Europe which contributed to the outbreak of the war and the war itself have emphasized the value and the toughness of natural national units, both large and small, and the inexpediency of artificially dividing such units, or of forcing natural units into unnatural associations. These principles are now firmly established in the public opinion of Europe and America. No matter how much longer the present war may last, no settlement will afford any prospect of lasting peace in Europe which does not take just account of these principles. Already the war has demonstrated that just consideration of national feelings, racial kinship, and common commercial interests would lead to three fresh groupings in Europe—one of the Scandinavian countries, one of the three sections into which Poland has been divided, and one of the Balkan States which have a strong sense of Slavic kinship. In the case of Scandinavia and the Balkan States the bond might be nothing more than a common tariff with common ports and harbor regulations; but Poland needs to be reconstructed as a separate kingdom. Thoroughly to remove political sores which have been running for more than forty years, the people of Schleswig-Holstein and Alsace-Lorraine should also be allowed to determine by free vote their national allegiance. Whether the war ends in victory for the Allies, or in a draw or deadlock with neither party victorious and neither humiliated, these new national adjustments will be necessary to permanent peace in Europe. All the wars in Europe since 1864 unite in demonstrating that necessity.

Again, the war has already demonstrated that colonies or colonial possessions in remote parts of the world are not a source of strength to a European nation when at war, unless that nation is

strong on the seas. Affiliated Commonwealths may be a support to the mother country, but colonies held by force in exclusive possession are not. Great Britain learned much in 1775 about the management of colonies, and again she learned in India that the policy of exploitation, long pursued by the East India Company, had become undesirable from every point of view. As the strongest naval power in the world, Great Britain has given an admirable example of the right use of power in making the seas and harbors of the world free to the mercantile marine of all the nations with which she competes. Her free-trade policy helped her to wise action on the subject of commercial extension. Nevertheless, the other commercial nations, watching the tremendous power in war which Great Britain possesses through her wide, though not complete, control of the oceans, will rejoice when British control, though limited and wisely used, is replaced by an unlimited international control. This is one of the most valuable lessons of the great war.

Another conviction is strongly impressed upon the commercial nations of the world by the developments of seven months of extensive fighting by land and sea, namely, the importance of making free to all nations the Kiel Canal and the passage from the Black Sea to the Aegean. So long as one nation holds the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, and another nation holds the short route from the Baltic to the North Sea, there will be dangerous restrictions on the commerce of the world—dangerous in the sense of provoking to war, or of causing sores which develop into malignant disease. Those two channels should be used for the common benefit of mankind, just as the Panama Canal or the Suez Canal is intended to be. Free seas, free inter-ocean canals and straits, the "open door," and free competition in international trade are needed securities for peace.

These lessons of the war are as plain now as they will be after six months or six years more fighting. Can the belligerent nations—and particularly Germany—take them to heart now, or must more millions of men be slaughtered and more

billions of human savings be consumed before these teachings of seven fearful months be accepted?

For a great attainable object such dreadful losses and sufferings as continuation of the war entails might perhaps be borne; but the last seven months have proved that the objects with which Austria-Hungary and Germany went to war are unattainable in the present state of Europe. Austria-Hungary, even with the active aid of Germany and Turkey, cannot prevail in Serbia against the active or passive resistance of Serbia, Russia, Rumania, Greece, Italy, France, and Great Britain. Germany cannot crush France supported by Great Britain and Russia, or keep Belgium, except as a subject and hostile province, and in defiance of the public opinion of the civilized world. In seven months Great

Britain and France have made up for their lack of preparedness and have brought the military operations of Germany in France to a standstill. On the other hand, Great Britain and France must already realize that they cannot drive the German armies out of France and Belgium without a sacrifice of blood and treasure from which the stoutest hearts may well shrink.

Has not the war already demonstrated that jealous and hostile coalitions armed to the teeth will surely bring on Europe not peace and advancing civilization, but savage war and an arrest of civilization? Has it not already proved that Europe needs one comprehensive union or federation competent to procure and keep for Europe peace through justice? There is no alternative except more war.

CHARLES W. ELIOT.

BELGIUM'S KING AND QUEEN

By PAUL HERVIEU

Translation by Florence Simmonds.

[From King Albert's Book.]

ONCE upon a time there lived a King and a Queen. * * *
Indeed, it would be, the most touching and edifying fairy-tale imaginable, this true story of H. M. Albert I. and H. M. Queen Elizabeth. It would tell of their quiet and noble devotion to their daily tasks, of the purity of their happy family life. * * *

Suddenly, the devil would intervene, with his threats and his offers. * * *

Then we should hear of the sovereigns and the people of Belgium agreeing at once in their sense of honor and heroism.

Then the dastardly invasion, and the innumerable host of infernal spirits breathing out sulphur, belching torrents of iron, and raining fire; city dwellings transformed into the shattered columns of cemeteries; innocent creatures tortured and victimized; and the King and Queen with their kingdom reduced to a sandhill on the shore, and the remnant of their valiant army around them.

And at last, at last! That turn of the tide which all humanity worthy of the name desires so ardently, and which even the baser sort now sees to be surely approaching.

At this point in the story, at this page of the legendary tale, how the children would clap their hands, with all that love of justice innate in children, and how the faces of worthy parents would beam with the approval of satisfied consciences!

And in the future, those who contemplate the royal arms with the pious admiration due to them, will see a blooming rose side by side with the lion of Belgium, typifying the immortal share of H. M. Queen Elizabeth in the glory of H. M. Albert I.

THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[German Cartoon]

The American Protest



—From *Lustige Blätter*, Berlin.

JOHN BULL: "Now, what's he throwing at me for? A little bit of piracy is no reason for getting bad-tempered."

[French Cartoon]

The Peasant and the War



—From *Le Rire*, Paris

“Confound their infernal shells! If a feller didn’t have to work it would be better to stay home these days.”

[German Cartoon]

Victory!



—From *Lustige Blätter*, Berlin.

[This cartoon was published on the Kaiser's birthday, Jan. 27, 1915.]

[English Cartoon]

“The Outcast”



Bernard Partridge.

—From Punch, London.

A place in the shadow.

[Italian Cartoon]

The Dream of a Madman

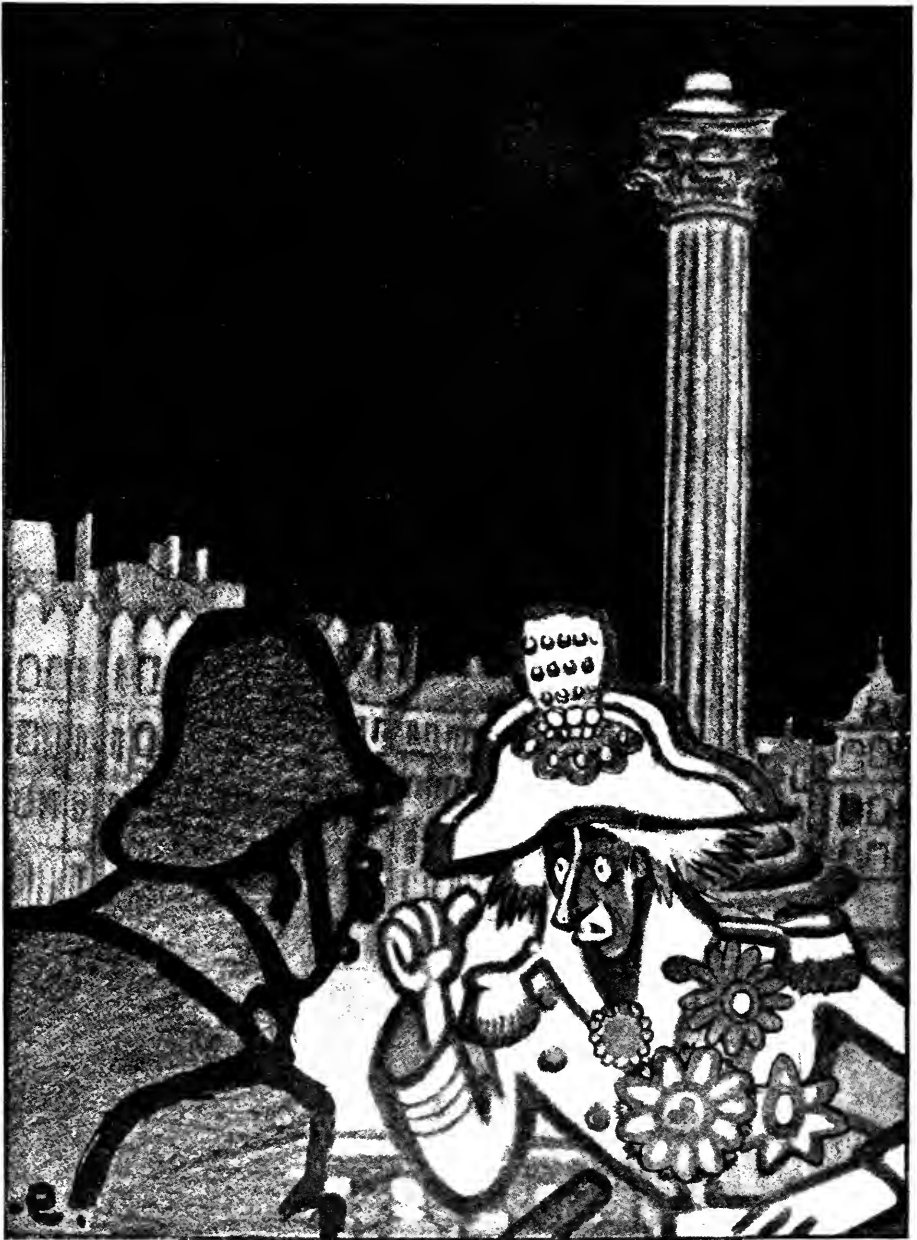


—From *L'Asino*, Rome.

WILLIAM: "Attention! Forward! March! One—two * * *

[German Cartoon]

Night Scene in Trafalgar Square



—From *Lustige Blätter*, Berlin.

“Goddam, Mister Nelson! What are you looking for down here?”

“Well, just suppose you stay up there for a while among the Zeppelins yourself.”

[English Cartoon]

The Riddle of the Sands



—From *Punch*, London.

GERMAN OFFICER: "Where to?"
TURKISH CAMEL: "Egypt."
GERMAN OFFICER: "Guess again."

[German Cartoon]

The Theatre in the Field



THE ENGLISH THEATRE IN THE FIELD—"With the permission of French and Kitchener, Hicks's Operetta Company went from London to the front and played before the British soldiers."



THE GERMAN THEATRE IN THE FIELD—"Major Walter Kirchoff (of the Royal Opera House). Lieutenant Hall Wegener (of the German Theatre). Dispatch Rider, Carl Clewing (of the Royal Playhouse).

—From *Lustige Blätter*, Berlin.

[English Cartoon]

Trench Amenities



—From *Punch*, London.

BRITISH TOMMY (returning to trench in which he has lately been fighting, now temporarily occupied by the enemy): "Excuse me—any of you blighters seen my pipe?"

[Italian Cartoon]

Quo Vadis?



—From L'Asino, Rome.

[German Cartoon]

The Gutter Snipes



—From *Lasting Blatter*, Berlin.

[German Cartoon]

A London Family Scene



—From *Meggendorfer-Blätter*, Munich.

[A favorite theme of German cartoonists is England's supposed mortal terror of Zeppelins.]

The Dissemblers



—From *Punch*, London.

EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA: "Now what do we really want to say?"
SULTAN OF TURKEY: "Well, of course we couldn't say that; not on his birthday."

[German Cartoon]

Lord Kitchener Wants You!



—From *Simplicissimus*, Munich.

“Lord Kitchener needs recruits!”

[English Cartoon]

Willy-Nilly

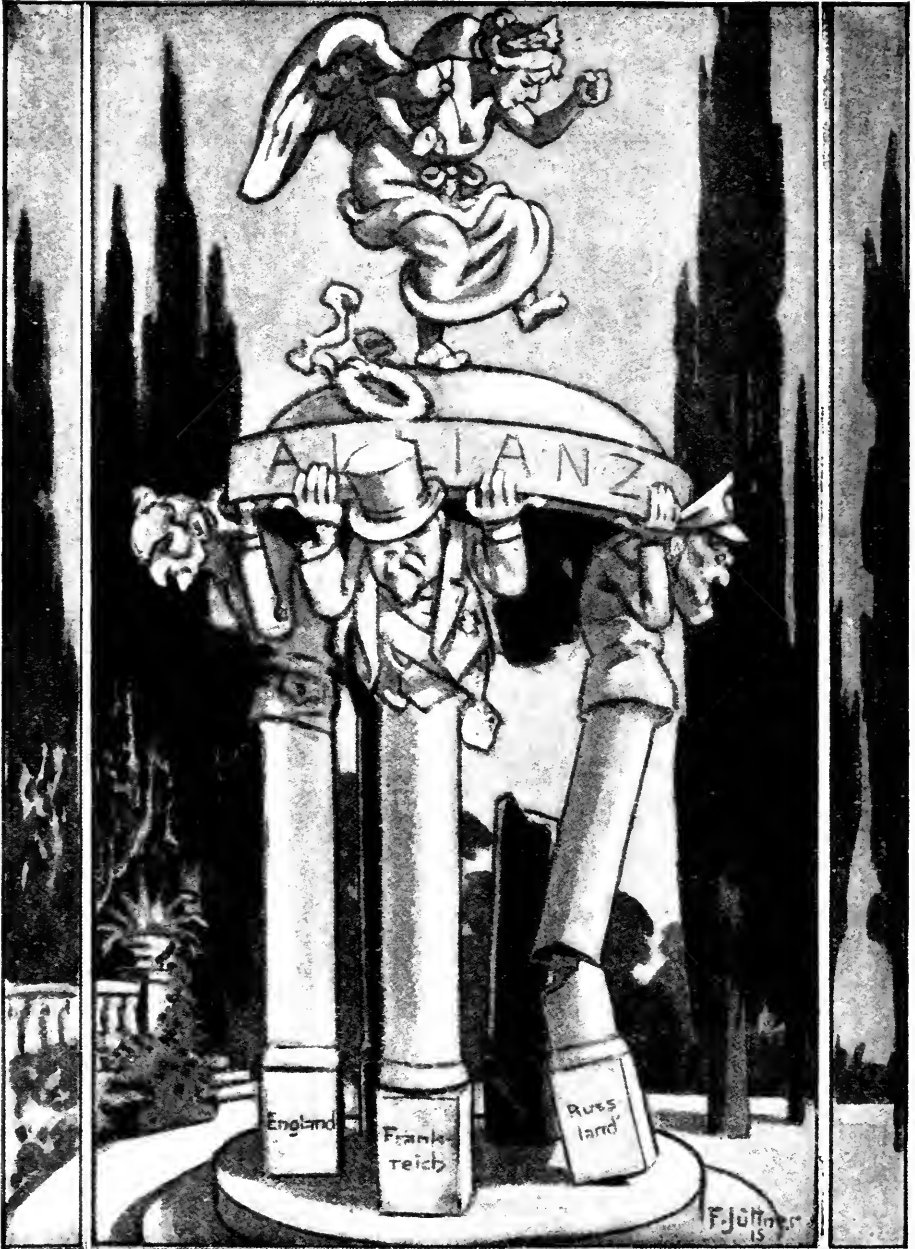


—From *The Sketch*, London.

GERMAN OFFICIAL REPORT: "Our progress is maintained."

[German Cartoon]

A Shaky Affair



—From *Lustige Blätter*, Berlin.

THE TRIPLE VICTORY: "Confound it, there goes another pillar."

[English Cartoon]

The Return of the Raider



—From *Punch*, London.

KAISER: "Well, I AM surprised!"
TIRPITZ: "So were we."

[Italian Cartoon]

What Is There Inside?



—From *L'Asino*, Rome.

[The words that the observer has uncovered are as follows: *Militarism, Religious Mania, Megalomania, Loquacity, Homicidal Mania, Imperialism, Neronism.*]

“Sound and Fury”



—From *Punch*, London.

KAISER: “Is all my high seas fleet safely locked up?”

ADMIRAL VON TIRPITZ: “Practically all, Sire.”

KAISER: “Then let the starvation of England begin!”

The Flight That Failed



Bernard Partridge.

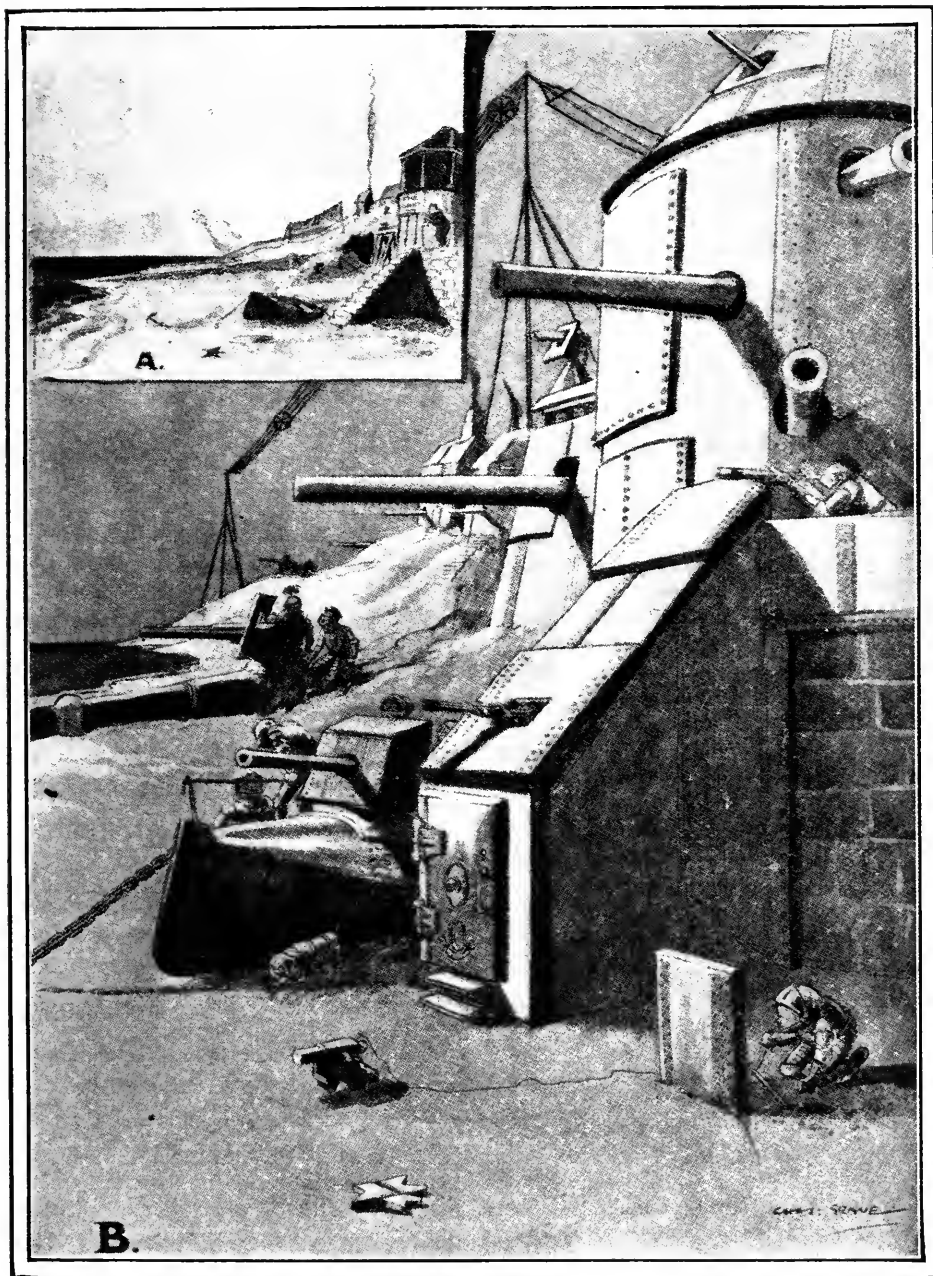
—From *Punch*, London.

THE EMPEROR: "What! No babes, sirrah?"

THE MURDERER: "Alas, Sire, none."

THE EMPEROR: "Well, then, no babes, no iron crosses."

“A Fortified Town”



—From *The Sketch*, London.

- A. Little Muddlecome, as known to its inhabitants.
- B. Little Muddlecome, the fortified town—according to Germany.

[South African Cartoon]

No Family Resemblance



—From *The Cape Times*, Cape Town, South Africa.

THE GERMAN EAGLE (tearfully): "As bird to bird — surely *you* won't desert me?"

THE AMERICAN EAGLE: "Desert you! I'm an eagle, not a vulture!"

The Chances of Peace and the Problem of Poland

By J. Ellis Barker

[From *The Nineteenth Century and After*, Leonard Scott Publishing Company.]

A CENTURY ago, at the Congress of Vienna, the question of Poland proved extremely difficult to solve. It produced dangerous friction among the assembled powers, and threatened to lead to the break-up of the congress. The position became so threatening that, on the 3d of January, 1815, Austria, Great Britain, and France felt compelled to conclude a secret separate alliance directed against Prussia and Russia, the allies of Austria and Great Britain in the war against Napoleon. Precautionary troop movements began, and war among the allies might have broken out had not, shortly afterward, Napoleon quitted Elba and landed in France. Fear of the great Corsican reunited the powers.

Because of the great and conflicting interests involved, the question of Poland may prove of similar importance and difficulty at the congress which will conclude the present war. Hence, it seems desirable to consider it carefully and in good time. It is true that the study of the Polish problem does not seem to be very urgent at the present moment. In view of the slow progress of the Allies in the east and west, it appears that the war will be long drawn out. Still, it is quite possible that it will come to an early and sudden end. Austria-Hungary is visibly tiring of the hopeless struggle into which she was plunged by Germany, and which hitherto has brought her nothing but loss, disgrace, and disaster. After all, the war is bound to end earlier or later in an Austro-German defeat, and if it should be fought to the bitter end Austria-Hungary will obviously suffer far more severely than will Germany. A protracted

war, which would lead merely to the lasting impoverishment of Germany, would bring about the economic annihilation of impecunious Austria. Besides, while a complete defeat would cause to Germany only the loss of territories in the east, west, and north which are largely inhabited by disaffected Poles, Frenchmen, and Danes, and would not very greatly reduce the purely German population of Germany, it would probably result in the dissolution of the Dual Monarchy, which lacks a homogeneous population, and it might lead to Austria's disappearance as a great State. If complete disaster should overwhelm the empire of Francis Joseph, Hungary would undoubtedly make herself independent. The Dual Monarchy would become a heap of wreckage, and in the end the German parts of Austria would probably become a German province, Vienna a provincial Prussian town, the proud Hapsburgs subordinate German princelings. If, on the other hand, Austria-Hungary should make quickly a separate peace with her opponents, she would presumably lose only the Polish parts of Galicia to the new kingdom of Poland, and Bosnia and Herzegovina to Serbia; and she might receive most satisfactory compensation for these losses by the acquisition of the German parts of Silesia and by the adherence of the largely Roman Catholic South German States, which have far more in common with Austria than with Protestant Prussia. As a result of the war, Austria-Hungary might be greatly strengthened at Germany's cost, provided the monarchy makes peace without delay. In any case, only by an early peace can the bulk of the lands of the Hapsburgs be preserved for the ruling house, and

can national bankruptcy be avoided. There is an excellent and most valuable precedent for such action on Austria's part. Bismarck laid down the essence of statesmanship in the maxim "Salus Publica Suprema Lex," and defined in his memoirs the binding power of treaties of alliance by the phrase "Ultra posse nemo obligatur." Referring particularly to the Austro-German alliance, he wrote that "no nation is obliged to sacrifice its existence on the altar of treaty fidelity." Before long the Dual Monarchy may take advantage of Bismarck's teaching. After all, it cannot be expected that she should go beyond her strength, and that she should ruin herself for the sake of Germany, especially as she cannot thereby save that country from inevitable defeat. Austria-Hungary should feel particularly strongly impelled to ask for peace without delay, as her recent and most disastrous defeat in Serbia has exasperated the people and threatens to lead to risings and revolts not only in the Slavonic parts of the monarchy but also in Hungary. Civil war may be said to be in sight.

The Dual Monarchy is threatened besides by the dubious and expectant attitude of Italy and Rumania. If Austria-Hungary should hesitate much longer to make peace, Italy and Rumania may find a sufficient pretext for war and may join the Entente powers. Italy naturally desires to acquire the valuable Italian portions of Austria-Hungary on her borders, and Rumania the very extensive Rumanian parts of the Dual Monarchy adjoining that kingdom. To both powers it would be disastrous if Austria-Hungary should make peace before they had staked out their claims by militarily occupying the territory which they covet. Both States may therefore be expected to abandon their neutrality and to invade Austria-Hungary without delay as soon as they hear that that country seriously contemplates entering upon peace negotiations; it follows that if Austria-Hungary wishes to withdraw from the stricken field she must open negotiations with the utmost secrecy and conclude them with the utmost speed. It is clear that if Italy and Rumania should be

given the much desired opportunity of joining the Entente powers, the Dual Monarchy would lose not only Polish Galicia and Serbian Bosnia and Herzegovina but Rumanian Transylvania and the Banat, with about 5,000,000 inhabitants, and the largely Italian Trentino, Istria, and Dalmatia, with at least 1,000,000 people, as well. These vast losses would probably lead to the total dismemberment of the State, for the remaining subject nationalities would also demand their freedom. Self-preservation is the first law and the first duty of individuals and of States. It is therefore conceivable, and is indeed only logical, that Austria-Hungary will conclude overnight a separate peace. If she should take that wise and necessary step, isolated Germany would either have to give up the unequal struggle or fight on single-handed. In the latter case, her defeat would no doubt be rapid. It seems, therefore, quite possible that the end of the war may be as sudden as was its beginning. Hence, the consideration of the Polish question seems not only useful but urgent. * * *

From the very beginning Prussia, Austria, and Russia treated Poland as a corpus vile, and cut it up like a cake, without any regard to the claims, the rights, and the protests of the Poles themselves. Although history only mentions three partitions, there were in reality seven. There were those of 1772, 1793, and 1795, already referred to; and these were followed by a redistribution of the Polish territories in 1807, 1809, and 1815. In none of these were the inhabitants consulted or even considered. The Congress of Vienna established the independence of Cracow, but Austria-Hungary, asserting that she considered herself "threatened" by the existence of that tiny State, seized it in 1846.

While Prussia, Austria, and Russia, considering that might was right, had divided Poland among themselves, regardless of the passionate protests of the inhabitants, England had remained a spectator, but not a passive one, of the tragedy. She viewed the action of the allies with strong disapproval, but although she gave frank expression to her

sentiments, she did not actively interfere. After all, no English interests were involved in the partition. It was not her business to intervene. Besides, she could not successfully have opposed single-handed the joint action of the three powerful partner States, especially as France, under the weak Louis XV., held aloof. However, English statesmen refused to consider as valid the five partitions which took place before and during the Napoleonic era.

The Treaty of Chaumont of 1814 created the Concert of Europe. At the Congress of Vienna of 1815 the frontiers of Europe were fixed by general consent. As Prussia, Austria, and Russia refused to recreate an independent Poland, England's opposition would have broken up the concert, and might have led to further wars. Unable to prevent the injustice done to Poland by her opposition, and anxious to maintain the unity of the powers and the peace of the world, England consented at last to consider the partition of Poland as a fait accompli, and formally recognized it, especially as the Treaty of Vienna assured the Poles of just and fair treatment under representative institutions. Article I. of the Treaty of Vienna stated expressly:

Les Polonais, sujets respectifs de la Russie, de l'Autriche et de la Prusse, obtiendront une représentation et des institutions nationales réglées d'après le mode d'existence politique que chacun des gouvernements auxquels ils appartiennent jugera utile et convenable de leur accorder.

By signing the Treaty of Vienna, England recognized not explicitly, but merely implicitly, the partition of Poland, and she did so unwillingly and under protest. Lord Castlereagh stated in a circular note addressed to Russia, Prussia, and Austria, that it had always been England's desire that an independent Poland, possessing a dynasty of its own, should be established, which, separating Austria, Russia, and Prussia, should act as a buffer State between them; that, failing its creation, the Poles should be reconciled to being dominated by foreigners, by just and liberal treatment which alone would make them satisfied. His note, which is

most remarkable for its far-sightedness, wisdom, force, and restraint, was worded as follows:

The undersigned, his Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Plenipotentiary to the Congress of Vienna, in desiring the present note concerning the affairs of Poland may be entered on the protocol, has no intention to revive controversy or to impede the progress of the arrangements now in contemplation. His only object is to avail himself of this occasion of temperately recording, by the express orders of his Court, the sentiments of the British Government upon a European question of the utmost magnitude and influence.

The undersigned has had occasion in the course of the discussions at Vienna, for reasons that need not be gone into, repeatedly and earnestly to oppose himself, on the part of his Court, to the erection of a Polish Kingdom in union with and making part of the Imperial Crown of Russia.

The desire of his Court to see an independent power, more or less considerable in extent, established in Poland under a distinct dynasty, and as an intermediate State between the three great monarchies, has uniformly been avowed, and if the undersigned has not been directed to press such a measure, it has only arisen from a disinclination to excite, under all the apparent obstacles to such an arrangement, expectations which might prove an unavailing source of discontent among the Poles.

The Emperor of Russia continuing, as it is declared, still to adhere to his purpose of erecting that part of the Duchy of Warsaw which is to fall under his Imperial majesty's dominion, together with his other Polish provinces, either in whole or in part, into a kingdom under the Russian sceptre; and their Austrian and Prussian Majesties, the sovereigns most immediately interested, having ceased to oppose themselves to such an arrangement—the undersigned adhering, nevertheless, to all his former representations on this subject has only sincerely to hope that none of those evils may result from this measure to the tranquillity of the North, and to the general equilibrium of Europe, which it has been his painful duty to anticipate. But in order to obviate as far as possible such consequences, it is of essential importance to establish the public tranquillity throughout the territories which formerly constituted the Kingdom of Poland, upon some solid and liberal basis of common interest, by applying to all, however various may be their political institutions, a congenial and conciliatory system of administration.

Experience has proved that it is not

by counteracting all their habits and usages as a people that either the happiness of the Poles, or the peace of that important portion of Europe, can be preserved. A fruitless attempt, too long persevered in, by institutions foreign to their manner and sentiments to make them forget their existence, and even language, as a people, has been sufficiently tried and failed. It has only tended to excite a sentiment of discontent and self-degradation, and can never operate otherwise than to provoke commotion and to awaken them to a recollection of past misfortunes.

The undersigned, for these reasons, and in cordial concurrence with the general

sentiments which he has had the satisfaction to observe the respective Cabinets entertained on this subject, ardently desires that the illustrious monarchs to whom the destinies of the Polish Nation are confided, may be induced, before they depart from Vienna, to take an engagement with each other to treat as Poles, under whatever form of political institution they may think fit to govern them, the portions of that nation that may be placed under their respective sovereignties. The knowledge of such a determination will best tend to conciliate the general sentiment to their rule, and to do honor to the several sovereigns in the eyes of their Polish



subjects. This course will consequently afford the surest prospect of their living peaceably and contentedly under their respective Governments. * * *

This dispatch was sent on the 12th of January, 1815, exactly a century ago. The warnings were not heeded and the past century has been filled with sorrow for the Poles and with risings and revolutions, as Lord Castlereagh clearly foretold. * * *

In Western Russia, in Eastern Prussia, and in Galicia there dwell about 20,000,000 Poles. If the war should end, as it is likely to end, in a Russian victory, a powerful kingdom of Poland will arise. According to the carefully worded manifesto of the Grand Duke the united Poles will receive full self-government under the protection of Russia. They will be enabled to develop their nationality, but it seems scarcely likely that they will receive entire and absolute independence. Their position will probably resemble that of Quebec in Canada, or of Bavaria in Germany, and if the Russians and Poles act wisely they will live as harmoniously together as do the French-speaking "habitants" of Quebec and the English-speaking men of the other provinces of Canada. Russia need not fear that Poland will make herself entirely independent, and only the most hot-headed and short-sighted Poles can wish for complete independence. Poland, having developed extremely important manufacturing industries, requires large free markets for their output. Her natural market is Russia, for Germany has industrial centres of her own. She can expect to have the free use of the precious Russian markets only as long as she forms part of that great State. At present, a spirit of the heartiest good-will prevails between Russians and Poles. The old quarrels and grievances have been forgotten in the common struggle. The moment is most auspicious for the resurrection of Poland.

While Prussia has been guilty of the partition of Poland, Russia is largely to blame for the repeated revolts and insurrection of her Polish citizens. * * *

When the peace conditions come up

for discussion at the congress which will bring the present war to an end—and that event may be nearer than most men think—the problem of Poland will be one of the greatest difficulty and importance. Austria-Hungary has comparatively little interest in retaining her Poles. The Austrian Poles dwell in Galicia outside the great rampart of the Carpathian Mountains, which form the natural frontier of the Dual Monarchy toward the northeast. The loss of Galicia, with its oilfields and mines, may be regrettable to Austria-Hungary, but it will not affect her very seriously. To Germany, on the other hand, the loss of the Polish districts will be a fearful blow. The supreme importance which Germany attaches to the Polish problem may be seen from this, that Bismarck thought it the only question which could lead to an open breach between Germany and Austria-Hungary. According to Crispi's Memoirs, Bismarck said to the Italian statesman on the 17th of September, 1877:

There could be but one cause for a breach in the friendship that unites Austria and Germany, and that would be a disagreement between the two Governments concerning Polish policy. * * * If a Polish rebellion should break out and Austria should lend it her support, we should be obliged to assert ourselves. We cannot permit the reconstruction of a Catholic kingdom so near at hand. It would be a Northern France. We have one, France to look to already, and a second would become the natural ally of the first, and we should find ourselves entrapped between two enemies.

The resurrection of Poland would injure us in other ways as well. It could not come about without the loss of a part of our territory. We cannot possibly relinquish either Posen or Dantsic, because the German Empire would remain exposed on the Russian frontier, and we should lose an outlet on the Baltic.

In the event of Germany's defeat a large slice of Poland, including the wealthiest parts of Silesia, with gigantic coal mines, iron works, &c., would be taken away from her, and if the Poles should recover their ancient province of West Prussia, with Dantsic, Prussia's hold upon East Prussia, with Königsberg, would be threatened. The loss of

her Polish districts would obviously greatly reduce Germany's military strength and economic power. It may therefore be expected that Germany will move heaven and earth against the re-creation of the Kingdom of Poland, and

that she will strenuously endeavor to create differences between Russia and her allies. The statesmen of Europe should therefore, in good time, firmly make up their minds as to the future of Poland. J. ELLIS BARKER.

THE REDEMPTION OF EUROPE

By ALFRED NOYES.

[From King Albert's Book.]

* * * *donec templum refeceris.*

UNDER which banner? It was night
Beyond all nights that ever were.
The Cross was broken, Blood-stained
might
Moved like a tiger from its lair;
And all that heaven had died to quell
Awoke, and mingled earth with hell.

For Europe, if it held a creed,
Held it through custom, not through faith.
Chaos returned, in dream and deed.
Right was a legend: Love—a wraith;
And That from which the world began
Was less than even the best in man.

God in the image of a Snake
Dethroned that dream, too fond, too blind,
The man-shaped God whose heart could
break,
Live, die, and triumph with mankind.
A Super-snake, a Juggernaut,
Dethroned the highest of human thought.

The lists were set. The eternal foe
Within us as without grew strong,
By many a super-subtle blow
Blurring the lines of right and wrong
In Art and Thought, till nought seemed true
But that soul-slaughtering cry of New!

New wreckage of the shrines we made
Thro' centuries of forgotten tears * * *
We knew not where their scorn had laid
Our Master. Twice a thousand years
Had dulled the uncapricious Sun,
Manifold worlds obscured the One;

Obscured the reign of Law, our stay,
Our compass through this darkening sea,
The one sure light, the one sure way,
The one firm base of Liberty;
The one firm road that men have trod
Through Chaos to the Throne of God.

Choose ye, a hundred legions cried,
Dishonor or the instant sword!
Ye chose. Ye met that blood-stained tide.
A little kingdom kept its word;
And, dying, cried across the night,
Hear us, O earth, we chose the Right!

Whose is the victory? Though ye stood
Alone against the unmeasured foe;
By all the tears, by all the blood
That flowed, and have not ceased to flow;
By all the legions that ye hurled;
Back, thro' the thunder-shaken world;

By the old that have not where to rest,
By the lands laid waste and hearths
defiled;
By every lacerated breast,
And every mutilated child,
Whose is the victory? Answer ye,
Who, dying, smiled at tryanny?

Under the sky's triumphal arch
The glories of the dawn begin.
Our dead, our shadowy armies march
E'en now, in silence, through Berlin;
Dumb shadows, tattered, blood-stained ghosts
But cast by what swift following hosts?

And answer, England! At thy side,
Thro' seas of blood, thro' mists of tears,
Thou that for Liberty hast died
And livest, to the end of years!
And answer, Earth! Far off, I hear
The peans of a happier sphere:

The trumpet blown at Marathon
Resounded over earth and sea,
But burning angel lips have blown
The trumpets of thy Liberty;
For who, beside thy dead, could deem
The faith, for which they died, a dream?

Earth has not been the same since then.
Europe from thee received a soul,
Whence nations moved in law, like men,
As members of a mightier whole,
Till wars were ended. * * * In that day,
So shall our children's children say.

Germany Will End the War

Only When a Peace Treaty Shall Assure Her Power

By Maximilian Harden

Maximilian Harden, who in the following article sets forth the ends which Germany is striving to accomplish in the war, is the George Bernard Shaw of Germany. He is considered the leading German editor and an expert in Germany on foreign politics. As editor and proprietor of *Die Zukunft*, his fiery, brooding spirit and keen insight and wit, coupled with powers of satire and caricature, made him a solitary and striking independent figure in the German press years before the other newspapers of Germany dared to criticise or attack the Government or the persons at the head of it.

After the dismissal of Prince Bismarck by the present Kaiser, Harden not only saw, but constantly and audaciously criticised, the weaknesses in the character of the Emperor. For this dangerous undertaking he was three times brought to trial for *lèse majesté*, and spent a year as a prisoner in a Prussian fortress. In 1907 he figured in a libel suit brought by General Kuno von Moltke, late Military Governor of Berlin, who, together with Count Zu Eulenburg and Count Wilhelm von Hohenau, one of the Emperor's Adjutants, had been mentioned by Harden in his paper as members of the so-called *Camarilla* or "Round Table" that sought to influence the Emperor's political actions by subtle manipulations. He was sentenced to four months' imprisonment, but appealed the case, and was let off two years later with a fine of \$150.

In recently publishing the German article which is herewith translated the German New Yorker *Revue* carefully disclaimed any agreement with the sentiments therein expressed by Harden, which, it pointed out, must be regarded only as typical of German public opinion as is George Bernard Shaw of public opinion in England.

THE scorners of war, the blonde, black, and gray children who have been defiling his name with syrupy tongues of lofty humanity and with slanderous scoldings, all have become silent. Or else they snort soldiers' songs; annihilate in confused little essays the allied powers arrayed against us; entreat a civilized world (*Kulturwelt*) juggling for mere turkey heads, to please grant us permission to do heavy and cruel deeds, to wage fierce and headlong war! Already they seem prepared to answer absolutely and unqualifiedly in the affirmative Luther's question whether "men of war also can be considered in a state of grace."

They write and talk much about the great scourge of war. That is all quite true. But we should also bear in mind how much greater is the scourge which is fended off by war. The sum and substance of the matter is this: In looking upon the office of war one must not consider how it strangles, burns, destroys. For that is what the simple eyes of children do which do not further watch the surgeon when he chops off a hand or

saws off a leg; which do not see or perceive that it is a matter of saving the entire body. So we must look upon the office of war and of the sword with the eyes of men, and understand why it strangles and why it wreaks cruel deeds. Then it will justify itself and prove of its own accord that it is an office divine in itself, and as necessary and useful to the world as is eating, drinking, or any other work. But that some there are who abuse the office of war, who strangle and destroy without need, out of sheer wantonness—that is not the fault of the office, but of the person. Is there any office, work, or thing so good that wicked and wanton persons will not abuse it?

The organ tone of such words as these at last rolls forth once more in their native land.

Therefore cease the pitiful attempts to excuse Germany's action. No longer wail to strangers, who do not care to hear you, telling them how dear to us were the smiles of peace we had smeared like rouge upon our lips, and how deeply we regret in our hearts that the treachery of conspirators dragged us, unwilling,

into a forced war. Cease, you publicists, your wordy war against hostile brothers in the profession, whose superiority you cannot scold away, and who merely smile while they pick up, out of your laboriously stirred porridge slowly warmed over a flame of borrowed alcohol, the crumbs on which their "selfishness" is to choke! That national selfishness does not seem a duty to you, but a sin, is something you must conceal from foreign eyes.

Cease, also, you popular writers, the degraded scolding of enemies that does not emanate from passion but out of greedy hankering for the applause of the masses, and which continually nauseates us amid the piety of this hour! Because our statemen failed to discover and foil shrewd plans of deception is no reason why we may hoist the flag of most pious morality. Not as weak-willed blunderers have we undertaken the fearful risk of this war. We wanted it. Because we had to wish it and could wish it. May the Teuton devil throttle those whiners whose pleas for excuses make us ludicrous in these hours of lofty experience. We do not stand, and shall not place ourselves, before the court of Europe. Our power shall create new law in Europe. Germany strikes. If it conquers new realms for its genius, the priesthood of all the gods will sing songs of praise to the good war.

Only he who is specially trained for a race of troops may go along into the field. Only the man versed in statecraft should be allowed to participate in the talk about the results of war. Not he who has out yonder proved an unworthy diplomat, nor the dilettante loafer sprayed with the perfume of volatile emotions. Manhood liability to military service requires manhood suffrage? That question may rest for the time being; likewise the desire for equality of that right shall not be argued today. But common sense should warn against the assumption of an office without the slightest special preliminary training. Politics is an art that can be mastered not in the leisure hours of the brain, but only by the passionate, self-sacrificing devotion of a whole lifetime. Now seek around you.

We are at the beginning of a war the development and duration of which are incalculable, and in which up to date no foe has been brought to his knees. To guide the sword to its goal, Tom, Dick, and Harry, Poet Arrogance and Professor Crumb advertise their prowess in the newspaper *Advice and Assistance*. Brave folk, whose knowledge concerning this new realm of their endeavor emanates solely from that same newspaper! Because they have for three months been busily reading their morning, noon, and evening editions, they think they have a special call to speak. Without knowledge of things that have transpired before, without knowledge of the persons concerned, without a suspicion of the needs of the situation and its possibilities, they judge the peoples of the earth and divide the world. Stupid talk, with which irreverent officiousness seeks to while away and shorten the period of anxious waiting for customers; but to prepare quietly and wisely and mightily in advance for terms of peace, that is the duty of the statesman.

We are waging this war not in order to punish those who have sinned, nor in order to free enslaved peoples and thereafter to comfort ourselves with the unselfish and useless consciousness of our own righteousness. We wage it from the lofty point of view and with the conviction that Germany, as a result of her achievements and in proportion to them, is justified in asking, and must obtain, wider room on earth for development and for working out the possibilities that are in her. The powers from whom she forced her ascendancy, in spite of themselves, still live, and some of them have recovered from the weakening she gave them. Spain and the Netherlands, Rome and Hapsburg, France and England, possessed and settled and ruled great stretches of the most fruitful soil. Now strikes the hour for Germany's rising power. The terms of a peace treaty that does not insure this would leave the great effort unrewarded. Even if it brought dozens of shining billions into the National Treasury, the fate of Eu-

rope would be dependent upon the United States of America.

We are waging war for ourselves alone; and still we are convinced that all who desire the good would soon be able to rejoice in the result. For with this war there must also end the politics that have frightened away all the upright from entering into intimate relations with the most powerful Continental empire. We need land, free roads into the ocean, and for the spirit and language and wares and trade of Germany we need the same values that are accorded such goods anywhere else.

Only four persons not residents of Essen knew about the new mortar which the firm of Friedrich Krupp manufactured at its own expense and which later, because its shell rapidly smashed the strongest fortifications of reinforced concrete, our military authorities promptly acquired. Must we be ashamed of this instrument of destruction and take from the lips of the "cultured world" the wry reproach that from "Faust" and the Ninth Symphony we have sunk our national pride to the 42-centimeter guns? No! Only firm will and determination to achieve, that is to say, German power, distinguishes the host of warriors now embattled on the five huge fields of blood from the race of the poets and thinkers. Their brains, too, yearn back, throbbing for the realm of the muses. Before the remains of the Netherland Gothic, before the wonders of Flemish painting, their eyes light up in pious adoration. From the lips of the troops that marched from three streets into the parade plaza in Brussels there burst, when the last man stood in the ranks—and burst spontaneously—a German song. Out of all the trenches joyous cheers of thanks rise for the fearless musicmaster who, amid the raging fire, through horns and trumpets, wrapped in earth-colored gray, leads his band in blowing marches and battle songs and songs of dancing into the ears of the Frenchmen, harkening with pleasure.

Not only for the territories that are to feed their children and grandchildren is this warrior host battling, but also for

the conquering triumph of the German genius, for the forces of sentiment that rise from Goethe and Beethoven and Bismarck and Schiller and Kant and Kleist, working on throughout time and eternity.

And never was there a war more just; never one the result of which could bring such happiness as must this, even for the conquered. In order that that spirit might conquer we were obliged to forge the mightiest weapons for it. Over the meadows of the Scheldt is wafted the word of the King:

How proud I feel my heart flame
When in every German land
I find such a warrior band!
For German land, the German sword!
Thus be the empire's strength preserved!

This strength was begotten by that spirit. The fashioning of such weapons was possible only because millions of industrious persons, with untiring and unremitting labors, transformed the poor Germany into the rich Germany, which was then able to prepare and conduct the war as a great industry. And what the spirit created once again serves the spirit. It shall not lay waste, nor banish us free men into slavery, but rather it shall call forth to the light of heaven a new, richer soul of life out of the ruins of a storm-tossed civilization. It shall, it must, it will conquer new provinces for the majesty of the noble German spirit (*Deutschheit*) that never will grow chill and numb, as the Roman did. Otherwise—and even though unnumbered billions flowed into the Rhine—the expense of this war would be shamefully wasted.

Our army did not set out to conquer Belgian territory.

In the war against four great powers, the west front of which alone stretched from the North Sea to the Alps, from Ghent almost to Geneva, it seemed impossible to achieve on Europe's soil a victory that would strengthen the roots of the conquering race. Gold cannot indemnify for the loss of the swarming young life which we were obliged to mourn even after ten weeks of war; and if, amid ten thousand of the fine fellows who died, there was even a single

creative mind, then thousands of millions could not pay for its destruction.

And what stretch of land necessary for the German people, or useful in the real sense of the word, could France or even Russia vacate for us in Europe? To be "unassailable"—to exchange the soul of a Viking for that of a New Yorker, that of the quick pike for that of the lazy carp whose fat back grows moss covered in a dangerless pond—that must never become the wish of a German. And for the securing of more comfortable frontier protection only a madman would risk the life that is flourishing in power and wealth. Now we know what the war is for—not for French, Polish, Ruthenian, Esthonian, Lettish territories, nor for billions of money; not in order to dive headlong after the war into the pool of emotions and then allow the chilled body to rust in the twilight dusk of the Deliverer of Races.

No! To hoist the storm flag of the empire on the narrow channel that opens and locks the road into the ocean. I could imagine Germany's war lord, if, after Ostend, Calais, too, is captured, sending the armies and fleets back home from the east and front the west, and quietly saying to our enemies:

"You now have felt what Germany's strength and determination can do, and hereafter you will probably weigh the matter well before you venture to attack us. Of you Germany demands nothing further. Not even reimbursement for its expenses in this war—for those it is reimbursed by the wholesale terror which it evoked all around in the Autumn battles. Do you want anything of us? We shall never refuse a challenge to a quarrel. We shall remain in the Belgian netherland, to which we shall add the thin strip of coast up to the rear of Calais, (you Frenchmen have enough better harbors, anyway;) we terminate, of our own accord, this war which, now that we have safeguarded our honor, can bring us no other gains; we now return to the joy of fruitful work, and will grasp the sword again only if you attempt to crowd

us out of that which we have won with our blood. Of a solemn peace conference, with haggling over terms, parchment, and seal, we have no need. The prisoners are to be freed. You can keep your fortresses if they do not seem to you to be worthless, if the rebuilding of them still seems worth while to you. Tomorrow is again a common day."

Do not lapse into dreams about United States of Europe, about mild-intentioned division of the Coburg heritage, (a bit of it to Holland, a bit to Luxemburg, perhaps even a bit to France. Any one with even the slightest nobility of feeling would reject the proffered dish of poison with a gesture of disgust,) nor be lulled into delusions of military and tax conventions that would deprive the country of its free right of determining its own destiny.

To the Belgians we are the Arch-imp and the Tenant of the Pool of Hell! We would remain so, even if every stone in Louvain and in Malines were replaced by its equivalent in gold. That rage can be overcome only after the race, praised by Schiller's fiery breath, sees its neighbors close at hand and draws advantage from intimate relations with them. Antwerp not pitted against, but working with, Hamburg and Bremen; Liège, side by side with Essen's, Berlin's, and Swabia's gun factories—Cockerill in combination with Krupp; iron, coal, woven stuff from old Germany and Belgium, introduced into the markets of the world by one and the same commercial spirit; our Kamerun and their Congo—such a warm blaze of advantage has burned away many a hatred. The wise man wins as his friend the deadly foe whose skull he cannot split, and he will rather rule and allow to feast on exceptional dainties this still cold and shy new friend than lose potential well-wishers of incalculable future good-will.

Only, never again a withered Reichsland! (imperial territory.) From Calais to Antwerp, Flanders, Limburg, Brabant, to behind the line of the Meuse forts, Prussian! (German Princes no longer haggle, German tribes no longer envy one another;) the Southern triangle

with Alsace and Lorraine—and Luxemburg, too, if it desires—is to be an independent federated State, intrusted to a Catholic noble house. Then Germany would know for what it shed its blood.

We need land for our industries, a road into the ocean, an undivided colony, the assurance of a supply of raw materials and the most fertile well-spring of prosperity—a people industrious and efficient in its work.

Here they are: Ore and copper, glass and sugar, flax and wool. But here, too, there once lived Jan and Hubert van Eyck, Rubens, the reveler Ruysbroek, and Jordeans of the avid eyes. Here there always lived—to be sure, in twilight—Germania's little soul, fluttering imagination.

And is there not here, too, that which

—all too stormily and, as a rule, in all too harsh a tone of abuse—every German heart yearns for, a victory over England? On the seas such victory cannot be quickly won, indeed; can, indeed, never be won without great sacrifice. But with the German Empire, whose mortars loom threatening from one coast of the Channel, whose flag floats over the two greatest harbors of Europe and over the Congo basin—England would have to come into a friendly agreement as a power of equal strength, entitled to equal rights. If it is unwilling to do so? Lion, leap! On our young soil we await thee! The day of adventure wanes. But for the German who dares unafraid to desire things the harvest labor of heroic warriors has quickly filled the storehouse.

LOUVAIN'S NEW STREETS

[By The Associated Press.]

LONDON, March 9.—The decision of the municipal authorities of Louvain, Belgium, to give American names to certain streets of the city is set forth in a formal resolution of thanks which was adopted on Washington's Birthday by the Burgomaster and Aldermen of Louvain and sent to the American Commission for Relief in Belgium. The resolution concludes as follows:

“The cradle of a university of five centuries' standing, and today herself partly in ruins, the City of Louvain cannot fail to associate with the memory of Washington, one of the greatest Captains, the name of the learned professor whose admirable precepts and high political attainments, as also his firmness of character and dignity of life, all contributed to carry him successively to the Presidency of Princeton University, the Governorship of New Jersey, and finally the Presidency of the United States.

“In order to perpetuate to future generations remembrances of these sentiments and our ardent gratitude, the Burgomaster and Aldermen have decided this day that in the new parts of the city, as they rise out of the ruins, three streets or squares shall receive the illustrious names of President Wilson, Washington, and American Nation.”

The State of Holland

An Answer to H. G. Wells by Hendrik Willem van Loon

To the Editor of The New York Times:

MY attention has been drawn to an article by H. G. Wells, published by THE NEW YORK TIMES and by CURRENT HISTORY in its March number which proposed that Holland give Germany the coup de grace, suddenly attack Aix and Cologne, cut off Germany's line of supplies, and thereby help win the war for the cause of justice. I am not writing this answer in any official capacity, but I have reason to believe that I write what most of my fellow-countrymen feel upon the subject.

Holland is neutral. The country is just as neutral as Belgium would have been had she not been invaded; as neutral as Denmark and Switzerland and the other small countries which are suffering so severely through this war. If any power should attack Holland, Holland would no longer be neutral, but would inundate the central part of the provinces of North and South Holland, would occupy the very strong position around Amsterdam, and would fight to the end. But unless attacked directly Holland will take no part in this war.

Mr. Wells hints at the idea of the righteousness of the cause of the Allies. All races and all colors have been brought together to beat Germany. Now Holland ought to do the same. She is in a position to exercise great power with her fresh troops. In the name of humanity, which has been so grievously maltreated in Belgium, let her join. I think that the answer of the greater part of our people would be somewhat as follows:

No quarrel was ever made by a single person. It takes two to start a fight. England and Germany are fighting for the supremacy of commerce. In the course of this quarrel Belgium has been sacrificed. We are extremely sorry. We have opened our frontiers to all of our

southern neighbors. They were welcome to flee to us with all their belongings. We shall take care of them so long as they wish to stay. Our position is not always easy. The Dutch and the Belgian characters are very different. We do not always understand each other. But in the main the Belgians know that we shall share our food with them until the last, that in every way we shall make them as comfortable as we can. We are not a very graceful people. We often lack a certain charm of manner. The little potentates who are the Mayors of our small frontier towns are not always very tactful. But these things are minor matters. Holland is the natural place of refuge for her southern neighbors, and as long as they suffer from the German domination they know that with us they are safe. But should we have gone with the Allies when the Belgians suffered through no fault of their own?

For France there is in Holland the greatest personal sympathy. But she is far away from Holland. The direct issue is between England and Germany. The Hollander likes England, fashions his life as much as possible after the English pattern, prefers to do business with English people. Yet is there any reason why Holland should make the possible sacrifice of her own existence for the benefit of England?

Will Mr. Wells kindly glance through his history and see what we as a nation have suffered at the hands of England?

During three centuries we fought with England about a principle laid down by Grotius of Delft. We claimed that the sea was an open highway, free to all navigators. England used her best legal talent to prove the contrary. In this struggle we exhausted ourselves and we finally lost. Incidentally we saw our richest colonies go into the possession of England. The very colony in which I am writing this letter was taken from us in

time of peace. Of course all this is past history and no Hollander is going to accuse an Englishman of acts committed by his great-grandfather. But the people will remember all those things, however vaguely, and they will distrust the nation that has constantly done them harm. We gave England her best King, (if one is to believe Mr. Macaulay.) William III. in order to destroy the power of Louis XIV., and greatly for the benefit of England incidentally, did the greatest harm to the country of his origin. After 1715, totally exhausted, we were obliged to see how England got ahead of us.

Then there are some other small items. I take one at random. While the Duke of Wellington danced the polka in Brussels the Prince of Orange with a small Dutch army stopped Napoleon's progress at Quatre Bras, and by disobeying the orders of the British commander saved the army of the allies and made the victory of Waterloo possible. Our thanks for this self-sacrifice was the mild abuse of Mr. Thackeray and other gentlemen who have ever since laughed at the clumsy Dutch troops who in truth so valiantly assisted the British and Prussians. In this matter a little more generosity on the part of British historians would have made us feel more cordial toward our English neighbors. It was ever thus. To read the story of the Armada one would believe that the English destroyed this dangerous Spanish fleet. As a matter of fact, competent historians know that certainly one-half of the glory for that feat goes to the Dutch sailors, who prevented the Spaniards from getting their supplies, their pilots, and their auxiliary army. These are merely examples. They are all small things. But there are so many of them, they return with such persistent regularity, that we would feel very little inclination to risk our national existence for a nation which, according to our feeling, (rightly or wrongly, I am not debating that question,) has never treated us with fairness, and which we had to fight for over three centuries before it would accept those general principles of international law which first of all were laid

down by Grotius in the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Remember, however, that this does not mean any hostility to England. Mr. Wells undoubtedly knows that our ships have invariably done noble work in rescuing the victims of submarine attacks. He will know that our Government (to the great anger of Germany) has construed the articles of several international treaties in the most liberal way and has immediately released all such British subjects as were thrown upon our coast through the accidents of war. He will also know, if he has read the papers, that our entire country has turned out to do homage to the bravery of those men. The danger to the sailor of a British man-of-war who lands in Holland is that he will be killed by a severe attack of nicotine poisoning caused by the cigars which the people, in their desire to show their feelings and unable to break the strict law of neutrality, shower upon the Englishman who is fished out of the North Sea by our trawlers or our steamers.

But away deep under this very strong personal sympathy for England, and with very sincere admiration for the British form of government, the people of Holland cannot easily overcome a feeling of vague distrust that the nation which in the past has so often abused them cannot entirely be counted upon to treat them justly this time. Incidentally, I may say that the bungling of Mr. Churchill in Antwerp, which we know much better than do the people of England, is another reason why we are a bit afraid of the island across the North Sea.

We are indeed in the position of a dog that has often been beaten innocently and that is now smiled upon and asked to be good and attack another person who has never done him any harm. The comparison may not be very flattering to us, but Mr. Wells will understand what I mean. We have had the Germans with us always. Personally, taking them by and large, we like them not. Their ways are not our ways. Our undisciplined race abhors their system. We have seen the misery which they caused in Belgium more closely than any one else. The end-

less letters and pamphlets with which the Germans have inundated our land to prove the justice of their cause have made no impression whatsoever. We have with our own eyes seen the victims of their very strict explanation of Section 58, Article I., of the German military penal code. We have seen the Belgians hanging by their own red handkerchiefs, and we have with our own hands fed the multitude that had been deprived of everything. On the other hand, Germany has up to date been most scrupulous in her behavior toward us. In the past she has never done us any harm. We may not like her, but she has in a very careful way avoided all friction and has treated us with great consideration.

In view of all this, in view of the very sober attitude of our people upon all matters of our daily life, in view of these historical reflections, which have a very decided influence, would it be quite fair without any provocation on the side of Germany to go forth and attack her in the back, now that she is in such very dangerous straits? I repeat that this may not be the exact sentiment of all of my countrymen, but I believe that very many of us feel things that way. Perhaps we disagree in minor details, but we agree about the main issue.

We love our country. For centuries

we have fought to maintain our individual civilization against the large neighbors who surround us. We try to live up to our good reputation as a home for all those who suffer. The people who are made homeless by Germany come to us and we try to feed them on such grain as the British Government allows to pass through the Channel. We try to continue in our duty toward all our neighbors, even when they declare the entire North Sea (in which we also have a certain interest) as a place of battle and blow up our ships with their mines. We patiently destroy the mines which swim away from our neighbors' territorial waters and land upon our shores. In short, we perform a very difficult act of balancing as well as we can. But it seems to us that under difficult circumstances we are following the only correct road which can lead to the ultimate goal which we wish to reach—the lasting respect of all those who will judge us without prejudice and malice.

It is very kind of Mr. Wells to offer us territorial compensation, but we respectfully decline such a reward for the sort of attack which was popular in the days of the old Machiavelli.

HENDRIK WILLEM VAN LOON.

New York, Feb. 26, 1915.



Hungary After the War

By a Correspondent of The London Times

[From The London Times, Jan. 20, 1915.]

THE allied powers are agreed that the European resettlement must be inspired by the principle of nationality. It will be but just if Hungary suffers severely from its application, for during the past forty years no European Government has sinned so deeply and persistently against that principle as has her Magyar Government. The old Hungary, whose name and history are surrounded by the glamour of romance, was not the modern "Magyarland." Its boasted constitutional liberties were, indeed, confined to the nobles, and the "Hungarian people" was composed, in the words of Verböczy's *Tripartitum Code*, of "prelates, barons, and other magnates, also all nobles, but not commoners." But the nobles of all Hungarian races rallied to the Hungarian banner, proud of the title of *civis hungaricus*. John Hunyádi, the national hero, was a Rumanian; Zrinyi was a Croat, and many another paladin of Hungarian liberty was a non-Magyar. Latin was the common language of the educated. But with the substitution of Magyar for Latin during the nineteenth century, and with the growth of what is called the "Magyar State Idea," with its accompaniment of Magyar Chauvinism, all positive recognition of the rights and individuality of non-Magyar races gradually vanished.

The Magyar language itself is incapable of expressing the difference between "Hungarian" and "Magyar." The difference is approximately the same as between "British" and "English." The "Magyar State" set itself to Magyarize education and every feature of public life. Any protest was treated as "incitement against the Magyar State Idea" and was made punishable by two years' imprisonment. It was as though a narrow-minded English Administration should set itself to obliterate all traces

of Scottish, Welsh, and Irish national feeling; or as though the Government of India should ignore the existence of all save one race and language in our great dependency.

In comparison with the Government of "Magyarland," the Government of Austria was a model of tolerance. In Austria, Poles and Ruthenes; Czechs, Germans, Italians, Serbo-Croatians, and Slovenes were entitled to the public use of their own languages and enjoyed various degrees of provincial self-government. The Austrian side of every Austro-Hungarian banknote bore an indication of its value in every language of the empire, whereas the Hungarian side was printed in Magyar alone. This was done in order to foster the belief that Hungary was entirely Magyar.

In reality, Hungary is as polyglot as Austria. Exact statistics are not obtainable, since the Magyar census returns have long been deliberately falsified for "Magyar State" reasons. Roughly speaking, it may, however, be said that, in Hungary proper, i. e., exclusive of Croatia-Slavonia, where the population is almost entirely Serbo-Croatian, there are perhaps 8,500,000 Magyars, including nearly 1,000,000 professing and a large number of baptized Jews. Against this total there are more than 2,000,000 Germans, including the numerous colonies on the Austrian border, the Swabians of the south, and the Saxons of Transylvania; more than 2,000,000 Slovaks, who inhabit chiefly the northwestern counties; between three and four million Rumanes, living between the Theiss and the Eastern Carpathians; some 500,000 Ruthenes, or Little Russians, who inhabit the north-eastern counties; some 600,000 Serbs and Croats in the central southern counties; 100,000 Slovenes along the borders of Styria and Carinthia; and some 200,000

other non-Magyars, including about 90,000 gypsies, who speak a language of their own. Taking the population of Hungary proper at 18,000,000, the Magyars are thus in a minority, which becomes more marked when Croatia-Slavonia with its population of 2,600,000 southern Slavs is added.

during the period of reaction after 1849 as ruthlessly as the Magyars themselves. Deák and Eötvös, who were the last prominent Magyar public men with a Hungarian, as distinguished from a narrowly Magyar, conception of the future of their country, pleaded indeed for fair treatment of the non-Magyars, and



Distribution of Nationalities in Hungary.

It would have been possible for the Magyars, after the restoration of the Hungarian Constitution under the Dual Settlement of 1867, to have built up a strong and elastic Transleithan polity based on the recognition of race individualities and equality of political rights for all. The non-Magyars would have accepted Magyar leadership the more readily in that they had been dragooned and oppressed by Austria

trusted to the attractive force of the strong Magyar nucleus to settle automatically the question of precedence in the State. But in 1875, when Koloman Tisza, the father of Count Stephen Tisza, took office, these wise counsels were finally and definitely rejected in favor of what Baron Bánffy afterward defined as "national Chauvinism." Magyarization became the watchword of the State and persecution its means of action. Kolo-

man Tisza concluded with the monarch a tacit pact under which the Magyar Government was to be left free to deal as it pleased with the non-Magyars as long as it supplied without wincing the recruits and the money required for the joint army. The Magyar Parliament became almost exclusively representative of the Magyar minority of the people. Out of the 413 constituencies of Hungary proper more than 400 were compelled, by pressure, bribery, and gerrymandering, to return Magyar or Jewish Deputies. The press and the banks fell entirely into Jewish hands, and the Magyarized Jews became the most vociferous of the "national Chauvinists."

Nothing like it has been seen before or since—save the Turkish revolution of 1908, when the Young Turks, under Jewish influence, broke away from the relatively tolerant methods of the old régime and adopted the system of forcible "Turkification" that led to the Albanian insurrections of 1910-12, to the formation of the Balkan League, and to the overthrow of Turkey in Europe.

The bitter fruits of the policy of Magyarization are now ripening. The oppressed Rumanes look not toward Aus-

tria, as in the old days when their great Bishop Siaguna made them a staunch prop of the Hapsburg dynasty, but across the Carpathians to Bucharest; the Serbo-Croatians of Hungary, Croatia-Slavonia, and Dalmatia, whose economic and political development the Magyars have deliberately hampered, turn their eyes no longer, as in the days of Jellatchich, toward Vienna, but await wistfully the coming of the Serbian liberators; the Ruthenes of the northeast hear the tramp of the Russian armies; the Slovaks of the northwest watch with dull expectancy for the moment when, united with their Slovak kinsmen of Moravia and their cousins, the Czechs of Bohemia, they shall form part of an autonomous Slav province stretching from the Elbe to the Danube. For the Magyars, who have thrown to the winds the wisdom of the wisest men, fate may reserve the possession of the fertile and well-watered Central Hungarian plain. There they may thrive in modesty and rue at their leisure the folly of having sacrificed their chance of national greatness to the vain pursuit of the "Magyar State Idea" under the demoralizing influence of Austro-German imperialism.

THE WATCHERS OF THE TROAD

By HARRY LYMAN KOOPMAN

WHERE Ilium's towers once rose and
 stretched her plain,
 What forms, beneath the late moon's
 doubtful beam,
 Half living, half of moonlit vapor, seem?
 Surely here stand apart the kingly twain,
 Here Ajax looms, and Hector grasps the
 rein,
 Here Helen's fatal beauty darts a gleam,
 Andromache's love here shines o'er death
 supreme.
 To them, while wave-borne thunders roll
 amain
 From Samos unto Ida, Calchas, seer
 Of all that shall be, speaks: "Not the
 world's end
 Is this, but end of our old world of strife,
 Which, lasting until now, shall perish here.
 Henceforth shall men strive but as friend
 and friend
 Out of this death to rear a new world's
 life."

The Union of Central Europe

An Argument in Favor of a Union of the States Now Allied With
Germany

By Franz von Liszt

Professor Franz von Liszt, author of the following article, is Director of the Criminal Law Seminar of the University of Berlin, and is regarded as one of the leading experts on criminal law in Germany. The article was published in the *Neus Badische Landes-Zeitung* of Mannheim, and evoked bitter criticism from many imperialistic quarters in the German press.

WHEN new directions of development are first taken in history, it usually requires the lapse of several decades before we understand them in their true importance, and it takes much longer before proper terms describing them are adopted generally. In the interim, misconceptions of all kinds are the necessary consequence of clouded perception and confused terminology, especially when, for purposes of party politics, there figures in a greater or less degree a certain unwillingness to understand.

Such misunderstandings are not devoid of danger in times of peace; they may become pregnant with fate when, as in our day, the leading nations of the earth stand at the threshold of a great change in their history. I am anxious, therefore, to defend against objections raised with more or less intentional misunderstanding the thoughts which I expressed in my recently published essay, "A Central European Union of States as the Next Goal of German Foreign Policy."

Let us for once put aside the word "Imperialism." Surely we are all agreed as one that it is an absolute essential of life for the German Empire to carry on world-politics, (*Weltpolitik*.) We have been engaged in that since the eighties of the nineteenth century. The first colonial possessions which the German Empire obtained were the fruits of a striving for world-politics that had not yet at that time come to full and clear consciousness.

But, conscious of our goal, we did not attempt the paths of world-politics until the end of the last century. At the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the German Empire, on Jan. 18, 1896, our Kaiser uttered the words: "The German Empire has become a world empire, (*Aus dem deutschen Reich ist ein Weltreich geworden.*)" And the German Empire's groping for its way in world-politics found its expression in the first naval proposal of Tirpitz in the year 1898.

At that time the Imperial Chancellor Prince Hohenlohe expressly designated the policy of the German Empire as "world politics." Thereby a goal was sketched for the development of the German Empire. We have not lost sight of it since then, keeping unconfused despite many an illusion and many a failure. And today we all live in the firm faith that the world war, which we are determined to bring to a victorious conclusion by the exertion of all our forces as a people, will bring us the safe guarantee for the attainment of our goal in world politics.

On that score, then, there is absolutely no difference of opinion. But there does appear to be considerable difference of opinion as to the conception of world politics. Under that name one may mean a policy directed toward world domination (*Weltherrschaft*.) For that kind of world politics the word "Imperialism," borrowed from the period of Roman world domination of the second century of the Christian era, fits precisely.

Imperialism aims, directly or indirectly, through peaceful or forceful annex-

tion or economic exploitation, to make the whole inhabited earth subject to its sway. Imperialistic is the policy of Great Britain, which has subjected one-fifth of the inhabited area of the earth to its sway and knows no bounds to the expansion of English rule. Imperialistic, too, is the policy of Russia, which for centuries has been extending its huge tentacles toward the Atlantic and toward the Mediterranean, the Pacific, and the Indian Oceans, never sated.

Such world domination has never endured permanently; it can endure least of all in our days, in which an array of mighty armed powers stand prepared to guard their independence. World domination sooner or later leads inevitably to an alliance of the States whose independence is threatened; and thereby it leads to the overthrow of the disturber of the peace. That, as we all confidently hope, will be the fate of England as well as of Russia in the present war. * * *

World politics, however, may mean something else; policies based upon world value, (*Weltgeltung*.) The policy based on world domination differs from that based on world value, in that the former denies the equal rights of other States, while the latter makes that its premise. The State that asserts its rights to world values demands for itself what it concedes to the others: its right to expand and develop its political and economic influence, and to have a voice in the discussion whenever the political or economical relations of the various States at any point in the inhabited globe approach a state of change. * * *

In this sense has the German Empire heretofore engaged in world politics in contrast with Russia and England. That it cannot be carried on successfully without overseas colonies, a strong foreign fleet, naval bases, and telegraphic connections through cable or wireless telegraph apparatus, needs no further elucidation. For this sort of world politics also the name "Imperialism" may be used. But such use of the word is misleading; I shall therefore hereafter avoid it.

And herein I think I have uncovered the deeper reason for an early misunderstanding of great consequence. It seems

as though in a certain—to be sure, not a very great or very influential—circle of our German fellow-citizens the opinion prevails that the German Empire should substitute its claims for world domination for those of England. Such a view cannot be too soon or too sharply rebuked.

The claim for world domination would set the German Empire for many years face to face with a long series of bloody wars, the issue of which cannot be in doubt a moment to any one familiar with history. The enforcement of this claim, moreover, would of itself be the surrender of the German spirit to the spirit of our present opponent in the war. The idea of world domination, imperialism in the true sense of the word, is not a product grown on German soil; it is imported from abroad. To maintain that view in all seriousness is treachery to the inmost spirit of the German soul.

Perhaps I am mistaken in taking it for granted that such thoughts are today haunting many minds. Perhaps it is merely a matter of misapplied use of a large sounding word. In that case, however, it is absolutely necessary to create clear thinking. I take it for granted that I am voicing the sentiments of the souls of the vast overwhelming majority of Germans when I say: "We shall wage the war, if need be, to the very end, against the English and Russian lust for world domination, and for Germany's world value (*Weltgeltung*.)"

But forthwith there appears a further difference of opinion, to be taken not quite so seriously, which I shall endeavor to define as objectively as possible. The German conservative press seems to be of the opinion that the goal for the winning of which we are waging the great war, and concerning which we are all of one mind, will be definitely attained immediately upon the conclusion of the war.

I, on the other hand, am convinced that in order permanently to insure for ourselves the fruits of victory, even after a victorious conclusion of the war, we shall need long and well planned labors of peace. * * *

In my essay I used the statement:

"England's claim for the domination of the sea, and therein for the domination of the world, remains a great danger to the peace of the world." To this view I adhere firmly. Let us take it for granted that the most extravagant hopes of our most reckless dreamers are fulfilled, that England is crowded out of Egypt, Mesopotamia, Persia, and is involved in a long-lasting war with the native Indians. An impossibly large dose of political naïveté is needed in order to make us believe that England would take this loss quietly for all time.

We may differ on the question whether we should meet England's efforts for rehabilitation of her world dominion in warlike, or, as I take it, in peaceful ways; but it would be an unpardonable piece of stupidity for us to rock ourselves to sleep in the mad delusion that those efforts would not be exerted. Even were England forced to her knees, she would not immediately give up her claim for world domination. We must count upon that.

And, counting upon that, we must estimate our own forces very carefully; rather account them weaker than they really are, than the reverse. I did that in my essay, and that is why the conservative press was so wrought up over it. To be sure, it carefully avoided discussing my reasons.

I started from the conception of world power which is fairly well established in the present political literature. From a point of view taken also by conservative writers I demanded as a characteristic of world power, in addition to the size of territories and the number of population, above all, the economic independence that makes it possible for a State, in a case of need, to produce, without export or import, all foodstuffs, necessities, raw materials, and all the finished or half-finished products it needs for its consumers in normal times, as well as to insure the sale of its surplus.

It is patent that this economic independence is influenced by the geographical position of the fatherland and its colonies. Now, I defended the theory (and my opponents made no attempt to confute it) that even after a victorious war the

German Empire would not have fully attained this economic independence; that, accordingly, after the conclusion of peace, we must exert every effort to insure this economic independence in one way or another.

As to the course which we must follow to attain this goal, there may be various opinions. I proposed the establishment of a union of Central European States. The conservative press characterized that as "utterly pretentious."

If the course I have proposed is considered inadvisable, let another be proposed. But on what colonies, forsooth, do those gentlemen count, that could furnish us with cotton and ore, petroleum and tobacco, wood and silk, and whatever else we need, in the quantity and quality we need? What colonies that could offer us—do not forget that—markets for the sale of our exporting industries? Even after the war we shall be dependent upon exports to and imports from abroad.

And so there is no other way of safeguarding our economic independence against England and Russia than by an economic alliance with the States that are our allies in this war, or at least that do not make common cause with our enemies. Aside from the fact, which I shall not discuss here, that only such an alliance can insure a firm position for us on the Atlantic Ocean, which in the next decades is bound to be the area of competition for the world powers.

Politics are not a matter of emotion, but of calm, intelligent deliberation. Let us leave emotional politics to our enemies. It is the German method to envisage the goal steadily, and with it the roads that lead to that goal. Our goal is not world domination. Whoever tries to talk that belief into the mind of the German people may confuse some heads that are already not very clear; but he cannot succeed in substituting Napoleon I. for Bismarck as our master teacher.

Our goal can only be the establishing of our value in the world among world powers, with equal rights to the same opportunities. And in order to attain this goal we must, even after the conclusion

of peace, exert all our forces. A people that thinks it can rest on its laurels after victory has been won runs the risk sooner or later of losing that for which its sons shed their blood on the field of battle. With the conclusion of peace there

begins for us anew the unceasing peaceful competition and the maintenance and strengthening of the world value which we have won through the war. German imperialism is and will remain the work of peace.

TWO POOR LITTLE BELGIAN FLEDGLINGS

By PIERRE LOTI.

Translation by Florence Simmonds.

[From King Albert's Book.]

AT evening, in one of our southern towns, a train full of Belgian refugees ran into the station, and the poor martyrs, exhausted and bewildered, got out slowly, one by one, on the unfamiliar platform, where French people were waiting to receive them. Carrying a few possessions caught up at random, they had got into the carriages without even asking whither they were bound, urged by their anxiety to flee, to flee desperately from horror and death, from unspeakable mutilation and Sadic outrage—from things that seemed no longer possible in the world, but which, it seems, were lying dormant in pietistic German brains, and had suddenly belched forth upon their land and ours, like a belated manifestation of original barbarism. They no longer possessed a village, nor a home, nor a family; they arrived like jetsam cast up by the waters, and the eyes of all were full of terrified anguish. Many children, little girls whose parents had disappeared in the stress of fire and battle; and aged women, now alone in the world, who had fled, hardly knowing why, no longer caring for life, but moved by some obscure instinct of self-preservation.

Two little creatures, lost in the pitiable throng, held each other tightly by the hand, two little boys obviously brothers, the elder, who may have been five years old, protecting the younger, of about three. No one claimed them, no one knew them. How had they been able to understand, finding themselves alone, that they, too, must get into this train to escape death? Their clothes were decent, and their little stockings were thick and warm; clearly they belonged to humble but careful parents; they were, doubtless, the sons of one of those sublime Belgian soldiers who had fallen heroically on the battlefield, and whose last thought had perhaps been one of supreme tenderness for them. They were not even crying, so overcome were they by fatigue and sleepiness; they could scarcely stand. They could not answer when they were questioned, but they seemed intent, above all, upon keeping a tight hold of each other. Finally the elder, clasping the little one's hand closely, as if fearing to lose him, seemed to awake to a sense of his duty as protector, and, half asleep already, found strength to say, in a suppliant tone, to the Red Cross lady bending over him: "Madame, are they going to put us to bed soon?" For the moment this was all they were capable of wishing, all that they hoped for from human pity—to be put to bed.

They were put to bed at once, together, of course, still holding each other tightly by the hand; and, nestling one against the other, they fell at the same moment into the tranquil unconsciousness of childish slumber.

Once, long ago, in the China Sea, during the war, two little frightened birds, smaller even than our wrens, arrived, I know not how, on board our ironclad, in our Admiral's cabin, and all day long, though no one attempted to disturb them, they fluttered from side to side, perching on cornices and plants.

At nightfall, when I had forgotten them, the Admiral sent for me. It was to show me, now without emotion, the two little visitors who had gone to roost in his room, perched upon a slender silken cord above his bed. They nestled closely together, two little balls of feathers, touching and almost merged one in the other, and slept without the slightest fear, sure of our pity. And those little Belgians sleeping side by side made me think of the two little birds lost in the China Sea. There was the same confidence and the same innocent slumber—but a greater tenderness was about to watch over them.

What the Germans Desire

Not Conquest, but a New Economical System of Europe

By Gustaf Sioesteen

The subjoined letter from Berlin, published originally in the Swedish Goteborgs Handels-Tidning of Oct. 26, 1914, was immediately translated by the British Legation in Stockholm—this is the official English translation—and sent by the legation to Sir Edward Grey. THE NEW YORK TIMES CURRENT HISTORY is informed from a trustworthy source that the article is interpreted in London as expressing the real aims of Germany at the end of the war, should that power be successful. The founding of a commercial United States of Europe by means of an economical organization with new "buffer" States to be created between the German Empire and Russia, and with the other smaller European States, would be, according to this interpretation, the purpose of Germany at the conclusion of a victorious war. The passage in the Berlin correspondent's letter declaring that only such an enormous central European customs union, in the opinion of leading German statesmen, "could hold the United States of North America at bay" in order that, after this present war, the "world would only have to take into account two first-class powers, viz., Germany and the United States of America," is of peculiar interest to Americans.

BERLIN, Oct. 21.

COUNTING one's chickens before they are hatched is a pardonable failing with nations carrying on war with the feeling that their all is at stake. When sorrow is a guest of every household, when monetary losses cause depression, and the cry arises time after time, "What will be the outcome of all this?" then only the fairest illusions and the wildest flights of fancy can sustain the courage of the masses.

These illusions are not only egotistical but, curiously enough, altruistic, since mankind, even when bayoneting their fellow-creatures, want to persuade themselves and others that this is done merely for the benefit of their adversary. In accordance with this idea, in the opinion of all parties, the war will be brought to an end with an increase of power for their native country, as also a new Eden prevail throughout the whole civilized world.

The enemies of Germany, though they have hitherto suffered an almost unbroken series of reverses in the war, have already thoroughly thrashed out the subject as to what the world will look like when Germany is conquered. In German quarters the press has likewise painted the future, but the follow-

ing lines are not intended to increase the row of fancy portraits, but merely to throw light on what is new in the demands conceived.

My representations are founded on special information, and I deem it best to make them now, when the most fantastic descriptions of the all-absorbing desire of conquest on the part of Germany have circulated in the press of the entire world.

Among other absurdities it has been declared that Germany intends to claim a fourth of France, making this dismembered country a vassal State, bound to the triumphal car of the conqueror by the very heaviest chains. It is incredible, but true, that such a statement has been made in the press by a Frenchman, formerly President of the Council.

In direct opposition to the fictitious demands of the Germans, I can advance a proposition which may sound paradoxical, viz., that the leading men in Germany, the Emperor and his advisers, after bringing the war to a victorious issue, will seriously seek expedients to avoid conquests, so far as this is compatible with the indispensable demands of order and stability for Europe.

First, as regards France. The entire world, as also the Germans, are moved to pity by her fate. Germany has never

entertained any other wish than to be at peace with her western frontier. A considerable portion of France is now laid waste, and in a few weeks millions of soldiers will have been poured into still wider portions of this beautiful country. On what are the inhabitants of these French provinces to exist when the German and French armies have requisitioned everything eatable? Germany cannot feed the inhabitants of the French provinces occupied, nor can the Belgians do so, I imagine, for the provisions of Germany are simply sufficient for their own needs, England preventing any new supply on any large scale.

This is a totally new state of things in comparison with 1870, when Germany was still an agrarian country and had, moreover, a free supply on all her frontiers.

Can the French Government allow a considerable portion of their own population actually to starve, or be obliged to emigrate to other parts of France, there to live the life of nomads at the expense of England, while the deserted provinces are given over to desolation?

The idea prevails here that the French will compel their Government to enter on and conclude a separate treaty of peace when the fatal consequences of the war begin to assume this awful guise. England does not appear to have considered that this would be the result of her system of blockade.

The German conditions of peace as regards France will be governed by two principal factors with respect to their chief issues.

The first is the complete unanimity of the Emperor and the Chancellor that *no population, not speaking German, will be incorporated in the German Empire, or obtain representation in the Diet.* Germany already has sufficient trouble with the foreign element now present in the Diet. Consequently there can be no question of any considerable acquisition of territory from France, but the demands of Germany simply extend to the *iron-ore fields of Lorraine*, which are certainly of considerable value. For France these mining fields

are of far less consideration than for Germany, whose immense iron trade is far more in need of the iron mines.

The second factor is that the Germans, owing to the strong public opinion, *will never consent to Belgium regaining her liberty.* The Chancellor of the Empire has, as long as it was possible, been opposed to the annexation of Belgium, having preferred, even during hostilities, to have re-established the Belgian Kingdom. It is significant that the military authorities have prohibited the German press from discussing the question of the future of Belgium. It is evident that there has prevailed a wish to leave the question open in order to insure a solution offering various possibilities. But subsequent to the discovery of the Anglo-Belgian plot, as previously stated, all idea of reinstating Belgium has been discarded.

The annexation of Belgium, however, makes it possible to grant France less stringent conditions. So long as Belgium—under some form of self-government—is under German sway there is no hope of revenge of France, and the conviction prevails here that after this war France will abstain from her dreams of aggrandizement and become pacific. Germany can then make reductions in the burdens laid on her people for military service by land.

To arrange the position of Belgium in relation to Germany will be a very interesting problem for German policy.

It is obvious that the annexation of Belgium cannot be defended from the point of view of the principle of nationality. The Belgians—half of them French, half of them Flemish—undoubtedly deem themselves but one nation. As a mitigating circumstance in favor of the annexation it is urged—above and beyond the intrigues carried on by Belgium with the English—that Belgium, in days of yore, for a long time formed a portion of the German Empire, and that the inhabitants of the little country, to a considerable degree, gain their livelihood by its being a land of transit for German products. Nationally, the annexation is not to be defended, but

geographically, economically, and from a military point of view it is comprehensible.

At the east front of the central powers very different conditions prevail. *Austria has no desire to make the conquest of any territory; indeed, just the contrary, would probably be willing to cede a portion of Galicia in favor of new States. Germany has not the slightest inclination to incorporate new portions of Slav or Lettish regions.* Both Germans and Austrians wish to establish free *buffer States* between themselves and the great Russian Empire.

Not even the Baltic provinces, where Germans hold almost the same position as the Swedes in Finland, form an object for the German desire of conquest, but her wish is to make them, as also *Finland*, an independent State. Furthermore, the Kingdom of *Poland* and a Kingdom of *Ukraine* would be the outcome of decisive victories for the central powers.

What Germany would demand of these new States, whose very existence was the outcome of her success at arms, would simply be an *economical organization in common with the German Empire*, an enormous central European "Zollverein" ("Customs Union") with Germany at its heart. It is only such a union, in the opinion of leading German statesmen, which could hold the United States of North America at bay, and after this present war, moreover, the world would only have to take into account *two* first-class powers, viz., Germany and the United States of America.

A commencement of this new economical connection is being made by the negotiations entered on by representatives of *Austria-Hungary* and *Germany* concerning the proposed formation of a *Customs Union*. Since this union would include 120,000,000 individuals, it must be evident what an immense attraction it must exert on the surrounding smaller nations. *Switzerland* and *Holland* can scarcely escape this attraction, and the *Scandinavian countries*, it is said, would probably find it to their advantage, to-

gether with a liberated *Finland*, to form a *Northern Customs Union*, which later, on an independent basis, could enter in close union with the vast "Zollverein" of *Central Europe*.

This "Zollverein" would then include about 175,000,000 individuals. The adhesion of *Italy* to the vast union would not be inconceivable, and then the combination of the United States of Europe, founded on a voluntary commercial union, would be approaching its realization.

Such a commercial union, embracing various peoples, could only lead to moderation in foreign politics, and would be the best guarantee for the peace of the universe. A brisk interchange of commodities, a fruitful interchange of cultural ideas would result from such a union, connecting the polar seas with the Mediterranean, and the Netherlands with the Steppes of Southern Russia.

All States participating in this union would gain thereby. But one European country would be the loser, *Great Britain*, the land of promise for the middleman; that, according to German comprehension, at present gains a living by skimming the cream from the trade industry of other nations by facilitating the exchange of goods, and making profits by being the banking centre of the world.

The Germans declare that there is no reason for such a middleman's existence in our day. The banking system is now so developed in all civilized lands that, for example Sweden can remit direct to Australia or the Argentine for goods obtained thence, instead of making payment via London and there rate, by raising the exchange for sovereigns to an unnatural height, so that, as matter of fact, England levies a tax on all international interchange of commodities.

In opposition to this glorious vision of the days to come, which the Germans wish to realize by their victories in war, there is the alluring prospect of the Allies that by their victory they will deal a deathblow to *German militarism*. While the English, with their 200,000 troops, are good enough to promise no

conquest of German territory—what says Russia to this?—at the close of the war, in the opinion of the Britons, there would still remain 65,000,000 Germans right in the centre of Europe, organized as a kingdom burdened with a war indemnity to a couple of tens of milliards in marks.

This nation, however, strengthened by 15,000,000 Germans in Austria, would be the greatest bearers of culture in the wide world—the nation with the best technical equipment of all others, glowing with ambition, with military training second to none, and gifted with an immense rate of increase as regards population. This nation would be forced to lay down her arms, lying as it does between the overbearing gigantic realm in the east and the warlike French to

the west. The idea is incomprehensible. The universe would behold a competition in armaments such as it had never seen.

A victorious Germany, on the other hand, would become less and less military, since she *would not need* to arm herself to such an extent as now. She is already chiefly an industrial country. Her desire is to be wealthy, and wealth invariably smothers military instincts. Germany has set up far greater ideals as regards social developments than other countries, and all she asks is to be left in peace calmly to carry out these plans in the future. *German militarism can only be conquered by the victory being on her side, since she has no thought of military supremacy, but simply of founding a new economical organization in Europe.* GUSTAF SIOESTEEN.

ADDRESS TO KING ALBERT OF BELGIUM

By EMIL VERHAEREN.

Translation by Florence Simmonds.

[From King Albert's Book.]

Sire: This request to pay my respectful homage to you has given me the first real pleasure I have been permitted to feel since the good days of Liège. At this moment you are the one King in the world whose subjects, without exception, unite in loving and admiring him with all the strength of their souls. This unique fate is yours, Sire. No leader of men on earth has had it in the same degree as you.

In spite of the immensity of the sorrow surrounding you, I think you have a right to rejoice, and the more so as your consort, her Majesty the Queen, shares this rare privilege with you.

Sire, your name will be great throughout the ages to come. You are in such perfect sympathy with your people that you will always be their symbol. Their courage, their tenacity, their stifled grief, their pride, their future greatness, their immortality all live in you. Our hearts are yours to their very depths. Being yourself, you are all of us. And this you will remain.

Later on, when you return to your recaptured and glorious Belgium, you will only have to say the word, Sire, and all disputes will lose their bitterness and all antagonisms fade away. After being our strength and defender, you will become our peacemaker and reconciler. With deepest respect,

EMIL VERHAEREN.

Foreshadowing a New Phase of War

Financing the Allies and Small Nations Preparing for War

By Lloyd George, British Chancellor of the Exchequer

That there are "also other States preparing for war," and that financial arrangements had been made for their participation against Germany by the allied Governments of Great Britain, France, and Russia; moreover, that Russia would be enabled within a few months to export considerable quantities of her grain and do her own financing—this statement preceded the bombardment of the forts in the Dardanelles, probably to clear the way for Russia's commerce—are the outstanding features of the speech by Lloyd George presented below, foreshadowing a new phase in the war. The speech was made in the House of Commons on Feb. 15, 1915, to explain the results of the financial conference between the allied powers to unite their monetary resources, held in Paris during the week of Feb. 1. It may be regarded as one of the most momentous utterances of the war.

PARLIAMENTARY REPORT.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, (Mr. Lloyd George,) who was called upon by the Speaker, said: I shall do my best to conform to the announcement of the Prime Minister that the statement I have to make about the financial conference in Paris shall be a brief one, but I am afraid my right honorable friend assumed that we are all endowed with the extraordinary gift of compression which he himself possesses. [Laughter.] The arrangements that were made between the three Ministers for recommendation to their respective Governments commit us to heavy engagements, and it is, therefore, important I should report them in detail to the House, and find some reason why we should undertake such liabilities.

This is the most expensive war which has ever been waged in material, in men, and in money. The conference in Paris was mostly concerned with money. For the year ending Dec. 31 next the aggregate expenditure of the Allies will not be far short of £2,000,000,000. The British Empire will be spending considerably more than either of our two great allies—probably up to £100,000,000 to £150,000,000 more than the highest figure to be spent by the other two great allies. We have created a new army; we have to maintain a huge navy. We are

paying liberal separation allowances. We have to bring troops from the ends of the earth; we have to wage war not merely in Europe, but in Asia, in North, East, and South Africa. I must say just a few words as to the relative position of the three great countries which led us to make the arrangements on financial matters which we recommend to our respective Governments. Britain and France are two of the richest countries in the world. In fact, they are the great bankers of the world. We could pay for our huge expenditure on the war for five years, allowing a substantial sum for depreciation, out of the proceeds of our investments abroad. France could carry on the war for two or three years at least out of the proceeds of her investments abroad, and both countries would still have something to spare to advance to their allies. This is a most important consideration, for at the present moment the Allies are fighting the whole of the mobilized strength of Germany, with perhaps less than one-third of their own strength. The problem of the war to the Allies is to bring the remaining two-thirds of their resources and strength into the fighting line at the earliest possible moment. This is largely, though by no means entirely, a question of finance.

Russia is in a different position from

either Britain or France. She is a prodigiously rich country in natural resources—about the richest country in the world in natural resources. Food, raw material—she produces practically every commodity. She has a great and growing population, a virile and industrious people. Her resources are overflowing and she has labor to develop them in abundance. By a stroke of the pen Russia has since the war began enormously increased her resources by suppressing the sale of all alcoholic liquors. [Cheers.] It can hardly be realized that by that means alone she has increased the productivity of her labor by something between 30 and 50 per cent., just as if she had added millions of laborers to the labor reserves of Russia without even increasing the expense of maintaining them, and whatever the devastation of the country may be Russia has more than anticipated its wastage by that great act of national heroism and sacrifice. [Cheers.] The great difficulty with Russia is that, although she has great natural resources, she has not yet been able to command the capital within her own dominions to develop those resources even during the times of peace. In time of war she has additional difficulties. She cannot sell her commodities for several reasons. One is that a good deal of what she depends upon for raising capital abroad will be absorbed by the exigencies of the war in her own country. Beyond that the yield of her minerals will not be quite as great, because the labor will be absorbed in her armies.

There is not the same access to her markets. She has difficulty in exporting her goods, and in addition to that her purchases abroad are enormously increased in consequence of the war. Russia, therefore, has special difficulty in the matter of financing outside purchases for the war. Those are some of the difficulties with which we were confronted.

France has also special difficulties. I am not sure that we quite realize the strain put upon that gallant country [cheers] up to the present moment. For the moment she bears far and away the greatest strain of the war in proportion

to her resources. She has the largest proportion of her men under arms. The enemy are in occupation of parts of her richest territory. They are within fifty-five miles of her capital, exactly as if we had a huge German army at Oxford. It is only a few months since the bankers of Paris could hear the sound of the enemy's guns from their counting houses, and they can hear the same sound now, some of them, from their country houses. In those circumstances the money markets of a country are not at their very best. That has been one of the difficulties with which France has been confronted in raising vast sums of money to carry on the war and helping to finance the allied States.

There is a wonderful confidence, notwithstanding these facts, possessing the whole nation. [Cheers.] Nothing strikes the visitor to Paris more than that. There is a calm, a serene confidence, which is supposed to be incompatible with the temperament of the Celt by those who do not know it. [Laughter.] There is a general assurance that the Germans have lost their tide, and that now the German armies have as remote a chance of crushing France as they have of overrunning the planet Mars. [Cheers.] That is the feeling which pervades every class of the community, and that is reflected in the money market there. The difficulties of France in that respect are passing away, and the arrangement that has now been made in France for the purpose of raising sums of money to promote their military purposes will, I have not the faintest doubt, be crowned with the completest success. [Cheers.]

But we have a number of small States which are compelled to look to the greater countries in alliance for financial support. There is Belgium, which until recently was a very rich country, devastated, desolate, and almost entirely in the hands of the enemy, with an army and a civil government to maintain, but with no revenue. We have to see that she does not suffer [cheers] until the period of restoration comes to her, and compensation. [Cheers.] Then there is Serbia, with the population of Ireland—a

people of peasants maintaining an army of 500,000 and fighting her third great war within two years, and fighting that with great resource, great courage, and bravery. [Cheers.] But she had no reserve of wealth, and now no exports with which she can purchase munitions of war outside, and she has hardly any manufactures of her own. That is the position as far as the smaller States are concerned.

There are also other States preparing for war, and it is obviously our interest that they should be well equipped for that task. They can only borrow in the French and English markets.

But we had our own special difficulties, and I think I ought to mention those. Two-thirds of our food supplies are purchased abroad. The enormous quantities of raw materials for our manufactures and our industries are largely absorbed in war equipment, and our ships in war transport. We cannot pay as usual in exports, freights, and services; our savings for the moment are not what they would be in the case of peace. We cannot, therefore, pay for our imports in that way. We have to purchase abroad. We have to increase our purchases abroad for war purposes. In addition to that we have to create enormous credits to enable other countries to do the same thing. The balance is, therefore, heavily against us for the first time. There is no danger, but in a conference of the kind we had at Paris I could not overlook the fact that it was necessary for us to exercise great vigilance in regard to our gold.

These were the complex problems we had to discuss and adjust, and we had to determine how we could most effectually mobilize the financial resources of the Allies so as to be of the greatest help to the common cause. For the moment undoubtedly ours is still the best market in the world. An alliance in a great war to be effective needs that each country must bring all its resources, whatever they are, into the common stock. An alliance for war cannot be conducted on limited liability principles. If one country in the alliance has more trained and armed men ready with guns, rifles, and ammunition than another she must bring them all up

against the common enemy, without regard to the fact that the others cannot for the moment make a similar contribution. But it is equally true that the same principle applies to the country with the larger navy or the country with the greater resources in capital and credit. They must be made available to the utmost for the purpose of the alliance, whether the other countries make a similar contribution or not. That is the principle upon which the conference determined to recommend to their respective Governments a mobilization of our financial resources for the war.

The first practical suggestion we had to consider was the suggestion that has been debated very considerably in the press—the suggestion of a joint loan. We discussed that very fully and we came to the conclusion that it was the very worst way of utilizing our resources. It would have frightened every Bourse and attracted none. It would have made the worst of every national credit and the best of none. Would the interest paid have been the interest upon which we could raise money, the rate at which France could have raised money, or the rate at which Russia could raise money? If we paid a high rate of interest we could never raise more money at low rates. If instead of raising £350,000,000 a few weeks ago for our own purposes we had floated a great joint loan of £1,000,000,000, the House can very well imagine what the result would have been. We decided after a good deal of discussion and reflection that each country should raise money for its own needs within its own markets in so far as their conditions allowed, but that if help were needed by any country for outside purchases then those who could best afford to render assistance for the time being should do so.

There was only one exception which we decided to recommend, and that was in the case of borrowings by small States. We decided that each of the great allied countries should contribute a portion of every loan made to the small States who were either in with us now or prepared to come in later on, that the responsibility should be divided between the three coun-

tries, and that at an opportune moment a joint loan should be floated to cover the advances either already made, or to be made, to these countries outside the three great allied countries. That was the only exception we made in respect of joint loans. Up to the present very considerable advances have been made by Russia, by France, and by ourselves to other countries. It is proposed that, if there is an opportune moment on the market, these should be consolidated at some time or other into one loan, that they should be placed upon the markets of Russia, France, and Great Britain, but that the liability shall be divided into three equal parts.

With regard to Russia, we have already advanced £32,000,000 for purchases here and elsewhere outside the Russian Empire. Russia has also shipped £8,000,000 of gold to this country, so that we have established credits in this country for Russia to the extent of £40,000,000 already. France has also made advances in respect of purchases in that country. Russia estimates that she will still require to establish considerable credits for purchases made outside her own country between now and the end of the year. I am not sure for the moment that it would be desirable for me to give the exact figure; I think it would be better not, because it would give an idea of the extent to which purchases are to be made outside by Russia. But for that purpose she must borrow. *The amount of her borrowing depends upon what Russia can spare of her produce to sell in outside markets and also on the access to those markets.*

If Russia is able within the course of the next few weeks or few months to export a considerable quantity of her grain, as I hope she will be, as in fact we have made arrangements that she should, [cheers,] then there will not be the same need to borrow for purchases either in this country or outside, because she can do her own financing to that extent.

The two Governments decided to raise the first £50,000,000 in equal sums on the French and British markets respectively.

That will satisfy Russian requirements for a considerable time. As to further advances, the allied countries will consider when the time arrives how the money should be raised according to the position of the money markets at that time. I have said that we gave a guarantee to Russia that she need not hesitate a moment in giving her orders for any purchases which are necessary for the war on account of fear of experiencing any difficulty in the matter of raising money for payments. We confidently anticipate that by the time these first advances will have been exhausted the military position will have distinctly improved both in France and in Russia.

I may say that Treasury bills to the extent of £10,000,000 on the credit of Russia have been issued within the last few days. At 12 o'clock today the list closed, and the House will be very glad to hear that the amount was not merely subscribed but oversubscribed by the market, because this country is not quite as accustomed to Russian securities as France, and, therefore, it was an experiment. I think it is a very good omen for our relations, not merely during the war, but for our relations with Russia after the war, that the first great loan of that kind on Russian credit in the market has been such a complete success.

Now we have to consider the position of this country with regard to the possibility of our gold flitting in the event of very great credits being established in this country. The position of the three great allied countries as to gold is exceptionally strong. Russia and France have accumulated great reserves which have been barely touched so far during the war. I do not think the French reserve has been touched at all, or has been used in the slightest degree, and I think as far as the Russian reserve is concerned it has only been reduced by the transfer of £8,000,000 of gold from Russia to this country. Our accumulation of gold is larger than it has ever been in the history of this country. It has increased enormously since the commencement of the war. It is not nearly as large as that of Russia, France, or Germany, but

it must be borne in mind that there is this distinction in our favor; up to the present we have had no considerable paper currency, and this is the great free market for the gold of the world. The quantity imported every year of, what shall I call it, raw gold, comes to something like £50,000,000, and here I am excluding what comes here by exchanges. The collapse of the rebellion in South Africa assures us of a large and steady supply from that country, and, therefore, there is no real need for any apprehension.

But still it would not have been prudent for us to have overlooked certain possibilities. I have already pointed out some of them—the diminution of exports, the increase of our imports, the absorption of our transports for war purposes, large credits established for our own and other countries, and a diminution in our savings for investments abroad. There is just a possibility that this might have the effect of inducing the export of gold to other countries. We therefore have to husband our gold and take care lest it should take wings and swarm to any other hive. We therefore made arrangements at this conference whereby, if our stock of gold were to diminish beyond a certain point—that is a fairly high point—the Banks of France and Russia should come to our assistance.

We have also made arrangements whereby France should have access to our markets for Treasury bills issued in francs. We have also initiated arrangements which we hope will help to restore the exchanges in respect of bills held in this country against Russian merchants, who, owing to the present difficulties of exchange, cannot discharge their liabilities in this country. They are quite ready and eager to pay, they have the money to pay, but, owing to difficulties of exchange, they cannot pay bills owing in this country. We therefore propose to accept Russian Treasury bills against these bills of exchange due from Russian merchants, Russia collecting the debts in rubles in her own country and giving us the Treasury bills in exchange. We

hope that will assist very materially in the working of the exchanges. It will be very helpful to business between the two countries, and incidentally it will be very helpful to Russia herself in raising money in her own country for the purpose of financing the war.

We also received an undertaking from the Russian Government in return for the advances which we were prepared to make, that Russia would facilitate the export of Russian produce of every kind that may be required by the allied countries. This, I believe, will be one of the most fruitful parts of the arrangements entered into. An arrangement has also been made about the purchases by the allied countries in the neutral countries. There was a good deal of confusion. We were all buying in practically the same countries; we were buying against each other; we were putting up prices; it ended not merely in confusion, but I am afraid in a good deal of extravagance, because we were increasing prices against each other. It was very necessary that there should be some working arrangement that would eliminate this element of competition and enable us to co-ordinate, as it were, these orders. There will be less delay, there will be much more efficiency, and we shall avoid a good deal of the extravagance which was inevitable owing to the competition between the three countries.

I have done my best to summarize very briefly the arrangements which have been entered into, and I would only like to say this in conclusion. After six months of negotiation by the cable and three days of conferring face to face we realized that better results were achieved by means of a few hours of businesslike discussion by men anxious to come to a workable arrangement than by reams of correspondence. Misconceptions and misunderstandings were cleared away in a second which otherwise might take weeks to ferment into mischief, and it was our conclusion that these conferences might with profit to the cause of the Allies be extended to other spheres of co-operation. [Cheers.]

Britain's Unsheathed Sword

By H. H. Asquith, England's Prime Minister

Stating the estimated costs of the war to Great Britain, outlining the operations of the French and British allied fleets in the Dardanelles, declaring the Allies' position in retaliation for the German "war zone" decree against Great Britain, and reaffirming the chief terms of peace, stated in his Guildhall speech of last November, on which alone England would consent to sheathe the sword, the following speech, delivered in the House of Commons on March 1, 1915, by Prime Minister Asquith, is one of the most important of the war.

In Committee of Supply.

Mr. Asquith, who was loudly cheered on rising, moved the supplementary vote of credit of £37,000,000 to meet the expenditure on naval and military operations and other expenditure arising out of the war during the year 1914-1915.

He said:

The first of the two votes which appear upon the paper, the one which has just been read out, provides only for the financial year now expiring, and is a supplementary vote of credit. The vote that follows is a vote of credit for the financial year 1915-1916. I think it will probably be convenient if in submitting the first vote to the committee I make a general statement covering the whole matter. I may remind the committee that on Aug. 6 last year the House voted £100,000,000 in the first vote of credit, and that on Nov. 15 the House passed a supplementary vote of credit for £225,000,000, thus sanctioning total votes of credit for the now expiring financial year of £325,000,000. It has been found that this amount will not suffice for the expenditure which will have been incurred up to March 31, and we are therefore asking for a further vote of £37,000,000 to carry on the public service to that date. If the committee assents to our proposals it will raise the total amount granted by votes of credit for the year 1914-1915 to £362,000,000. I need not say anything as to the purposes for which this vote is required. They are the same as upon the last occasion. But I ought to draw attention to one feature in which the supplementary vote, which comes first, differs from the vote to be subsequently proposed for the services of the year

1915-1916. At the outbreak of the war the ordinary supply on a peace basis had been voted by the House, and consequently the votes of credit for the now current financial year, like those on all previous occasions, were to be taken in order to provide the amounts necessary for naval and military operations in addition to the ordinary grants of Parliament. It consequently follows that the expenditure charged, or chargeable, to votes of credit for this financial year represent, broadly speaking, the difference between the expenditure of the country on a peace footing and that expenditure upon a war footing. The total on that basis, if this supplementary vote is assented to, will be £362,000,000.

For reasons the validity of which the committee has recognized on previous occasions, I do not think it desirable to give the precise details of the items which make up the total, but without entering into that I may roughly apportion the expenditure. For the army and the navy, according to best estimates which can at present be framed, out of the total given there will be required approximately £275,000,000. That is in addition, as I have already pointed out, to the sum voted before the war for the army and the navy, which amounted in the aggregate to a little over £80,000,000. That leaves unaccounted for a balance of £87,000,000, of which approximately £38,000,000 represents advances for war expenditure made, or being made, to the self-governing dominions, Crown colonies, and protectorates, as explained in the Treasury minute last November, under which his Majesty's Government have undertaken to raise the loans required by the dominions to

meet the heavy expenditure entailed upon them on the credit of the imperial exchequer. In addition to that sum of £38,000,000 there has been an advance to Belgium of £10,000,000, and to Serbia of £800,000. Further advances to these allies are under consideration, the details of which it is not possible yet to make public. The balance of, roughly, £28,000,000 is required for miscellaneous services covered by the vote of credit which have not yet been separately specified.

I think the committee will be interested to know what the actual cost of the war will have been to this country as far as we can estimate on March 31, the close of the financial year. The war will then have lasted for 240 days and the votes of credit up to that time, assuming this vote is carried, will amount to £362,000,000. It may be said, speaking generally, that the average expenditure from votes of credit will have been, roughly, £1,500,000 per day throughout the time. That, of course, is the excess due to the war over the expenditure on a peace footing. That represents the immediate charge to the taxpayers of this country for this year. But, as the committee knows, a portion of the expenditure consists of advances for the purpose of assisting or securing the food supplies of this country and will be recoverable in whole, or to a very large extent, in the near future. A further portion represents advances to the dominions and to other States which will be ultimately repaid. If these items are excluded from the account the average expenditure per day of the war is slightly lower, but after making full allowance for all the items which are in the nature of recoverable loans, the daily expenditure does not work out at less than £1,200,000.

These figures are averages taken over the whole period from the outbreak of the war, but at the outbreak of the war, after the initial expenditure on mobilization had been incurred, the daily expenditure was considerably below the average, as many charges had not yet matured. The expenditure has risen steadily and is now well over the daily

average that I have given. To that figure must be added, in order to give a complete account of the matter, something for war services other than naval or military. At the beginning of the year these charges are not likely to be very considerable, but it will probably be within the mark to say that from April 1 we shall be spending over £1,700,000 a day above the normal, in consequence of the war.

Perhaps now I may say something which is not strictly in order on this vote, but concerns the vote of credit for the ensuing year, which amounts, as appears on the paper, to £250,000,000. The committee will at once observe an obvious distinction between the votes of credit taken for the current financial year and that which we propose to take for the ensuing year. As I have already pointed out, at the outbreak of war the ordinary supply of the year had been granted by the House, and accordingly the votes of credit for 1914-1915 were for the amounts required beyond the ordinary grants of Parliament for the cost of military and naval operations. When we came to frame the estimates for the ensuing year, 1915-1916, the Treasury was confronted with the difficulty, which amounted to an impossibility, of presenting to Parliament estimates in the customary form for navy and army expenditure, apart from the cost of the war. All the material circumstances have been set out in the Treasury minute of Feb. 5, and in principle have been approved by the House. As the committee will remember, the total of the estimates which we have presented for the army and the navy amount to only £15,000 for the army and £17,000 for the navy, and the remainder of the cost of both these services will be provided for out of votes of credit, and the vote of credit now being proposed provides for general army and navy service in as far as specific provision is not made for them in the small estimates already presented. This vote of credit, therefore, has two features which I believe are quite unique, and without precedent. In the first place, it is the largest single

vote on record in the annals of this House, and, secondly, as I have said, it provides for the ordinary as well as for the emergency expenditure of the army and the navy. The House may ask on what principle or basis has this sum of £250,000,000 been arrived at. Of course it is difficult, and indeed impossible, to give any exact estimate, but as regards the period, so far as we can forecast it, for which this vote is being taken, it has been thought advisable to take a sum sufficient, so far as we can judge, to provide for all the expenditure which will come in course of payment up to approximately the second week in July—that is to say, a little over three months, or something like 100 days of war expenditure.

As regards the daily rate of expenditure—I have dealt hitherto with the expenditure up to March 31—the War Office calculates that from the beginning of April, 1915, the total expenditure on army services will be at the rate of £1,500,000 per day, with a tendency to increase. The total expenditure on the navy at the commencement of April will, it is calculated, amount to about £400,000 per day. The aggregate expenditure on the army and the navy services at the beginning of 1915-1916 is therefore £1,900,000 per day, with a tendency to increase, and for the purpose of our estimate the figure we have taken is a level £2,000,000 a day. On a peace footing the daily expenditure upon the army and the navy on the basis of the estimates approved last year was about £220,000 per day. So that the difference between £2,000,000 and £220,000 represents what we estimate to be the increased expenditure due to the war during the 100 days for which we are now providing.

There are other items belonging to the same category as those to which I have already referred in dealing with the supplementary vote with regard to advances to our own dominions and other States for which provision has also had to be made, and the balance of the total of £250,000,000 for which we are now asking, beyond the actual estimated expenditure for the army and the navy,

will be applied to those and kindred or emergency purposes. Before I pass from the purely monetary aspect of the matter, it may be interesting to the committee to be reminded of what has been our expenditure upon the great wars of the past. In the great war which lasted for over twenty years, from 1793 to 1815, the total cost as estimated by the best authorities was £831,000,000. The Crimean war may be put down, taking everything into account, at £70,000,000. The total cost of the war charges in South Africa from 1899 to March 31, 1903, was estimated in a return presented to Parliament at £211,000,000. In presenting these two votes of credit the Government are making a large pecuniary demand on the House, a demand which in itself and beyond comparison is larger than has ever been made in the House of Commons by any British Minister in the whole course of our history.

We make it with the full conviction that after seven months of war the country and the whole empire are every whit as determined as they were at the outset [cheers] if need be at the cost of all we can command both in men and in money to bring a righteous cause to a triumphant issue. [Cheers.] There is much to encourage and to stimulate us in what we see. Nothing has shaken and nothing can shake our faith in the unbroken spirit of Belgium, [cheers,] in the undefeated heroism of indomitable Serbia, in the tenacity and resource with which our two great allies, one in the west and the other in the east, hold their far-flung lines and will continue to hold them till the hour comes for an irresistible advance. [Cheers.] Our own dominions and our great dependency of India have sent us splendid contributions of men, a large number of whom already are at the front, and before very long, in one or another of the actual theatres of war, the whole of them will be in the fighting line. [Cheers.] We hear today with great gratification that the Princess Patricia's Canadian regiment has been doing, during these last few days, most gallant and efficient service. [Cheers.]

We have no reason to be otherwise

than satisfied with the progress of recruiting here at home. [Cheers.] The territorial divisions now fully trained are capable—I say it advisedly—of confronting any troops in the world, [cheers,] and the new armies, which have lately been under the critical scrutiny of skilled observers, are fast realizing all our most sanguine hopes. A war carried on upon this gigantic scale and under conditions for which there is no example in history is not always or every day a picturesque or spectacular affair. Its operations are of necessity in appearance slow and dragging. Without entering into strategic details, I can assure the committee that with all the knowledge and experience which we have now gained, his Majesty's Government have never been more confident than they are today in the power as well as the will of the Allies to achieve ultimate and durable victory. [Cheers.] I will not enter in further detail to what I may call the general military situation, but I should like to call the attention of the committee for a few moments to one or two aspects of the war which of late have come prominently into view.

I will refer first to the operations which are now in progress in the Dardanelles. [Cheers.] It is a good rule in war to concentrate your forces on the main theatre and not to dissipate them in disconnected and sporadic adventures, however promising they may appear to be. That consideration, I need hardly say, has not been lost sight of in the councils of the Allies. There has been and there will be no denudation or impairment of the forces which are at work in Flanders, and both the French and ourselves will continue to give them the fullest, and we believe the most effective, support. Nor, what is equally important, has there for the purpose of these operations been any weakening of the grand fleet. [Cheers.] The enterprise which is now going on, and so far has gone on in a manner which reflects, as I think the House will agree, the highest credit on all concerned, was carefully considered and conceived with very distinct and definite objects—political, strategic, and economical. Some

of these objects are so obvious as not to need statement and others are of such a character that it is perhaps better for the moment not to state them. [Laughter and cheers.] But I should like to advert for a moment, without any attempt to forecast the future, to two features in this matter. The first is, that it once more indicates and illustrates the close co-operation of the Allies—in this case the French and ourselves—in the new theatre and under somewhat dissimilar conditions to those which have hitherto prevailed, and to acknowledge what I am sure the House of Commons will be most ready to acknowledge, that the splendid contingent from the French Navy that our allies have supplied [cheers] is sharing to the full both the hazards and the glory of the enterprise. [Cheers.] The other point on which I think it is worth while to dwell for a moment is that this operation shows in a very significant way the copiousness and the variety of our naval resources. [Cheers.] In order to illustrate that remark, take the names of the ships which have actually been mentioned in the published dispatches. The Queen Elizabeth, [cheers,] the first ship to be commissioned of the newest type of what are called superdreadnoughts, with guns of power and range never hitherto known in naval warfare. [Cheers.] Side by side with her is the Agamemnon, the immediate predecessor of the dreadnought, and in association with them the Triumph, the Cornwallis, the Irresistible, the Vengeance, and the Albion—representing, I think I am right in saying, three or four different types of the older predreadnought battleship which have been so foolishly and so prematurely regarded in some quarters as obsolete or negligible—all bringing to bear the power of their formidable twelve-inch guns on the fortifications, with magnificent accuracy and with deadly effects. [Cheers.] When, as I have said, these proceedings are being conducted, so far as the navy is concerned, without subtraction of any sort or kind from the strength and effectiveness of the grand fleet, I think a word of congratulation is due to the Admi-

rally for the way in which it has utilized all its resources. [Cheers.]

I pass from that to another new factor in these military and naval operations—the so-called German “blockade” of our coasts. [Cheers.] I shall have to use some very plain language. [Cheers.] I may, perhaps, preface what I have to say by the observation that it does not come upon us as a surprise. [Cheers.] This war began on the part of Germany with the cynical repudiation [cheers] of a solemn treaty on the avowed grounds that when a nation's interests required it, right and good faith must give way to force. [“Hear, hear!”] The war has been carried on, therefore, with a systematic—not an impulsive or a casual—but a systematic violation of all the conventions and practices by which international agreements had sought to mitigate and to regularize the clash of arms. [Cheers.] She has now, I will not say reached a climax, for we do not know what may yet be to come, but she has taken a further step without any precedent in history by mobilizing and organizing not upon the surface but under the surface of the sea a campaign of piracy and pillage. [Prolonged cheers.]

Are we—can we—here I address myself to the neutral countries of the world—are we to or can we sit quiet as though we were still under the protection of the restraining rules and the humanizing usages of civilized warfare? [Cheers.] We think we cannot. [Cheers.] The enemy, borrowing what I may, perhaps, for this purpose call a neutral flag from the vocabulary of diplomacy, describe these newly adopted measures by a grotesque and puerile perversion of language as a “blockade.” [Laughter.] What is a blockade? A blockade consists in sealing up the war ports of a belligerent against sea-borne traffic by encircling their coasts with an impenetrable ring of ships of war. [Cheers.]

Where are these ships of war? [Cheers.] Where is the German Navy? [Cheers.] What has become of those gigantic battleships and cruisers on which so many millions of money have been spent and in which such vast hopes and ambitions

have been invested? I think, if my memory serves me, they have only twice during the course of these seven months been seen upon the open sea. Their object in both cases was the same—murder, [cheers,] civilian outrage, and wholesale destruction of property in undefended seaside towns, and on each occasion when they caught sight of the approach of a British force they showed a clean pair of heels, and they hurried back at the top of their speed to the safe seclusion of their mine fields and their closely guarded forts.

Lord R. CECIL—Not all. [Laughter.]

Mr. ASQUITH—No; some had misadventures on the way. [“Hear, hear!” and laughter.] The plain truth is—the German fleet is not blockading, cannot blockade, and never will blockade our coasts.

I propose now to read to the committee the statement which has been prepared by his Majesty's Government and which will be public property tomorrow. It declares, I hope in sufficiently plain and unmistakable terms, the view which we take, not only of our rights, but of our duty. [Cheers.]

Germany has declared that the English Channel, the north and west coasts of France, and the waters around the British Isles are a “war area” and has officially notified that all enemy ships found in that area will be destroyed and that neutral vessels may be exposed to danger. This is, in effect, a claim to torpedo at sight, without regard to the safety of crew or passengers, any merchant vessel under any flag. As it is not in the power of the German Admiralty to maintain any surface craft in these waters, the attack can only be delivered by submarine agency. The law and custom of nations in regard to attacks on commerce have always presumed that the first duty of the captor of a merchant vessel is to bring it before a prize court, where it may be tried, and where the regularity of the capture may be challenged, and where neutrals may recover their cargoes. The sinking of prizes is in itself a questionable act, to be resorted to only in extraordinary circumstances and after provision has been made for the safety of all the crew or passengers—if there are passengers on board. The responsibility for discriminating between neutral and enemy vessels, and between neutral and enemy cargo, obviously rests

with the attacking ship, whose duty it is to verify the status and character of the vessel and cargo and to preserve all papers before sinking or even capturing the ship. So, also, is the humane duty to provide for the safety of the crews of merchant vessels, whether neutral or enemy, an obligation on every belligerent. It is on this basis that all previous discussions of the law for regulating warfare at sea have proceeded.

The German submarine fulfills none of these obligations. She enjoys no local command of the waters in which she operates. She does not take her captures within the jurisdiction of a prize court; she carries no prize crew which she can put on board the prize she seizes. She uses no effective means of discriminating between a neutral and an enemy vessel; she does not receive on board, for safety, the crew of the vessel she sinks. Her methods of warfare are, therefore, entirely outside the scope of any of the international instruments regulating operations against commerce in time of war. The German declaration substitutes indiscriminate destruction for regulated capture. [Cheers.] Germany is adopting these methods against peaceful traders and non-combatant crews with the avowed object of preventing commodities of all kinds, including food for the civil population, from reaching or leaving the British Isles and Northern France.

Her opponents are therefore driven to frame retaliatory measures [loud cheers] in order, in their turn, to prevent commodities of any kind [loud cheers] from reaching or leaving the German Empire. [Renewed cheers.] These measures will, however, be enforced by the British and French Governments, without risk to neutral ships or to neutral or non-combatant lives, and with strict observance of the dictates of humanity. The British and French Governments will therefore hold themselves free to detain and take into port ships carrying goods of presumed enemy destination, ownership, or origin. It is not intended to confiscate such vessels or cargoes unless they would be otherwise liable to confiscation. Vessels with cargoes which have sailed before this date will not be affected. [Loud cheers.]

That, Sir, is our reply. [Cheers.] I may say, before I comment upon it, that the suggestion which I see is put forward from a German quarter that we have rejected some proposal or suggestion made to the two powers by the United States Government—I will not say anything more than that it is quite untrue. On the contrary, all we have said to the United States Government is

that we are taking it into careful consideration in consultation with our allies.

Now the committee will have observed that in the statement which I have just read of the retaliatory measures we propose to adopt, the words "blockade" and "contraband" and other technical terms of international law do not occur. And advisedly so. In dealing with an opponent who has openly repudiated all the principles both of law and of humanity we are not going to allow our efforts to be strangled in a network of juridical niceties. [Cheers.] We do not intend to put into operation any measures which we do not think to be effective, [cheers,] and I need not say we shall carefully avoid any measure which would violate the rules either of humanity or of honesty. But, subject to those two conditions, I say not only to our enemy, but I say it on behalf of the Government, and I hope on behalf of the House of Commons, that under existing conditions there is no form of economic pressure to which we do not consider ourselves entitled to resort. [Loud cheers.] If, as a consequence, neutrals suffer inconvenience and loss of trade, we regret it, but we beg them to remember that this phase of the war was not initiated by us. [Cheers.] We do not propose either to assassinate their seamen or to destroy their goods. What we are doing we do solely in self-defense.

If, again, as is possible, hardship is caused to the civil and non-combatant population of the enemy by the cutting off of supplies, we are not doing more in this respect than was done in the days when Germany still acknowledged the authority of the law of nations sanctioned by the first and the greatest of her Chancellors, and as practiced by the expressed declaration of his successor. We are quite prepared to submit to the arbitrament of neutral opinion in this war in the circumstances in which we have been placed. We have been moderate and restrained, and we have abstained from things which we were provoked and tempted to do, and we have adopted the policy which recommends itself to reason, common sense, and to justice.

This new aspect of the war only serves to illustrate and to emphasize the truth that the gravity and the magnitude of the task which we have undertaken does not diminish, but increases, as the months roll by. The call for men to join our fighting forces, which is our primary need, has been and is being nobly responded to here at home and throughout the empire. That call, we say with all plainness and directness, was never more urgent or more imperious than today. For this is a war not only of men but of material. To take only one illustration, the expenditure upon ammunition on both sides has been on a scale and at a rate which is not only without all precedent but is far in excess of any expert forecast. At such a time patriotism has cast a heavy burden on the shoulders of all who are engaged in trades or manufactures which directly or indirectly minister to the equipment of our forces. It is a burden, let me add, which falls, or ought to fall, with even weight on both employers and employed. [Cheers.] Differences as to remuneration or as to profit, as to hours and conditions of labor, which in ordinary times might well justify a temporary cessation of work should no longer be allowed to do so. The first duty of all concerned is to go on producing with might and main what the safety of the State requires, [cheers,] and if this is done I can say with perfect confidence the Government on its part will insure a prompt and equitable settlement of disputed points, and in cases of proved necessity will give on behalf of the State such help as is in their power. [Cheers.] Sailors and soldiers, employers and workmen in the industrial world are all at this moment partners and co-operators in one great enterprise. The men in the shipyards and the engineering shops, the workers in the textile factories, the miner who sends the coal to the surface, the dockyard laborer who helps to load and unload the ships, and those who employ and organize and supervise their labors are one and all rendering to their country a service as vital and as indispensable as the gallant

men who line the trenches in Flanders or in France or who are bombarding fortresses in the Dardanelles. [Cheers.]

I hear sometimes whispers, hardly more than whispers, of possible terms of peace. Peace is the greatest human good, but this is not the time to talk of peace. Those who talk of peace, however excellent their intentions, are in my judgment victims, I will not say of wanton, but of grievous self-delusion. Just now we are in the stress and tumult of a tempest which is shaking the foundations of the earth. The time to talk of peace is when the great tasks in which we and our allies embarked on the long and stormy voyage are within sight of accomplishment. Speaking at the Guildhall at the Lord Mayor's banquet last November I used this language, which has since been repeated almost in the same terms by the Prime Minister of France, and which I believe represents the settled sentiment and purpose of the country. I said:

We shall never sheathe the sword which we have not lightly drawn until Belgium recovers in full measure all and more than she has sacrificed, until France is adequately secured against the menace of aggression, until the rights of the smaller nationalities of Europe are placed upon an unassailable foundation, and until the military domination of Prussia is wholly and finally destroyed. [Cheers.]

What I said early in November, now, after four months, I repeat today. We have not relaxed nor shall we relax in the pursuit of every one and all of the aims which I have described. These are great purposes, and to achieve them we must draw upon all our resources, both material and spiritual. On the one side, the material side, the demands presented in these votes is for men, for money, for the fullest equipment of the purposes of war. On the other side, what I have called the spiritual side, the appeal is to those ancient inbred qualities of our race which have never failed us in times of stress—qualities of self-mastery, self-sacrifice, patience, tenacity, willingness to bear one another's burdens, a unity which springs from the dominating sense of a common duty, unflinching faith, inflexible resolve. [Loud cheers.]

Sweden's Scandinavian Leadership

By a Swedish Political Expert

[From THE NEW YORK TIMES, Feb. 4, 1915.]

IN common with a majority of the other countries of Europe, Sweden has had a full measure of experience in the difficulties confronting neutral powers while a world struggle like the present European conflict is in progress, and has learned that, even if it may prove effective in averting bloodshed, neutrality does not by any means insure a nation against the other vicissitudes of war. Aside from operations of a purely military character, the groups of belligerent powers are carrying on a commercial warfare of constantly increasing intensity. It is characteristic, perhaps, that both parties to the struggle, as time goes on, appear to become more and more indifferent to the injury incidentally inflicted on neutral countries.

Geographically situated so that it might provide easy transit for shipments both to Russia and to the German Empire, Sweden, as a matter of course, has become the object of lively interest to both groups of warring nations in their dual concern of securing advantages to themselves and placing obstacles in the way of the enemy. From the very beginning, however, Sweden has maintained an attitude of strictest neutrality and of loyal impartiality toward both sides in the struggle. It is the object of this article to set forth as briefly as possible the manner in which the neutrality of Sweden has been made manifest.

Immediately after the war broke out in August last year the Swedish Government proclaimed its intention to remain neutral throughout the conflict.

Simultaneous action was taken by the Government for the strengthening of the country's defenses, in the firm conviction that only if there was behind it the armed strength with which to enforce it would the neutrality of Sweden be respected. A move of the most profound significance—the first in our endeavors to create in Scandinavia a neutral "centre" and to gird ourselves with a greater strength to make our peaceful intentions effective—was made on Aug. 8 of last year, when the Foreign Ministers of Sweden and Norway appeared in the representative assemblies of both peoples and delivered identically worded explanatory communications in which was embodied a statement to the effect that the Swedish and Norwegian Governments had agreed to maintain their neutrality throughout the war at any cost, and that the two Governments had exchanged mutually binding and satisfactory assurances with a view to preventing any situation growing out of the state of war in Europe from precipitating either country into acts of hostility directed against the other.

In the meantime, neutral commerce and shipping during the months that followed were exposed to most serious infringements by the warring powers, such as the closing of ports by mines; limitations in the rights of neutral shipping to the use of the sea (*mare libre*) and of other established routes of maritime trade; arbitrary broadening in the definition of what shall constitute contraband of war, &c. As an instance it may be stated that England for a time treated magnetic iron ore as contraband of war and that



SIR PERCY SCOTT
British Admiral, Who Asserted Before the War Began That the
Submarine Had Sounded the Deathknell of the Dreadnought
(Photo from Rogers)



GENERAL LOUIS BOTHA
The Famous Boer Leader, Premier of the Union of South Africa,
Now Commanding the British South African Forces
(Photo from Paul Thompson)

Germany still persists in so regarding certain classes of manufactured wood. In both these instances Swedish exports have suffered severely. On initiative taken by the Swedish Government in the middle of last November the Governments of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway lodged identically worded protests with the envoys of certain of the powers engaged in the war against measures taken by them which threatened serious disturbance to neutral traffic.

One further step—of the utmost importance through what it accomplished toward establishing firmly the position of the neutral States in the north—was the meeting between the Kings of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark at Malmö on Dec. 19 last. This meeting was especially designed to provide an opportunity for taking counsel together regarding means which may be resorted to for the purpose of limiting and counteracting the economical difficulties imposed on the three countries through the war. The meeting at Malmö served not only to give most powerful expression to the common determination of the northern kingdoms to remain neutral, but it became the means also of agreeing upon and adopting a *modus vivendi* for continued co-operation between the three countries during the war for the protection of interests they have in common.

In this manner Sweden has led in a movement to establish for the northern countries a potential policy of neutrality with the practical aim of limiting and reducing to a minimum the economical difficulties consequent upon the existing state of war.

From what already has been said it appears clearly, too, how completely without justification have been the accusations which have been voiced from time to time in the press of countries that enter into either of the belligerent groups—that Sweden, now in one respect and now in another, had shown partiality to the adversary. Thus, suspicion has been cast, with no justification whatever, on the circumstance that during the last month Sweden has

imported large quantities of necessaries which would have been both valuable and helpful to the belligerents. And yet, this increase in the Swedish imports is very readily explained on the ground that it was necessary, partly, in order to make up for an existing shortage in supplies due to stopped traffic during the first months of the war, and, partly, to insure ability to fill Swedish demands for some time to come. A country which desires to remain neutral is not in a position to submit to dictation from any of the belligerent nations, but this very thing is frequently interpreted by one party to a struggle as involving an understanding with the other.

But Sweden's peaceful resolve and her fixed determination to maintain her life as a nation against all attempts at encroachment would count for little if behind her word there did not exist the strength to make it good and material resources to fall back on when the demand comes. That these exist in Sweden will be shown in the following with some data of Sweden's economics.

With a population of 5,700,000, distributed over an area of 448,000 square kilometers, (170,977 square miles,) as compared with 9,415,000 square kilometers (3,025,600 square miles) in the United States, Sweden, in comparison with European countries in general, is very sparsely inhabited. The possibilities for growth and development, however, are great owing to natural resources, which are both rich and varied. Of Sweden's area, 40,000 square kilometers (15,266 square miles) is cultivated land. The value of the annual production of grain is estimated at about 340,000,000 kroner, (about \$91,900,000,) offset by an import of grain which exceeds the export by about 70,000,000 kroner, (about \$18,900,000.) From this it appears that agriculture as yet retains its place as the principal industry of the country. With the bigger half of the country's area timber and the rivers well adapted to logging, Sweden quite naturally has become one of the foremost countries in the world in the export of naturally has become one of the foremost countries in the world in the export of

lumber, wood pulp, and manufactured wood. Another natural product of Sweden, and one of the utmost importance, is iron ore, of which there was exported in 1913 to the value of about 69,000,000 kroner, (about \$18,500,000,) chiefly from the large mineral fields in the northernmost part of the country. Besides this production of raw material, Sweden has important manufacturing industries which thrive as a result of the abundant supply of water power, an extensive network of railroads, and a shipping industry which is in a state of flourishing development.

The total output of our Swedish industries (mining not included) in 1912 was appraised at a net (manufacturing) value of 1,778,000,000 kroner, (about \$481,600,000.) Of this total, 476,000,000 kroner (about \$128,600,000) represents foodstuffs and luxuries, 353,000,000 kroner (about \$95,400,000) wood products, &c.; 222,000,000 kroner (\$60,000,000) textile products, and so on.

A few figures will illustrate Sweden's exchange of products with foreign countries. In 1912 the foreign trade of Sweden reached a total of 1,554,000,000 kroner, (about \$420,000,000.) The imports aggregated 794,000,000 kroner (about \$214,600,000) and the exports 760,000,000 kroner, (about \$205,400,000,) thus showing a relatively advantageous trade balance. Of the imported values, 28 per cent. was foodstuffs and luxuries, 45 per cent. raw materials, and 26 per cent. articles manufactured either wholly or in part. Of the exports, 14 per cent. was foodstuffs and luxuries, 23 per cent. raw materials, and not less than 63 per cent. articles of manufacture, finished completely or in part.

The principal industrial products represented among these exports are enumerated here:

	Kroner.	
Wood products.	1,912,000,000	*\$516,700,000
Pulp and paper.	134,000,000	36,000,000
Metal products..	105,000,000	28,400,000
Machinery	56,000,000	15,400,000
Matches	16,000,000	4,300,000
Pottery products	15,000,000	4,000,000

*The amounts in this column are close approximates.

With regard to our exports, there have been especially large increases in those of pulp and machinery. The principal types of machinery which figure among the exports of Sweden are milk separators, oil motors, telephone apparatus, electric engines, and ball bearings. In these exports are plainly indicated the inventive genius of the Swedes and their aptitude for technical and industrial pursuits.

With reference to the Swedish railroads, this fact is deserving of mention: Sweden leads all Europe with 2.5 kilometers to each 1,000 inhabitants, (United States has 4.14 kilometers.) The mercantile marine of Sweden has experienced powerful growth in recent years. In 1912, with a net tonnage of 805,000, it held the sixth place among the merchant fleets of Europe, being ahead of, among other countries, Spain, Russia, and the Netherlands. Especially has the growth in Sweden's merchant marine been pronounced since 1904, when the first regular ocean lines with Swedish vessels were established. Today Swedish steamship lines are maintaining regular traffic with all parts of the world. Thus, among other things, Sweden has established freight lines, with steamers plying to both the east and west coasts of North America. Quite recently, despite the financial crisis brought on by the war, a company has been formed with the object of establishing passenger traffic with Swedish steamships of high speed between Gothenburg and either New York or Boston.

After scrutinizing these figures the reader ought not to be surprised at the assertion that Sweden is exceptionally well situated from an economical point of view, and, perhaps, is among the countries which have been least affected by the economical crisis consequent upon the war. The national debt of Sweden, which was created very largely with a view to financing the construction of the Government railroads and for other productive purposes, is at present only 720,000,000 kroner, (about \$194,500,000.) This is only 126 kroner (a small fraction above \$34) for each inhabitant, while the corresponding figure for France in 1913 was

591 kroner, (nearly \$160;) the Netherlands, 282 kroner, (\$70.62;) Great Britain, 280 kroner, (\$70.57;) Germany, 276 kroner, (\$70.40;) Italy, 270 kroner, (\$70.30,) &c. Against the national debt of 720,000,000 kroner (about \$194,500,000) Sweden has Crown assets at this time appraised at 1,761,000,000 kroner net, (nearly \$476,000,000.)

Another evidence of the splendid financial condition of Sweden is afforded in the fact that, since the war broke out and countries which under normal conditions might be looked to for loans had closed their markets to foreign nations, the domestic market has been able to supply fully all, both public and private, demands for funds. Thus, when the



Swedish Government, early last October, sought a loan of 30,000,000 kroner at home, this was fully subscribed in three days. Nor have municipalities or private banks encountered any difficulty in placing bonds for amounts of considerable size in the domestic market. The only loan for which the Swedish Government has contracted abroad during the crisis was for \$5,000,000, and this was placed in New York for the purpose of facilitating payments for large purchases of American grain.

At least a few words with particular reference to the commercial intercourse between Sweden and the United States. According to statistics from the year 1912, the imports of Sweden from the United States were of the aggregate value of 60,000,000 kroner, (about \$16,200,000,) while the exports aggregated 32,000,000 kroner, (about \$8,600,000.) The principal imports were: Cotton, 17,000,000 kroner, (about \$4,600,000;) oils, 12,000,000 kroner, (about \$3,240,000;) copper, 6,200,000 kroner, (about \$1,675,000;) machinery, 5,000,000 kroner, (about \$1,350,000;) grain and flour, 2,300,000 kroner, (about \$621,000;) bacon, 1,700,000 kroner, (about \$460,000.) The principal articles of export in the same year were:

Pulp, 12,400,000 kroner, (about \$3,350,000;) manufactured iron and steel, 8,100,000 kroner, (about \$2,200,000;) iron ore, 3,600,000 kroner, (about \$973,000;) paper, 2,100,000 kroner, (about \$568,000;) elastic gum refuse, 1,900,000 kroner, (about \$514,000;) matches, 1,300,000 kroner, (about \$350,000.)

Since the outbreak of hostilities in August last year there has been a tremendous increase in trade between Sweden and the United States. The tonnage employed in this trade has been multiplied many times in order adequately to care for the traffic. Sweden has sought to secure in the United States a multiplicity of necessities which under normal conditions have been obtained from the belligerent countries. From the United States, too, there has come an increased demand for many Swedish products.

It is to be hoped that a large portion of this commerce, which has been the artificial outgrowth of unusual conditions, will continue, even after the present world crisis shall happily have become a thing of the past. Surely, it would be to the mutual advantage of both countries to develop and strengthen their direct trade relations.

FROM ENGLAND

By MAURICE HEWLETT.

[From King Albert's Book.]

O MEN of mickle heart and little speech,
Slow, stubborn countrymen of heath
and plain,

Now have ye shown these insolent again
That which to Caesar's legions ye could
teach,

That slow-provok'd is long-provok'd. May
each

Crass Caesar learn this of the Keltic grain,
Until at last they reckon it in vain

To browbeat us who hold the Western reach.

For even as you are, we are, ill to rouse,
Rooted in Custom, Order, Church, and King;
And as you fight for their sake, so shall we,
Doggedly inch by inch, and house by house;
Seeing for us, too, there's a dearer thing
Than land or blood—and that thing Liberty.

War Correspondence

The Beloved Hindenburg

A Pen Portrait of the German Commander in Chief in the East

[By a Staff Correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES.]

GERMAN GREAT HEADQUARTERS, EAST, Feb. 10.—But for the "field gray" coat and the militant mustache, I should have taken him for a self-made American, a big business man or captain of industry, as he sat at his work desk, the telephone at his elbow, the electric push-buttons and reams of neat reports adding to the illusion. Quiet, unassuming, and democratic, he yet makes the same impression of virility and colossal energy that Colonel Roosevelt does, but with an iron restraint of discipline which the American never possessed, and an earnestness of face and eye that I had only seen matched in his Commander in Chief, the Kaiser. Here was a man whom the most neutral American could instantly admire and honor, regardless of the merits of the controversy. It was Hindenburg, the well beloved, the hope of Germany. He has already been "done" by journalists and Senator Beveridge, but 70,000,000 are pinning their faith to him, which makes him worth "doing" again—and again.

For a moment I nearly forgot that I was an American with "nerve," bent on making him say something, preferably indiscreet; it seemed almost a shame to bother this man whose brain was big with the fate of empire. But, although I hadn't been specially invited, but had just "dropped in" in informal American fashion, the Commander in Chief of all his Kaiser's forces in the east stopped making history long enough to favor me with a short but thought-provoking interview.

As to his past performances, the Field Marshal genially referred to the de-

tailed official summary; as to the future, he protested.

"I am not a prophet. But this I can say. Tell our friends in America—and also those who do not love us—that I am looking forward with unshakable confidence to the final victory—and a well-earned vacation," he added whimsically. "I should like nothing better than to visit your Panama Exposition and meet your wonderful General Goethals, the master builder, for I imagine our jobs are spiritually much akin; that his slogan, too, has been 'durchhalten' ('hold out') until endurance and organization win out against heavy odds."

Then with sudden, paradoxical, terrific quiet earnest: "Great is the task that still confronts us, but greater my faith in my brave troops." One got indelibly the impression that he loved them all, suffered under their hardships and sorrowed for their losses.

"For you, this war is only a titanic drama; we Germans feel it with our hearts," he said thoughtfully.

The Field Marshal spoke warmly of the Austro-Hungarian troops, and cited the results of the close co-operation between his forces and the Austrian armies as striking proof of the proverb, "In union is strength." Like all other German Generals whom I had "done," he, too, had words of unqualified praise for the bravery of his enemies. "The Russians fight well; but neither mere physical bravery nor numbers, nor both together, win battles nowadays."

"How about the steam roller?"

"It hasn't improved the roads a bit,

either going forward or backward," he said with a grim smile.

"Are you worrying over Grand Duke Nicholas's open secret?" I asked, citing the report via Petrograd and London of a new projected Russian offensive that was to take the form, not of a steam roller, but of a "tidal wave of cavalry."

"It will dash against a wall of loyal flesh and blood, barbed with steel—if it comes," he said simply.

My impression, growing increasingly stronger the more I have seen, that German military success had been to no small extent made possible by American inventive genius and high-speed American methods, received interesting partial confirmation from the Field Marshal, whose keen, restless mind, working over quite ordinary material, produced the new suggestive combination of ideas that, while "America might possibly be materially assisting Germany's enemies with arms, ammunition, and other war material, certain it was that America, in the last analysis, had helped Germany far more."

"But for America, my armies would possibly not be standing in Russia today—without the American railroading genius that developed and made possible for me this wonderful weapon, thanks largely to which we have been able with comparatively small numbers to stop and beat back the Russian millions again and again—steam engine versus steam roller. Were it for nothing else, America has proved one of our best friends, if not an ally.

"We are also awaiting with genuine interest the receipt of our first American guns," the Field Marshal added. How was Germany expecting to get guns from America? He was asked to explain the mystery.

"I read somewhere in the papers that a large shipment of heavy cannon had left America for Russia," he said with dry humor, "in transit for us—for if they're consigned to the Russians, we'll have them sooner or later, I hope;" adding, with his habitual tense earnestness, "the Americans are something more than shrewd, hard-headed business

men. Have they ever vividly pictured to themselves a German soldier smashed by an American shell, or bored through the heart by an American bullet? The grim realism of the battlefield—that should make also the business man thoughtful."

"Shall you go west when you have cleaned up here in the east?" I suggested.

"I can't betray military secrets which I don't know myself, even to interest the newspaper readers," he said. He gave me the impression, however, that, east or west, he would be found fighting for the Fatherland so long as the Fatherland needed him.

"Now it means work again. You must excuse me," he concluded, courteously. "You want to go to the front. Where should you like to go?"

"To Warsaw," I suggested, modestly.

"I, too," he laughed, "but today—ausgeschlossen, ('nothing doing,' in Americanese.) Still—that may be yet."

"May I come along, your Excellency?"

"Certainly, then you can see for yourself what sort of 'barbarians' we Germans are."

"Dropping in on Hindenburg" yields some unimportant but interesting by-products. The railroad Napoleon, as all the world knows, lives and works in a palace, but this palace doesn't overawe one who has beaten professionally at the closed portals of Fifth Avenue. It would be considered a modest country residence in Westchester County or on Long Island. Light in color and four stories high, including garret, it looks very much like those memorials which soap kings and sundry millionaires put up to themselves in their lifetime—the American college dormitory, the modern kind that is built around three sides of a small court. The palace is as simple as the man.

The main entrance, a big iron gateway, is flanked by two guardhouses painted with white and black stripes, the Prussian "colors," and two unbluffable Landsturm men mount guard, who will tell you to go around to the back door.

The orderly who opens the front door is a Sergeant in field gray uniform. You mount a flight of marble steps, and saunter down a marble hall, half a block long. It is the reception hall. It is furnished with magnificent hand-carved, high-backed chairs without upholstery, lounging not being apparently encouraged here. They are Gothic structures backed up against the walls. There is no Brussels or Axminster carpet on the cold marble floor—not even Turkish

rugs. Through this palace hall, up by the ceiling, runs a thick cable containing the all-important telephone wires. The offices open off the hall, the doors labeled with neatly printed signs telling who and what is within. If you should come walking down the street outside at 3 A. M. you would probably see the lights in Hindenburg's office still burning, as I did. At 3:30 they went out, indicating that a Field Marshal's job is not a sinecure.

Feeling of the German People

Complete Confidence in Victory and Resentment Toward England

[By a Staff Correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES.]

BERLIN, Feb. 12.—To the neutral American, intent only on finding out the truth, the most thought-provoking feature here (overlooked by foreign correspondents because of its very featureless obviousness) is the fact that Germany today is more confident of winning than at any time in the three months I have been here. This confidence must not be confused with cocksureness; it is rather the "looking forward with quiet confidence to ultimate victory," as General von Heeringen phrased it. Even more important is the corollary that, while the Germans have apparently never had any doubt that they would win out in the end, this "ultimate victory" does not seem so far off to them today as it did three months ago.

To one who has had an opportunity of personally sounding the undercurrents of German public opinion, this quiet optimism that has become noticeable only in the past few weeks (totally different in character from the enthusiasm that followed the declaration of war) has seemed particularly significant. Three months ago I was incessantly asked by Germans "how the situation looked to an American," and "how long I thought the war would last." When

left to answer their own question, they almost invariably remarked: "It may last a long while yet." Today neutral opinion is no longer anxiously or even eagerly sought. The temporary need for this sort of moral support seems to have passed, and there are many indications that the well-informed layman expects 1915 to see the wind-up of the war, while I have talked with not a few professional men who have expressed the opinion that the war will be over by Summer—except against England.

This unanimous exception is significant because it indicates that to the German mind the war with Russia and France is, in prize-ring parlance, a twenty-round affair, which can and will be won on points, whereas with England it is a championship fight to a finish, to be settled only by a knockout. The idea is that Russia will be eliminated as a serious factor by late Spring at the latest, and then, Westward Ho! when France will not prolong the agony unduly, but will seize the first psychological moment that offers peace with honor, leaving Germany free to fight it out with the real enemy, England, though as to how, when, and where the end will come, there is less certainty and agreement. Some think that the

knockout will be delivered in the shadow of the Pyramids; others, and probably the majority, believe that the winning blow must and will be delivered on English soil itself.

Time here is no factor, for the war against England is taking on increasingly an almost religious character; from the German point of view, it will soon be, not a war, but a crusade. I get one clue to this in the new phrase of leave-taking that has gained an astounding currency in the past few weeks. Instead of saying "Good-bye" or "Auf Wiedersehen," the German now says: "God punish England!" to which the equally fervent rejoinder is, "May He do so!" This new, polite formula for leave-taking originated among the officers and men in the field, but you hear it on all sides now, uttered with a sincerity and earnestness that is peculiarly impressive. The new style of saying "good-bye" has at least the merit of being no longer a perfunctory piece of rhetoric.

This optimism is no nation-wide attack of insanity, for the German, thorough even in forming his opinions, is the last person in the world to harbor delusions, and there is a perfect realization of the titanic task that still confronts Germany. Nor is this confidence in ultimate victory due to lack of information or to being kept in the dark by the "iron censorship," for the "iron censorship" is itself a myth. It is liberal, even judged by democratic standards, and surprisingly free from red tape. There is no embargo on the importation of foreign newspapers; even the anti-German journals of neutral countries have free entry and circulation, while at a number of well-known cosmopolitan cafés you can always read *The London Times* and *The Daily Chronicle*, only three days old, and for a small cash consideration the waiter will generally be able to produce from his pocket a *Figaro*, not much older. Not only English and French, but, even more, the Italian, Dutch, and Scandinavian papers are widely read and digested by Germans, while the German

papers not only print prominently the French official communiqués, the Russian communiqués when available, and interesting chunks from the British "eyewitness" official reports, but most of their feature stories—the vivid, detailed war news—come from allied sources via correspondents in neutral countries. The German censor's task is here a relatively simple one, for German war correspondents never allow professional enthusiasm to run away with practical patriotism, and you note them—to an American—amusing and yet suggestive spectacle of war correspondents specializing in descriptions of sunsets and scenery.

The German was never much of a newspaper reader before the war, but now he can challenge the American commuter as an absorbent of the printed word. And not only has the German been suddenly educated into an avid newspaper reader, but he has developed a tendency to think for himself, to read between the lines, and interpret sentences. Thus, no German has any illusions about the military prowess of Austria; but her failure has caused no hard feelings. "The spirit is willing, but the leadership is weak," is the kindly verdict, with the hopeful assumption that the addition of a little German yeast will raise the standard of Austrian efficiency and improve the quality of leadership.

The Germans, being neither mad nor misinformed, why they face a world of foes with this new confidence becomes a question of importance to any one who wants to understand the real situation here. The answer is Hindenburg—not only the man himself, but all that he stands for, the personification of the German war spirit, the greatest moral asset of the empire today. He is idolized not only by the soldiers, but by the populace as well; not only by the Prussians, but by the Bavarians and even the Austrians. You cannot realize what a tremendous factor he has become until you discover personally the Carlylean hero worship of which he is the object.

Hindenburg woke up one morning to

find himself famous; but his subsequent speedy apotheosis was probably not entirely spontaneous. In fact, there is reason to believe that he was carefully groomed for the rôle of a national hero at a critical time, the process being like the launching by American politicians of a Presidential or Gubernatorial boom at a time when a name to conjure with is badly needed. He is a striking answer to the Shakespearean question. His name alone is worth many army corps for its psychological effect on the people; it has a peculiarly heroic ring to the German ear, and part of the explanation of its magic lies probably in the fact that the last syllable, "burg," means fortress or castle. He inspires the most unbounded confidence in the German people; the Field Marshal looms larger than his Kaiser.

The cigarmakers were the first to recognize his claims to immortality and to confer it on him; but now almost every conceivable sort of merchandise except corsets is being trade marked Hindenburg. Babies, fishing boats, race horses, cafés, avenues and squares, a city of 60,000, a whole county, are being named after him, and minor poets are taking his name in vain daily, "Hindenburg Marches" are being composed in endless procession, a younger brother is about to publish his biography, and legends are already thickly clustering about his name. He laid the Russian bugaboo before it had a chance to make its début; there is not today the slightest nervousness about the possible coming of the Cossacks, and there will not be, so long as the Commander in Chief of all the armies in the east continues to find time to give sittings to portrait painters, pose for the moving-picture artists, autograph photographs, appear on balconies while school children sing patriotic airs, answer the Kaiser's telegrams of congratulation, acknowledge decorations, receive interminable delegations, personages, and journalists, and perform all the other time-consuming duties incident to having greatness thrust upon you; for things obviously cannot be in a very bad way when the

master strategist can thus take "time out" from strategizing. But the influence of "our Hindenburg," as he is often affectionately called, is wider than the east; the magic of his name stiffens the deadline in the west, and the man in the street, whose faith is great, feels sure that when he has fought his last great battle in the east the turn of the French and English will come.

While the German in the street, thanks largely to Hindenburg, regards the military situation with optimism, he sees no grounds for pessimism in the present political situation. Italy and Bulgaria are regarded as "safe."

How the Germans regard the economic, industrial, and financial situation is rather hard to estimate, because their practical patriotism keeps them from making any public parade of their business troubles and worries, if they have any. The oft-repeated platitude that you would never suspect here that a war was going on if you didn't read the papers is quite just. Conditions—on the surface—are so normal that there is even a lively operatic fight on in Munich, where the personal friction between Musical Director Walters and the star conductor, Otto Hess, has caused a crisis in the affairs of the Royal Munich Opera, rivaling in interest the fighting at the front.

There are certainly fewer "calamity howlers" here than on Broadway during boom times, and you see no outward evidence of hard times, no acute poverty, no misery, no derelicts, for the war-time social organization seems as perfect as the military. In the last three months only one beggar has stopped me on the streets and tried to touch my heart and pocketbook—a record that seems remarkable to an American who has run the nocturnal gauntlet of peace-time panhandlers on the Strand or the Embankment.

Business is most certainly not going on as usual. You note many shops and stores with few or no customers in them. About the only people who are making any money are army contractors

and the shopkeepers who sell things available for "Liebesgaben" ("love gifts") for the troops in the field. Those businesses hardest hit by the war are in a state of suspended animation, embalmed by the credit of the State.

But, again, the influence of Hindenburg is wider than the east—and the west; it permeates the business world

and stiffens the economic backbone of the nation. It is no exaggeration to say that the whole German people, barring the inevitable though small percentage of weaklings, is trying with terrific earnestness to live up to the homely Hindenburgian motto, "Durchhalten!" ("Hold out,") or, in more idiomatic American, "See the thing through."

Bombardment of the Dardanelles

First Allied Attack Described by an Onlooker

[FROM THE NEW YORK TIMES, MARCH 8, 1915.]

ATHENS, Saturday, March 6, (Dispatch to The London Daily Chronicle.)—The bombardment of the Dardanelles forts, according to the latest news, proceeds with success and cautious thoroughness. It is now anticipated that before another two weeks are over the allied fleet will be in the Sea of Marmora, and Constantinople will quickly fall to the victorious Allies.

Two features of the operations make extreme caution necessary for the attacking battleships. In the first place, the number of mines laid in the strait has been found to be enormous. They must all be picked up, and the work takes considerable time, seeing that it must be done thoroughly.

In the second place, the larger batteries, against whom the allied fleet is contending, are very skillfully hidden.

I have had an interesting talk with a gentleman who has just arrived from Tenedos, where, from the height of Mount Ilios, he witnessed the bombardment. He tells me:

"The sight was most magnificent. At first the fleet was ranged in a semi-circle some miles out to sea from the entrance to the strait. It afforded an inspiring spectacle as the ships came along and took up position, and the picture became most awe-inspiring when the guns began to boom.

"The bombardment at first was slow, shells from the various ships screaming

through the air at the rate of about one every two minutes. Their practice was excellent, and with strong glasses I could see huge masses of earth and stonework thrown high up into the air. The din, even at the distance, was terrific, and when the largest ship, with the biggest guns in the world, joined in the martial chorus, the air was rent with ear-splitting noise.

"The Turkish batteries, however, were not to be drawn, and, seeing this, the British Admiral sent one British ship and one French ship close inshore toward the Sedd-el-Bahr forts.

"It was a pretty sight to see the two battleships swing rapidly away toward the northern cape, spitting fire and smoke as they rode. They obscured the pure atmosphere with clouds of smoke from their funnels and guns; yet through it all I could see they were getting home with the shots they fired.

"As they went in they sped right under the guns of the shore batteries, which could no longer resist the temptation to see what they could do. Puffs of white smoke dotted the landscape on the far shore, and dull booms echoed over the placid water. Around the ships fountains of water sprang up into the air. The enemy had been drawn, but his marksmanship was obviously very bad. I think I am right in saying that not a single shot directed against the ships came within a hundred yards of either.

The French Battlefield

Account of First Extended View of the Intrenchments Defending France

[By a Special Correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES.]

PARIS, March 7.—I have just been permitted a sight of the French Army—the first accorded to any correspondent in so comprehensive a measure since the outbreak of the war. Under the escort of an officer of General Joffre's staff, I was allowed along a great section of the fighting line, into the trenches under fire, and also received scientific detailed information regarding this least known of European forces.

France has been so silent about her army and her Generals and so indifferent to the use of journalism in the war it is scarcely realized even in France that 450 of the 500 miles of fighting front are held by the French and only the remaining fifty by the British and Belgians. At the outbreak of the war no newspaper men were allowed with the army, and those who managed to get to the front, including myself, all returned to Paris under escort. Although we saw what a powerful machine it was and knew it was getting stronger every day, we were permitted to say very little about it—Germany, meanwhile, granting interviews, taking war correspondents to trenches and up in balloons in the campaign for neutral sympathy.

France, or, rather, General Joffre, for his is the first and last word on the subject of war correspondents, gradually decided to combat the German advertising.

Only he decided to go them one better, as I hope to show. There have been several trips, all tryouts. I was informed at the Foreign Office a month ago that when the representative of so important a paper as THE NEW YORK TIMES was to be taken to the front it would be for a more important trip than any up to that date—that I was to be saved up for such an occasion as I am now privileged to describe.

I propose to give as few names of places and Generals as possible, first, to meet the wishes of the personal censor, who is the same officer who escorted me throughout the trip, and, second, because I believe general facts relating to the morale of the French Army and their prospects in the Spring campaign will be of more interest than specific details concerning places where the lines have been established for the past six months.

From scores of letters received from America the first question which seems to arise in the minds of neutrals outside the war zone is, What are the prospects of the Germans taking Paris when the second great phase of the war is really under way? First, let me admit that a lurking fear that the Germans might penetrate the lines had caused me to make certain arrangements for the hasty exit of my family from Paris as soon as the Spring fighting began. I am now willing to cancel these arrangements, for I am convinced there is no danger to Paris.

The German Army, in my opinion, will never for a second time dictate terms of peace in Paris. I feel that I am in a position to make the statement, founded on an unusual knowledge of the facts, that should German ambition again fly that high they would need at least 3,000,000 men concentrated before the fortifications of Paris—these in addition to the enormous force to oppose the French and allied field armies.

The defenses of Paris since the city had its narrow escape before the battle of the Marne present one of the wonders of the world. Not only has Gallieni's army intrenched the surrounding country and barb-wired it until the idea of any forward advance seems preposterous, but every foot of ground is measured and the ex-

act artillery ranges taken to every other foot of ground.

For instance, from every single trench which also contains an artillery observatory the exact distance is recorded to every other trench, to every house, hillock, tree, and shrub behind which the enemy might advance. In fact, the German organization which threatened to rule the world seems overtaken by French organization which became effective since the war began.

All through the trip it was this new spirit of organization that impressed me most. I have sent you many cables on the new spirit of the French, but never before dared to picture them in the rôle which to my mind they never before occupied—that of organizers. I started the trip to see the real French Army in the most open but unexpectant frame of mind. For weeks I had read only laconic official communiqués that told me nothing. I saw well-fed officers in beautiful limousines rolling about Paris with an air that the war was a million miles away. The best way now to explain my enthusiasm is to give the words of a famous English correspondent, also just returned from a similar trip, (he is Frederic Villiers, who began war corresponding with Archibald Forbes at the battle of Plevna, and this is his seventeenth war,) who said:

“In all my life this trip is the biggest show I have ever had.”

The first point on the trip where the French intelligence proved superior to the German was that I was allowed to pay my own expenses. With the exception of motor cars and a hundred courtesies extended by the scores of French officers, I paid my own railroad fare, hotel and food bills.

“This army has nothing to hide,” said one of the greatest Generals to me. “You see what you like, go where you desire, and if you cannot get there, ask.”

This General was de Maud’Huy, the man who with a handful of territorials stopped the Prussian Guard before Arras shortly after the battle of the Marne and who since then has never lost a sin-

gle trench. His name is now scarcely known, even in France, but I venture the prophecy that when the French Army marches down the Champs Elysées after the war is over, when the vanguard passes under the Arch de Triomphe, de Maud’Huy—a nervous little firebrand—will be right up in the front rank with Joffre.

While our party did all the spectacular stunts the Germans have offered the correspondents in such profusion, such as visiting the trenches, where in our case a German shell burst thirty feet from us, splattering us with mud, also where snipers sent rifle balls hissing only a few feet away, almost our greatest treats were the scientific daily discourses given by our Captain concerning the entire history of the first campaign, explaining each event leading up to the present position of the two armies. He gave the exact location of every French and allied army corps on the entire front.

On the opposite side of the line he demonstrated the efficiency of the French secret service by detailing the position and name of every German regiment, also the date and the position it now holds. Thus, we were able to know during the journey that it was the crack Prussian Guard that was stopped by de Maud’Huy’s Territorials and that the English section under General French was opposed by Saxons.

Our Captain by these lectures gave us an insight into the second great German blunder after the failure to occupy Paris, which was the failure immediately to swing a line across Northern France, thus cutting off Calais and Boulogne, where they could really have leveled a pistol at England’s head. He explained that it was the superiority of the French cavalry that dictated that the line should instead run straight north through the edge of Belgium to the sea. His explanations went further than this, for he refuted many military arguments to the effect that cavalry became obsolete with the advent of aeroplanes.

Cavalry formerly was used to screen the infantry advance and also for shock purposes in the charges. Now that the

lines are established, it is mostly used with the infantry in the trenches; but in the great race after the Marne to turn the western flanks it was the cavalry's ability to outstrip the infantry that kept the Germans from practically all of Northern France. In other words, the French chausseurs, more brilliant than the Uhlans, kept that northern line straight until the infantry corps had time to take up position.

My introduction to the real French Army was made at the point of junction with the English troops, so I was thus able to make some comparison between the types of the Allies. I did not see the Germans except as prisoners, although on this trip I was sometimes within a few yards of their lines. With all consideration for the statement that they are the greatest fighting machine the world has ever seen, all I can say is that the greatest fighting machine I have even seen is the French Army.

To me they seem invincible from the standpoints of power, intelligence, and humanity. This latter quality specially impressed me. I do not believe any army with such high ideals can easily be beaten, and I judge not only from Generals in command, but the men in the trenches. One morning I was going through the trenches near the most important point where the line was continually under fire.

Passing from the second line to a point less than a hundred yards from the German rifles I came face to face with a General of division. He was sauntering along for the morning's stroll he chose to take in the trenches with his men rather than on the safer roads at the rear. He smoked a cigarette and seemed careless of danger. He continually patted his soldiers on the back as he passed and called them "his little braves."

I could not help wondering whether the German General opposite was setting his men the same splendid example. I inquired the French General's name; he was General Fayolle, conceded by all the armies to be the greatest artillery expert in the world. Comradship between officers and men always is well known in the

French Army, but I never before realized how the officers were so willing to accept quite the same fate.

In Paris the popular appellation for a German is "boche." Not once at the front did I hear this word used by officers or men. They deplore it, just as they deplore many things that happen in Paris. Every officer I talked to declared the Germans were a brave, strong enemy; they waste no time calling them names.

"They are wonderful, but we will beat them," was the way one officer summed up the general feeling.

Another illustration of the French officer at the front: The City of Vermelles of 10,000 inhabitants was captured from the Germans after fifty-four days' fighting. It was taken literally from house to house, the French engineers sapping and mining the Germans out of every stronghold, destroying every single house, incidentally forever upsetting my own one-time idea that the French are a frivolous people. So determined were they to retake this town that they fought in the streets with artillery at a distance of twenty-one feet, probably the shortest range artillery duel in the history of the world.

The Germans before the final evacuation buried hundreds of their own dead. Every yard in the city was filled with little crosses—the ground was so trampled that the mounds of graves were crushed down level with the ground—and on the crosses are printed the names with the number of the German regiments. At the base of every cross there rests either a crucifix or a statue of the Virgin or a wreath of artificial flowers, all looted from the French graveyard.

With the German graves are French graves made afterward. I walked through this ruined city where, aside from the soldiery, the only sign of life I saw was a gaunt, prowling cat. With me past these hundreds of graves walked half a dozen French officers. They did not pause to read inscriptions; they did not comment on the loot and pillage of the graveyard; they scarcely looked even at the graves, but they kept constantly raising their hands to their caps in salute

regardless of whether the cross numbered a French or a German life destroyed.

We were driving along back of the advance lines. On the road before us was a company of territorial infantry who had been eight days in the trenches and were now to have two days of repose at the rear. Plodding along the same road was a refugee mother and several little children in a donkey cart; behind the cart, attached by a rope, trundled a baby buggy with the youngest child inside. The buggy suddenly struck a rut in the road and overturned, spilling the baby into the mud. Terrible wails arose, and the soldiers stiffened to attention. Then, seeing the accident, the entire company broke ranks and rescued the infant. They wiped the dirt from its face and restored it to its mother in the cart.

So engrossing was the spectacle our motor halted, and our Captain from Great General Headquarters in his gorgeous blue uniform climbed from the car, discussing with the mother the safety of a baby buggy riding behind a donkey cart, at the same time congratulating the soldier who rescued the child.

Our trip throughout moved with that clockwork precision usually associated only with the Germans. The schedule throughout the week never varied from the arrangements made before we left Paris. When we arrived at certain towns we were handed slips of paper bearing our names and the hotel number of our room.

Amazing meals appeared at most amazing places, all the menus carefully thought out days before. Imagine fresh trout served you with other famous French delicacies in a little house in the battle zone, where only a few hundred yards of barbed wire and a few feet more of air separated you from the German trenches. During the German advance, also after the battle of the Marne, there were many towns in the districts where it was impossible to obtain tobacco, spirits, or food staples. This condition has entirely abated, and the commissariat is now so well supplied that soldiers have sufficient tobacco even in the trenches.

It was my privilege to take a brief ride

at the front in an antebellum motor bus of glorious memory—there being nothing left in Paris but the subway. Buses are now used to carry fresh meat, although they have been used in transporting troops and also ammunition. We trundled quite merrily along a little country road in Northern France, the snow-white fields on either side in strange contrast to the scenery when last I rode in that bus. I am sure I rode in the same bus before the war in my daily trips to the Paris office of THE NEW YORK TIMES. Its sides are bullet riddled now, but the soldier conductor still jingles the bell to the motorman, although he carries a revolver where he used to wear the register for fares.

Trench life was one of the most interesting surprises of the trip. Every night since the war began I have heard pitying remarks about "the boys in the trenches," especially if the nights were cold. I was, therefore, prepared to find the men standing in water to the knees, shivering, wretched, sick, and unhappy. I found just the contrary—the trenches were clean, large, and sanitary, although, of course, mud is mud. I found the bottoms of the trenches in every instance corduroy-lined with modern drains, which allowed the feet to keep perfectly dry, and also the large dugouts where the men, except those doing sentry duty, sleep comfortably on dry straw. There are special dugouts for officers and artillery observers.

I also visited a large, perfectly equipped Red Cross First Aid camp, all built underground, extending from one line of trenches to another. All trenches, communication traverses, and observatory dugouts have received names which are printed on shingles affixed to the trenches on little upright posts. For instance, we entered one section of the trenches through Boyau d'Espagne, we traversed Avenue de Bois, Avenues Wagram and Friedland, and others commemorating Napoleonic victories. The dugouts of officers and observers were all called villas—Villa Chambéry, Villa Montmorency being examples. It all seemed like cozy camp life underground except

that three times the morning of our visit it was necessary to flatten ourselves against the mud sidewalls while dead men on crossed rifles were carried out, every head in that particular bit of trench being bared as the sad procession disappeared.

Although the maps show the lines of fighting to be rather wavy, one must go to the front really to appreciate the irregular zigzag, snakelike line that it really is. The particular bit of trenches we visited cover a front of twelve miles, but so irregular is the line, so intricate and vast the system of intrenchments, that they measure 200 miles on that particular twelve-mile fighting front.

When one leaves the trenches at the rear of the communication boyaux, it is astonishing how little of the war can be seen. Ten feet after we left our trenches we could not see even the entrance. We stood in a beautiful open field having our pictures taken, and a few hundred yards away our motor waited behind some trees. Suddenly we heard a "zip zip" over our heads. German snipers were taking shots at us.

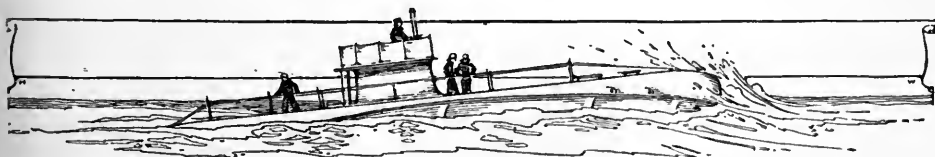
In addition to the enormous force of men constantly in the trenches along the entire line there is an equal size reserve line directly behind them in case of sudden attack. The artillery is posted considerably further to the rear along with revictualing stations, aeroplane hangars, and headquarters of the Generals, but through all this enormous mass of men which we passed daily going to and from our front observation posts never once did we get the impression of parade. Three were just troops, troops, troops everywhere, every hamlet, every village filled with them, every crossroads with their sentries. All of them, hardened by Winter and turns in the trenches, are in splendid condition, and as opposed to the Germans, at least to the German pris-

oners I have seen, each French soldier has a clear and definite knowledge of what the war is all about. The greatest event of his day is when the Paris newspapers arrive.

What impressed me greatly was that in all the officers' quarters were copies of the French "Yellow Book," the English "White Paper" and German documents attempting to prove their innocence in causing the conflict. It is not sufficient for French Generals or officers just to go to war; they must know why they go to war, down to the last papers in the case. In six months the French privates have acquired one habit from the British Tommies—that is drinking tea. Back of every section of trenches I found huge tea canteens, where thousands of cups are served daily to the soldiers who have decided for the first time in their life they really like such stuff. There one sees more soldiers at the same time than at any other place in the fighting zone; there they sit and discuss the future calmly and confidently, there being a distinct feeling that the war is likely to be over next Summer.

No one knows what the Spring tactics of General Joffre will be. Along the section of the front I visited the officers are all satisfied that the Commander in Chief's "nibbling tactics" have forced the Germans to retire on the average of two to three miles all along the line. The very name of that great man is spoken with reverence, almost with awe, by his "children at the front."

I, therefore, from the facilities given me, can only make one assertion in summing up my opinion of the French grand army of 1915, that it is strong, courageous, scientifically intelligent, and well trained as a champion pugilist after months of preparation for the greatest struggle of his career. The French Army waits eager and ready for the gong.



Dodging Shells

[From The London Morning Post, Feb. 1, 1915.]

THE Echo de Paris has published today a letter that throws a considerable amount of light upon the psychology of the French soldier, and that shows how he behaves himself when subjected to very trying fire and compelled to act on his own initiative. It is written by the man to his wife, and is as follows:

I am acting as guard to a convoy, and am comfortably installed, with no work to do, in the house of an old woman who has lent me a candle and writing materials. I shan't be suffering from the cold in the way I have done on previous nights, as I have a roof over me and a fire. What luxury! It's been freezing for several nights, and you feel the frost when you are sleeping in the open. But that is nothing to the three days we passed in the village of —. We were stationed in the mairie. In front of us in the clock tower an artillery Captain was taking observations. On the road between the church and the mairie a Sergeant and four artillerymen were sending orders to the battery behind us. Suddenly a shell struck. We saw the artillerymen on the ground and the Sergeant alone left standing.

The fire was so thick that no one could think of going out. But suddenly one of the men moved, so I got up to find out about it, taking care to put on my knapsack. When I was among them I found that one had been hit right in the heart; two others were dying, one with his head in a pulp and the other with his thigh broken and the calf of his leg torn to a jelly. I helped the Sergeant to mend the telephone wire that had been broken by the shell, and all the time we were having shells and bits of brick breaking around us.

Then I went back to the mairie, and asked for some one who would not be frightened to come with me. Two of us went off to the village for a stretcher. I found one at the old ambulance, and

was just leaving it when I heard the scream of a shell, and took cover in the chimney—just in time. A big black brute smashed half the house in. My comrade and I hurried off after the wounded man. Our pals were watching us from the mairie, wondering if we should ever get back. Old Gérome, (that's me,) they said, will get back all right, and when back at the mairie I began to give the wounded man first aid. Another shell came along, and the place shook, window panes rained upon us, and dust blinded us, but at last it cleared.

Left alone with my wounded man I went on dressing him, and when the others got back I got them to help me take him to the schoolhouse near by. I got congratulated by my comrades and the senior Sergeant, but the Colonel and Lieutenant said nothing, though later I heard they were pleased with me, but suddenly the Colonel said: "We can't stop here. Go and see if there's room in the cellars of the castle for four officers and thirty men. If there is don't come back, as we will follow you."

We got there at last, two of us, but the owner took a long time opening. Meanwhile scraps of roofs and walls were raining on us, but with our knapsacks on our heads we were a bit protected. At last our knocks were answered, and we learned that there was room for four officers, but not for thirty men! The Colonel and the men had to be warned, so my comrade started running back and I followed about fifteen yards behind.

We passed a gap in the houses, with no cover, nothing but gardens. A shell came along. I dropped, while the other man hid in a doorway. The bits of it sang about our ears. I then sang out: "As you are nearly there, go on, and I'll see if there is room in the farm near by." I reached the houses and waited to see that he got through, because if he'd fallen I should have had to go back to warn the rest. As he was going two



VICE ADMIRAL SIR DAVID BEATTY
Youngest of British Admirals, Whose Fleet Sank the *Blucher*,
and Won the Battle of the Bight of Heligoland
(From the painting by Philip Alexius de Laszlo)



COUNT VON REVENTLOW
The German Naval Critic Who Has Intimated That the United States Might Be a Divided Nation in Case of War

shells burst in the courtyard of the mairie, and I thought of the Colonel and the rest, but at last my comrade reached the place and went in, and I was free to try for the farm.

On my way I met a friend and asked him to join me. At the time I was thinking of you all, and it was not till later that I got frightened. There were five horses at the gate of the farm. I shifted them and showed my friend the entrance to the cellar. It was narrow, and he lost time through his knapsack, and these are the occasions when your life depends on seconds. I heard the scream that I know only too well, and guessed where the beast would lodge, and called out to him "That's for us." I shrank back with my knapsack over my head and tried to bury myself in the corner among the coal.

I had no time, though. The shell reached, smashed down part of the house, and burst in the basement a couple of yards from me. I heard no more, but stone, plaster, and bricks fell all around me on the coal heap. I was gasping, but found myself untouched. I got up and saw the poultry struggling and the horses struck down. I ran to the cellar, with the same luck as my friend.

My knapsack caught me. A shell screamed a second time again for us, and it struck, wallop, on the gable, while the ruins fell around my head. I pulled at my knapsack so vigorously that I fell into the cellar, and some of our men who were there called "Here's a poor brute done in." Not a bit of it. I was not touched then either. * * * At last the bombardment stopped, and we all got out. I noticed about forty hens. Some were pulped. Others had had their heads and legs cut off. In the middle three horses lay dead. Their saddles were in ribbons. Equipment, revolvers, swords, all that had been left above the cellar had vanished, but there were bits of them to be seen on the roof. My rifle, which had been torn from my hands, was in fragments, and I was stupefied at not having been hit. I noticed, however, that my wrappings that were rolled around my knapsack had been pierced by a splinter of shell that had stuck in it. Later in the

evening when I started cutting at my bread the knife stuck. I broke the bread open and found another bit of shell in it. I don't yet know why I was not made mincemeat of that day. There were fifty chances to one against me.

The two following days I stopped in the cellar, hearing nothing but their big shells, while the farm and the buildings near it were smashed in. Now it is all over. I am all right and bored to death mounting guard over wagons ten miles from the firing line, with a crowd of countrymen who have been commanded with their wagons.

I ought to tell you that the two shells I saw fall on the mairie when my comrade was going there unfortunately killed one and wounded five. It was a bit of luck for me, as I always used to be hanging about the courtyard. That's the sad side of it, but we have an amusing time all the same. [The writer goes on to explain how he and his friends dressed up some men of straw in uniform and induced the Germans to shoot at them, and finally to charge them, while they fired at the Germans and brought several of them down. He continues.]

But that's nothing to what they'll get, and their villages will get, and their mairies, chateaux, and farms, and cellars, when we get there. I will respect old men, women, and children, but let their fighting men look out. I don't mind sacrificing my life to do my duty, and to defend those I love and who love me, but if I've got to lose my skin I want to lose it in Boche-land. I want the joy of getting into their dirty Prussia to avenge our beautiful land. Bandits! Let them and their choucroute factories look out! If you saw the countryside we are recovering—there's nothing left but ruins. Everything burned and smashed to bits. Cattle, more dead than alive, are bolting in all directions, and as for our poor women, when I see them I would destroy everything.

Our officers say: "We'll never be able to hold our men when we get into their country." But I say that I want to go there all the same, and yet when I say that I had a German prisoner to guard at the mairie. I gave him half my bread

and knocked walnuts off the trees for him. All the time I saw five or more villages in flames around. Well, it all proves that a soldier should never say

what he will do tomorrow. My job is to protect the flag, and the Boches can come on. Before they get it they'll have to get me. * * * Vive la France!

Somali Volunteers

[From The London Times, Nov. 10, 1914.]

We have received from a correspondent a copy of a petition signed by the principal Somali chiefs in Jubaland, praying that they may be allowed to fight for England. The terms of this interesting document are as follows:

TO His Highness the Governor, Through the Hakim of Jubaland: Salaams, yea, many salaams, with God's mercy, blessing, and peace. After salaams,

We, the Somali of Jubaland, both Herti and Ogaden, comprising all the tribes and including the Maghavbul, but not including the Tulamuya Ogaden, who live in Biskaya and Tanaland and the Marehan, desire humbly to address you.

In former days the Somali have fought against the Government. Even lately the Marehan have fought against the Government. Now we have heard that the German Government have declared war on the English Government. Behold, our "fitna" against the English Government is finished. As the monsoon wind drives the sandhills of our coast into new forms, so does this news of German evildoing drive our hearts and spears into the service of the English Government. The Jubaland Somali are with the English Government. Daily in our mosques we pray for the success of the English armies. Day is as night and night is as day with us until we hear that the English are victorious. God knows the right. He will help the right. We have heard that Indian askaris have been sent

to fight for us in Europe. Humbly we ask why should not the Somali fight for England also? We beg the Government to allow our warriors to show their loyalty. In former days the Somali tribes made fitna against each other. Even now it is so; it is our custom; yet, with the Government against the Germans, we are as one, ourselves, our warriors, our women, and our children. By God it is so. By God it is so. By God it is so.

A few days ago many troops of the military left this country to eat up the Germans who have invaded our country in Africa. May God prosper them. Yet, O Hakim, with all humbleness we desire to beg of the Government to allow our sons and warriors to take part in this great war against the German evildoers. They are ready. They are eager. Grant them the boon. God and Mohammed are with us all.

If Government wish to take away all the troops and police from Jubaland, it is good. We pledge ourselves to act as true Government askaris until they return.

We humbly beg that this our letter may be placed at the feet of our King and Emperor, who lives in England, in token of our loyalty and our prayers.

[Here follow the signatures of all the principal Somali chiefs and elders living in Jubaland.]

When King Peter Re-Entered Belgrade

[From The New York Evening Post, Feb. 15, 1915.]

PARIS, Jan. 29.

SO King Peter himself became priest; and the great cathedral was filled with the sobbing of his people.

Everybody knows the story of the deliverance of Belgrade; how the little Serbian Army fell back for strategic reasons as the Austrians entered the city, but finally, after seventeen days of fighting without rest, (for the Serbian Army has had no reserves since the Turkish war,) knit its forces together, marched 100 miles in three days, and drove the Austrians headlong out of the capital.

King Peter rode at the head of his army. Shrapnel from the Austrian guns was still bursting over the city. But the people were too much overjoyed to mind. They lined the sidewalks and threw flowers as the troops passed. The soldiers marched in close formation; the sprays clung to them, and they became a moving flower garden. The scream of an occasional shell was drowned in the cheers.

They are emotional people, these Serbians. And something told them that, even with death and desolation all about them, they had reason to be elated. A few hours before, the Austrians had been established in Belgrade, confident that they were there to stay for months, if not for years. Now they were fleeing headlong over the River Save, their commissariat jammed at the bridge, their fighting men in a rout.

So King Peter rode through the streets of the capital with his army, and came to the cathedral. The great church was locked, because the priests had left the city on errands of mercy. But a soldier went through a window and undid the portals. The King and his officers and some of the soldiers and as many of the people as could get in crowded into the cathedral. And, lacking some one to say mass, the King became a priest—which is an ancient function of Kings—and, as he knelt, the officers and soldiers and people knelt. There was a vast silence

for a moment; and then, in every part of the church, a sobbing.

This account is a free translation of a woman's letter, in Serbian, received in this city a few days ago by Miss Helen Losanich, who is here with Mme. Slavko Grouitch to interest Americans in helping her countrymen back to their devastated farms. Mme. Grouitch is an American by birth; but Miss Losanich is a Serbian, with the black hair and burning black eyes of the Slavs, and boasting twenty years perhaps. Her sister, Mme. Marincovich, is wife of the Serbian Minister of Commerce and Agriculture. It was Mme. Marincovich who had written the letter.

"I've just had this letter from my sister in Serbia," cried Miss Losanich, when a friend called, and she waved in one hand a dozen sheets closely written in a script that resembled Russian. "I've hardly had time to read it myself. But we will sit down and translate it into English, if you say.

"She says here that, when the Austrians had to leave Belgrade, they took 1,200 people as hostages—non-combatants, you know. When they came into the city first they gave assurances that all non-combatants would be safe; but for the last few days before they left, no non-combatant could walk on the street without being taken up as a hostage.

"Just imagine, it says here that they even took a little boy. He can fight when he is older, they say. You know, the Turks used to do that. They came and took our boys of nine and ten years, and trained them as soldiers in their janisseries; and when they had forgotten their own country they sent them back to fight against it. It is terrible, isn't it!

"The Austrians took the furniture from our people's houses and carried it across the River Save to the Semlin. They behaved frightfully, my sister says; brought all kinds of people with them, including women from the very lowest class; broke into the houses and stole the

ladies' toilettes. One lady with many beautiful dresses found them all cut to ribbons when she got back to Belgrade.

"The Austrians brought lots of tea and crackers and conserves with them. Some soldiers had taken a lady's evening gown and pinned strawberries from strawberry jam all over it, in appropriate places, and laid the gown out for the lady to see."

A merry smile illuminated Miss Losanich's face as she read this part of the letter.

"Our brother," she went on, "entered Belgrade with the army. He came back to Nish on leave about Christmas, the Serbian Christmas, which is about thirteen days later than yours. Nish is the temporary capital; and my sister is there. He told them all about Belgrade. He had been to his house; the whole house was upset, drawers forced, old letters opened and thrown on the floor, papers strewn about, King Peter's picture (autographed by the King) thrown on the floor, and King Ferdinand's picture stamped on.

"Brother went to a private sanitarium that our uncle has in Belgrade. The Austrians had seized this, and had begun making it over for a hospital. They wanted the Bulgarian Red Cross installed. They had brought quantities of biscuits and tea and conserves. But they had to leave in such a hurry they couldn't take the things with them. 'And now,' my sister says, 'we are eating them!'

"Across the street four of our cousins live—young men. They are all at the front now"—Miss Losanich laughed outright as she read this part—"their house was entered and all their clothes taken; dress suits, smoking jackets, linen, and all those things. It makes me laugh; it's naughty, I know. But they used to go out a good deal. I have seen them in those clothes so often. One of them wanted to marry me. He used to go out a great deal"—this with another merry peal of laughter.

"Mme. Grouitch's house was undisturbed; and ours. We used to know the Austrian attaché before the war. He was rather a nice fellow. Played tennis with us a good deal, and so on. He came into Belgrade with his army, and he came

around to our house. The servants recognized him, because, you see, they knew him. The servants had stayed behind. He seemed to think he would like to make my sister's house his quarters, but after he had thought about it a while he went away.

"She says that she would like to go back to Belgrade, but the railroad has been destroyed—a big viaduct of stone at Ralya, about 17 kilometers from Belgrade; and they have to go from Ralya to Belgrade by carriage. There are so many wagons of the commissariat on the road—so many carriages have been seized by the Government—it is impossible for private citizens to get through.

"A gibbet was put up in the square after the Austrians came into the city and a man was hanged the first morning, in spite of the fact that the Austrians had promised safety to the non-combatants. Dr. Edward Ryan, the head of the American Red Cross in Belgrade, protested, and the gibbet was taken down. But my sister says that eighteen more people were hanged in the fortress down by the Save—she hears—where they wouldn't be seen.

"Mr. Bisserce, a Belgian, is director of the electric lighting plant in Belgrade. He is a nice man, and, being a Belgian, he does not like the Austrians. He wouldn't light the town until they made him, and he wouldn't give them a map of the system at all. He was bound in ropes and taken away as a hostage, and they haven't heard from him since.

"The most touching thing was the entrance of King Peter—" whereupon Miss Losanich told the story related above.

"Rubbish, straw, and dead horses were strewn through all the streets when the King and the army came in. The shooting was still going on. There was a jam of commissariat wagons at the bridge—you know there is a bridge across the Save. The Austrians couldn't get across fast enough, there was so much confusion—too many wanting to get over at one time. The Serbian artillery was shooting at them all the time. Presently the middle of the bridge went down. The

men and the horses and the carriages and the wagons all went down together. They were pinned down by the masses of stone, but there were so many of them that they filled up the river and stuck up above the water. It was so bad that our people couldn't clear it up—so there is an awful odor all over the town.

"She says that the Austrians brought 17,000 wounded, thinking that they were going to stay for months—and perhaps for ever. They turned over quantities of them to Dr. Ryan at the American Red Cross Hospital.

"General Franck, the Austrian commander, made a remark—and he must have made it to Dr. Ryan, although my sister doesn't say so. General Franck said: 'If the Russians had fought the way the Serbians have, there wouldn't be an Austrian soldier left!'

"That's a good deal for the head of the Austrians to say, isn't it? We al-

ways expected victory; but even the most optimistic of us were surprised at what our peasant soldiers did.

"In the flight, the Austrians could not take care of their wounded, she says, and sent them back to Belgrade, many of them, as prisoners. Many must have died during the flight, too, for they got a jolting that wounded men can't stand.

"Our brother, who was a professor of chemistry, is a Sergeant now in charge of two German Krupp guns, which were captured from Turkey in the other war. He is at Banovo Brdo, a residence section outside Belgrade, on a hill. All the villas have been destroyed by the Austrian artillery fire.

"And," continued Miss Losanich, "she says that the toys sent by the Americans were received in Nish and distributed to the poor children for Christmas, and that the feeling of cordiality toward the Americans is growing fast."

THE DRAGON'S TEETH

BY CAROLINE DUER

O H, sunny, quiet, fruitful fields of France,
Golden and green a month ago,
Through you the great red tides of
war's advance
Sweep raging to and fro.
For patient toil of years,
Blood, fire and tears
Reward you now!

The dragon's teeth are sown, and in a night
There springs to life the armed host!
And men leap forth bewildered to the fight,
Legion for legion lost!
"Toll for my tale of sons,"
Roar out the guns,
"Cost what it cost!"

This is a "holy war"! A holy war?
With thousand millions maimed and dead!
To show one Power dares more than others
dare—
That higher rears one Head!
How will you count your gain,
Lord of the slain,
When all is said?

The dragon's teeth are sown, and in a night
There springs to life the armed host!
And men leap forth bewildered to the fight,
Legion for legion lost!
"Toll for my tale of sons,"
Roar out the guns,
"Cost what it cost!"

Oh, tragedy of Nations! Who may see
The outcome, or foretell the end?
Hark men and weeping women, misery
That none may mend.
Ruin in peaceful marts,
Dazed commerce, stricken arts.
God, to the ravaged hearts
Some mercy send!

The dragon's teeth are sown, and in a night
There springs to life the armed host!
And men leap forth bewildered to the fight,
Legion for legion lost!
"Toll for my tale of sons,"
Roar out the guns,
"Cost what it cost!"

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The Greatest of Campaigns

The French Official Account

The Associated Press received in London on March 5, 1915, an official French historical review of the operations in the western theatre of war from its beginning up to the end of January, the first six months, which in terseness and dramatic power will rank among the world's most important military documents. The first chapter of the review was released for publication by The Associated Press on March 16 and appears below. It is one of those documents, rare in military annals, that frankly confesses a succession of initial reverses and official incompetence, only retrieved by exercise of the utmost skill in retreat.

CHAPTER I.

THE FRENCH SETBACKS IN AUGUST.

THE first month of the campaign began with successes and finished with defeats for the French troops. Under what circumstances did these come about?

Our plan of concentration had foreseen the possibility of two principal actions, one on the right between the Vosges and the Moselle, the other on the left to the north of Verdun-Toul line, this double possibility involving the eventual variation of our transport. On Aug. 2, owing to the Germans passing through Belgium, our concentration was substantially modified by General Joffre in order that our principal effort might be directed to the north.

From the first week in August it was apparent that the length of time required for the British Army to begin to move would delay our action in connection with it. This delay is one of the reasons which explain our failures at the end of August.

Awaiting the moment when the operations in the north could begin, and to prepare for it by retaining in Alsace the greatest possible number of German forces, the General in Chief ordered our troops to occupy Mulhouse, (Mülhausen,) to cut the bridges of the Rhine at Huningue and below, and then to flank the attack of our troops, operating in Lorraine.

This operation was badly carried out by a leader who was at once relieved of

his command. Our troops, after having carried Mulhouse, lost it and were thrown back on Belfort. The work had, therefore, to be recommenced afresh, and this was done from Aug. 14 under a new command.

Mulhouse was taken on the 19th, after a brilliant fight at Dornach. Twenty-four guns were captured from the enemy. On the 20th we held the approaches to Colmar, both by the plain and by the Vosges. The enemy had undergone enormous losses and abandoned great stores of shells and forage, but from this moment what was happening in Lorraine and on our left prevented us from carrying our successes further, for our troops in Alsace were needed elsewhere. On Aug. 28 the Alsace army was broken up, only a small part remaining to hold the region of Thann and the Vosges.

THE OPERATIONS IN LORRAINE.

The purpose of the operations in Alsace was, namely, to retain a large part of the enemy's forces far from the northern theatre of operations. It was for our offensive in Lorraine to pursue still more directly by holding before it the German army corps operating to the south of Metz.

This offensive began brilliantly on Aug. 14. On the 19th we had reached the region of Saarburg and that of the Etangs, (lakes,) and we held Dieuze, Morhange, Delme, and Château Salins.

On the 20th our success was stopped. The cause is to be found in the strong organization of the region, in the power

of the enemy's artillery, operating over ground which had been minutely surveyed, and, finally, in the default of certain units.

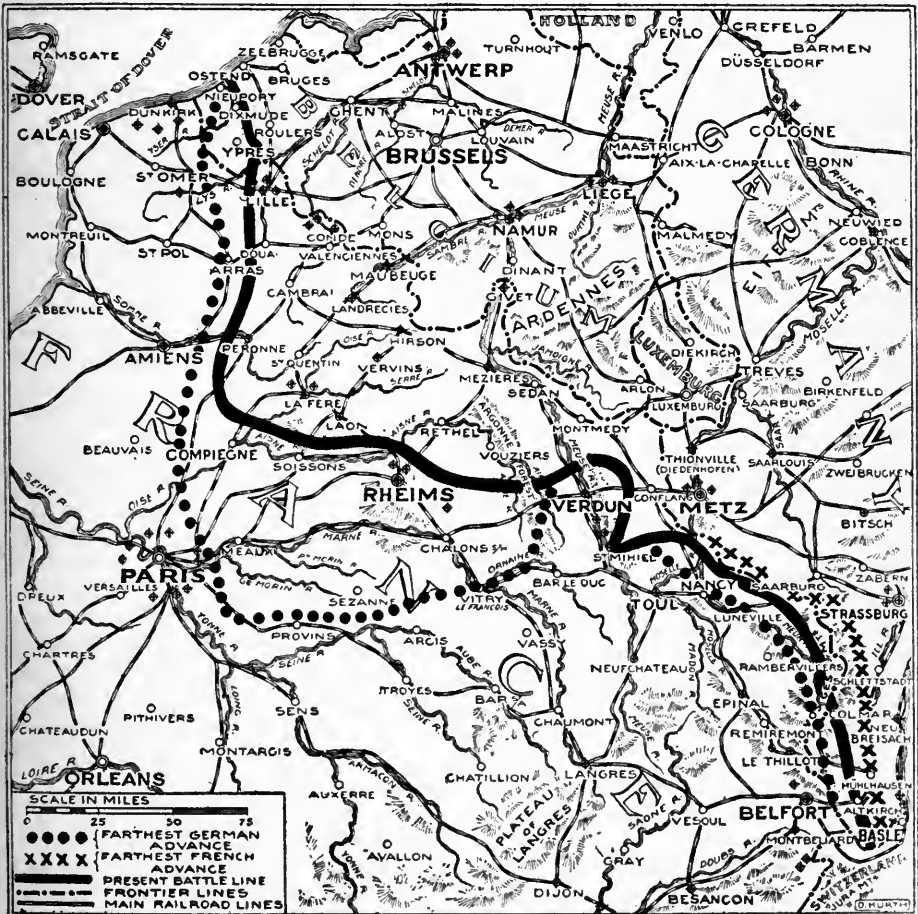
On the 22d, in spite of the splendid behavior of several of our army corps, notably that of Nancy, our troops were brought back on to the Grand Couronne, while on the 23d and 24th the Germans concentrated reinforcements—three army corps, at least—in the region of Lunéville and forced us to retire to the south.

This retreat, however, was only momentary. On the 25th, after two vigorous counter-attacks, one from south to north and the other from west to east, the enemy had to fall back. From that time a sort of balance was established on this terrain between the Germans and ourselves. Maintained for fif-

teen days, it was afterward, as will be seen, modified to our advantage.

OPERATIONS IN BELGIAN LUXEMBOURG.

There remained the principal business, the battle of the north—postponed owing to the necessity of waiting for the British Army. On Aug. 20 the concentration of our lines was finished and the General in Chief gave orders for our centre and our left to take the offensive. Our centre comprised two armies. Our left consisted of a third army, reinforced to the extent of two army corps, a corps of cavalry, the reserve divisions, the British Army, and the Belgian Army, which had already been engaged for the previous three weeks at Liége, Namur, and Louvain.



The German plan on that date was as follows: From seven to eight army corps and four cavalry divisions were endeavoring to pass between Givet and Brussels, and even to prolong their movements more to the west. Our object was, therefore, in the first place, to hold and dispose of the enemy's centre and afterward to throw ourselves with all available forces on the left flank of the German grouping of troops in the north.

On Aug. 21 our offensive in the centre began with ten army corps. On Aug. 22 it failed, and this reverse appeared serious.

The reasons for it are complex. There were in this affair individual and collective failures, imprudences committed under the fire of the enemy, divisions ill-engaged, rash deployments, precipitate retreats, a premature waste of men, and, finally, the inadequacy of certain of our troops and their leaders, both as regards the use of infantry and artillery.

In consequence of these lapses the enemy, turning to account the difficult terrain, was able to secure the maximum of profit from the advantages which the superiority of his subaltern complements gave him.

OPERATIONS SOUTH OF SAMBRE.

In spite of this defeat our manoeuvre had still a chance of success, if our left and the British Army obtained a decisive result. This was unfortunately not the case. On Aug. 22, at the cost of great losses, the enemy succeeded in crossing the Sambre and our left army fell back on the 24th upon Beaumont-Givet, being perturbed by the belief that the enemy was threatening its right.

On the same day, (the 24th,) the British Army fell back after a German attack upon the Maubeuge-Valenciennes line. On the 25th and 26th its retreat became more hurried. After Landrecies and Le Cateau it fell back southward by forced marches. It could not from this time keep its hold until after crossing the Marne.

The rapid retreat of the English, coinciding with the defeat sustained in Belgian Luxembourg, allowed the enemy to cross the Meuse and to accelerate, by

fortifying it, the action of his right.

The situation at this moment may be thus summed up: Either our frontier had to be defended on the spot under conditions which the British retreat rendered extremely perilous, or we had to execute a strategic retirement which, while delivering up to the enemy a part of the national soil, would permit us, on the other hand, to resume the offensive at our own time with a favorable disposition of troops, still intact, which we had at our command. The General in Chief determined on the second alternative.

PREPARATION OF THE OFFENSIVE.

Henceforward the French command devoted its efforts to preparing the offensive. To this end three conditions had to be fulfilled:

1. The retreat had to be carried out in order under a succession of counter-attacks which would keep the enemy busy.

2. The extreme point of this retreat must be fixed in such a way that the different armies should reach it simultaneously, ready at the moment of occupying it to resume the offensive all together.

3. Every circumstance permitting of a resumption of the offensive before this point should be reached must be utilized by the whole of our forces and the British forces.

THE FRENCH COUNTER-ATTACK.

The counter-attacks, executed during the retreat, were brilliant and often fruitful. On Aug. 20 we successfully attacked St. Quentin to disengage the British Army. Two other corps and a reserve division engaged the Prussian Guard and the Tenth German Army Corps, which was debouching from Guise. By the end of the day, after various fluctuations, the enemy was thrown back on the Oise and the British front was freed.

On Aug. 27 we had also succeeded in throwing back upon the Meuse the enemy, who was endeavoring to gain a foothold on the left bank. Our successes continued on the 28th in the woods of

Marfée and of Jaulnay. Thanks to them we were able, in accordance with the orders of the General in Chief, to fall back on the Buzancy-Le Chesne-Bouvellemont line.

Further to the right another army took part in the same movement and carried out successful attacks on Aug. 25 on the Othain and in the region of Spincourt.

On the 26th these different units recrossed the Meuse without being disturbed and were able to join in the action of our centre. Our armies were, therefore, again intact and available for the offensive.

On Aug. 26 a new army composed of two army corps, five reserve divisions, and a Moorish brigade was constituted. This army was to assemble in the region of Amiens between Aug. 27 and Sept. 1 and take the offensive against the German right, uniting its action with that of the British Army, operating on the line of Ham-Bray-sur-Somme.

CONTINUATION OF THE RETREAT.

The hope of resuming the offensive was from this moment rendered vain by the rapidity of the march of the German right wing. This rapidity had two consequences, which we had to parry before thinking of advancing. On the one hand, our new army had not time to complete its detaining, and, on the other hand, the British Army, forced back further by the enemy, uncovered on Aug. 31 our left flank. Our line, thus modified, contained waves which had to be redressed before we could pass to the offensive.

To understand this it is sufficient to consider the situation created by the quick advance of the enemy on the evening of Sept. 2.

A corps of cavalry had crossed the Oise and advanced as far as Château Thierry. The First Army, (General von Kluck,) comprising four active army corps and a reserve corps, had passed Compiègne.

The Second Army, (General von Bülow,) with three active army corps and two reserve corps, was reaching the Laon region.

The Third Army, (General von Hau-

sen,) with two active army corps and a reserve corps, had crossed the Aisne between the Château Porcien and Attigny.

More to the east the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Armies, namely, twelve army corps, four reserve corps, and numerous Ersatz formations, were in contact with our troops, the Fourth and Fifth Armies between Vouziers and Verdun and the others in the positions which have been indicated above, from Verdun to the Vosges.

It will, therefore, be seen that our left, if we accepted battle, might be in great peril through the British forces and the new French Army, operating more to the westward, having given way.

A defeat in these conditions would have cut off our armies from Paris and from the British forces and at the same time from the new army which had been constituted to the left of the English. We should thus be running the risk of losing by a single stroke the advantage of the assistance which Russia later on was to furnish.

General Joffre chose resolutely for the solution which disposed of these risks, that is to say, for postponing the offensive and the continuance of the retreat. In this way he remained on ground which he had chosen. He waited only until he could engage in better conditions.

In consequence, on Sept. 1, he fixed as an extreme limit for the movement of retreat, which was still going on, the line of Bray-sur-Seine, Nogent-sur-Seine, Arcis-sur-Aube, Vitry-le-François, and the region to the north of Bar-le-Duc. This line might be reached if the troops were compelled to go back so far. They would attack before reaching it, as soon as there was a possibility of bringing about an offensive disposition, permitting the co-operation of the whole of our forces.

THE EVE OF THE OFFENSIVE.

On Sept. 5 it appeared that this desired situation existed.

The First German Army, carrying audacity to temerity, had continued its endeavor to envelop our left, had

crossed the Grand Morin, and reached the region of Chauffry, to the south of Rebaix and of Esternay. It aimed then at cutting our armies off from Paris, in order to begin the investment of the capital.

The Second Army had its head on the line Champaubert, Etoges, Bergeres, and Vertus.

The Third and Fourth Armies reached to Chalons-sur-Marne and Bussy-le-Repos. The Fifth Army was advancing on one side and the other from the Argonne as far as Triacourt-les-Islettes and Juivecourt. The Sixth and Seventh Armies were attacking more to the east.

But—and here is a capital difference between the situation of Sept. 5 and that of Sept. 2—the envelopment of our left was no longer possible.

In the first place, our left army had been able to occupy the line of Sézanne,

Villers-St. Georges and Courchamps. Furthermore, the British forces, gathered between the Seine and the Marne, flanked on their left by the newly created army, were closely connected with the rest of our forces.

This was precisely the disposition which the General in Chief had wished to see achieved. On the 4th he decided to take advantage of it, and ordered all the armies to hold themselves ready. He had taken from his right two new army corps, two divisions of infantry, and two divisions of cavalry, which were distributed between his left and his centre.

On the evening of the 5th he addressed to all the commanders of armies a message ordering them to attack.

“The hour has come,” he wrote, “to advance at all costs, and to die where you stand rather than give way.”

(To be continued in the next issue.)

BY THE NORTH SEA.

By W. L. COURTNEY.

[From King Albert's Book.]

DEATH and Sorrow and Sleep:
Here where the slow waves creep,
This is the chant I hear,
The chant of the measureless deep.

What was sorrow to me
Then, when the young life free
Thirsted for joys of earth
Far from the desolate sea?

What was Sleep but a rest,
Giving to youth the best
Dreams from the ivory gate,
Visions of God manifest?

What was Death but a tale
Told to faces grown pale,
Worn and wasted with years—
A meaningless thing to the hale?

Death and Sorrow and Sleep:
Now their sad message I keep,
Tossed on the wet wind's breath,
The chant of the measureless deep.

When Marthe Chenal Sang the "Marseillaise"

By Wythe Williams

[FROM THE NEW YORK TIMES, Feb. 14, 1915.]

I WENT to the Opéra Comique the other day to hear Marthe Chenal sing the "Marseillaise." For several weeks previous I had heard a story going the rounds of what is left of Paris life to the effect that if one wanted a regular old-fashioned thrill he really should go to the Opéra Comique on a day when Mlle. Chenal closed the performance by singing the French national hymn. I was told there would be difficulty in securing a seat.

I was rather skeptical. I also considered that I had had sufficient thrill: since the beginning of the war, both old fashioned and new. I believed also that I had already heard the "Marseillaise" sung under the best possible circumstances to produce thrills. One of the first nights after mobilization 10,000 Frenchmen filled the street beneath the windows of THE NEW YORK TIMES office, where I was at work. They sang the "Marseillaise" for two hours, with a solemn hatred of their national enemy sounding in every note. The solemnity changed to a wild passion as the night wore on. Finally, cuirassiers of the guard rode through the street to disperse the mob. It was a terrific scene.

So I was willing to admit that the "Marseillaise" is probably the most thrilling and most martial national song ever written, but I was just not keen on the subject of thrills.

Then one day a sedate friend went to the Opéra Comique and came away in a raving condition. It was a week before his ardor subsided. He declared that this rendition of a song was something that will be referred to in future years. "Why," he said, "when the war is over

the French will talk about it in the way Americans still talk concerning Jenny Lind at Castle Garden, or De Wolf Hopper reciting 'Casey at the Bat.'

This induced me to go. I was convinced that whether I got a thrill or not the singing of the "Marseillaise" by Chenal had become a distinct feature of Paris life during the war.

I never want to go again. To go again might deepen my impression—might better register the thrill. But then it might not be just the same. I would be keyed to such expectancy that I might be disappointed. Persons in the seats behind me might whisper. And just as Chenal got to the "Amour sacré de la patrie" some one might cough. I am confident that something of the sort would surely happen. I want always to remember that ten minutes while Chenal was on the stage just as I remember it now. So I will not go again.

The first part of the performance was Donizetti's "Daughter of the Regiment," beautifully sung by members of the regular company. But somehow the spectacle of a fat soprano nearing forty in the rôle of the twelve-year-old vivandière, although impressive, was not sublime. A third of the audience were soldiers. In the front row of the top balcony were a number of wounded. Their bandaged heads rested against the rail. Several of them yawned.

After the operetta came a "Ballet of the Nations." The "nations," of course, represented the Allies. We had the delectable vision of the Russian ballerina dancing with arms entwined about several maids of Japan. The Scotch lassies wore violent blue jackets. The Belgian girls carried large pitchers and rather

wept and watered their way about the stage. There were no thrills.

After the intermission there was not even available standing space. The majority of the women were in black—the prevailing color in these days. The only touches of brightness and light were in the uniforms of the officers liberally sprinkled through the orchestra and boxes.

Then came "Le Chant du Depart," the famous song of the revolution. The scene was a little country village. The principals were the officer, the soldier, the wife, the mother, the daughter, and the drummer boy. There was a magnificent soldier chorus and the fanfare of drums and trumpets. The audience then became honestly enthusiastic. I concluded that the best Chenal could do with the "Marseillaise," which was next on the programme, would be an anticlimax.

The orchestra played the opening bars of the martial music. With the first notes the vast audience rose. I looked up at the row of wounded leaning heavily against the rail, their eyes fixed and staring on the curtain. I noticed the officers in the boxes, their eyes glistening. I heard a convulsive catch in the throats of persons about me. Then the curtain lifted.

I do not remember what was the stage setting. I do not believe I saw it. All I remember was Chenal standing at the top of a short flight of steps, in the centre near the back drop. I indistinctly remember that the rest of the stage was filled with the soldier chorus and that near the footlights on either side were clusters of little children.

"Up, sons of France, the call of glory"—

Chenal swept down to the footlights. The words of the song swept over the audience like a bugle call. The singer wore a white silk gown draped in perfect Grecian folds. She wore the large black Alsatian head dress, in one corner of which was pinned a small tri-colored cockade. She has often been called the most beautiful woman in Paris. The

description was too limited. With the next lines she threw her arms apart, drawing out the folds of the gown into the tricolor of France—heavy folds of red silk draped over one arm and blue over the other. Her head was thrown back. Her tall, slender figure simply vibrated with the feeling of the words that poured forth from her lips. She was noble. She was glorious. She was sublime. With the "March on, March on" of the chorus, her voice arose high and fine over the full orchestra, and even above her voice could be sensed the surging emotions of the audience that seemed to sweep over the house in waves.

I looked up at the row of wounded. One man held his bandaged head between his hands and was crying. An officer in a box, wearing the gorgeous uniform of the headquarters staff, held a handkerchief over his eyes.

Through the second verse the audience alternately cheered and stamped their feet and wept. Then came the wonderful "Amour sacré de la patrie"—sacred love of home and country—verse. The crashing of the orchestra ceased, dying away almost to a whisper. Chenal drew the folds of the tricolor cloak about her. Then she bent her head and, drawing the flag to her lips, kissed it reverently. The first words came like a sob from her soul. From then until the end of the verse, when her voice again rang out over the renewed efforts of the orchestra, one seemed to live through all the glorious history of France. At the very end, when Chenal drew a short jeweled sword from the folds of her gown and stood, silent and superb, with the folds of the flag draped about her, while the curtain rang slowly down, she seemed to typify both Empire and Republic throughout all time. All the best of the past seemed concentrated there as that glorious woman, with head raised high, looked into the future.

And as I came out of the theatre with the silent audience I said to myself that a nation with a song and a patriotism such as I had just witnessed could not vanish from the earth—nor again be vanquished.

A War of Commerce to Follow

By Sir William Ramsay

That commerce in Germany is regarded as war, that the "powerful mass of the German State" is projected into methods meant to kill off the trade of other nations, and that after the war between the nations the German war with British trade will be resumed, is the burden of this address. Sir William Ramsay delivered it in Manchester on Jan. 22, 1915, before representatives of British associations of employers and of leading industrial concerns in many parts of the United Kingdom, making up the Employers' Parliamentary Association. Sir William is one of the world's great chemists.

I SUPPOSE that among my audience some are convinced free traders, while some believe that our commercial interests would be better served by a measure of protection. This is neither the time nor the place, nor have I the knowledge and ability for a discussion of this much-debated question. Nor will I reveal my own private views, except in so far as to say that I agree with the majority. But, as the question cannot be ignored, I should like to say that I hold firmly the conviction that all trade should be carried on for the mutual advantage of the parties engaged. The old fable of Æsop may be quoted, which relates to a quarrel between the different members of the body. Every one of us can be, and should be, helpful to every other, independent of nation, country, and creed. That is, I am sure, what lies on the conscience of each one of us, as an ultimate end to be struggled for, although perhaps by many considered unattainable.

For the same kind of reason, it appears to me that we all think that peace is a blessing, and war a curse. For under peace commerce and industry prosper; science and the arts flourish; friendships are made and adorn the amenities of life. Moreover, our religious traditions in all Christian countries, and in some non-Christian ones like China, influence us to believe that war is wrong, indefensible, and, in the present year of our Lord, an anachronism.

We imagined, perhaps not most, but many of us, that no important European nation thought differently. Your leading Liberal paper, The Manchester Guar-

dian, on July 22, 1908, wrote, "Germany, though the most military of nations, is probably the least warlike"; and this doubtless represented the views of the majority of Englishmen. Some of us knew better. I have, or had, many German friends; we have lived for many years on a footing of mutual kindness; but it was impossible to disregard the signs of the times. The reason of this war is at bottom, as we have now discovered, the existence of a wholly different ideal in the Germanic mind from that which lies at the base of the Latin, Anglo-Saxon, Dutch, or Scandinavian nations. Such a statement as this is sweeping; it can be illustrated by a trivial tale. In 1912 an international scientific congress met at Berlin; I was a member. Although the conventional language was German, in compliment to our hosts, it turned out that in the long run all discussions were conducted in French. After such a sitting, the members separated, the German committee remaining behind for business purposes. The question of language was raised, I think by a Dutchman, in the corridor. Of the representatives of the fourteen or fifteen nations present, all were agreed on this—that they were not going to be compelled to publish in German; some chose English; some French; Spanish was suggested as a simple and easily understood language; but there was no love lost between the "foreign" and the German representatives, and this not the least on personal, but purely on national grounds. Acknowledging to the full the existence of high-minded German gentlemen, it is a sad fact that the character of the individuals of the nation

is not acceptable to individuals of other nations. Listen to a quotation from a letter I have received from a very distinguished Swiss: "Une chose me frappait aussi, dans les tendances allemandes, une incroyable inconscience. Accaparer le bien d'autrui leur paraissait si naturel qu'ils ne comprenaient même pas que l'on eût quelque desir de se défendre. Le monde entier était fait pour constituer le champ d'exploitation de l'Allemagne, et celui qui s'opposait à l'accomplissement de cette destinée était, pour tout allemand, l'objet d'une surprise." [Translation: "One thing has also struck me in German tendencies; that is an unbelievable want of conscience. To grab the belongings of others appeared to them so natural, that they did not understand that one had some wish to defend himself. The whole world was made for the field of German operations, and whoever placed himself in opposition to the accomplishment of this destiny was for every German the object of surprise."] The view is not new; the feeling of surprise at opposition was expressed wittily by a French poet in the words:

Cet animal est très méchant;
Lorsqu'on l'attaque, il se défend.
This animal is full of spite;
If you attack him, he will bite.

Well, gentlemen, this war has opened the eyes of some of us, and has confirmed the fears of others. Not one of us wanted to fight. Our hand was forced, so that we could not have abstained without national and personal dishonor.

Now, I do not think it is even yet realized that Germany's methods in trade have been, and are, as far as possible identical with her methods in war. Let me rub this in. As long ago as 1903, at a meeting of the Society of Chemical Industry, under the Presidency of your fellow-citizen, Mr. Levinstein, I pointed out that under the German State there was a trade council, the object of which was to secure and keep trade for Germany. This council had practical control of duties, bounties, and freights; its members were representative of the different commercial interests of the empire; and they acted, as a rule, without control from the Reichstag. You can

read what I said for yourselves, if you think it worth while, in *The Journal of the Society of Chemical Industry* for 1903.

Let me give you a simple case of the operations of that trade council. *Ex uno disce omnes*. A certain firm had a fairly profitable monopoly in a chemical product which it had maintained for many years. It was not a patented article, but one for which the firm had discovered a good process of manufacture. About six years ago this firm found that its Liverpool custom was being transferred to German makers. On inquiry, it transpired that the freight on this particular article from Hamburg to Liverpool had been lowered. The firm considered its position, and by introducing economies it found that it could still compete at a profit. A year later German manufacturers lowered the price substantially, so that the English firm could not sell without making a dead loss. It transpired that the lowering of price was due to a heavy export bounty being paid to the German manufacturers by the German State.

It is the bringing of the heavy machinery of State to bear on the minutiae of commerce which makes it impossible to compete with such methods. One article after another is attacked, as opportunity offers; British manufacture is killed; and Germany acquires a monopoly. No trade is safe; its turn may not have come.

Much has been said about British manufacture of dyestuffs, and much nonsense has been written about the lack of young British chemists to help in their manufacture. There is no lack of able inventive young British chemists. Owing to the unfairness of German competition by methods just exemplified, a manufacturer, as a rule, does not care to risk capital in the payment of a number of chemists for making "fine chemicals." He finds "heavy chemicals" simpler. I do not wonder at his decision, though I lament it. There are also other reasons. The duty on methyl alcohol (for which no rebate is given) makes it impossible to introduce economically methyl groups into dyes; the

restrictions incident on the use of duty-free alcohol do not commend themselves to manufacturers; these constitute other obstacles in the way of the British color maker. Lastly, our patent regulations are even yet not what they might be, although an attempt has recently been made to improve them. The British manufacturer is thus trebly handicapped.

Besides, the English competitor is at a disadvantage owing to what may be termed systematic and fraudulent attacks, for which no redress has been obtainable. Thus the manufacturers of Sheffield still complain, I suppose justly, that German articles for foreign consumption bear the words "Sheffield steel" stamped upon them. I myself have been approached by a German swindler with the proposition that I should assist his firm in infringing patents; he was surprised and pained to learn that I did not consider his proposal an honorable one.

Nor are methods like these confined to business or manufacture; they have greatly affected British shipping. Our shipping companies, in good faith, have associated themselves with others in "conferences," apparently for the mutual advantage of all, forgetting that behind the German companies lay the powerful mass of the German State. Tramp steamers, and with them cheap freights to the East, have been eliminated. The Royal Commission on Shipping Rings, which met some years ago, referring to the system obtaining in Germany, and fostered by the German Government, on charging through rates on goods from towns in the interior to the port of destination, observed in its report; "Such rates constitute a direct subsidy to the export trade of German manufacturers, and an indirect subsidy to those German lines by whom alone they are available. And as they are only rendered possible by the action of the German Government, it appears to us that the British lines can in no way be held responsible for the preferences which these rates afford to German goods." Now, our Government pays large mail subsidies to many of our shipping companies. Could these not

be so utilized that it would become impossible for Germans to capture our trade by indirect state bounties?

These are a few examples (and your greater knowledge will enable you to supplement them with many others) of the methods which have been employed against us by Germans with the co-operation—nay, the active support—of their State.

Of late a new factor has appeared. The German Imperial Chancellor made his noteworthy (or notorious) remark about a "scrap of paper." And Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg, speaking in the Reichstag, acknowledged openly that the German Nation had been guilty of a "wrong" to Belgium. This breach of faith has the approval of the whole German people. Do they realize what it means? Are they not aware that no treaty, political or otherwise, with the German people is worth the paper it is written on? That the country and its inhabitants have forfeited all claims to trust? That no one, in future, should make a bargain with a German, knowing that he is a dishonorable and dishonored man? * * * Germany has made many blunders—an almost inconceivable number of blunders; but this blundering crime is surely the culminating point of blunder. Did any nation ever before deliberately throw away its political, commercial, financial, and social credit to no purpose? To gain what? England as an adversary, and the contempt of the whole civilized world. Her treatment of the poor Belgian civilians has added to contempt, loathing and scorn.

Now, gentlemen, you see our problem. At the end of this war we shall have Germans again as trade rivals; if there is a German State our German rivals will be backed by their State. They will, as they have done before, steal our inventions, use trickery and fraud to oust us from world markets, and we know now that we need not expect any bargain to be binding. I am not a commercial man; science is supposed to be above such trickery. Yet I read a few days ago, not as a single example, but only as the last

I happen to remember, an article by a distinguished American professor, protesting with great moderation that an important scientific generalization which he published in 1902 had been annexed, without acknowledgment, by a versatile and adroit professor in the University of Berlin—an acquaintance of my own—in the year 1906; and it was not until 1910 that the latter was made to confess his guilt, with much subterfuge and blustering.

Commerce, indeed, is in Germany regarded as war; we now know it, and we must meet war by war. How is that war to be waged?

I can see only two methods. One is recommended by a writer in *The Observer* of the 10th inst., who acknowledges himself to have been a lifelong free trader. His remedy is a 25 per cent. duty on all German goods, and on German goods only, imported (or rather offered for import) into Great Britain and her colonies, and also that German passenger liners and freight boats should not be allowed to call at any one of the ports of the empire. His reasons are fully stated in his letter; it is signed "A City Merchant."

The other method is perhaps less apt to offend free trade susceptibilities; it is to impose on what remains of our opponents at the conclusion of this war free trade for a term of years. It remains to be seen whether we shall be powerful enough to insist on this

measure, or to persuade our allies that it is one likely to fulfill the proposed end. It is, so far as I see, the only other alternative.

Those who are thoroughly convinced of the benefits of free trade should welcome this suggestion, unless, indeed, they think that such a blessing is not deserved by Germany. On the other hand, they may comfort themselves with the certain knowledge that no possible punishment inflicted on the Germans could possibly be more galling and repulsive to them. Doubtless, too, it would suit the books of our allies very well, who could impose on German goods any duty they thought fit, and deposit their surplus and inferior goods in Germany at a price which would defy competition. But these are questions which I must leave to those more conversant with the merits and demerits of free trade and protection than I am.

Whatever view you take, you cannot but acknowledge that the situation calls for early and anxious deliberation, and well-thought-out and firm action; and it must be action taken as a nation—through our Government—whatever the political complexion of the Government may be at the close of the war. It is for you, as members of the Employers' Parliamentary Association, to make up your minds what you wish to do; above all, to agree, and to take steps to force the Government in power to carry out your wishes.

BELGIUM.

By EDITH WHARTON.

[From King Albert's Book.]

La Belgique regrette rien.

NOT with her ruined silver spires,
Not with her cities shamed and rent,
Perish the imperishable fires
That shape the homestead from the tent.

Wherever men are stanch and free,
There shall she keep her fearless state,
And, homeless, to great nations be
The home of all that makes them great.

Desired Peace Terms for Europe

Outlined by Proponents for the Allies and for Germany

The following forecast of the terms of peace which the Allies could enforce upon Germany and Austria is made for The New York Times Current History by a former Minister of France, one of the leading publicists of the French Republic:

THE Allies will decline to treat with any member of the Hohenzollern or Hapsburg family or any delegates representing them and will insist on dealing with delegations representing the German and Austro-Hungarian people elected by their respective Parliaments or by direct vote of the people, if they so desire.

The Allies will facilitate in every possible way negotiations between Austria-Hungary and Italy with a view to the latter obtaining the southern part of the Tyrol, known as Trentino, and the Peninsula of Istria, known as Trieste.

The 200 miles "strait" channel (Dardanelles, Sea of Marmora, and Bosphorus,) between Turkey in Europe and Turkey in Asia, is to be declared free to the ships of all nations, and under the direction of an international commission, which will also administer Turkey in Europe and form a permanent court of arbitration for all questions which may arise among Rumania, Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro, and Greece. In settling the status of Albania respect will be paid to the wishes of the inhabitants.

Alsace and Lorraine, after recifications of the French boundary line in accordance with the wishes of the inhabitants, are to be annexed to Belgium, whose permanent neutrality will be guaranteed by the powers. Schlswig-Holstein is to be returned to Denmark and the Kiel Canal made an international waterway, under either an international commission or a company which will operate it as the Suez Canal is operated.

Poland is to be declared an autonomous State under the protection of Rus-

sia, and its boundaries are to be restored as they were in 1715.

The Allies will also entertain a proposition for the restoration of the independence of Hungary and the geographical integrity of the country as it was in 1715.

The delegates representing the German people must pledge themselves that military conscription shall be abolished among them for a period of twenty-five years.

The status of all German colonies and protectorates is to be settled by a joint commission appointed by the Governments of England, Japan, and France.

The ownership of Italy and Greece to the Aegean Islands, now in their respective possessions, is to be confirmed by the powers and guarantees shall be given that the said islands shall not be fortified.

The ownership of England to the Island of Cyprus is to be confirmed by the powers and her protectorate over Egypt acknowledged.

The Mediterranean Sea is to be declared a "maritime area" to be policed by England, France, and Italy.

Here is the declaration of peace terms by the Central Committee for National Patriotic Organization of England:

Great Britain can never willingly make peace with Germany until the power of Prussian militarism is completely destroyed and there is no possibility of our children or our children's children being forced again to fight for the national existence. As far as we are concerned, this is a fight to a definite finish. We must either win all along the line or we must be completely defeated and our empire destroyed. Our allies fully share the same conviction. The thousands of lives already lost, and, alas! still to be lost, will have been tragically wasted if the German menace remains to terrorize

Europe and to stunt the progress of civilization. In order to convince public opinion that the only peace worth having is a peace absolutely on our own terms, a Central Committee for National Patriotic Organization has been formed from the members of all the four political parties. The committee will, in addition, take steps to lay a clear statement of the British case before neutral countries. Both the tasks it has undertaken are of the first importance, and it should have the support of every patriot.

GERMANY'S PROGRAM.

Professor Ernst Haeckel, the militant German zoologist, supplies, in an interview in the Berliner Tagesblatt, the following summary:

Freedom from the tyranny of England to be secured as follows:

1. The invasion of the British piratical State by the German Army and Navy and the occupation of London.
2. The partition of Belgium, the western portion as far as Ostend and Antwerp to become a German Federal State; the northern portion to fall to Holland, and the southeastern portion to be added to Luxemburg, which also should become a German Federal State.
3. Germany to obtain the greater part of the British colonies and of the Congo State.
4. France to give up a portion of her northeastern provinces.
5. Russia to be reduced to impotency by the re-establishment of the Kingdom of Poland, which should be united with Austria-Hungary.
6. The Baltic Provinces of Russia to be restored to Germany.
7. Finland, to become an independent kingdom and be united with Sweden.

An article by Georges Clemenceau, in L'Homme Enchaîné, reports the following view of the German terms accredited to Count Bernstorff, German Ambassador at Washington:

One of my friends in America informs me of a curious conversation between an influential banker and the German Ambassador, Count Bernstorff. The banker, who had just handed over a substantial check for the German Red Cross, asked Count Bernstorff what the Kaiser would take from France after the victory.

The Ambassador did not seem the least

surprised at this somewhat premature question. He answered it quite calmly, ticking off the various points on his fingers as follows:

1. All the French colonies, including the whole of Morocco, Algeria, and Tunis.
2. All the country northeast of a straight line from Saint-Valéry to Lyons, that is to say, more than one quarter of French territory, including 15,000,000 inhabitants.
3. An indemnity of 10,000,000,000 francs, (\$2,000,000,000.)
4. A tariff allowing all German goods to enter France free during twenty-five years, without reciprocity for French goods entering Germany. After this period the Treaty of Frankfurt will again be applied.
5. The suppression of recruiting in France during twenty-five years.
6. The destruction of all French fortresses.
7. France to hand over 3,000,000 rifles, 2,000 cannon, and 40,000 horses.
8. The protection of all German patents without reciprocity.
9. France must abandon Russia and Great Britain.
10. A treaty of alliance with Germany for twenty-five years.

Dr. Bernhard Dernburg, late German Colonial Secretary of State, has published an article in The Independent, in which this forecast appears:

1. Germany will not consider it wise to take any European territory, but will make minor corrections of frontiers for military purposes by occupying such frontier territory as has proved a weak spot in the German armor.

2. Belgium belongs geographically to the German Empire. She commands the mouth of the biggest German stream; Antwerp is essentially a German port. That Antwerp should not belong to Germany is as much an anomaly as if New Orleans and the Mississippi delta had been excluded from Louisiana, or as if New York had remained English after the War of Independence. Moreover, Belgium's present plight was her own fault. She had become the vassal of England and France. Therefore, while "probably" no attempt would be made to place Belgium within the German Empire alongside Bavaria, Württemberg, and Saxony, because of her non-German population, she will be incorporated in

the German Customs Union after the Luxemburg pattern.

3. Belgian neutrality, having been proved an impossibility, must be abolished. Therefore the harbors of Belgium must be secured for all time against British or French invasion.

4. Great Britain having bottled up the North Sea, a *mare liberum* must be established. England's theory that the sea is her boundary, and all the sea her territory down to the three-mile limit of other powers, cannot be tolerated. Consequently the Channel coasts of England, Holland, Belgium, and France must be neutralized even in times of war, and the American and German doctrine that private property on the high seas should enjoy the same freedom of seizure as private property does on land must be guaranteed by all nations. This condition Herr Dernburg accompanies by an appeal to the United States duly to note, and Britain is making commercial war upon Germany.

5. All cables must be neutralized.

6. All Germany's colonies are to be returned. Germany, in view of her growing population, must get extra ter-

ritory capable of population by whites. The Monroe Doctrine bars her from America, therefore she must take Morocco, "if it is really fit for the purpose."

7. A free hand must be given to Germany in the development of her commercial and industrial relations with Turkey "without interference." This would mean a recognized sphere of German influence from the Persian Gulf to the Dardanelles.

8. There must be no further development of Japanese influence in Manchuria.

9. All small nations, such as Finland, Poland, and the Boers in South Africa, if they support Germany, must have the right to frame their own destinies, while Egypt is to be returned, if she desires it, to Turkey.

These conditions, Herr Dernburg concludes, would "fulfill the peaceful aims which Germany has had for the last forty-four years." They show, in his opinion, that Germany has no wish for world dominion or for any predominance in Europe incommensurate with the rights of the 122,000,000 Germans and Austrians.

THE BRITISH VOLUNTEERS.

By KATHERINE DRAYTON MAYRANT SIMONS, JR.

WE are coming, Mother, coming
 O'er the seas—your Younger Sons!
 From the mighty-mouthed Saint
 Lawrence
 Or where sacred Ganges runs,
 We are coming for your blessing
 By a ritual of guns!

We are coming, Mother, coming
 On the way our fathers came!
 For their spirits rise to beckon
 At the whisper of your name;
 And we come that you may knight us
 By your accolade of flame!

We are coming, Mother, coming!
 For the death is less to feel
 Than to hear you call unanswered?
 'Tis the Saxon's old appeal,
 And we come to prove us worthy
 By its ordeal of steel!

Chronology of the War

Showing Progress of Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events
from Jan. 31, 1915, up to and Including Feb. 28, 1915.

Continued from the last Number.

CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

- Feb. 1—Russians retake Borjimow trenches and capture men of Landsturm; severe cold hampers operations in Galicia.
- Feb. 2—Germans advance, with heavy losses, southward toward the Vistula and eastward between Bejoun and Orezelewo.
- Feb. 3—Russians again pour into Hungary as Austrians yield important positions; German position north of the Vistula is insecure.
- Feb. 4—Von Hindenburg hurls 50,000 men at Russian lines near Warsaw.
- Feb. 5—Russians reported to have killed 30,000 Germans under Gen. Mackensen; Russians recapture Gumine.
- Feb. 6—General German offensive is looked for; Russians shift troops in East Galicia and Bukowina.
- Feb. 7—Germans rush reinforcements to East Prussia; second line of trenches pierced by Russians near Borjimow; Austrians resume attacks on Montenegrin positions on the Drina.
- Feb. 8—Russian cavalry sweeps northward toward East Prussia; Russians move their right wing forward in the Carpathians but retire in Bukowina; Germans shift 600,000 troops from Poland to East Prussia, using motor cars; Italians say that 15,000 Germans died in attempting to take Warsaw.
- Feb. 9—Austro-German forces attack Russians at three points in the Carpathians; Russians begin the evacuation of Bukowina, where Austrians have had successes; Russians make a wedge in East Prussia across Angorapp River.
- Feb. 10—Fierce fighting in the Carpathian passes; Russians are retreating from Bukowina.
- Feb. 11—Russians fall back in Mazurian Lake district; they still hold Czernowitz.
- Feb. 12—Von Hindenburg, as a result of a several days' battle, wins a great victory over the Tenth Russian Army in the Mazurian Lake region, part of the operations taking place under the eyes of the Kaiser; more than 50,000 prisoners are taken, with fifty cannon and sixty machine guns; the Russians retreat in disorder across the frontier, their loss in killed and wounded being estimated at 30,000; a second line of defense is being strengthened by the Russians; Paris announces the complete failure of German offensive in Poland.
- Feb. 14—Russians check Germans in Lyck region; battle raging in Bukowina; Albanians invade Serbia and force Servians to retreat from the frontier.
- Feb. 15—Russian lines hold in the north; Austrians state that Bukowina has been entirely evacuated by the Russians; Germans retake Czernowitz.
- Feb. 16—Germans occupy Plock and Bielsk; Russians fall back in North Poland; Austrians win in Dukla Pass; Servians drive back Albanian invaders.
- Feb. 17—Germans prepare for attack along whole Russian front; cholera and typhus gain headway in Poland.
- Feb. 18—Belgrade bombarded; Germans try to cut off Warsaw.
- Feb. 19—Germans abandon march to Niemen; they march toward Plonsk from two directions; they occupy Tauroggen.
- Feb. 20—Germans repulsed at Ossowetz; Russians bombard Przemysl; Germans capture French Hospital Corps in East Prussia.
- Feb. 21—Russians force fighting from East Prussia to Bukowina.
- Feb. 22—Russians make progress in Galicia and the Carpathians; it is said that German and Austrian armies are being merged.
- Feb. 23—Russians force Germans back along the Bobr; Germans assemble greater forces at Przanysz; Russians destroy two Austrian brigades between Stanislaw and Wyzkow; Austrians repulsed near Krasne.
- Feb. 24—Russians have successes in the Carpathians near Uzrok Pass.
- Feb. 25—Germans besiege Ossowetz; Russians gain in the Carpathians and again invade Bukowina; Russian wedge splits Austrian Army in the Carpathians; fighting on Stanislaw Heights.
- Feb. 26—Fighting in progress on a 260-mile front; battle in north sways to East Prussian frontier; Germans retire in Przanysz region; Germans claim capture of eleven Russian Generals in Mazurian Lake battle; snow and intense cold hinder operations in Bukowina.

Feb. 27—Germans retire in the north; Russians recapture Przanysz; German battalion annihilated on the Bobr; Russians advance in Galicia and claim recapture of Stanislaw and Kolomea; stubborn fighting north of Warsaw.

Feb. 28—Russians are attacking along whole front; Germans checked in North Poland and many taken prisoners; General Brusiloff's army is claimed by the Russians to have thus far captured 188,000 Austrians.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE.

Feb. 1—Germans evacuate Cernay and burn Alsatian towns as French advance.

Feb. 3—Germans try to retake Great Dune; Allies make gains in Belgium; fighting at Westende.

Feb. 5—Allies are making a strong offensive movement in Belgium.

Feb. 7—British take German trenches at Guinchy.

Feb. 9—Germans again bombard Rheims, Solssons, and other places; fighting on skis is occurring in Alsace.

Feb. 14—Germans are making preparations for an offensive movement in Alsace.

Feb. 16—French forces gain in Champagne and advance on a two-mile front; fighting in La Bassée.

Feb. 18—Allies make offensive movements; Germans give up Norroy.

Feb. 23—Germans use Austrian twelve-inch howitzers for bombardment of Rheims.

Feb. 26—French gain on the Meuse.

Feb. 28—Germans advance west of the Vosges, forcing French back four miles on a thirteen-mile front; French gain in Champagne, taking many trenches.

CAMPAIGN IN AFRICA.

Feb. 3—Portugal is sending reinforcements to Angola, much of which is in German hands, although there has been no declaration of war between Portugal and Germany; some of the anti-British rebels in South Africa surrender.

Feb. 4—Germans have evacuated Angola; some South African rebel leaders, including "Prophet" Vankenbsburg, surrender.

Feb. 6—Germans are repulsed at Kakamas, a Cape Colony village.

Feb. 13—Germans have won a success against the British on the Orange River; German East Africa is reported now clear of the enemy; Germans have invaded Uganda and British East Africa.

Feb. 16—Trial of General De Wet and other South African rebel leaders is begun.

Feb. 21—German newspaper report charges that German missionaries are tortured by pro-British Africans.

Feb. 26—Botha heads British troops that plan invasion of German Southwest Africa.

TURKISH AND EGYPTIAN CAMPAIGN.

Feb. 1—Turks withdraw forces from Adrianople to defend Tchatalja; Russian victories over Turks in the Caucasus and at Tabriz prove to be of a sweeping character; Turks have been massacring Persians.

Feb. 2—American Consul, Gordon Paddock, prevented much destruction by Turks at Tabriz.

Feb. 3—Turks, while trying to cross Suez Canal, are attacked by British, many of them being drowned; Turks are driven back at Kurna by British gunboats.

Feb. 4—Turks routed, with heavy loss, in two engagements on the Suez Canal, New Zealand forces being engaged; Turks are near Armageddon.

Feb. 5—British take more Turkish prisoners.

Feb. 7—British expect Turks again to attack Suez Canal, and make plans accordingly.

Feb. 8—Turks in Egypt are in full retreat; their losses in dead have been heavy.

Feb. 13—British wipe out Turkish force at Tor.

Feb. 17—Work of Consul Paddock in saving British property at Tabriz is praised in British House of Commons.

Feb. 22—Turks are massacring Armenians in Caucasus towns; Turks make general retirement on Damascus.

Feb. 28—Turks have evacuated the Sinai Peninsula.

NAVAL RECORD—GENERAL.

Feb. 1—German submarine seen near Liverpool; there is a new theory that infernal machines in coal caused blowing up of the Formidable and the Bulwark.

Feb. 2—English shipping paper offers reward of \$2,500 to first British merchant vessel that sinks a German submarine; German submarine tries to torpedo British hospital ship Asturias; men from a Swedish warship are killed by a mine.

Feb. 3—German auxiliary is sunk by British cruiser Australia off Patagonia; German destroyer reported sunk by Russians in the Baltic.

Feb. 4—British ships shell Germans at Westende.

Feb. 5—Germans deny that Russians sank a destroyer in the Baltic.

Feb. 7—Allied fleets menace the Dardanelles.

Feb. 9—Turkish cruiser bombards Yalta; Russians shell Trebizond.

Feb. 10—Germans are said to have sunk casks of petrol off the English coast for use by their submarines; French Government, in report to neutrals, denounces sinking of refugee ship Admiral Ganteaume.

- Feb. 11—Cargo of American steamship *Wilhelmina*, bound for Hamburg, is seized by British at Falmouth, and a prize court will pass upon question whether food destined only for German civilians can go through in neutral bottoms; it is generally understood that the *Wilhelmina* shipment was made as a test case; German submarines, driven into Norwegian ports by storm, are forced to put to sea again.
- Feb. 13—Two British steamers long overdue are believed to have been sunk by the Germans.
- Feb. 14—Canada is guarding her ports more vigilantly; the Captain of British steamer *Laertes* is decorated for saving his ship from a German submarine by fast manoeuvring.
- Feb. 15—British steamer *Wavelet* hits mine in English Channel and is badly damaged; British submarines are in the Baltic; Austrian fleet bombards Antivari.
- Feb. 16—Captain of the German battle-cruiser *Blücher* dies from pneumonia contracted when his ship went down in the North Sea fight; British merchant collier *Dulwich* is torpedoed and sunk off French coast.
- Feb. 17—French steamer *Ville de Lille* is sunk by German submarine.
- Feb. 18—German auxiliary cruiser *Kronprinz Wilhelm* has sunk six British ships off the coast of Brazil.
- Feb. 20—Allied fleets are pounding the Dardanelles forts with great effect; German steamer *Holger* interned at Buenos Aires.
- Feb. 21—Berlin papers report that a British transport, loaded with troops, has been sunk.
- Feb. 22—Two German submarines are missing; Germans are building submarines near Antwerp.
- Feb. 23—Australian mail boat *Maloja* fired on by armed merchantman in English Channel; operations at the Dardanelles interrupted by unfavorable weather.
- Feb. 24—British capture German steamer *Gotha*; British armed merchantman *Clan Macnaughton* reported missing.
- Feb. 25—The four principal forts at the entrance of the Dardanelles are reduced by the allied British and French fleet; three German submarines are sent to Austria for use in the Adriatic and Mediterranean.
- Feb. 26—Inner forts of Dardanelles are being shelled; mine sweeping begun; wreckage indicates disaster to German submarine *U-9* off Norwegian coast; French destroyer *Dague* hits Austrian mine off Antivari; Allies blockade coast of German East Africa.
- Feb. 27—Forty British and French warships penetrate the Dardanelles for fourteen miles; French cruiser seizes, in the English Channel, the American steamer *Dacia*, which was formerly under German registry and belonged to the Hamburg-American Line, and takes her to Brest; a French prize court will determine the validity of her transfer to American registry; British skipper reports that the German converted cruiser *Prinz Eitel Friedrich* sank a British ship and a French ship in December.
- Feb. 28—Allied fleet prepares to engage the strongest and last of the Dardanelles defenses; land attack in conjunction with the fleet is being considered; English and French flags now fly over wrecked forts; London welcomes seizure of *Dacia* by French.

NAVAL RECORD—WAR ZONE.

Feb. 4—Germany proclaims the waters around Great Britain and Ireland, except a passage north of Scotland, a war zone from and after Feb. 18, and states that neutral ships entering the zone will be in danger, in consequence of the misuse of neutral flags said to have been ordered by the British Government.

Feb. 6—Decree is discussed by President Wilson and the Cabinet; dangers of complications for the United States are foreseen; indignation is expressed in Italy, Holland, and Denmark; text of the decree is submitted to the United States State Department by Ambassador Gerard.

Feb. 9—Some European neutrals intend to have the names of their ships printed in huge letters on ships' sides and the national colors painted on.

Feb. 11—The State Department makes public the text of the American note, dated Feb. 10, sent to Ambassador Gerard for delivery to the German Government; the note is firm but friendly, and tells Germany that the United States will hold her "to a strict accountability" should commanders of German vessels of war "destroy on the high seas an American vessel or the lives of American citizens."

Feb. 12—Ambassador Gerard delivers the American note to the German Foreign Secretary and has a long conference with him.

Feb. 13—The German Legation at The Hague warns neutral vessels against entering the war zone; German Foreign Office comments on the friendly tone of the American note; Germany has requested the United States to advise ship owners to man vessels sailing to German ports with subjects of neutral States.

Feb. 15—Germany communicates to the United States through Ambassador von Bernstorff a preliminary answer to the American note; Germany would be willing to recede from her decree if England would permit foodstuffs to enter Germany for use by the civilian population; the preliminary answer is cabled to Ambassador Page for presentation to the British Foreign Office as a matter of information; Italy and Holland protest to Germany against war zone decree; Winston Churchill, in Parliament, hints at retaliation.

Feb. 18—Germany replies to American note; reply is friendly in tone, but its substance causes concern in Washington; Germany still disclaims responsibility for fate of neutral vessels in war zone; war zone decree now in effect; ships are moving in and out of British ports as usual; Norwegian steamer Nordcap is blown up by a mine.

Feb. 19—German submarines torpedo Norwegian tanker Belridge near Folkestone and French steamer Denorah off Dieppe; British Government suspends passenger travel between England and the Continent; Irish Channel services are continued, and it is said that the ships may fly the Irish flag.

Feb. 20—British steamer Cambank sunk by submarine in Irish Sea; Norwegian steamer Bjarka sunk by mine off Denmark; it is reported that hundreds of armed merchant ships are hunting for German submarines.

Feb. 21—American steamer Evelyn sunk by mine off coast of Holland, eight men being lost; German submarine U-12 sinks British steamer Downshire; Dutch vessels sail from Amsterdam painted with the national colors; traffic between England and Sweden is suspended.

Feb. 22—The United States, through Ambassadors Page and Gerard, presents notes to England and Germany proposing modifications of war zone decree by Germany and an arrangement by which England would allow food to enter Germany for the use of civilians only; ships leave Savannah with the American flag painted on their sides.

Feb. 23—American steamer Carib sunk by a mine off German coast, three men being lost; Norwegian steamer Regin destroyed off Dover; British collier Brankshome Chine attacked in English Channel; Swedish steamer Specia sunk by mine in North Sea; British limit traffic in Irish Channel; twelve ships, of which two were American, have been sunk or damaged since the war zone decree went into effect; Germany includes Orkney and Shetland Islands in war zone.

Feb. 24—Germany, replying to Italian protest, promises to respect Italian flag; British steamer Harpalion torpedoed off Beachy Head; Minister van Dyke reports that the Carib was sunk outside route prescribed by the German instructions.

Feb. 25—British steamer Western Coast lost in English Channel; British steamer Deptford hits a mine off Scarborough; Scandinavian conference decides against convoying ships; sailings between Sweden and England resumed.

Feb. 26—It is reported from London that the Allies favor reprisals against Germany by which shipment of all commodities to and from Germany will be stopped; formal announcement from Premier Asquith expected in a few days; German submarines allow Dutch steamer to pass; Swedish steamship Svarton hits mine; passenger service between England and Flushing to be resumed.

NAVAL RECORD—NEUTRAL FLAGS

Feb. 6—Lusitania, warned of submarines, flies American flag in Irish Sea on voyage to Liverpool.

Feb. 7—British Foreign Office issues statement upholding use of American flag by Lusitania and declares that the practice of thus protecting merchant ships is well established; passengers uphold Capt. Dow's act.

Feb. 8—British Government says that Capt. Dow was not ordered by Government officials to use neutral flag.

Feb. 11—The State Department makes public the text of the American note, dated Feb. 10, sent to Ambassador Page for delivery to the British Government; the note asks the British authorities to do all in their power to prevent the deceptive use of the American flag by British ships and suggests that responsibility might rest upon Great Britain in case of destruction of American ships by Germans; according to passengers arriving in New York, the Cunarder Orduna flew American flag as precaution against submarine attack before Lusitania did.

Feb. 15—Holland sends protest to England against use by British ships of neutral flags.

Feb. 19—England, replying to American note, says that the United States and other neutrals should not grudge the use of their flags to avoid danger, and that the use of neutral flags has hitherto been generally permitted.

AERIAL RECORD.

Feb. 1—Germans drop bombs on Dunkirk; Russia threatens to treat air raiders of unfortified towns as pirates.

Feb. 2—French airmen burn castle in Alsace where German staff officers are housed.

- Feb. 3—Swiss troops fire on German airmen; indications are that England will not uphold Russia's threat to treat hostile aviators as pirates.
- Feb. 4—Body of German aviator engaged in Christmas Day raid found in the Thames.
- Feb. 5—Allies' airmen force German General to abandon Altkirch headquarters; Germany protests against Russian threat against aviators.
- Feb. 6—British aviator sinks German submarine.
- Feb. 10—Allies' aviators damaged Dusseldorf arsenal in recent raid; bombs dropped in Adrianople; French bring down aviator who had dropped bombs on Paris.
- Feb. 11—Bomb dropped by British airmen kills thirty-five Germans in Antwerp fort; Dunkirk repulses raid by German aviator.
- Feb. 12—Thirty-four British airships raid Belgian coast seaports; Ostend station set on fire; Grahame-White narrowly escapes drowning; attack intended as a check for German blockade plans; French aviators raid German aerodome in Alsace.
- Feb. 13—Germany states that the British raid of yesterday caused "regrettable damage to the civilian population"; two British airmen killed at Brussels.
- Feb. 14—Excitement in Ottawa over report of German raid; French aeroplanes rout Zeppelin near Mülhausen.
- Feb. 15—Austrian aviators fire on Montenegrin royal family at Rieka.
- Feb. 16—British aviators make another raid in Belgium; French attack aerodome at Ghistelle and attack Eichwald in Alsace.
- Feb. 17—Copenhagen reports explosion of a Zeppelin off the coast of Jutland; Allies' airmen attack network of Belgian canals, which may be used as submarine base.
- Feb. 18—Another Zeppelin wrecked off the coast of Jutland.
- Feb. 19—French aviator drops bombs on Ostend; Germany apologizes to Switzerland for aviator's flight over Swiss territory.
- Feb. 20—Austrian aviator drops bombs on Cettinje; England distributes illustrated posters showing differences between English and German aircraft.
- Feb. 21—German aeroplane drops bombs on Braintree, Colchester, and Marks Tey, little damage being done.
- Feb. 22—Zeppelin bombards Calais, killing five; Buckingham Palace and other places in London are guarded against aeroplane attack.
- Feb. 23—German aeroplane seen off the English coast.
- Feb. 24—Three British aviators lost in raid on Belgium.
- Feb. 27—French aviators bombard Metz; Germans drop bombs on Nieupoort.

AUSTRALIA.

- Feb. 2—Second contingent of troops reaches Egypt; Minister of Defense says that Government has placed no limit on number of men to be sent.

AUSTRIA.

- Feb. 2—Government issues warning that Rumanian volunteers caught serving with Russians will be shot.
- Feb. 6—Two Czech newspapers suspended for comments on the war unacceptable to the authorities; editors of papers in Styria threaten to stop publication unless censorship is relaxed.
- Feb. 9—Commercial and political organizations protest against muzzling of the press.
- Feb. 12—Czechs clamor for independence; Hungarian Deputies have been conferring with Rumanian Deputies to try to reach an agreement about Transylvania which would keep Rumania out of the war; the negotiations have now been abandoned, as Rumanians wanted complete autonomy for Transylvania.
- Feb. 13—Entire Austro-Hungarian Landsturm is called out.
- Feb. 15—Church bells may be melted to supply copper.
- Feb. 21—Foreign Minister Burlan and German Imperial Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg have three long conferences in Vienna.
- Feb. 22—Austrian and German troops have been concentrating for several days along the Swiss-Italian border; miles of trenches have been dug.
- Feb. 24—Germany is reported to be bringing strong pressure on Austria to induce the latter to cede to Italy her Italian province of Trent and a portion of the Istrian Peninsula for the purpose of keeping Italy neutral.
- Feb. 28—Full text of Austro-Hungarian "Red Book" is published in THE NEW YORK TIMES; it is estimated that the total Austrian loss, killed, wounded and prisoners, is now 1,600,000.

BELGIUM.

- Feb. 5—Government protests against annulment by Germany of exequaturs of Consuls of neutral powers.
- Feb. 8—Letter from Cardinal Mercier to the higher clergy of his diocese protests against violation of his rights as a Belgian and as a Cardinal; legation in Washington denounces tax imposed by Germans on refugees who fail to return to Belgium.
- Feb. 18—Germany withdraws interdiction against correspondence by Cardinal Mercier with Belgian Bishops.
- Feb. 24—Belgian women in Brussels are ordered by Germans to stop wearing hats made after style of Belgian soldiers' caps.

Feb. 27—Committee appointed by Germans to investigate condition of Belgian art treasures reports that the actual destruction has been insignificant, while objects which have been damaged can be repaired.

BULGARIA.

- Feb. 2—Forces have been sent to organize the naval defense of Dedeagatch.
- Feb. 3—Premier Radoslavoff says that the Government is neutral, but that the Macedonian question causes apprehension.
- Feb. 10—Government plans to remain neutral despite German loan.

CANADA.

- Feb. 3—Unusual measures taken to guard the Duke of Connaught, Governor General, at the opening of Parliament.
- Feb. 8—The first working day of Parliament; party leaders declare there will be a political truce during the war; Government to have ample funds; Colonial Secretary sends dispatch reviewing military operations from British viewpoint and stating that no Canadian troops are yet on the firing line except the Princess Patricia Light Infantry.
- Feb. 10—Sixty-five Canadians have died in the encampment at Salisbury Plain, England.
- Feb. 14—Excitement in Ottawa over report of intended German air raid from American soil.
- Feb. 15—Parliament buildings, Royal Mint, and Rideau Hall, the Governor General's residence, are darkened in fear of German air raid.
- Feb. 16—Government asks United States to guard American end of international bridges; the whole of the first contingent is now in France.
- Feb. 19—Guards at international bridges are doubled.

ENGLAND.

- Feb. 3—It is planned to devote the present session of Parliament entirely to war measures.
- Feb. 5—Official estimates place the number of effective men in the army, exclusive of those serving in India, at 3,000,000.
- Feb. 8—Premier Asquith tells Parliament that British losses to Feb. 4 are about 104,000 in killed, wounded, and missing.
- Feb. 9—Admiral Lord Charles Beresford suggests public hanging of captured German sea and air raiders.
- Feb. 10—At a cost of \$100,000 the Government has converted Donington Hall, Leicestershire, one of the most beautiful old places in England, into a rest home for captured German officers.
- Feb. 11—Government plans to publish bi-weekly communications from Field Marshal French.

- Feb. 12—First exchanges of disabled prisoners between England and Germany are arranged through the Papal Nuncio at Berlin.
- Feb. 13—Pamphlet issued to the public gives instructions as to how to act in case of German invasion.
- Feb. 15—First troops of new armies are pouring into France; enemy subjects denied admittance at ports.
- Feb. 17—Board of Trade plans to compensate all merchant seamen who may be injured during hostilities.
- Feb. 18—Victoria Cross is conferred on twelve men, one of whom, Corporal Leary of the Irish Guards, killed eight Germans in hand-to-hand combat and took two German prisoners.
- Feb. 23—Captain who was formerly in command of the super-dreadnought Audacious, generally stated to have been sunk by a mine on Oct. 27, is made a Rear Admiral; promotion revives rumors that the Audacious was saved and is being repaired; British merchant shipping loss thus far is \$26,750,000, including both ships and cargoes, the Liverpool and London War risks Association citing figures as showing the efficacy of British Navy's protection.
- Feb. 25—Sir Edward Grey, Foreign Secretary, announces in the House of Commons that Great Britain is in "entire accord with Russia's desire for access to the sea."
- Feb. 27—Six newspaper correspondents, including one American, are to be permitted to go to the front under auspices of the War Office, according to present plans.

GERMANY.

- Feb. 1—Official order has been issued that all stocks of copper and other metals used for war purposes are to be reserved for the army.
- Feb. 4—German refugees from Kiao-Chau reach New York.
- Feb. 5—It is reported that a sham railroad station has been built outside of Cologne to deceive French aviators; the Second Secretary of the British Legation is arrested in Brussels.
- Feb. 6—An Alsatian is condemned to death for fighting in French Army.
- Feb. 7—French prisoner condemned to two years' imprisonment for defacing portrait of the Kaiser.
- Feb. 8—Government orders neutrals expelled from Alsace; Archbishop of Cologne writes pastoral letter predicting victory.
- Feb. 9—Cardinal von Hartman says that the motto of the day is "Trust in God and hold out"; there is a scene in Prussian Diet when two Socialists protest against the war.
- Feb. 10—Socialists indorse the war at a meeting in Mainz.

- Feb. 11—Berlin communes suggest that all members of the Emden's crew be authorized to add the word Emden to their names.
- Feb. 12—Government warns against offering insults to Americans.
- Feb. 14—Many French civilians are freed; the Kaiser is said to be fifth in popularity among contemporary German heroes, von Hindenburg being first and the Crown Prince second.
- Feb. 15—Substitute for petrol is stated to have been found.
- Feb. 16—Spaniards are expelled from Baden; Iron Crosses given to Emden's men; German nurses and surgeons are acquitted by the French of charges of pillage at Peronne.
- Feb. 19—Passport rules are made stricter; all men of last reserve are stated to have been called out.
- Feb. 20—New submarines, airships, and two more dreadnoughts are under construction.
- Feb. 21—Afternoon entertainments are suppressed in Berlin.
- Feb. 22—Boys from seventeen to twenty are, it is reported, to be called out for Landsturm; charges of cruelty to British prisoners of war are denied.
- Feb. 24—Frankfurter Zeitung estimates that prisoners of war now held in Germany and Austria are 1,035,000, 75 per cent. being held by the Germans.
- Feb. 27—Admiral von Pohl, Chief of the Admiralty Staff, has been selected as successor to Admiral von Ingenohl, who has been removed from command of the battle fleet; manufacturing and agriculture enterprises in the occupied parts of France and Belgium are being kept alive under the management of Germans to contribute to support of the armies; high school teachers and pupils are in the army.
- Feb. 28—It is reported that Ambassador von Bernstorff is to be recalled to Berlin and that Baron Treutler, a friend of the Kaiser, will be his successor; the total Prussian losses are now 1,102,212, in killed, wounded, and prisoners.

GREECE.

- Feb. 1—Nation at large is declared to be ready to join war on behalf of Serbia.
- Feb. 9—The Government believes that Germany should respect Greek rights in the naval war zone.
- Feb. 14—There is danger of Greece's becoming involved in hostilities because of the Albanian invasion of Serbia.

ITALY.

- Feb. 2—Reservists in England warned to be ready to respond to call.
- Feb. 7—Russia plans to send to Italy many Austrian prisoners of Italian nationality.

- Feb. 8—Soldiers of Second Category are to remain under colors until May; meeting in Padua is held in favor of joining the war and of dissolving the Triple Alliance.
- Feb. 9—Federation of the Italian Press condemns pro-German propaganda; Garibaldi visits Joffre.
- Feb. 10—Garibaldi, in London, says that popular feeling in Italy is against Germans and Austrians.
- Feb. 20—One million men are under arms; Premier Salandra avoids war debate in Parliament; volunteers await arrival of Garibaldi to head expedition to aid Allies.
- Feb. 23—It is planned to call more men to the colors.
- Feb. 27—Premier Salandra, addressing Chamber of Deputies, says the nation does not desire war but is ready to make any sacrifice to realize her aspirations.

RUMANIA.

- Feb. 19—There is much uneasiness throughout the nation as Parliament reopens after a recess.
- Feb. 20—Russian Minister to Rumania reports to the Russian Foreign Minister that, as far as he can gather, Rumania intends to continue her policy of armed neutrality and that Russia should not rely upon Rumanian co-operation.
- Feb. 23—The nation is alarmed by the revival of the traditional Russian policy of obtaining command of Constantinople and the straits; Rumania stands for the internationalization of Constantinople, the Bosphorus, and the Dardanelles, free passage of the Dardanelles being held vital for her existence.

RUSSIA.

- Feb. 2—Six German subjects and two Russians are sentenced to prison for collecting funds for German Navy; Government issues statement giving instances of alleged German cruelties to Russians in Germany after declaration of war.
- Feb. 3—Girl who fought in nineteen battles is awarded the St. George's Cross.
- Feb. 4—It is stated that regimental chaplains sometimes lead men in charges after the officers are killed or wounded.
- Feb. 9—Lvov (Lemberg) to be recognized as Russian; Sir Edward Grey may send British commercial attaché there; Duma opens; Foreign Minister Sazonof assails Germany and declares that her intrigues caused the war.
- Feb. 10—Resolution is unanimously adopted by the Duma declaring that the Russian Nation is determined to carry on the war until such conditions have been imposed on the enemy as will insure the peace of Europe; Prof. Paul N. Milukoff, speaking in the Duma in behalf of the Constitutional Democrats, says that the principal task is the acquisition of Constantinople and the straits.

Feb. 13—Duma adopts resolutions asking war relief for provinces suffering from the war and an inquiry by commission into enemies' alleged violations of international law: the session is suspended until not later than the middle of December.

Feb. 20—It is planned to put war prisoners to work.

Feb. 24—Russian Ambassador at Washington presents to United States Government a "mémoire" dealing with atrocities and violations of the laws and usages of war alleged to have been committed by German and Austro-Hungarian armies along the Polish and East Prussian frontiers; the communication is also delivered to other neutral Governments, and it is planned to bring it before all the Red Cross societies of the world.

Feb. 26—Consul in London says men living abroad will be held liable for military service.

SERBIA.

Feb. 15—Prince Alexine Karageorgevitch of Serbia arrives in London with photographs in support of charges of atrocities alleged to have been committed against Serbian women and children by Austrians during the Austrian occupation.

TURKEY.

Feb. 1—There is widespread suffering in Palestine and Syria.

Feb. 3—Abdul Hamid advises peace.

Feb. 6—Archives of the Porte are moved to Asia Minor; Field Marshal von der Goltz's rule is stated to be absolute; it is reported that able-bodied men are exempted from service on payment of money.

Feb. 13—The Russians hold a total of 49,000 Turkish prisoners of war, according to estimates from Petrograd; a strict mail censorship prevails in Syria.

Feb. 15—Officers who conspired to stop the war are court-martialed.

Feb. 16—French Vice Consul at Sana is freed from detention.

Feb. 20—Jerusalem authorities are ordered to guard non-Moslems as a result of intervention of United States Ambassador Morgenthau.

Feb. 21—More reserves are called out; bitterness toward Germans is being expressed in Syria.

Feb. 27—At a Cabinet Council in Constantinople it was decided to transfer the seat of Government to Broussa in Asia Minor.

UNITED STATES.

Feb. 2—Werner Horn, a German, tries to blow up the Canadian Pacific Railroad bridge over the St. Croix River between Vanceboro, Me., and New Brunswick; attempt is a failure, bridge being only slightly damaged; he is arrested in Maine; Canada asks for his extradition.

Feb. 5—Horn sentenced to jail for thirty days on the technical charge of injuring property, several windows in Vanceboro having been broken by the explosion.

Feb. 24—R. P. Stegler, a German naval reservist, confesses to Federal authorities in New York, when arrested, details of alleged passport frauds by which German spies travel as American citizens, and charges that Capt. Boy-Ed, German Naval Attaché at Washington, is involved; Federal Grand Jury in Boston begins inquiry to determine whether Horn violated law regulating interstate transportation of explosives.

Feb. 25—Capt. Boy-Ed denies the truth of statements made by Stegler involving him; Stegler is held for alleged obtaining of a United States passport by fraud; two other men under arrest.

Feb. 28—German Embassy at Washington issues a statement characterizing Stegler's allegations about Capt. Boy-Ed as "false and fantastic," and "of a pathological character," and hinting at attempted blackmail.

RELIEF WORK.

Feb. 2—It is planned to send a Belgian relief ship with supplies donated wholly by the people of New York State; France facilitates entry of tobacco sent by Americans as gift to French soldiers; organization is formed in New York called the War Relief Clearing House for France and Her Allies to systematize shipment of supplies.

Feb. 3—Russia permits supplies to be sent to captives, but Russian military authorities will do the distributing.

Feb. 4—Steamer Aymeric sails with cargo of food from twelve States for Belgium.

Feb. 5—Russia refuses to permit relief expeditions to minister to German and Austrian prisoners in Siberia; the United States asks that an American doctor be permitted to accompany Red Cross supplies to observe their distribution; American Commission for Relief in Belgium is sending food to some towns and villages of Northern France in hands of the Germans, where the commission's representatives have found distressing conditions.

Feb. 7—New York women plan to equip a lying-in hospital for destitute mothers of Belgium.

Feb. 10—Steamer Great City sails with supplies for the Belgians estimated to be worth \$530,000, this being the most valuable cargo yet shipped; the shipment represents gifts from every State, 50,000 persons having contributed; Rockefeller Foundation is negotiating in Rumania for grain for people of Poland.

Feb. 12—American Girls' Aid Society sends apparel to France sufficient to clothe 20,000 persons.

- Feb. 13—Otto H. Kahn lends his London residence for the use of soldiers and sailors who have been made blind during the war.
- Feb. 14—Rockefeller Foundation reports that the situation in Belgium is without a parallel in history; Commission for Relief announces that it is possible to send money direct from United States to persons in Belgium.
- Feb. 16—Queen Mary sends letter of thanks for gifts to the British-American War Relief Committee; American Red Cross sends a large consignment of supplies to Russia and Poland.
- Feb. 19—London Times Fund for the sick and wounded passes the \$5,000,000 mark, thought in London to be a record for a popular fund; steamer *Batiscan* sails with donations from thirty States; Red Cross ships seventeen automobile ambulances for various belligerents donated by students of Yale and Harvard.
- Feb. 22—Sienkiewicz and Paderewski appeal through Paris newspapers for help for Poland.
- Feb. 23—Rockefeller Foundation's report to Industrial Commission shows an expenditure of \$1,000,000 on war relief up to Jan. 1; food, not clothes, is Belgium's need, so the Commission for Relief in Belgium announces from London office.
- Feb. 24—Plans are made for American children to send a ship to be known as the "Easter Argosy—a Ship of Life and Love" with a cargo for the children of Belgium.
- Feb. 25—Queen Alexandra thanks British-American War Relief Committee.
- Feb. 26—The American Belgian Relief Fund is now \$946,000.
- Feb. 27—Doctors and nurses sail to open the French Hospital of New York in France.

THE GREAT SEA FIGHT.

By J. ROBERT FOSTER.

IN my watch on deck at the turn of the night
 I saw the spindrift rise,
 And I saw by the thin moon's waning light
 The shine of dead men's eyes.
 They rose from the wave in armor bright,
 The men who never knew fear;
 They rose with their swords to their hips
 strapped tight,
 And stripped to their fighting gear.

I hauled below, but to and fro
 I saw the dead men glide,
 With never a plank their bones to tow,
 As the slippery seas they ride.
 While the bale-star burned where the mists
 swayed low
 They clasped each hand to hand,
 And swore an oath by the winds that blow—
 They swore by the sea and land.

They swore to fight till the Judgment Day,
 Each night ere the cock should crow,
 Where the thunders boom and the lightnings
 play
 In the wrack of the battle-glow.
 They swore by Drake and Plymouth Bay,
 The men of the Good Hope's crew,
 By the bones that lay in fierce Biscay,
 And they swore by Cradock, too—

That every night, ere the dawn flamed red,
 For each man there should be twain
 Upon the ships that make their bed
 Where England rules the Main.
 They pledged—and the ghost of Nelson led—
 When the last ship's gunner fell,
 They would man the guns—these men long
 dead—
 And ram the charges well.

So we'll choose the night for the Great Sea
 Fight

Nor ever give chase by day,
 Our compeers rise in the white moonlight,
 In the wash of the flying spray;
 And if we fall in the battle-bligh,
 The shade of a man long dead
 Fights on till dawn on the sea burns bright
 And Victory, overhead!



COMMANDER THIERICHENS

Commander of the German commerce-raider Prinz Eitel
Friedrich, which sank the American sailing
ship William P. Frye.



THE GRAND DUCHESS OF LUXEMBURG
Whose little State was first occupied by the German forces.
(Photo from George Grantham Bain.)

The New York Times

CURRENT HISTORY

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

THE EUROPEAN WAR

MAY, 1915

General Sir John French's Own Story

The Costly Victory of Neuve Chapelle

LONDON, April 14.—Field Marshal Sir John French, commander of the British expeditionary forces on the Continent, reports the British losses in the three days' fighting at Neuve Chapelle last month, as follows: Killed, 190 officers, 2,337 men; wounded, 359 officers, 8,174 other ranks; missing, 23 officers, 1,728 men; total casualties, 12,811. The report continues:

The enemy left several thousand dead on the field, and we have positive information that upward of 12,000 wounded were removed by trains. Thirty officers and 1,657 of other ranks were captured.

The British commander's dispatch concerning the battle is long, and says, among other things:

Considerable delay occurred after the capture of Neuve Chapelle, and the infantry was greatly disorganized. I am of the opinion that this delay would not have occurred had the clearly expressed order of the general officer commanding the First Army been more carefully observed.

Field Marshal Sir John French's report, which covers the battles of Neuve Chapelle and St. Eloi under date of

April 5, was published in the official Gazette today. The Commander in Chief writes:

The event of chief interest and importance which has taken place is the victory achieved over the enemy in the battle of Neuve Chapelle, which was fought on March 10, 11, and 12.

The main attack was delivered by the troops of the First Army under command of General Sir Douglas Haig, supported by a large force of heavy artillery, a division of cavalry, and some infantry of the General Reserve. Secondary and holding attacks and demonstrations were made along the front of the Second Army, under direction of its commander, Sir Horace Smith-Dorrien.

While the success attained was due to the magnificent bearing and indomitable courage displayed by the troops of the Fourth and Indian Corps, I consider that the able and skillful dispositions which were made by the general officer commanding the First Army contributed largely to the defeat of the enemy and to the capture of his position. The energy and vigor with which General Sir Douglas Haig handled his command show him

to be a leader of great ability and power.

Another action of considerable importance was brought about by a surprise attack made by the Germans on March 14 against the Twenty-seventh Division holding the trenches east of St. Eloi. A large force of artillery was concentrated in this area under the cover of a mist and a heavy volume of fire was suddenly brought to bear on the trenches.

At 5 o'clock in the afternoon this artillery attack was accompanied by two mine explosions, and in the confusion caused by these and by the suddenness of the attack the position of St. Eloi was captured and held for some hours by the enemy.

Well-directed and vigorous counter-attacks, in which the troops of the Fifth Army Corps showed great bravery and determination, restored the situation by the evening of the 15th.

The dispatch describes further operations, saying:

On Feb. 6 a brilliant action by the troops of the First Corps materially improved our position in the area south of La Bassée Canal. During the previous night parties of the Irish Guards and the Third Battalion of the Coldstream Guards had succeeded in gaining ground from which a converging fire could be directed on the flanks and rear of certain brick stacks occupied by the Germans, which had been for some time a source of considerable annoyance. At 2 P. M. the affair commenced with a severe bombardment of the brick stacks and the enemy's trenches.

A brisk attack by the Third Battalion of the Coldstream Guards and Irish Guards from our trenches west of the brick stacks followed and was supported by the fire from the flanking position which had been seized the previous night by the same regiments.

The attack succeeded, the brick stacks were occupied without difficulty, and a line was established north and south through a point about forty yards east of the brick stacks.

The casualties suffered by the Fifth Corps throughout the period under re-

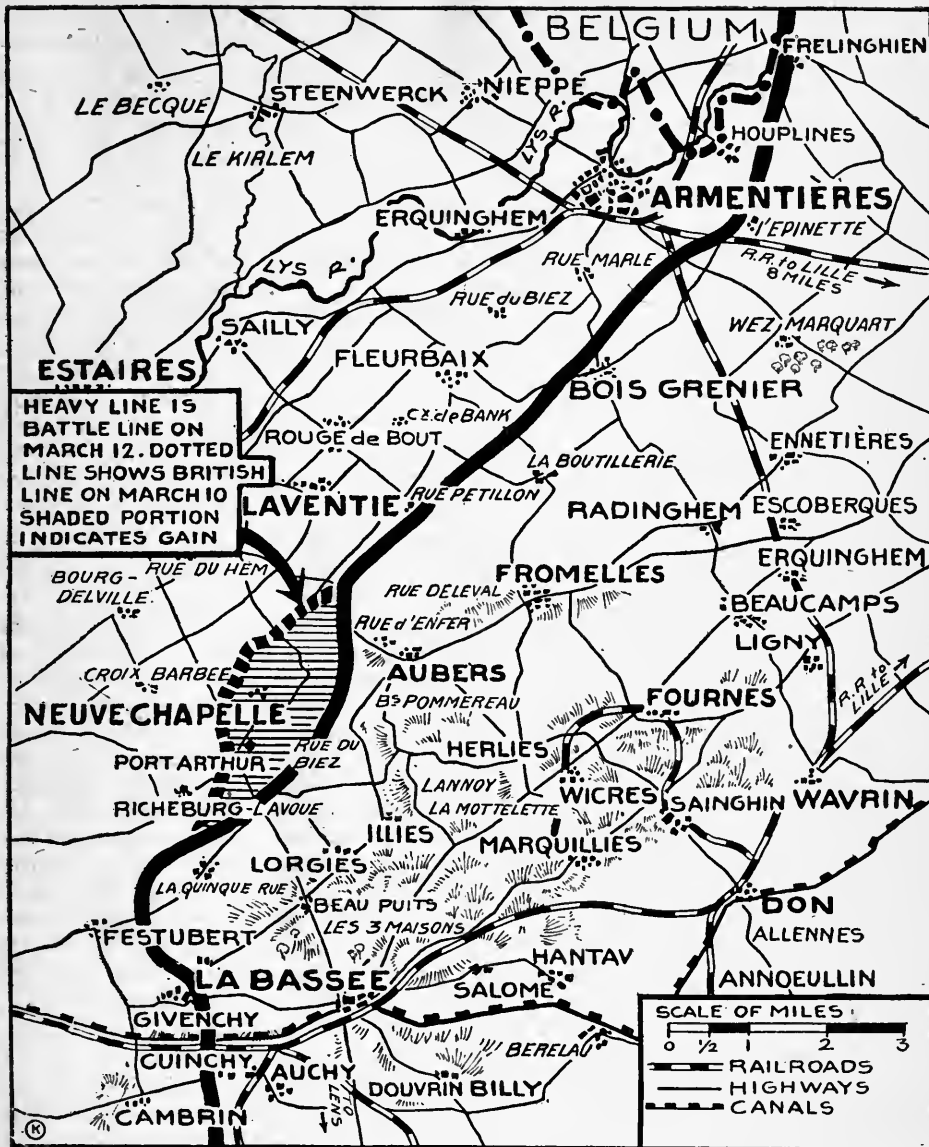
view, and particularly during the month of February, have been heavier than those on other parts of the line. I regret this, but do not think, taking all circumstances into consideration, that they were unduly numerous. The position then occupied by the Fifth Corps had always been a very vulnerable part of our line. The ground was marshy, and trenches were most difficult to construct and maintain. The Twenty-seventh and Twenty-eighth Divisions of the Fifth Corps had no previous experience in European warfare, and a number of the units composing the corps had only recently returned from service in tropical climates. In consequence, the hardships of a rigorous Winter campaign fell with greater weight upon these divisions than upon any other in the command.

Chiefly owing to these causes the Fifth Corps, up to the beginning of March, was constantly engaged in counter-attacks to retake trenches and ground which had been lost. In their difficult and arduous task, however, the troops displayed the utmost gallantry and devotion, and it is most creditable to the skill and energy of their leaders that I am able to report how well they have surmounted all their difficulties and that the ground first taken over by them is still intact and held with little greater loss than is incurred by the troops in all other parts of the line.

Describing an attack on the German trenches near St. Eloi on Feb. 28 by Princess Patricia's Regiment, of the Canadian contingent, under command of Lieut. C. E. Crabbe, the Commander in Chief says:

The services performed by this distinguished corps have continued to be very valuable since I had occasion to refer to them in my last dispatch. They have been most ably organized and trained and were commanded by Lieut. Colonel F. D. Farquhar, D. S. O., who I deeply regret to say was killed while superintending some trench work on March 20. His loss will be deeply felt.

Emphasizing the co-operation of the British and French forces and the new



Map showing the field of the Battle of Neuve Chapelle and its position in the Allied line.

rôle in warfare assumed by the cavalry, the Commander in Chief writes:

During the month of February I arranged with General Foch to render the Ninth French Corps, holding the trenches to my left, some much-needed rest by sending the three divisions of the British Cavalry Corps to hold a portion of the French trenches, each division for a period of ten days alternately.

It was very gratifying to me to note once again in this campaign the eager readiness which the cavalry displayed to undertake a rôle which does not properly belong to them in order to support and assist their French comrades. In carrying out this work the leader, officers, and men displayed the same skill and energy which I have had reason to comment upon in former dispatches.

Referring to Neuve Chapelle and the considerations leading up to this, the Field Marshal says:

About the end of February many vital considerations induced me to believe that a vigorous offensive movement by the troops under my command should be planned and carried out at the earliest possible moment. Among the more important reasons which convinced me of this necessity were the general aspect of the allied situation throughout Europe, and particularly the marked success of the Russian Army in repelling the violent onslaughts of Marshal von Hindenburg; the apparent weakening of the enemy on my front, and the necessity for assisting our Russian allies to the utmost by holding as many hostile troops as possible in the western theatre; the efforts to this end which were being made by the French forces at Arras and in Champagne, and—perhaps the most weighty consideration of all—the need of fostering the offensive spirit in the troops under my command after the trying and possibly enervating experiences which they had gone through of a severe Winter in the trenches.

In a former dispatch I commented upon the difficulties and drawbacks which the Winter weather in this climate imposes upon a vigorous offensive. Early in March these difficulties became greatly lessened by the drying up of the country and by spells of brighter weather.

I do not propose in this dispatch to enter at length into the considerations which actuated me in deciding upon the plan, time, and place of my attack. As mentioned above, the main attack was carried out by units of the First Army, supported by troops of the Second Army and the general reserve. The object of the main attack was to be the capture of the village of Neuve Chapelle and the enemy's position at that point, and the establishment of our line as far forward as possible to the east of that place.

The object, nature, and scope of the attack and the instructions for the conduct of the operations were communi-

cated by me to Sir Douglas Haig in a secret memorandum, dated Feb. 19.

After describing the main topographical features of the battlefield and showing how the Germans had established a strong post with numerous machine guns among the big houses, behind walls and in orchards which flanked the approaches to the village, Sir John proceeds:

The battle opened at 7:30 o'clock the morning of the 10th of March by a powerful bombardment of the enemy's position in Neuve Chapelle. The artillery bombardment had been well prepared and was most effective, except on the extreme northern portion of the front of attack.

At 8:05 o'clock the Twenty-third and Twenty-fifth Brigades of the Eighth Division assaulted the German trenches on the northwest of the village. At the same hour the Garhwal Brigade of the Meerut (British India) Division, which occupied a position to the south of Neuve Chapelle, assaulted the German trenches in its front. The Garhwal Brigade and the Twenty-fifth Brigade carried the enemy's lines of entrenchment, where the wire entanglements had been almost entirely swept away by our shrapnel fire.

The Twenty-third Brigade, however, on the northeast, was held up by wire entanglements which were not sufficiently cut. At 8:05 o'clock the artillery was turned on Neuve Chapelle, and at 8:35 o'clock the advance of the infantry was continued. The Twenty-fifth and the Garhwal Brigades pushed on eastward and northeastward, respectively, and succeeded in getting a foothold in the village. The Twenty-third Brigade was still held up in front of the enemy's wire entanglements, and could not progress. Heavy losses were suffered, especially in the Middlesex Regiment and the Scottish Rifles.

The progress, however, of the Twenty-fifth Brigade into Neuve Chapelle immediately to the south of the Twenty-third Brigade had the effect of turning the southern flank of the enemy's defenses in front of the Twenty-third Brigade. This fact, combined with powerful artillery support, enabled the Twenty-third

Brigade to get forward between 10 and 11 A. M., and by 11 o'clock the whole of the village of Neuve Chapelle and the roads leading northward and southwestward from the eastern end of that village were in our hands.

During this time our artillery completely cut off the village and surrounding country from any German reinforcements which could be thrown into the fight to restore the situation, by means of a curtain of shrapnel fire. Prisoners subsequently reported that all attempts at reinforcing the front line were checked. Steps were at once taken to consolidate the positions won.

Considerable delay occurred after the capture of the Neuve Chapelle position. The infantry was greatly disorganized by the violent nature of the attack and by its passage through the enemy's trenches and the buildings of the village. It was necessary to get the units to some extent together before pushing on. The telephonic communication being cut by the enemy's fire rendered communication between the front and the rear most difficult. The fact of the left of the Twenty-third Brigade having been held up had kept back the Eighth Division and had involved a portion of the Twenty-fifth Brigade in fighting to the north, out of its proper direction of advance. All this required adjustment. An orchard held by the enemy north of Neuve Chapelle also threatened the flank of an advance toward the Aubers Bridge.

I am of the opinion that this delay would not have occurred had the clearly expressed order of the general officer commanding the First Army been carefully observed.

The difficulties above enumerated might have been overcome earlier in the day if the general officer commanding the Fourth Corps had been able to bring his reserve brigades more speedily into action. As it was, a further advance did not commence before 3:30 o'clock. The Twenty-first Brigade was able to form up in the open on the left without a shot being fired at it, thus showing that, at the time, the enemy's resistance had been paralyzed.

The brigade pushed forward in the direction of Moulin-du-Pietre. At first it made good progress, but was subsequently held up by machine gun fire from houses and from a defended work in the line of the German intrenchments opposite the right of the Twenty-second Brigade.

Further to the south the Twenty-fourth Brigade, which had been directed on Pietre, was similarly held up by machine guns in houses and trenches. At the road junction, 600 yards to the northwest of Pietre, the Twenty-fifth Brigade, on the right of the Twenty-fourth, was also held up by machine guns from a bridge held by the Germans over the River Les Layes, which is situated to the northwest of the Bois du Biez.

While two brigades of the Meerut Division were establishing themselves on a new line the Dehra Dun Brigade, supported by the Jullunder Brigade of the Lahore Division, moved to the attack of the Bois du Biez, but were held up on the line of the River Les Layes by a German post at the bridge, which enfiladed them and brought them to a standstill.

The defended bridge over the Les Layes and its neighborhood immediately assumed considerable importance. While the artillery fire was brought to bear, as far as circumstances would permit, on this point, General Sir Douglas Haig directed the First Corps to dispatch one or more battalions of the First Brigade in support of the troops attacking the bridge. Three battalions were thus sent to Richebourg St. Vaast.

Darkness coming on and the enemy having brought up reinforcements, no further progress could be made, and the Indian Corps and the Fourth Corps proceeded to consolidate the position they had gained.

While the operations, which I have thus briefly reported, were going on, the First Corps, in accordance with orders, delivered an attack in the morning from Givenchy simultaneously with that against Neuve Chapelle, but as the enemy's wire was insufficiently cut very little progress could be made, and the

troops at this point did little more than hold fast to the Germans in front of them.

On the following day, March 11, the attack was renewed by the Fourth and Indian Corps, but it was soon seen that further advance would be impossible until the artillery had dealt effectively with the various houses and defended localities which had held the troops up along the entire front.

Efforts were made to direct the artillery fire accordingly, but, owing to the weather conditions, which did not permit of aerial observations, and the fact that nearly all the telephone communications between the artillery observers and their batteries had been cut, it was impossible to do so with sufficient accuracy. When our troops, who were pressing forward, occupied a house there, it was not possible to stop our artillery fire, and the infantry had to be withdrawn.

As most of the objects for which the operations had been undertaken had been attained, and as there were reasons why I considered it inadvisable to continue the attack at that time, I directed General Sir Douglas Haig on the night of the 12th to hold and consolidate the ground which had been gained by the Fourth and Indian Corps, and suspend further offensive operations for the present.

The losses during these three days' fighting were, I regret to say, very severe, numbering 190 officers and 2,327

of other ranks killed, 359 officers and 8,174 of other ranks wounded, and 23 officers and 1,720 of other ranks missing. But the results attained were, in my opinion, wide and far-reaching.

Referring to the severity of the casualties in action, the Commander in Chief writes:

I can well understand how deeply these casualties are felt by the nation at large, but each daily report shows clearly that they are endured on at least an equal scale by all the combatants engaged throughout Europe, friends and foe alike.

In war as it is today, between civilized nations armed to the teeth with the present deadly rifle and machine gun, heavy casualties are absolutely unavoidable. For the slightest undue exposure the heaviest toll is exacted. The power of defense conferred by modern weapons is the main cause for the long duration of the battles of the present day, and it is this fact which mainly accounts for such loss and waste of life. Both one and the other can, however, be shortened and lessened if attacks can be supported by a most efficient and powerful force of artillery available; but an almost unlimited supply of ammunition is necessary, and a most liberal discretionary power as to its use must be given to artillery commanders. I am confident that this is the only means by which great results can be obtained with a minimum of loss.

ROBERTS OF KANDAHAR.

SIDNEY LOW, in The London Times.

THROUGH the long years of peril and of strife,
He faced Death oft, and Death forbore to slay,

Reserving for its sacrificial Day,
The garnered treasure of his full-crowned life;
So saved him till the furrowed soil was rife,
With the rich tillage of our noblest dead;
Then reaped the offering of his honored head,
In that red field of harvest, where he died,
With the embattled legions at his side.

The Surrender of Przemysl

How Galicia's Strong Fortress Yielded to the Russian Siege

The Austrian fortress of Przemysl fell on March 22, 1915, after an investment and siege which lasted, with one short interruption, for nearly four months. This important event was celebrated by a Te Deum of thanksgiving in the presence of the Czar and the General Staff. The importance to the Russians of the capitulation of Przemysl is suggested by the fact that about 120,000 prisoners were reported taken when the Austrians yielded. Until this was effected the Russians could not venture upon a serious invasion of Hungary, and the investing troops who were then freed were more numerous than the defenders.

[By the Correspondent of The London Times.]

PETROGRAD, March 22.

THE Minister of War has informed me that he has just received a telegram from the Grand Duke Nicholas announcing the fall of Przemysl.

The fall of Przemysl marks the most important event of the Russian campaign this year. It finally and irrevocably consolidates the position of the Russians in Galicia. The Austro-German armies are deprived of the incentive hitherto held out to them of relieving the isolated remnant of their former dominion. The besieging army will be freed for other purposes. From information previously published the garrison aggregated about 25,000 men, hence the investing forces, which must always be at least four times as great as the garrison, represent not less than 100,000 men. From all the information lately received from both Russian and neutral sources, the position of the Austro-German armies in the Carpathians has become distinctly critical. The reinforcements for the gallant troops of General Brusiloff, General Radko Dmitrieff, and other commanders are bound to exercise an enormous influence on the future course of the campaign in the Carpathians.

All honor and credit are given by the Russians to the garrison of Przemysl and General Kusmanek. Russian officers ever had the highest opinion of the personality of the commandant. I heard from those who fought under General Radko Dmitrieff in the early stages of the Galician campaign that when our troops,

after sweeping away the resistance at Lwow and Jaroslau, loudly knocked at the doors of the fortress of Przemysl, they met with a stern rebuff. In reply to the summons of the Russians to surrender the keys the commandant wrote a curt and dignified note remarking that he considered it beyond his own dignity or the dignity of the Russian General to discuss the surrender of the fortress before it had exhausted all its powers of resistance. During the second invasion of Poland by the Austro-German armies the enemy's lines swept up to and just beyond Przemysl, interrupting the investment of the fortress. The wave of the Austrian invasion began to subside at the end of the first week in November. Only then could we begin the siege of the mighty fortress, which proved successful after the lapse of four months.

The first Russian attempt to storm Przemysl without previous bombardment, which followed immediately upon the commandant's refusal to surrender, resulted in very great loss of life to no purpose. Thereafter it was decided to abstain from further attempts to take the fortress until our siege guns could be placed and a preliminary bombardment could sufficiently facilitate the task of the besiegers. Meanwhile, although the fortress and town were duly invested, our lines were somewhat remote from the outlying forts, and the peasants of adjacent villages were, it is said, able to pass freely to and from the town of Przemysl—a fact which would enable the inhabitants to obtain supplies. From all ac-

counts neither the garrison nor the inhabitants were reduced to very great straits for food. The announcement made at the time of the first investment of the fortress that provisions and supplies would easily last till May was, however, obviously exaggerated.

I understand that heavy siege guns were ready to be conveyed to Przemysl at the end of January, but that the Russian military authorities decided to postpone their departure in view of the determined attempts made by the Austro-German forces to pierce the Russian lines in the Carpathians in order to relieve the fortress, which, if successful, might have endangered the safety of the siege material. Owing to this fact the bombardment of Przemysl began only about a fortnight ago, when the Austro-German offensive had so far weakened as to satisfy the Russian authorities that there was no further danger from this quarter.

The concluding stages of the siege have been related in the dispatches from the Field Headquarters during the past week. The capture of the dominating heights in the eastern sector followed close upon the first bombardment. The final desperate sortie led by General Kusmanek at the head of the Twenty-third Division of the Honved precipitated the end. The demnants of the garrison were unable to man the works extending to a thirty-mile periphery.

The loss of the western approaches left General Kusmanek no alternative but to surrender. He had exhausted his ammunition and used up his effectives. His messages for help were either intercepted or unanswered. The assailants broke down the last resistance. The most important strategical point in the whole of Galicia is now in Russian hands.

TE DEUM AT HEADQUARTERS. PETROGRAD, March 22.

The following official communiqué was issued from the Main Headquarters this morning:

The fortress of Przemysl has surrendered to our troops.

At the Headquarters of the Com-

mander in Chief a Te Deum of thanksgiving was celebrated in the presence of the Czar, the Grand Duke Nicholas, Commander in Chief, and all the staff.

The following communiqué from the Great Headquarters is issued here to-day:

Northern Front.—From the Niemen to the Vistula and on the left bank of the latter river there has been no important change. Our troops advancing from Tauroggen captured, after a struggle, Laugszargen, (near the frontier of East Prussia,) where they took prisoners and seized an ammunition depot and engineers' stores.

The Carpathians.—There has been furious fighting on the roads to Bartfeld (in Hungary) in the valleys of the Onda-wa and Laborcz.

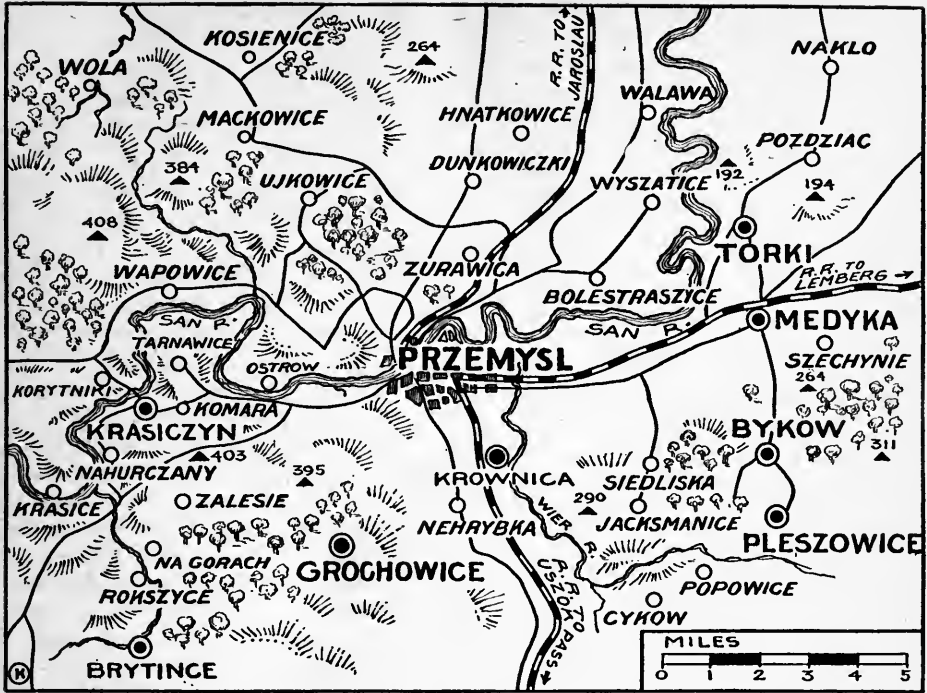
Near the Lupkow Pass and on the left bank of the Upper San our troops have advanced successfully, forcing the way with rifle fire and with the bayonet. In the course of the day we took 2,500 prisoners, including fifty officers and four machine guns.

In the direction of Munkacz the Germans, in close formation, attacked our positions at Rossokhatch, Oravtchik, and Kosziowa, but were everywhere driven back by our fire and by our counter-attacks with severe losses. In Galicia there has been a snowstorm.

Przemysl.—On the night of the 21st there was a fierce artillery fire round Przemysl. Portions of the garrison who once more tried to effect a sortie toward the northeast toward Oikowic were driven back within the circle of forts with heavy losses.

Note.—*This portion of the communiqué was evidently drafted before the fall of Przemysl took place, and the communiqué proceeds:*

In recognition of the joyous event of the fall of Przemysl the Czar has conferred upon the Grand Duke Nicholas the Second Class of the Order of St. George and the Third Class of the same order on General Ivanoff, the commander of the besieging army.



Map of the Siege of Przemysl. The small triangles indicate outlying fortified hills with their height in feet.

COLLECTING THE ARMS.

By Hamilton Fyfe, Correspondent of The London Daily Mail.

PETROGRAD, March 23.

Advance detachments of Russian troops entered Przemysl last night. The business of collecting the arms in proceeding. I believe the officers will be allowed to keep their swords.

Great surprise has been caused here by a statement that the number of troops captured exceeds three army corps. Possibly on account of the snow-storm no further telegram has been received from the Grand Duke Nicholas, and no details of the fall of the garrison have yet been officially announced. I have, however, received the definite assurance of a very high authority that the force which has surrendered includes nine Generals, over 2,000 officers, and 130,000 men. In spite of the authority of my informant, I am still inclined to await confirmation of these figures.

The leading military organ, the Russki Invalid, says that the garrison was known

to number 60,000 men and that it had been swelled to some extent by the additional forces drafted in before the investment began. The Retch estimates the total at 80,000, and a semi-official announcement also places the strength of the garrison at that figure, excluding artillery and also the men belonging to the auxiliary and technical services.

There is an equal difference of opinion regarding the number of guns taken. The estimates vary from 1,000 to 2,000. What is known for certain is that the fortress contained 600 big guns of the newest type and a number of small, older pieces.

The characteristic spirit in which Russia is waging war is shown by the service of thanksgiving to God which was held immediately the news of the fall of the fortress reached the Grand Duke's headquarters. The Czar was there to join with the staff in offering humble gratitude to the Almighty for the great victory accorded to the Russian arms.

The first crowds which gathered here yesterday to rejoice over the great news

moved with one consent to the Kazan Cathedral, where they sang the national hymn and crossed themselves reverently before the holy, wonder-working picture of Kazan, the Mother of God. In spite of the heaviest snowstorm of the Winter, which made the streets impassable and stopped the tramway cars, the Nevski Prospekt rang all the afternoon and evening with the sound of voices raised in patriotic song.

Przemysl is admitted to be the first spectacular success of the war on the side of the Allies. It is not surprising that the nation is proud and delighted, yet so generous is the Russian mind that there mingle with its triumph admiration and sympathy for the garrison which was compelled to surrender after a long, brave resistance. Popular imagination has been thrilled by the story of the last desperate sortie, which will take a high place in the history of modern war.

When toward the end of the week the hope of relief, which had so long buoyed up the defenders, was with heavy, resolved hearts abandoned, General Kousmanek resolved to try to save at all events some portion of his best troops by sending them to fight a way out. From the ranks, thinned terribly by casualties and also by typhus and other diseases caused through hunger and the unhealthy state of the town, he selected 20,000 men and served out to them five days' reduced rations, which were all he had left. He also supplied them with new boots in order to give them as good a chance as possible to join their comrades in the Carpathians, whose summits could be seen from Przemysl in the shining, warm Spring sunshine.

It was a hopeless enterprise, pitifully futile. It is true that the Austrian armies sent to relieve the city were only a few days' march distant, but even if the 20,000 had cut a way through the investing force they would have found another Russian army between them and their fellow-countrymen. General Kousmanek, before they started, addressed them. In a rousing speech he said:

Soldiers, for nearly half a year, in spite of cold and hunger, you have defended

the fortress intrusted to you. The eyes of the world are fixed on you. Millions at home are waiting with painful eagerness to hear the news of your success. The honor of the army and our fatherland requires us to make a superhuman effort. Around us lies the iron ring of the enemy. Burst a way through it and join your comrades who have been fighting so bravely for you and are now so near.

I have given you the last of our supplies of food. I charge you to go forward and sweep the foe aside. After our many gallant and glorious fights we must not fall into the hands of the Russians like sheep; we must and will break through.

In case this appeal to the men's fighting spirit were ineffective threats were also used to the troops, who were warned by their officers that any who returned to the fortress would be treated as cowards and traitors. After the General's speech the men were told to rest for a few hours. At 4 in the morning they paraded and at 5 the battle began. For nine hours the Austrians hurled themselves against the iron ring, until early in the afternoon, when, broken and battered, the remains of the twenty thousand began to straggle back to the town. Exhausted and disheartened, the garrison was incapable of further effort.

In order to prevent useless slaughter General Kousmanek sent officers with a flag of truce to inquire about the terms of surrender. These were arranged very quickly.

In spite of the local value of the victory, and the vastness of the captures of material as well as of men, it must not be thought, as many are inclined to think here, that the *Novoe Vremya* exaggerates dangerously when it compares the effect likely to be produced with that of the fall of Metz and Port Arthur.

It certainly brings the end of the Austrians' participation in the war more clearly in sight. But the Austrians will fight for some time yet. What it actually does is to free a large Russian force for the operations against Cracow or to assist in the invasion of Hungary.

What is the strength of this force it would be imprudent to divulge, but I can say that it certainly amounts to not less

than an "army," (anything from 80,000 to 200,000 men.) Those who are anxious to arrive at a closer figure can calculate by the fact that the Russians had a forty-mile front around Przemyśl which was strong enough to repulse attacks at all points. Another very useful consequence is that all the Galician railway system is now in Russian hands. It makes the transport of troops much easier.

One further reflection was suggested to me last night by a very distinguished and influential Russian soldier, holding office under the Government. "The method which prevailed at Przemyśl was as follows: Instead of rushing against the place and losing heavily, we waited and husbanded our forces until the garrison was unable to hold out any longer. That is the method adopted by the Allies. It must in the course of time force Germany to surrender also.

"Up to now we have held our own against her furious sorties. Soon we shall begin to draw more closely our investing lines. Only one end was possible to Przemyśl. The fate of Germany is equally sure."

Now all eyes are fixed on the Dardanelles. The phrase on every lip is: "When the fall of Constantinople follows, then Prussia must begin to see that the case is hopeless." But we must not deceive ourselves, for even when her allies are defeated Prussia will still be hard to beat. Przemyśl must not cause us to slacken our effort in any direction or in the slightest degree.

WHAT THE RUSSIANS FOUND

Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, April 3.—*The London Times* under date Przemyśl, March 30, publishes a dispatch from Stanley Washburn, its special correspondent with the Russian armies, who, by courtesy of the Russian high command, is the first forerunner to visit the great Galician fortress since its fall. He says:

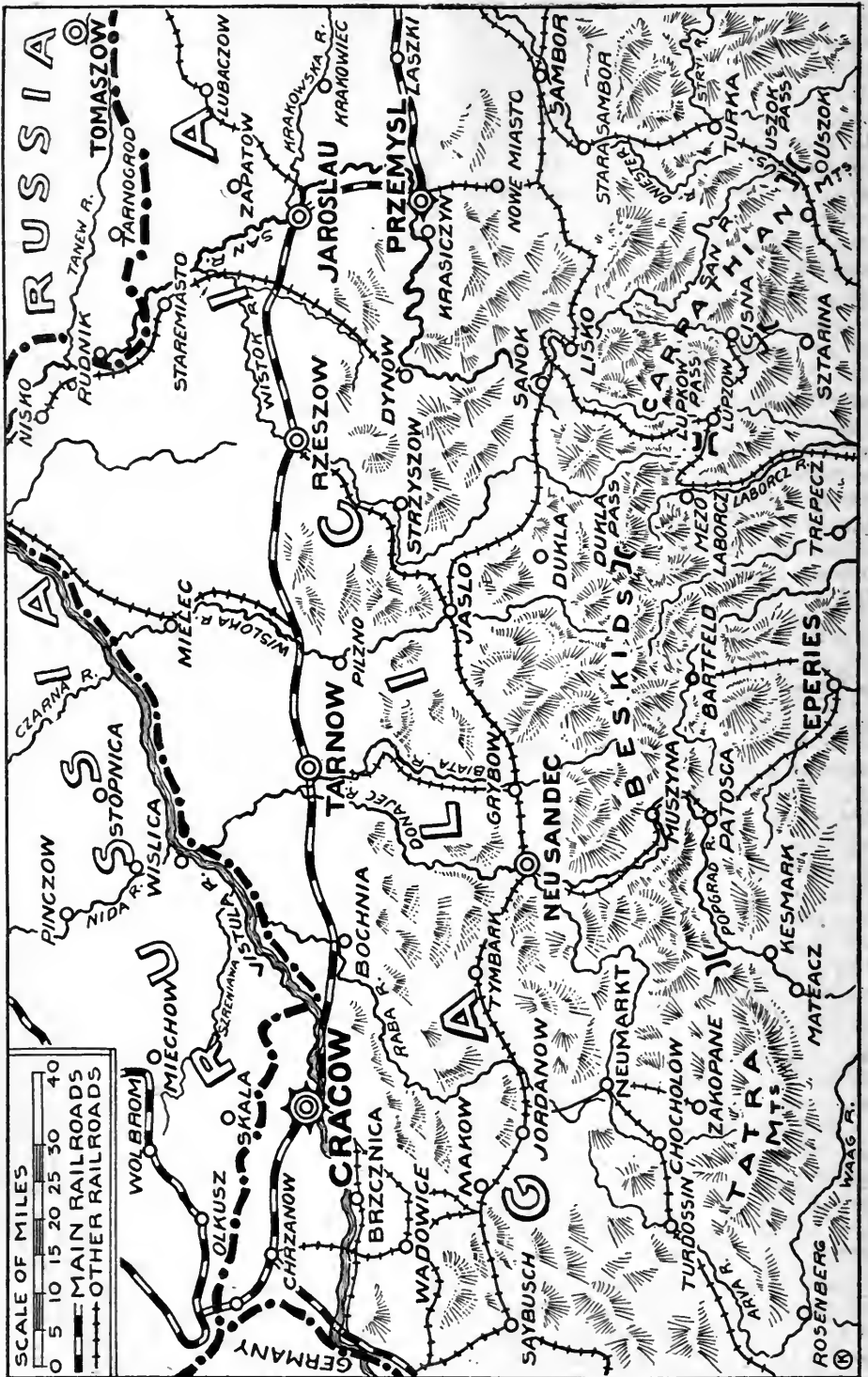
Przemyśl is a story of an impregnable fortress two or three times over-garrisoned with patient, haggard soldiers starving in trenches, and sleek, faultlessly dressed officers living off the fat

of the land in fashionable hotels and restaurants.

The siege started with a total population within the lines of investment of approximately 200,000. Experts estimate that the fortress could have been held with 50,000 or 60,000 men against any forces the Russians could bring against it. It is probable that such supplies as there were were uneconomically expended, with the result that when the push came the situation was at once acute, and the suffering of all classes save the officers became general. First the cavalry and transport horses were consumed. Then everything available. Cats were sold at 8 shillings, and fair-sized dogs at a sovereign.

While the garrison became thin and half starved, the mode of life of the officers in the town remained unchanged. The Café Sieber was constantly well filled with dilettante officers who gossiped and played cards and billiards and led the life to which they were accustomed in Vienna. Apparently very few shared any of the hardships of their men or made any effort to relieve their condition. At the Hotel Royal until the last, the officers had their three meals a day, with fresh meat, cigars, cigarettes, wines, and every luxury, while, as a witness has informed me, their own orderlies and servants begged for a slice of bread.

There can be no question that ultimate surrender was due to the fact that the garrison was on the verge of starvation, while the officers' diet was merely threatened with curtailment. Witnesses state that private soldiers were seen actually to fall in the streets from lack of nourishment. The officers are reported to have retained their private thoroughbred riding horses until the day before the surrender, when 2,000 of them were killed to prevent them from falling into the hands of the Russians. A Russian officer of high rank informed me that when he entered the town hundreds of these bodies of beautiful thoroughbred horses were to be seen with half-crazed Austrian and Hungarian soldiers tearing into the bodies with their faces and hands



Map showing the scene of action between Przemysl and Cracow and the Carpathian Passes.

smear'd with red blood as they devoured the raw flesh.

The Russians were utterly amazed at the casual reception which they received. The Austrian officers showed not the slightest sign of being disconcerted or humiliated at the collapse of their fortress.

The first Russian effort was at once to relieve the condition of the garrison and civilians. Owing to the destruction of the bridge this was delayed, but soon with remarkable efficiency distribution depots were opened everywhere and the most pressing needs were somewhat relieved.

The entire conduct of the siege on the part of the garrison seems wholly without explanation. The Austrians had throughout plenty of ammunition, and they certainly grossly outnumbered the Russians; yet they made but one recent effort to break out, which occurred three days before the surrender.

Civilians inform me that they gladly welcome the Russians and that the first troops who entered were greeted with cheers, while the garrison was frankly pleased that the siege was over and their troubles at an end.

As an example of overofficering it may be stated that General Kusmanek had seventy-five officers on his staff, while General Artamonov, the acting Russian Governor, had but four on his immediate staff.

The removal of the prisoners is proceeding with great efficiency. They are going out at the rate of about 10,000 a day. The docility of the captives is indicated by the fact that the Russian guards attached to the prisoners' columns number about one for every hundred prisoners. They are all strung out for miles between the fortress and Lemberg. The prisoners are so eager to get out and to see the last of the war that they follow the instructions of their captors like children.

All the civilians as well as prisoners I have talked with are unanimous in their praise of the Russian officers and soldiers, who have shown nothing but kindness and delicacy of feeling since their entrance into the fortress. This consideration strikes me as being utterly wasted on the captured officers, who treat the situation superciliously and are quite complacent in their relations with the Russians.

THE JESTERS.

By MARION COUTHOUY SMITH.

EV'N he, the master of the songs of life,
May speak at times with less than
certain sound—

“He jests at scars who never felt a wound.”
So runs his word! Yet on the verge of strife,
They jest not who have never known the
knife;

They tremble who in the waiting ranks are
found,

While those scarred deep on many a battle-
ground

Sing to the throbbing of the drum and fife.
They laugh who know the open, fearless
breast,

The thrust, the steel-point, and the spread-
ing stain;

Whose flesh is hardened to the searing test,
Whose souls are tempered to a high disdain.

Theirs is the lifted brow, the gallant jest,
The long last breath, that holds a victor-
strain.

Lord Kitchener Advertises for Recruits

This map shows the comparative distances from London of Ostend and of some English towns. London is in the exact center of the map.



If the German Army were in Manchester.

IF the German Army were in Manchester, every fit man in the country would enlist without a moment's delay.

Do you realise that the German Army is now at Ostend, only 125 miles away—or 40 miles nearer to London than is Manchester?

How much nearer must the Germans come before you do something to stop them?

The German Army must be beaten in Belgium. The time to do it is now.

Will you help? Yes? Then enlist TO-DAY.

God Save the King.

[Facsimile of an advertisement that appeared in The London Times, March 17, 1915.]

Battle of the Dardanelles

The Disaster That Befell the Allies' Fleet

AS THE TURKS SAW IT.

BERLIN, March 22, (via London, 11:33 A. M.)—The correspondent at Constantinople of the Wolff Bureau telegraphed today a description of the fighting at the Dardanelles on Thursday, March 18, in which the French battleship Bouvet and two British battleships were sent to the bottom. An abridgment of the correspondent's story follows:

The efforts of the Allies to force the Strait of the Dardanelles reached their climax in an artillery duel on Thursday, March 18, which lasted seven hours. The entire atmosphere around the Turkish forts was darkened by clouds of smoke from exploding shells and quantities of earth thrown into the air by the projectiles of the French and British warships. The earth trembled for miles around.

The Allies entered the strait at 11:30 in the morning, and shelled the town of Chank Kale. Four French and five British warships took part in the beginning. This engagement reached its climax at 1:30, when the fire of the Allies was concentrated upon Fort Hamidieh and the adjacent fortified positions.

The attack of modern marine artillery upon strong land forts presented an interesting as well as a terrifying spectacle. At times the forts were completely enveloped in smoke. At 2 o'clock the Allies changed their tactics and concentrated their fire upon individual batteries, but it was evident that they found difficulty in getting the range. Many of the shells fell short, casting up pillars of water, or went over the forts to explode in the town.

At 3:15, when the bombardment was at its hottest, the French battleship Bouvet was seen to be sinking at the stern. A moment later her bows swung clear of the water, and she was seen going down. Cheers from the Turkish garrisons and forts greeted this sight. Torpedo boats and other craft of the Allies hurried to

the rescue, but they were successful in saving only a few men. Besides having been struck by a mine, the Bouvet was severely damaged above the water line by shell fire. One projectile struck her forward deck. A mast also was shot away and hung overboard. It could be seen that the Bouvet when she sank was endeavoring to gain the mouth of the strait. This, however, was difficult, owing, apparently, to the fact that her machinery had been damaged.

Shortly after the sinking of the Bouvet a British ship was struck on the deck squarely amidship and compelled to withdraw from the fight. Then another British vessel was badly damaged, and at 3:45 was seen to retire under a terrific fire from the Turkish battery. This vessel ran in toward the shore. For a full hour the Allies tried to protect her with their guns, but it was apparent that she was destined for destruction. Eight effective hits showed the hopelessness of the situation for this vessel. She then withdrew toward the mouth of the Dardanelles, which she reached in a few minutes under a hail of shells. The forts continued firing until the Allies were out of range.

This was the first day when the warships attacking the Dardanelles kept within range of the Turkish guns for any considerable length of time. The result for them was terrible, owing to the excellent marksmanship from the Turkish batteries. The Allies fired on this day 2,000 shells without silencing one shore battery. The result has inspired the Turks with confidence, and they are looking forward to further engagements with calm assurance.

ELIMINATION OF MINES.

The London Times naval correspondent writes, in its issue of March 20:

The further attack upon the inner forts at the Dardanelles, which was resumed

by the allied squadrons on Thursday, has resulted, unfortunately, but not altogether unexpectedly, in some loss of ships and gallant lives.

The clear and candid dispatch in which the operations are described attributes the loss of the ships to floating mines, which were probably released to drift down with the current in such large numbers that the usual method of evading these machines was unavailable. This danger, it is said, will require special treatment. Presumably the area having been swept clear of anchored mines, it was not considered necessary to take other precautions than such as were concerned with the movement of the battleships themselves.

The satisfactory feature of the operations is that the ships maintained their superiority over the forts, and succeeded in silencing them after a few hours' bombardment. The sinking of the battleships occurred later in the afternoon, and it would seem at a time when a portion of the naval force was making a further advance to cover the mine-sweeping operations. There is nothing in the dispatch which indicates anything but the eventual success of the work, nor that the defenses have proved more formidable than was anticipated. The danger from floating mines may have been somewhat underestimated, but it is one that can be met and is most unlikely to form a decisive factor.

Manifestly the Turks, with their German advisers, have done their utmost to repair, by means of howitzers and field guns, the destruction of the fixed defenses; but it is not likely that any temporary expedients will prove more than troublesome to the passage of the fleet. The determination of the Allies to make a satisfactory ending of the operations is shown by the immediate dispatch of reinforcing ships, and by the fact that ample naval and military forces are available on the spot.

Every one will regret that illness has obliged Vice Admiral Carden to relinquish the chief command, but this is now in the very capable hands of Vice Admiral Roberk.

BRITISH OFFICIAL REPORT.

[From The London Times, March 20, 1915.]

After ten days of mine-sweeping inside the Dardanelles the British and French fleets made a general attack on the fortresses at the Narrows on Thursday. After about three hours' bombardment all the forts ceased firing.

Three battleships were lost in these operations by striking mines—the French Bouvet, and the Irresistible and the Ocean. The British crews were practically all saved, but nearly the whole of the men on the Bouvet perished.

The Secretary of the Admiralty issued the following statement last night:

Mine-sweeping having been in progress during the last ten days inside the strait, a general attack was delivered by the British and French fleets yesterday morning upon the fortresses at the Narrows of the Dardanelles.

At 10:45 A. M. Queen Elizabeth, Inflexible, Agamemnon, and Lord Nelson bombarded Forts J, L, T, U, and V; while Triumph and Prince George fired at Batteries F, E, and H. A heavy fire was opened on the ships from howitzers and field guns.

At 12:22 the French squadron, consisting of the Suffren, Gaulois, Charlemagne, and Bouvet, advanced up the Dardanelles to engage the forts at closer range. Forts J, U, F, and E replied strongly. Their fire was silenced by the ten battleships inside the strait, all the ships being hit several times during this part of the action.

By 1:25 P. M. all forts had ceased firing.

Vengeance, Irresistible, Albion, Ocean, Swiftsure, and Majestic then advanced to relieve the six old battleships inside the strait.

As the French squadron, which had engaged the forts in the most brilliant fashion was passing out, Bouvet was blown up by a drifting mine and sank in thirty-six fathoms north Erenkeui Village in less than three minutes.

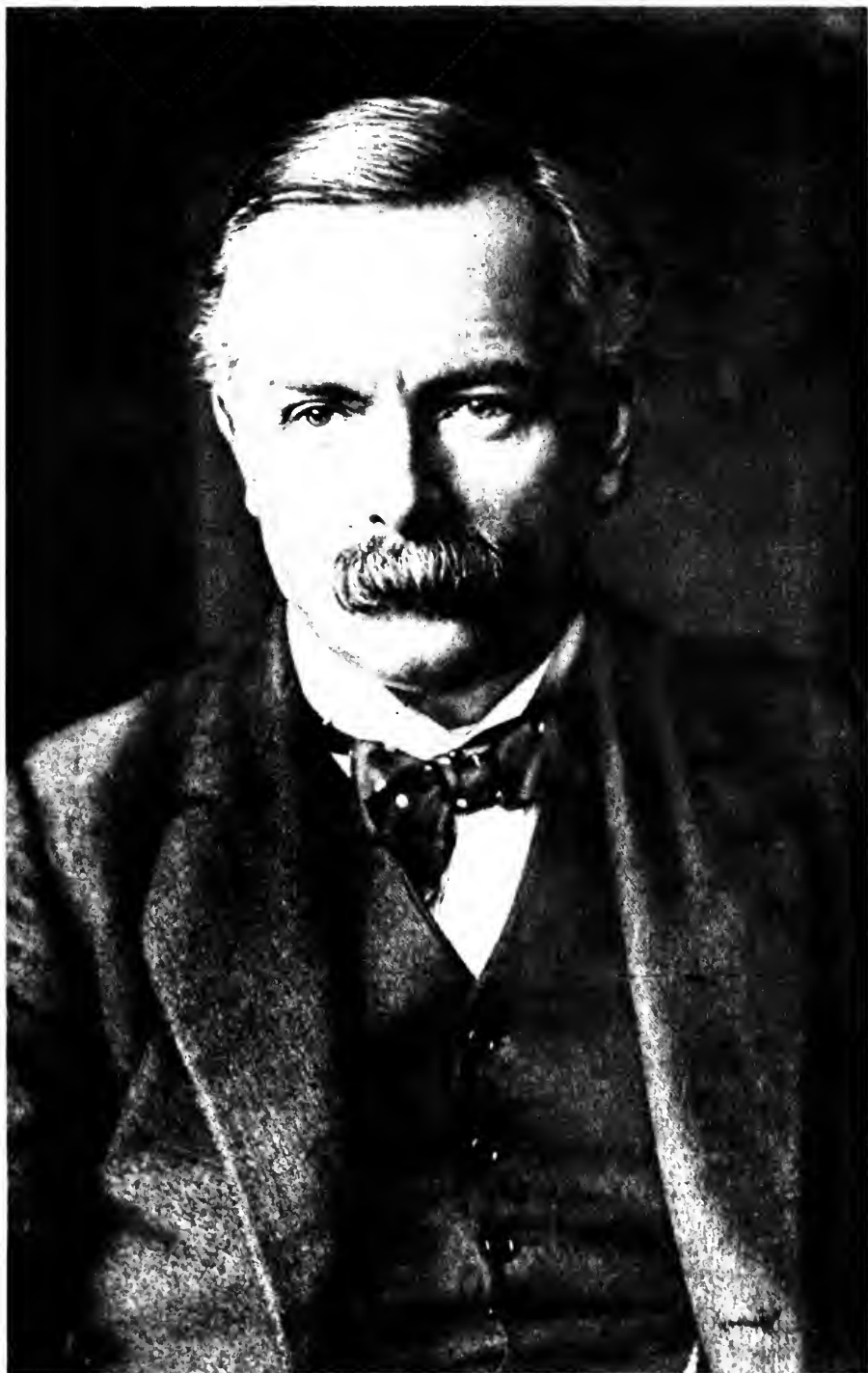
At 2:26 P. M., the relief battleships renewed the attack on the forts, which again opened fire. The attack on the forts was maintained while the opera-



QUEEN MARY

Wife of George V., King of Great Britain and Ireland.

(Photo from Underwood & Underwood.)



THE RIGHT HON. DAVID LLOYD GEORGE
The radical Chancellor of the British Exchequer, upon whom has
devolved the task of financing the great war.

(Photo by A. & R. Amos & Sons.)

tions of the mine-sweepers continued. At 4:09 Irresistible quitted the line, listing heavily; and at 5:50 she sank, having probably struck a drifting mine. At 6:05, Ocean, also having struck a mine, both vessels sank in deep water, practically the whole of the crews having been removed safely under a hot fire.

The Gaulois was damaged by gun fire.

Inflexible had her forward control position hit by a heavy shell, and requires repair.

The bombardment of the forts and the mine-sweeping operations terminated when darkness fell. The damage to the forts effected by the prolonged direct fire of the very powerful forces employed cannot yet be estimated, and a further report will follow.

The losses of ships were caused by mines drifting with the current which were encountered in areas hitherto swept clear, and this danger will require special treatment.

The British casualties in personnel are not heavy, considering the scale of the operations; but practically the whole of the crew of the Bouvet were lost with the ship, an internal explosion having apparently supervened on the explosion of the mine.

The Queen and Implacable, which were dispatched from England to replace ships' casualties in anticipation of this operation, are due to arrive immediately, thus bringing the British fleet up to its original strength.

The operations are continuing, ample naval and military forces being available on the spot.

On the 16th inst., Vice Admiral Carden, who has been incapacitated by illness, was succeeded in the chief command by Rear Admiral John Michael de Robeck, with acting rank of Vice Admiral.

THE SCENE IN THE STRAIT.

The London Times publishes this story of an eyewitness:

TENEDOS, (Aegina,) March 18.

This is not so much an account of the five hours' heavy engagement between the Turkish forts and the allied ships which has been fought actually within the Dardanelles today as an impression

of the bombardment as seen at a distance of fifteen miles or so from the top of a high, steep hill called Mount St. Elias, at the northern end of Tenedos.

Over the ridge of Kum Kale you plainly see, like a great blue lake, the first reach of the Dardanelles up to the narrow neck between Chanak and Kilid Bahr. It was up and down in this stretch of water that the largest vessels of the allied fleet steamed today for over four hours, hurling, with sheets of orange flame from their heavy guns, a constant succession of shells on the forts that guard the Narrows at Chanak, while the Turkish batteries, with a frequency that lessened as the day went on, flashed back at them in reply, with the difference that, while the effects of the Allies' shells were continually manifest in the columns of smoke and dust that were signs of the damage they had wrought, a great number of the enemy's shots fell in the sea hundreds of yards from the bombarding ships, sending torrents of water towering harmlessly into the air.

Not that the successes of the day have been won without cost. I saw several ships, French and British, struck by shells that raised volumes of white smoke, and one of the French squadron is toiling slowly home at this moment down by the head and with a list to port, while, so far as one could make out with a glass, several boatloads of men were being taken off her.

The ships left their stations between the Turkish and Asiatic coasts and Tenedos early this morning and by 11 they were steaming in line up the Dardanelles.

It was 11:45 when the first notable hit was made by an English ship. I could see eight vessels, apparently all battle-ships, lying in line from the entrance up the strait. The ship furthest up appeared to be the Queen Elizabeth, and I think it was she that fired the shot which exploded the powder magazine at Chanak. A great balloon of white smoke sprang up in the midst of the magazine which leaped out from a fierce, red flame, and reached a great height. When the flame had disappeared the dense smoke continued to grow till it must have been a column hundreds of feet high.



In the five minutes that followed this shot three more shells from the Queen Elizabeth fell practically on the same spot, and two minutes later yet another by the side of the smoking ruins.

There were now eight battleships, all pre-dreadnoughts, left at Tenedos, and at noon six of them started off in line a-head toward the strait. The English ships already within were passing further up and went out of sight.

The bombarding ships were steaming constantly up and down, turning at each end of the stretch, which is about a couple of miles long.

A long thin veil of black smoke was drifting slowly westward from the fighting. At about 1:30 Erenkeui Village, standing high on the Asiatic side, received a couple of shells. At 1:45 a division of eight destroyers in line steamed into the entrance of the strait, and a little later the last two battleships from

Tenedos joined, the Dublin patrolling outside. An hour later the most striking effect was produced by a shell falling on a fort at Kile-i-Bahr, which evidently exploded another magazine. A huge mass of heavy jet-black smoke gradually rose till it towered high above the cliffs on the European and Asiatic sides. It ballooned slowly out like a gigantic genie rising from a fisherman's bottle.

By now the action was slackening, and at 3:45 five ships were slowly steaming homeward from the entrance. At 4:30 there were still eight vessels in the strait, but the forts had practically ceased to fire. The action was over for the day.

The result had been the apparent silencing of several Turkish batteries, and those terrific explosions at the forts at Chanak and Kile-i-Bahr, the ultimate effect of which remains to be seen when the attack is renewed tonight. For Chanak is burning.

Official Story of Two Sea Fights

[From The London Times, March 3, 1915.]

ADMIRALTY, March 3, 1915.

The following dispatch has been received from Vice Admiral Sir David Beatty, K. C. B., M. V. O., D. S. O., commanding the First Battle Cruiser Squadron, reporting the action in the North Sea on Sunday, the 24th of January, 1915:

H M. S. Princess Royal,
Feb. 2, 1915.

Sir: I have the honor to report that at daybreak on Jan. 24, 1915, the following vessels were patrolling in company:

The battle cruisers Lion, Capt. Alfred E. M. Chatfield, C. V. O., flying my flag; Princess Royal, Capt. Osmond de B. Brock, Aide de Camp; Tiger, Capt. Henry B. Pelly, M. V. O.; New Zealand, Capt. Lionel Halsey, C. M. G., Aide de Camp, flying the flag of Rear Admiral Sir Archibald Moore, K. C. B., C. V. O., and Indomitable, Capt. Francis W. Kennedy.

The light cruisers Southampton, flying the broad pennant of Commodore William E. Goodenough, M. V. O.; Nottingham, Capt. Charles B. Miller; Birmingham, Capt. Arthur A. M. Duff, and Lowestoft, Capt. Theobald W. B. Kennedy, were disposed on my port beam.

Commodore (T) Reginald Y. Tyrwhitt, C. B., in Arethusa, Aurora, Capt. Wilmot S. Nicholson; Undaunted, Capt. Francis G. St. John, M. V. O.; Arethusa and the destroyer flotillas were ahead.

At 7:25 A. M. the flash of guns was observed south-southeast. Shortly afterward a report reached me from Aurora that she was engaged with enemy's ships. I immediately altered course to south-southeast, increased to 22 knots, and ordered the light cruisers and flotillas to chase south-southeast to get in touch and report movements of enemy.

This order was acted upon with great promptitude, indeed my wishes had already been forestalled by the respective senior officers, and reports almost immediately followed from Southampton, Arethusa, and Aurora as to the position

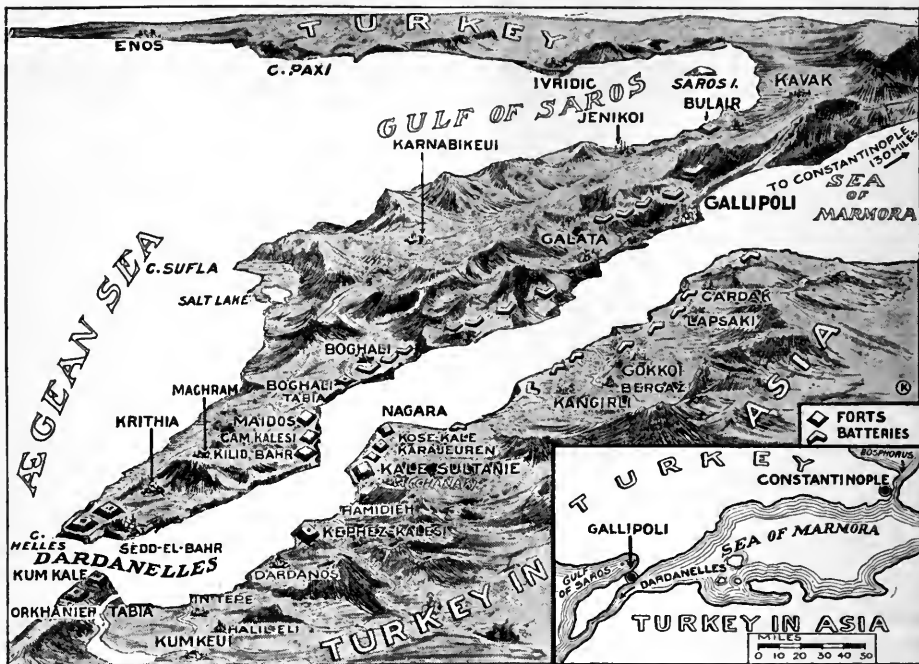
and composition of the enemy, which consisted of three battle cruisers and Blücher, six light cruisers, and a number of destroyers, steering northwest. The enemy had altered course to southeast. From now onward the light cruisers maintained touch with the enemy, and kept me fully informed as to their movements.

The battle cruisers worked up to full speed, steering to the southward. The wind at the time was northeast, light, with extreme visibility. At 7:30 A. M. the enemy were sighted on the port bow steaming fast, steering approximately southeast, distant 14 miles.

Owing to the prompt reports received we had attained our position on the quarter of the enemy, and so altered course to southeast parallel to them, and settled down to a long stern chase, gradually increasing our speed until we reached 28.5 knots. Great credit is due to the engineer staffs of New Zealand and Indomitable—these ships greatly exceeded their normal speed.

At 8:52 A. M., as we had closed to within 20,000 yards of the rear ship, the battle cruisers manoeuvred to keep on a line of bearing so that guns would bear, and Lion fired a single shot, which fell short. The enemy at this time were in single line ahead, with light cruisers ahead and a large number of destroyers on their starboard beam.

Single shots were fired at intervals to test the range, and at 9:09 A. M. Lion made her first hit on the Blücher, No. 4 in the line. The Tiger opened fire at 9:20 A. M. on the rear ship, the Lion shifted to No. 3 in the line, at 18,000 yards, this ship being hit by several salvos. The enemy returned our fire at 9:14 A. M. Princess Royal, on coming into range, opened fire on Blücher, the range of the leading ship being 17,500 yards, at 9:35 A. M. New Zealand was within range of Blücher, which had dropped somewhat astern, and opened fire on her. Princess



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Royal shifted to the third ship in the line, inflicting considerable damage on her.

Our flotilla cruisers and destroyers had gradually dropped from a position broad on our beam to our port quarter, so as not to foul our range with their smoke; but the enemy's destroyers threatening attack, the Meteor and M Division passed ahead of us, Capt. the Hon. H. Meade, D. S. O., handling this division with conspicuous ability.

About 9:45 A. M. the situation was as follows: Blücher, the fourth in their line, already showed signs of having suffered severely from gun fire; their leading ship and No. 3 were also on fire. Lion was engaging No. 1, Princess Royal No. 3, New Zealand No. 4, while the Tiger, which was second in our line, fired first at their No. 1, and when interfered with by smoke, at their No. 4.

The enemy's destroyers emitted vast columns of smoke to screen their battle cruisers, and under cover of this the latter now appeared to have altered course to the northward to increase their distance, and certainly the rear ships hauled out on the port quarter of their leader, thereby increasing their distance from our line. The battle cruisers, therefore, were ordered to form a line of bearing north-northwest, and proceed at their utmost speed.

Their destroyers then showed evident signs of an attempt to attack. Lion and Tiger opened fire on them, and caused them to retire and resume their original course.

The light cruisers maintained an excellent position on the port quarter of the enemy's line, enabling them to observe and keep touch, or attack any vessel that might fall out of the line.

At 10:48 A. M. the Blücher, which had dropped considerably astern of enemy's line, hauled out to port, steering north with a heavy list, on fire, and apparently in a defeated condition. I consequently ordered Indomitable to attack enemy breaking northward.

At 10:54 A. M. submarines were reported on the starboard bow, and I personally observed the wash of a periscope two points on our starboard bow. I immediately turned to port.

At 11:03 A. M. an injury to the Lion being reported as incapable of immediate repair, I directed Lion to shape course northwest. At 11:20 A. M. I called the Attack alongside, shifting my flag to her at about 11:35 A. M. I proceeded at utmost speed to rejoin the squadron, and met them at noon retiring north-northwest.

I boarded and hoisted my flag on Princess Royal at about 12:20 P. M., when Capt. Brock acquainted me of what had occurred since the Lion fell out of the line, namely, that Blücher had been sunk and that the enemy battle cruisers had continued their course to the eastward in a considerably damaged condition. He also informed me that a Zeppelin and a seaplane had endeavored to drop bombs on the vessels which went to the rescue of the survivors of Blücher.

The good seamanship of Lieut. Commander Cyril Callaghan, H. M. S. Attack, in placing his vessel alongside the Lion and subsequently the Princess Royal, enabled the transfer of flag to be made in the shortest possible time.

At 2 P. M. I closed Lion and received a report that the starboard engine was giving trouble owing to priming, and at 3:38 P. M. I ordered Indomitable to take her in tow, which was accomplished by 5 P. M.

The greatest credit is due to the Captains of Indomitable and Lion for the seamanlike manner in which the Lion was taken in tow under difficult circumstances.

The excellent steaming of the ships engaged in the operation was a conspicuous feature.

I attach an appendix giving the names of various officers and men who specially distinguished themselves.

Where all did well it is difficult to single out officers and men for special mention, and as Lion and Tiger were the only ships hit by the enemy, the majority of these I mention belong to those ships.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed) DAVID BEATTY,
Vice Admiral.

OFFICERS.

Commander Charles A. Fountaine, H. M. S. Lion.

Lieut. Commander Evan C. Bunbury, H. M. S. Lion.

Lieut. Frederick T. Peters, H. M. S. Meteor.

Lieut. Charles M. R. Schwerdt, H. M. S. Lion.

Engineer Commander Donald P. Green, H. M. S. Lion.

Engineer Commander James L. Sands, H. M. S. Southampton.

Engineer Commander Thomas H. Turner, H. M. S. New Zealand.

Engineer Lieut. Commander George Preece, H. M. S. Lion.

Engineer Lieut. Albert Knothe, H. M. S. Indomitable.

Surgeon Probationer James A. Stirling, R. N. V. R., H. M. S. Meteor.

Mr. Joseph H. Burton, Gunner (T), H. M. S. Lion.

Chief Carpenter Frederick E. Dailey, H. M. S. Lion.

PETTY OFFICERS AND MEN.

Py. Or. J. W. Kemmett, O. N. 186,788, Lion.

A. B. H. Davis, O. N. 184,526, Tiger.

A. B. H. F. Griffin, O. N. J. 14,160, Princess Royal.

A. B. P. S. Livingstone, O. N. 234,328, Lion.

A. B. H. Robison, O. N. 209,112, Tiger.

A. B. G. H. le Seilleur, O. N. 156,802, Lion.

Boy, 1st Cl., F. G. H. Bamford, O. N. J. 26,598, Tiger.

Boy, 1st Cl., J. F. Rogers, O. N. J. 28,329, Tiger.

Ch. Ee. R. Artr., 1st Cl., E. R. Hughes, O. N. 268,999, Indomitable.

Ch. Ee. R. Artr., 2d Cl., W. B. Dand, O. N. 270,648, New Zealand.

Ch. Ee. A. Artr. W. Gillespie, O. N. 270,080 Meteor.

Mechn. A. J. Cannon, O. N. 175,440, Lion.

Mechn. E. C. Ephgrave, O. N. 288,231, Lion.

Ch. Stkr. P. Callaghan, O. N. 278,953, Lion.

Ch. Stkr. A. W. Ferris, O. N. 175,824, Lion.

Ch. Stkr. J. E. James, O. N. 174,232, New Zealand.

Ch. Stkr. W. E. James, O. N. 294,406, Indomitable.

Ch. Stkr. J. Keating, R. F. R., O. N. 165,732, Meteor.

Stkr. Py. Or. M. Flood, R. F. R., O. N. 153,418, Meteor.

Stkr. Py. Or. T. W. Hardy, O. N. 292,542, Indomitable.

Stkr. Py. Or. A. J. Sims, O. N. 276,502, New Zealand.

Stkr. Py. Or. S. Westaway, R. F. R., O. N. 300,938, Meteor.

Actg. Ldg. Skr. J. Blackburn, O. N. K. 4,844, Tiger.

Stkr., 1st Cl., A. H. Bennet, O. N. K. 10,700, Tiger.

Stkr., 2d Cl., H. Turner, O. N. K. 22,720, Tiger.

Ldg. Carpenter's Crew, E. O. Bradley, O. N. 346,621, Lion.

Ldg. Carpenter's Crew, E. Currie, O. N. 344,851, Lion.

Sick Berth Attendant C. S. Hutchinson, O. N. M. 3,882, Tiger.

Ch. Writer S. G. White, O. N. 340,597, Tiger.

Third Writer H. C. Green, O. N. M. 8,266, Tiger.

Officers' Steward, 3d Cl., F. W. Kearley, O. N. L. 2,716, Tiger.

HONORS AWARDED.

Lord Chamberlain's Office,

St. James's Palace,

March 3, 1915.

The King has been graciously pleased to give orders for the following appointment to the Most Honorable Order of the Bath, in recognition of the services of the undermentioned officer mentioned in the foregoing dispatch:

To be an Additional Member of the Military Division of the Third Class or Companion.

Capt. Osmond de Beauvoir Brock, A. D. C., Royal Navy.

Admiralty, S. W.,

March 3, 1915.

The King has been graciously pleased to give orders for the following appointment to the Distinguished Service Order, and for the award of the Distinguished Service Cross, to the undermentioned of-

ficers in recognition of their services mentioned in the foregoing dispatch:

To be Companion of the Distinguished Service Order.

Lieut. Frederic Thornton Peters, Royal Navy.

To receive the Distinguished Service Cross.

Surg. Probationer James Alexander Stirling, R. N. V. R.

Gunner (T) Joseph H. Burton.

Chief Carpenter Frederick E. Dailey.

The following promotion has been made:

Commander Charles Andrew Fountaine to be a Captain in his Majesty's fleet, to date March 3, 1915.

The following awards have also been made:

To receive the Distinguished Service Medal.

P. O. J. W. Kemmett, O. N. 186,788.

A. B. H. Davis, O. N. 184,526.

A. B. H. F. Griffin, O. N. J. 14,160.

A. B. P. S. Livingstone, O. N. 234,328.

A. B. H. Robison, O. N. 209,112.

A. B. G. H. le Seilleur, O. N. 156,802.

Boy, 1st Cl., F. G. H. Bamford, O. N. J. 26,598.

Boy, 1st Cl., J. F. Rogers, O. N. J. 28,329.

Ch. E. R. Art., 1st Cl., E. R. Hughes, O. N. 268,999.

Ch. E. R. Art., 2d Cl., W. B. Dand, O. N. 270,648.

Ch. E. R. Art., W. Gillespie, O. N. 270,-080.

Mechn. A. J. Cannon, O. N. 175,440.

Mechn. E. C. Ephgrave, O. N. 288,231.

Ch. Stkr. P. Callaghan, O. N. 278,953.

Ch. Stkr. A. W. Ferris, O. N. 175,824.

Ch. Stkr. J. E. James, O. N. 174,232.

Ch. Stkr. W. E. James, O. N. 294,406.

Ch. Stkr. J. Keating, R. F. R., O. N. 165,732.

Stkr. P. O. M. Flood, R. F. R., O. N. 153,418.

Stkr. P. O. T. W. Hardy, O. N. 292,542.

Stkr. P. O. A. J. Sims, O. N. 276,502.

Stkr. P. O. S. Westaway, R. F. R., O. N. 300,938.

Actg. Ldg. Stkr. J. Blackburn, O. N. K. 4,844.

Stkr., 1st Cl., A. H. Bennet, O. N. K. 10,700.

Stkr., 2d Cl., H. Turner, O. N. K. 22,720.
Ldg. Carpenter's Crew, E. O. Bradley,
O. N. 346,621.

Ldg. Carpenter's Crew, E. Currie, O. N. 344,851.

Sick Berth Attendant C. S. Hutchinson,
O. N. M. 3,882.

Ch. Writer S. G. White, O. N. 340,597.

Third Writer H. C. Green, O. N. M. 8,266.

Officers' Steward, 3d Cl., F. W. Kearley, O. N. L. 2,716.

BATTLE OF THE FALKLANDS

Admiralty, March 3, 1915.

The following dispatch has been received from Vice Admiral Sir F. C. Doveton-Sturdee, K. C. B., C. V. O., C. M. G., reporting the action off the Falkland Islands on Tuesday, the 8th of December, 1914:

INVINCIBLE, at Sea,
Dec. 19, 1914.

Sir: I have the honor to forward a report on the action which took place on Dec. 8, 1914, against a German squadron off the Falkland Islands.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,

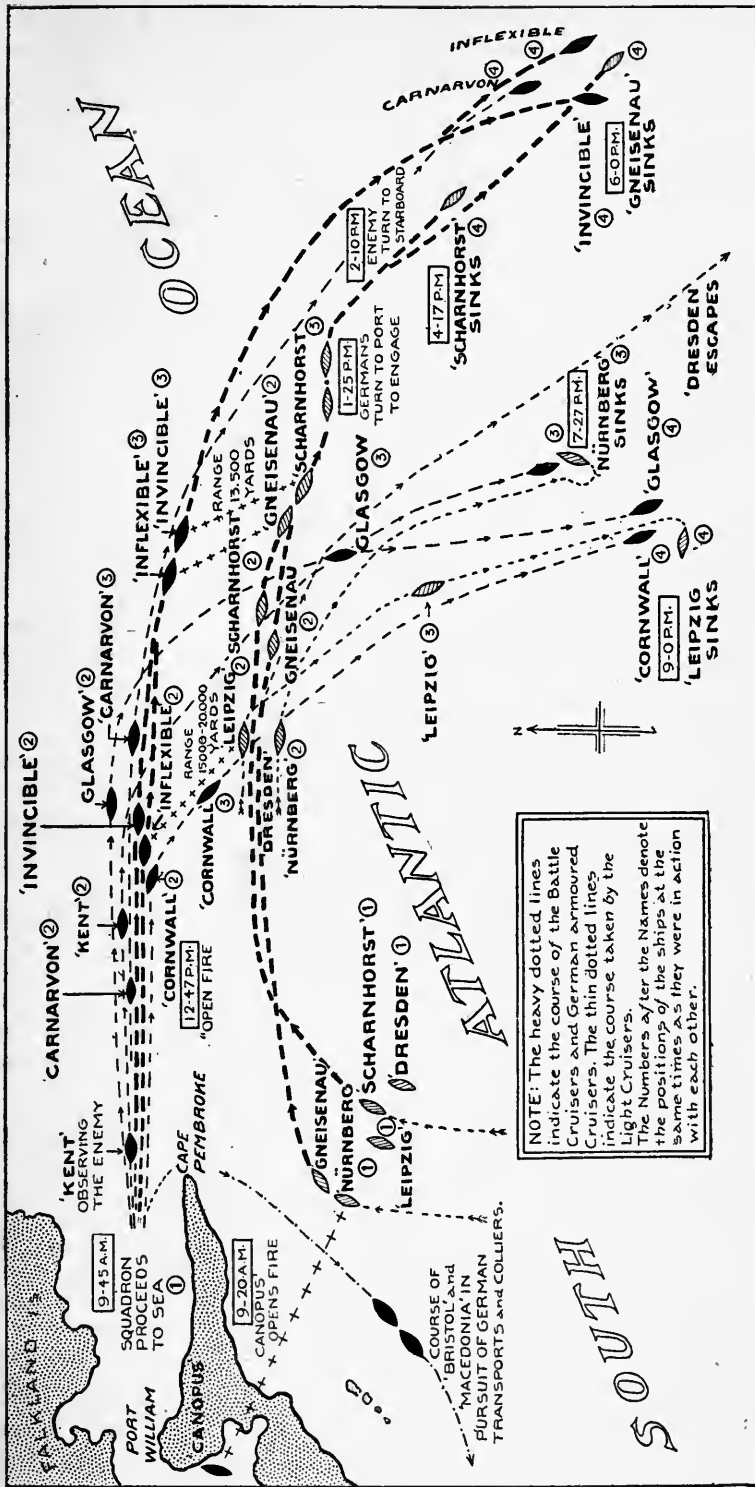
F. C. D. STURDEE,
Vice Admiral, Commander in Chief.
The Secretary, Admiralty.

(A)—PRELIMINARY MOVEMENTS.

The squadron, consisting of H. M. ships Invincible, flying my flag, Flag Capt. Percy T. M. Beamish; Inflexible, Capt. Richard F. Phillimore; Carnarvon, flying the flag of Rear Admiral Archibald P. Soddart, Flag Capt. Harry L. d'E. Skipwith; Cornwall, Capt. Walter M. Ellerton; Kent, Capt. John D. Allen; Glasgow, Capt. John Loce; Bristol, Capt. Basil H. Fanshawe, and Macedonia, Capt. Bertram S. Evans, arrived at Port Stanley, Falkland Islands, at 10:30 A. M. on Monday, Dec. 7, 1914. Coaling was commenced at once, in order that the ships should be ready to resume the search for the enemy's squadron the next evening, Dec. 8.

At 8 A. M. on Tuesday, Dec. 8, a signal was received from the signal station on shore:

THE BATTLE OF THE FALKLAND ISLANDS FROM THE OFFICIAL REPORT OF ADMIRAL STURDEE.



The numbers given on the plan show the corresponding positions of vessels at various times. All ships bearing the same number were simultaneously in the positions charted.

"A four-funnel and two-funnel man-of-war in sight from Sapper Hill, steering northward."

At this time the positions of the various ships of the squadron were as follows:

Macedonia: At anchor as lookout ship.

Kent (guard ship): At anchor in Port William.

Invincible and Inflexible: In Port William.

Carnarvon: In Port William.

Cornwall: In Port William.

Glasgow: In Port Stanley.

Bristol: In Port Stanley.

The Kent was at once ordered to weigh, and a general signal was made to raise steam for full speed.

At 8:20 A. M. the signal station reported another column of smoke in sight to the southward, and at 8:45 A. M. the Kent passed down the harbor and took up a station at the entrance.

The Canopus, Capt. Heathcoat S. Grant, reported at 8:47 A. M. that the first two ships were eight miles off, and that the smoke reported at 8:20 A. M. appeared to be the smoke of two ships about twenty miles off.

At 8:50 A. M. the signal station reported a further column of smoke in sight to the southward.

The Macedonia was ordered to weigh anchor on the inner side of the other ships, and await orders.

At 9:20 A. M. the two leading ships of the enemy, (Gneisenau and Nürnberg,) with guns trained on the wireless station, came within range of the Canopus, which opened fire at them across the low land at a range of 11,000 yards. The enemy at once hoisted their colors and turned away. At this time the masts and smoke of the enemy were visible from the upper bridge of the Invincible at a range of approximately 17,000 yards across the low land to the south of Port William.

A few minutes later the two cruisers altered course to port, as though to close the Kent at the entrance to the harbor, but about this time it seems that the Invincible and Inflexible were seen over the land, as the enemy at once altered

course and increased speed to join their consorts.

The Glasgow weighed and proceeded at 9:40 A. M. with orders to join the Kent and observe the enemy's movements.

At 9:45 A. M. the squadron—less the Bristol—weighed, and proceeded out of harbor in the following order: Carnarvon, Inflexible, Invincible, and Cornwall. On passing Cape Pembroke Light the five ships of the enemy appeared clearly in sight to the southeast, hull down. The visibility was at its maximum, the sea was calm, with a bright sun, a clear sky, and a light breeze from the northwest.

At 10:20 A. M. the signal for a general chase was made. The battle cruisers quickly passed ahead of the Carnarvon and overtook the Kent. The Glasgow was ordered to keep two miles from the Invincible, and the Inflexible was stationed on the starboard quarter of the flagship. Speed was eased to twenty knots at 11:15 A. M., to enable the other cruisers to get into station.

At this time the enemy's funnels and bridges showed just above the horizon.

Information was received from the Bristol at 11:27 A. M. that three enemy ships had appeared off Port Pleasant, probably colliers or transports. The Bristol was therefore directed to take the Macedonia under orders and destroy transports.

The enemy were still maintaining their distance, and I decided, at 12:20 P. M., to attack with the two battle cruisers and the Glasgow.

At 12:47 P. M. the signal to "Open fire and engage the enemy" was made.

The Inflexible opened fire at 12:55 P. M. from her fore turret at the right-hand ship of the enemy, a light cruiser; a few minutes later the Invincible opened fire at the same ship.

The deliberate fire from a range of 16,500 to 15,000 yards at the right-hand light cruiser, which was dropping astern, became too threatening, and when a shell fell close alongside her at 1:20 P. M. she (the Leipzig) turned away, with the Nürnberg and Dresden, to the southwest.

These light cruisers were at once followed by the Kent, Glasgow, and Cornwall, in accordance with my instructions.

The action finally developed into three separate encounters, besides the subsidiary one dealing with the threatened landing.

(B.)—ACTION WITH THE ARMORED CRUISERS.

The fire of the battle cruisers was directed on the Scharnhorst and Gneisenau. The effect of this was quickly seen when, at 1:25 P. M., with the Scharnhorst leading, they turned about seven points to port in succession into line ahead and opened fire at 1:30 P. M. Shortly afterward speed was eased to twenty-four knots and the battle cruisers were ordered to turn together, bringing them into line ahead, with the Invincible leading.

The range was about 13,500 yards at the final turn, and increased until at 2 P. M. it had reached 16,450 yards.

The enemy then (2:10 P. M.) turned away about ten points to starboard, and a second chase ensued until at 2:45 P. M. the battle cruisers again opened fire; this caused the enemy, at 2:53 P. M., to turn into line ahead to port and open fire at 2:55 P. M.

The Scharnhorst caught fire forward, but not seriously, and her fire slackened perceptibly; the Gneisenau was badly hit by the Inflexible.

At 3:30 P. M. the Scharnhorst led around about ten points to starboard; just previously her fire had slackened perceptibly, and one shell had shot away her third funnel; some guns were not firing, and it would appear that the turn was dictated by a desire to bring her starboard guns into action. The effect of the fire on the Scharnhorst became more and more apparent in consequence of smoke from fires, and also escaping steam. At times a shell would cause a large hole to appear in her side, through which could be seen a dull red glow of flame. At 4:04 P. M. the Scharnhorst, whose flag remained flying to the last, suddenly listed heavily to port, and within a minute it became clear that she was a doomed ship, for the list increased very

rapidly until she lay on her beam ends, and at 4:17 P. M. she disappeared.

The Gneisenau passed on the far side of her late flagship, and continued a determined but ineffectual effort to fight the two battle cruisers.

At 5:08 P. M. the forward funnel was knocked over and remained resting against the second funnel. She was evidently in serious straits, and her fire slackened very much.

At 5:15 P. M. one of the Gneisenau's shells struck the Invincible; this was her last effective effort.

At 5:30 P. M. she turned toward the flagship with a heavy list to starboard, and appeared stopped, with steam pouring from her escape pipes and smoke from shell and fires rising everywhere. About this time I ordered the signal "Cease fire!" but before it was hoisted the Gneisenau opened fire again, and continued to fire from time to time with a single gun.

At 5:40 P. M. the three ships closed in on the Gneisenau, and at this time the flag flying at her fore truck was apparently hauled down, but the flag at the peak continued flying.

At 5:50 P. M. "Cease fire!" was made.

At 6 P. M. the Gneisenau heeled over very suddenly, showing the men gathered on her decks and then walking on her side as she lay for a minute on her beam ends before sinking.

The prisoners of war from the Gneisenau report that by the time the ammunition was expended some 600 men had been killed and wounded. The surviving officers and men were all ordered on deck and told to provide themselves with hammocks and any articles that could support them in the water.

When the ship capsized and sank there were probably some 200 unwounded survivors in the water, but, owing to the shock of the cold water, many were drowned within sight of the boats and ship.

Every effort was made to save life as quickly as possible, both by boats and from the ships; lifebuoys were thrown and ropes lowered, but only a portion

could be rescued. The Invincible alone rescued 108 men, fourteen of whom were found to be dead after being brought on board. These men were buried at sea the following day with full military honors.

(C)—ACTION WITH THE LIGHT CRUISERS.

At about 1 P. M., when the Scharnhorst and Gneisenau turned to port to engage the Invincible and Inflexible, the enemy's light cruisers turned to starboard to escape; the Dresden was leading and the Nürnberg and Leipzig followed on each quarter.

In accordance with my instructions, the Glasgow, Kent, and Cornwall at once went in chase of these ships; the Carnarvon, whose speed was insufficient to overtake them, closed the battle cruisers.

The Glasgow drew well ahead of the Cornwall and Kent, and at 3 P. M. shots were exchanged with the Leipzig at 12,000 yards. The Glasgow's object was to endeavor to outrange the Leipzig with her 6-inch guns and thus cause her to alter course and give the Cornwall and Kent a chance of coming into action.

At 4:17 P. M. the Cornwall opened fire, also on the Leipzig.

At 7:17 P. M. the Leipzig was on fire fore and aft, and the Cornwall and Glasgow ceased fire.

The Leipzig turned over on her port side and disappeared at 9 P. M. Seven officers and eleven men were saved.

At 3:36 P. M. the Cornwall ordered the Kent to engage the Nürnberg, the nearest cruiser to her.

Owing to the excellent and strenuous efforts of the engine room department, the Kent was able to get within range of the Nürnberg at 5 P. M. At 6:35 P. M. the Nürnberg was on fire forward and ceased firing. The Kent also ceased firing and closed to 3,300 yards; as the colors were still observed to be flying on the Nürnberg, the Kent opened fire again. Fire was finally stopped five minutes later on the colors being hauled down, and every preparation was made to save life. The Nürnberg sank at 7:27 P. M., and, as she sank, a group of men were waving a German ensign attached

to a staff. Twelve men were rescued, but only seven survived.

The Kent had four killed and twelve wounded, mostly caused by one shell.

During the time the three cruisers were engaged with the Nürnberg and Leipzig, the Dresden, which was beyond her consorts, effected her escape owing to her superior speed. The Glasgow was the only cruiser with sufficient speed to have had any chance of success. However, she was fully employed in engaging the Leipzig for over an hour before either the Cornwall or Kent could come up and get within range. During this time the Dresden was able to increase her distance and get out of sight.

The weather changed after 4 P. M., and the visibility was much reduced; further, the sky was overcast and cloudy, thus assisting the Dresden to get away unobserved.

(D)—ACTION WITH THE ENEMY'S TRANSPORTS.

A report was received at 11:27 A. M. from H. M. S. Bristol that three ships of the enemy, probably transports or colliers, had appeared off Port Pleasant. The Bristol was ordered to take the Macedonia under his orders and destroy the transports.

H. M. S. Macedonia reports that only two ships, steamships Baden and Santa Isabel, were present; both ships were sunk after the removal of the crews.

I have pleasure in reporting that the officers and men under my orders carried out their duties with admirable efficiency and coolness, and great credit is due to the engineer officers of all the ships, several of which exceeded their normal full speed.

The names of the following are specially mentioned:

OFFICERS.

Commander Richard Herbert Denny Townsend, H. M. S. Invincible.

Commander Arthur Edward Frederick Bedford, H. M. S. Kent.

Lieut. Commander Wilfred Arthur Thompson, H. M. S. Glasgow.

Lieut. Commander Hubert Edward Danreuther, First and Gunnery Lieutenant, H. M. S. Invincible.

Engineer Commander George Edward Andrew, H. M. S. Kent.

Engineer Commander Edward John Weeks, H. M. S. Invincible.

Paymaster Cyril Sheldon Johnson, H. M. S. Invincible.

Carpenter Thomas Andrew Walls, H. M. S. Invincible.

Carpenter William Henry Venning, H. M. S. Kent.

Carpenter George Henry Egford, H. M. S. Cornwall.

PETTY OFFICERS AND MEN.

Ch. P. O. D. Leighton, O. N. 124,238, Kent.

P. O., 2d Cl., M. J. Walton, (R. F. R., A. 1,756,) O. N. 118,358, Kent.

Ldg. Smn. F. S. Martin, O. N. 233,301, Invincible, Gnr's. Mate, Gunlayer, 1st Cl.

Sigmn. F. Glover, O. N. 225,731, Cornwall.

Ch. E. R. Art., 2d Cl., J. G. Hill, O. N. 269,646, Cornwall.

Actg. Ch. E. R. Art., 2d Cl., R. Snowdon, O. N. 270,654, Inflexible.

E. R. Art., 1st Cl., G. H. F. McCarten, O. N. 270,023, Invincible.

Stkr. P. O. G. S. Brewer, O. N. 150,950, Kent.

Stkr. P. O. W. A. Townsend, O. N. 201,650, Cornwall.

Stkr., 1st Cl., J. Smith, O. N. SS 111,-915, Cornwall.

Shpwrt., 1st Cl., A. N. E. England, O. N. 341,971, Glasgow.

Shpwrt., 2d Cl., A. C. H. Dymott, O. N. M. 8,047, Kent.

Portsmouth R. F. R. B. 3,307 Sergt. Charles Mayes, H. M. S. Kent.

F. C. D. STURDEE.

BETWEEN MIDNIGHT AND MORNING.

By SIR OWEN SEAMAN.

[From King Albert's Book.]

YOU that have faith to look with fearless
eyes
Beyond the tragedy of a world at
strife,

And trust that out of night and death shall
rise

The dawn of ampler life;

Rejoice, whatever anguish rend your heart,
That God has given you, for a priceless
dower,

To live in these great times and have your
part

In Freedom's crowning hour.

That you may tell your sons who see the
light

High in the heavens, their heritage to
take—

"I saw the powers of darkness put to flight!
I saw the morning break!"

The Greatest of Campaigns

The French Official Account Concluded

The second and succeeding installments—the first installment appeared in **CURRENT HISTORY** for April—of the official French historical review of the operations in the western theatre of war from the beginning until the end of January, 1915—the first six months—are described in the subjoined correspondence of The Associated Press.

LONDON, March 18, (Correspondence of The Associated Press.)—The Associated Press has received the second installment of the historical review emanating from French official sources of the operations in the Western theatre of war, from its beginning up to the end of January. It should be understood that the narrative is made purely from the French standpoint. The additional installment of the document, dealing with the victory of the Marne, Sept. 6th to 15th, is as follows:

IF one examines on the map the respective positions of the German and French armies on Sept. 6 as previously described, it will be seen that by his inflection toward Meaux and Coulommiers General von Kluck was exposing his right to the offensive action of our left. This is the starting point of the victory of the Marne.

On the evening of Sept. 5 our left army had reached the front Penchard-Saint-Soufflet-Ver. On the 6th and 7th it continued its attacks vigorously with the Ourcq as objective. On the evening of the 7th it was some kilometers from the Ourcq, on the front Chambry-Marcilly-Lisieux-Acy-en-Multien. On the 8th, the Germans, who had in great haste reinforced their right by bringing their Second and Fourth Army Corps back to the north, obtained some successes by attacks of extreme violence. They occupied Betz, Thury-en-Valois, and Nanteuil-le-Haudouin. But in spite of this pressure our troops held their ground well. In a brilliant action they took three standards, and, being reinforced, prepared a new attack for the 10th. At the moment that this attack was about to begin the enemy was already in re-

treat toward the north. The attack became a pursuit, and on the 12th we established ourselves on the Aisne.

LEFT OF KLUCK'S ARMY THREATENED.

Why did the German forces which were confronting us and on the evening before attacking so furiously retreat on the morning of the 10th? Because in bringing back on the 6th several army corps from the south to the north to face our left the enemy had exposed his left to the attacks of the British Army, which had immediately faced around toward the north, and to those of our armies which were prolonging the English lines to the right. This is what the French command had sought to bring about. This is what happened on Sept. 8 and allowed the development and rehabilitation which it was to effect.

On the 6th the British Army had set out from the line Rozcy-Lagny and had that evening reached the southward bank of the Grand Morin. On the 7th and 8th it continued its march, and on the 9th had debouched to the north of the Marne below Chateau-Thierry, taking in flank the German forces which on that day were opposing, on the Ourcq, our left army. Then it was that these forces began to retreat, while the British Army, going in pursuit and capturing seven guns and many prisoners, reached the Aisne between Soissons and Longueval.

The rôle of the French Army, which was operating to the right of the British Army, was threefold. It had to support the British attacking on its left. It had on its right to support our centre, which from Sept. 7 had been subjected to a German attack of great violence. Fi-

nally, its mission was to throw back the three active army corps and the reserve corps which faced it.

On the 7th it made a leap forward, and on the following days reached and crossed the Marne, seizing, after desperate fighting, guns, howitzers, mitrailleuses, and 1,300,000 cartridges. On the 12th it established itself on the north edge of the Montagne-de-Reime in contact with our centre, which for its part had just forced the enemy to retreat in haste.

THE ACTION OF FERE-CHAMPENOISE.

Our centre consisted of a new army created on Aug. 29 and of one of those which at the beginning of the campaign had been engaged in Belgian Luxemburg. The first had retreated on Aug. 29 to Sept. 5 from the Aisne to the north of the Marne and occupied the general front Sézanne-Mailly.

The second, more to the east, had drawn back to the south of the line Humbeauville-Chateau-Beauchamp-Bignicourt-Blesmes-Maurupt-le-Montoy.

The enemy, in view of his right being arrested and the defeat of his enveloping movement, made a desperate effort from the 7th to the 10th to pierce our centre to the west and to the east of Fère-Champenoise. On the 8th he succeeded in forcing back the right of our new army, which retired as far as Gouragançon. On the 9th, at 6 o'clock in the morning, there was a further retreat to the south of that village, while on the left the other army corps also had to go back to the line Allemant-Connantre.

Despite this retreat the General commanding the army ordered a general offensive for the same day. With the Moroccan Division, whose behavior was heroic, he met a furious assault of the Germans on his left toward the marshes of Saint Gond. Then with the division which had just victoriously overcome the attacks of the enemy to the north of Sézanne, and with the whole of his left army corps, he made a flanking attack in the evening of the 9th upon the German forces, and notably the guard, which had thrown back his right army corps.

The enemy, taken by surprise by this bold manoeuvre, did not resist, and beat a hasty retreat.

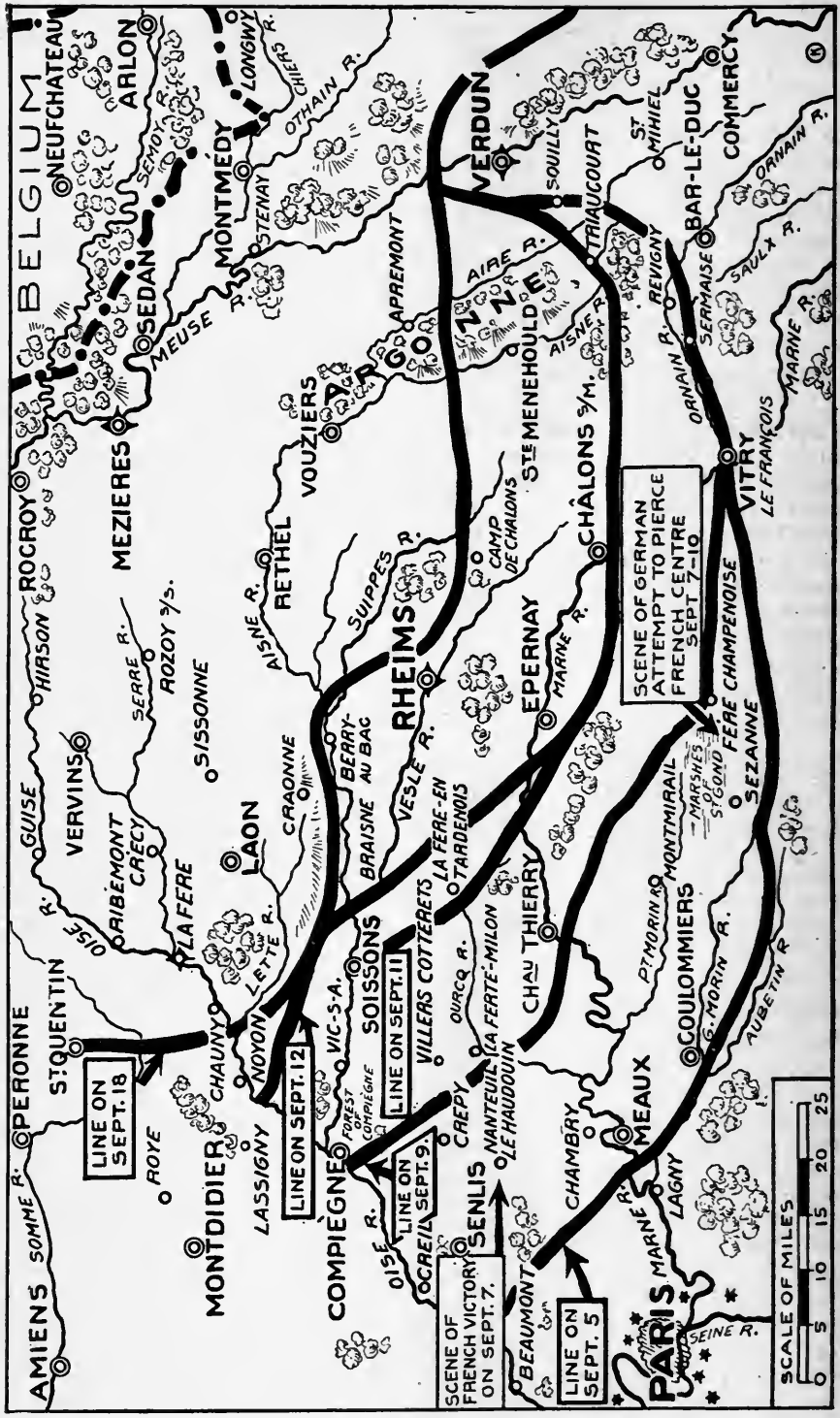
On the 11th we crossed the Marne between Tours-sur-Marne and Sarry, driving the Germans in front of us in disorder. On the 12th we were in contact with the enemy to the north of the Camp de Chalons. Our other army of the centre, acting on the right of the one just referred to, had been intrusted with the mission during the 7th, 8th, and 9th of disengaging its neighbor, and it was only on the 10th that, being reinforced by an army corps from the east, it was able to make its action effectively felt. On the 11th the Germans retired. But, perceiving their danger, they fought desperately, with enormous expenditure of projectiles, behind strong intrenchments. On the 12th the result had none the less been attained, and our two centre armies were solidly established on the ground gained.

THE OPERATIONS OF THE RIGHT.

To the right of these two armies were three others. They had orders to cover themselves to the north and to debouch toward the west on the flank of the enemy, which was operating to the west of the Argonne. But a wide interval in which the Germans were in force separated them from our centre. The attack took place, nevertheless, with very brilliant success for our artillery, which destroyed eleven batteries of the Sixteenth German Army Corps.

On the 10th inst. the Eighth and Fifteenth German Army Corps counter-attacked, but were repulsed. On the 11th our progress continued with new successes, and on the 12th we were able to face round toward the north in expectation of the near and inevitable retreat of the enemy, which, in fact, took place from the 13th.

The withdrawal of the mass of the German force involved also that of the left. From the 12th onward the forces of the enemy operating between Nancy and the Vosges retreated in a hurry before our two armies of the East, which immediately occupied the positions that the enemy had evacuated. The offen-



Map showing the successive stages of the Battle of the Marne.

sive of our right had thus prepared and consolidated in the most useful way the result secured by our left and our centre.

Such was this seven days' battle, in which more than two millions of men were engaged. Each army gained ground step by step, opening the road to its neighbor, supported at once by it, taking in flank the adversary which the day before it had attacked in front, the efforts of one articulating closely with those of the other, a perfect unity of intention and method animating the supreme command.

To give this victory all its meaning it is necessary to add that it was gained by troops which for two weeks had been retreating, and which, when the order for the offensive was given, were found to be as ardent as on the first day. It has also to be said that these troops had to meet the whole German army, and that from the time they marched forward they never again fell back. Under their pressure the German retreat at certain times had the appearance of a rout.

In spite of the fatigue of our men, in spite of the power of the German heavy artillery, we took colors, guns, mitrailleuses, shells, more than a million cartridges, and thousands of prisoners. A German corps lost almost the whole of its artillery, which, from information brought by our airmen, was destroyed by our guns.

"THE RUSH TO THE SEA."

LONDON, March 18.—*The third installment of the historical review of the war, emanating from French official sources and purely from the French viewpoint, has been received by The Associated Press. The French narrative contains a long chapter on the siege war from the Oise to the Vosges, which lasted from Sept. 13 to Nov. 30. Most of the incidents in this prolonged and severe warfare have been recorded in the daily bulletins. The operations were of secondary importance, and were conducted on both sides with the same idea of wearing down the troops and the artillery of the opposing forces with the view of in-*

fluencing the decisive result in the great theatre of war in the north. The next chapter deals with "the rush to the sea," Sept. 13 to Oct. 23, and is as follows:

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE ACTION.

As early as Sept. 11 the Commander in Chief had directed our left army to have as important forces as possible on the right bank of the Oise. On Sept. 17 he made that instruction more precise by ordering "a mass to be constituted on the left wing of our disposition, capable of coping with the outflanking movement of the enemy." Everything led us to expect that flanking movement, for the Germans are lacking in invention. Indeed, their effort at that time tended to a renewal of their manoeuvre of August. In the parallel race the opponents were bound in the end to be stopped only by the sea; that is what happened about Oct. 20.

The Germans had an advantage over us, which is obvious from a glance at the map—the concentric form of their front, which shortened the length of their transports. In spite of this initial inferiority we arrived in time. From the middle of September to the last week in October fighting went on continually to the north of the Oise, but all the time we were fighting we were slipping northward. On the German side this movement brought into line more than eighteen new army corps, (twelve active army corps, six reserve corps, four cavalry corps.) On our side it ended in the constitution of three fresh armies on our left and in the transport into the same district of the British Army and the Belgian Army from Antwerp.

For the conception and realization of this fresh and extended disposition the French command, in the first place, had to reduce to a minimum the needs for effectives of our armies to the east of the Oise, and afterwards to utilize to the utmost our means of transport. It succeeded in this, and when, at the end of October, the battle of Flanders opened, when the Germans, having completed the concentration of their forces, attempted with fierce energy to turn or to pierce

our left, they flung themselves upon a resistance which inflicted upon them a complete defeat.

DEPLOYMENT OF A FIRST ARMY.

The movement began on our side only with the resources of the army which had held the left of our front during the battle of the Marne, reinforced on Sept. 15 by one army corps.

This reinforcement, not being sufficient to hold the enemy's offensive, (district of Vaudelin-court-Mouchy-Uaugy,) a fresh army was transported more to the left, with the task "of acting against the German right wing in order to disengage its neighbor, * * * while preserving a flanking direction in its march in relation to the fresh units that the enemy might be able to put into line."

To cover the detrainments of this fresh army in the district Clermont-Beauvais-Boix a cavalry corps and four territorial divisions were ordered to establish themselves on both banks of the Somme. In the wooded hills, however, which extend between the Oise and Lassigny the enemy displayed increasing activity. Nevertheless, the order still further to broaden the movement toward the left was maintained, while the territorial divisions were to move toward Bethune and Aubigny. The march to the sea went on.

From the 21st to the 26th all our forces were engaged in the district Lassigny-Roye-Peronne, with alternations of reverse and success. It was the first act of the great struggle which was to spread as it went on. On the 26th the whole of the Sixth German Army was deployed against us. We retained all our positions, but we could do no more; consequently there was still the risk that the enemy, by means of a fresh afflux of forces, might succeed in turning us.

Once more reinforcements, two army corps, were directed no longer on Beauvais, but toward Amiens. The front was then again to extend. A fresh army was constituted more to the north.

DEPLOYMENT OF THE SECOND ARMY.

From Sept. 30 onward we could not but observe that the enemy, already strongly posted on the plateau of Thiep-

val, was continually slipping his forces from south to north, and everywhere confronting us with remarkable energy.

Accordingly, on Oct. 1 two cavalry corps were directed to make a leap forward and, operating on both banks of the Scarpe, to put themselves in touch with the garrison of Dunkirk, which, on its side, had pushed forward as far as Douai. But on Oct. 2 and 3 the bulk of our fresh army was very strongly attacked in the district of Arras and Lens. Confronting it were two corps of cavalry, the guards, four active army corps, and two reserve corps. A fresh French army corps was immediately transported and detrained in the Lille district.

But once more the attacks became more pressing, and on Oct. 4 it was a question whether, in view of the enemy's activity both west of the Oise and south of the Somme, and also further to the north, a retreat would not have to be made. General Joffre resolutely put this hypothesis aside and ordered the offensive to be resumed with the reinforcements that had arrived. It was, however, clear that, despite the efforts of all, our front, extended to the sea as it was by a mere ribbon of troops, did not possess the solidity to enable it to resist with complete safety a German attack, the violence of which could well be foreseen.

In the Arras district the position was fairly good. But between the Oise and Arras we were holding our own only with difficulty. Finally, to the north, on the Lille-Estaires-Merville - Hazebrouck-Cassel front, our cavalry and our territorials had their work cut out against eight divisions of German cavalry, with very strong infantry supports. It was at this moment that the transport of the British Army to the northern theatre of operations began.

THE TRANSPORT OF THE BRITISH ARMY.

Field Marshal French had, as early as the end of September, expressed the wish to see his army resume its initial place on the left of the allied armies. He explained this wish on the ground of the greater facility of which his communica-



VICE ADMIRAL H. R. H. THE DUKE OF THE ABRUZZI
Cousin of the King of Italy, Commander of the dreadnought
squadron of the Italian Navy.

(Photo (c) by Pach Bros., N. Y.)



H. M. FERDINAND I.

Tsar of the Bulgars.

(Photo from P. S. Rogers.)

tions would have the advantage in this new position, and also of the impending arrival of two divisions of infantry from home and of two infantry divisions and a cavalry division from India, which would be able to deploy more easily on that terrain. In spite of the difficulties which such a removal involved, owing to the intensive use of the railways by our own units, General Joffre decided at the beginning of October to meet the Field Marshal's wishes and to have the British Army removed from the Aisne.

It was clearly specified that on the northern terrain the British Army should co-operate to the same end as ourselves, the stopping of the German right. In other terms, the British Army was to prolong the front of the general disposition without a break, attacking as soon as possible, and at the same time seeking touch with the Belgian Army.

But the detraining took longer than had been expected, and it was not possible to attack the Germans during the time when they had only cavalry in the Lille district and further to the north.

THE ARRIVAL OF THE BELGIAN ARMY.

There remained the Belgian Army. On leaving Antwerp on Oct. 9 the Belgian Army, which was covered by 8,000 British bluejackets and 6,000 French bluejackets, at first intended to retire as far as to the north of Calais, but afterwards determined to make a stand in Belgian territory. Unfortunately, the condition of the Belgian troops, exhausted by a struggle of more than three months, did not allow any immediate hopes to be based upon them. This situation weighed on our plans and delayed their execution.

On the 16th we made progress to the east of Ypres. On the 18th our cavalry even reached Roulers and Cortemark. But it was now evident that, in view of the continual reinforcing of the German right, our left was not capable of maintaining the advantages obtained during the previous few days. To attain our end and make our front inviolable a fresh effort was necessary. That effort was immediately made by the dispatch to the

north of the Lys of considerable French forces, which formed the French Army of Belgium.

THE FRENCH ARMY OF BELGIUM.

The French Army of Belgium consisted, to begin with, of two territorial divisions, four divisions of cavalry, and a naval brigade. Directly after its constitution it was strengthened by elements from other points on the front whose arrival extended from Oct. 27 to Nov. 11. These reinforcements were equivalent altogether in value to five army corps, a division of cavalry, a territorial division, and sixteen regiments of cavalry, plus sixty pieces of heavy artillery.

Thus was completed the strategic manoeuvre defined by the instructions of the General in Chief on Sept. 11 and developed during the five following weeks with the amplexness we have just seen. The movements of troops carried out during this period were methodically combined with the pursuit of operations, both defensive and offensive, from the Oise to the North Sea.

On Oct. 22 our left, bounded six weeks earlier by the Noyon district, rested on Nieuport, thanks to the successive deployment of five fresh armies—three French armies, the British Army, and the Belgian Army.

Thus the co-ordination decided upon by the General in Chief attained its end. The barrier was established. It remained to maintain it against the enemy's offensive. That was the object and the result of the battle of Flanders, Oct. 22 to Nov. 15.

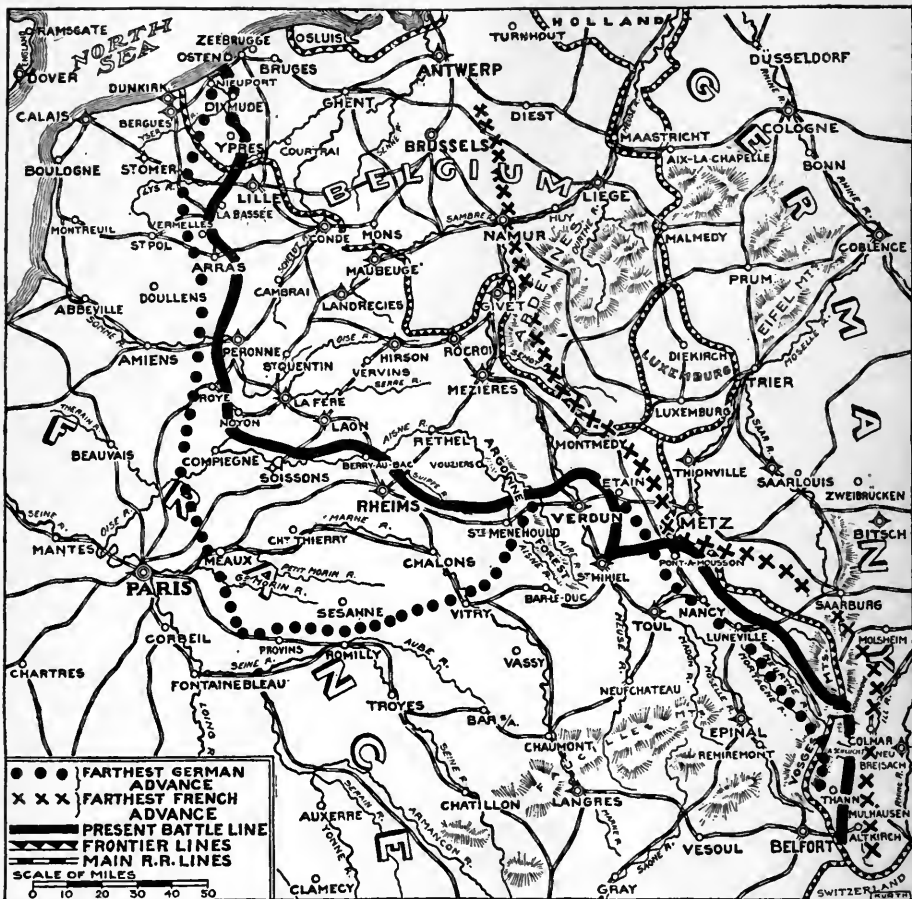
OPERATIONS IN FLANDERS.

The fourth installment of the French review takes up the operations in Flanders, as follows:

The German attack in Flanders was conducted strategically and tactically with remarkable energy. The complete and indisputable defeat in which it resulted is therefore significant.

The forces of which the enemy disposed for this operation between the sea and the Lys comprised:

(1) The entire Fourth Army commanded by the Duke of Württemberg,



Map showing the swaying battle line from Belfort to the North Sea and the intrenched line on April 15, 1915.

consisting of one naval division, one division of Ersatz Reserve, (men who had received no training before the war,) which was liberated by the fall of Antwerp; the Twenty-second, Twenty-third, Twenty-sixth and Twenty-seventh Reserve Corps, and the Forty-eighth Division belonging to the Twenty-fourth Reserve Corps.

(2) A portion of another army under General von Fabeck, consisting of the Fifteenth Corps, two Bavarian corps and three (unspecified) divisions.

(3) Part of the Sixth Army under the command of the Crown Prince of Bavaria. This army, more than a third of which took part in the battle of Flanders, comprised the Nineteenth Army

Corps, portions of the Thirteenth Corps and the Eighteenth Reserve Corps, the Seventh and Fourteenth Corps, the First Bavarian Reserve Corps, the Guards, and the Fourth Army Corps.

(4) Four highly mobile cavalry corps prepared and supported the action of the troops enumerated above. Everything possible had been done to fortify the "morale" of the troops. At the beginning of October the Crown Prince of Bavaria in a proclamation had exhorted his soldiers "to make the decisive effort against the French left wing," and "to settle thus the fate of the great battle which has lasted for weeks."

On Oct. 28, Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria declared in an army order that his

troops "had just been fighting under very difficult conditions," and he added: "It is our business now not to let the struggle with our most detested enemy drag on longer * * * The decisive blow is still to be struck." On Oct. 30, General von Deimling, commanding the Fifteenth Army Corps (belonging to General von Fabeck's command,) issued an order declaring that "the thrust against Ypres will be of decisive importance." It should be noted also that the Emperor proceeded in person to Thielt and Courtrai to exalt by his presence the ardor of his troops. Finally, at the close of October, the entire German press incessantly proclaimed the importance of the "Battle of Calais." It is superfluous to add that events in Poland explain in a large measure the passionate resolve of the German General Staff to obtain a decision in the Western theatre of operations at all costs. This decision would be obtained if our left were pierced or driven in. To reach Calais, that is, to break our left; to carry Ypres, that is, to cut it in half: through both points to menace the communications and supplies of the British expeditionary corps, perhaps even to threaten Britain in her island—such was the German plan in the Battle of Flanders. It was a plan that could not be executed.

CHECK OF GERMAN ATTACK.

The enemy, who had at his disposal a considerable quantity of heavy artillery, directed his efforts at first upon the coast and the country to the north of Dixmude. His objective was manifestly the capture of Dunkirk, then of Calais and Boulogne, and this objective he pursued until Nov. 1.

On Oct. 23 the Belgians along the railway line from Nieuport to Dixmude were strengthened by a French division. Dixmude was occupied by our marines (fusiliers marins). During the subsequent day our forces along the railway developed a significant resistance against an enemy superior in number and backed by heavy artillery. On the 29th the inundations effected between the canal and the railway line spread along our front.

On the 30th we recaptured Ramscapelle, the only point on the railway which Belgians had lost. On the 1st and 2d of November the enemy bombarded Furnes, but began to show signs of weariness. On the 2d he evacuated the ground between the Yser and the railway, abandoning cannon, dead and wounded. On the 3d our troops were able to re-enter the Dixmude district. The success achieved by the enemy at Dixmude at this juncture was without fruit. They succeeded in taking the town. They could not debouch from it. The coastal attack had thus proved a total failure. Since then it has never been renewed. The Battle of Calais, so noisily announced by the German press, amounted to a decided reverse for the Germans.

GERMAN DEFEAT AT YPRES.

The enemy had now begun an attack more important than its predecessor, in view of the numbers engaged in it. This attack was intended as a renewal to the south of the effort which had just been shattered in the north. Instead of turning our flank on the coast, it was now sought to drive in the right of our northern army under the shock of powerful masses. This was the Battle of Ypres.

In order to understand this long, desperate, and furious battle, we must hark back a few days in point of time. At the moment when our cavalry reached Roulers and Cortemark (Oct. 28) our territorial divisions from Dunkirk, under General Biden, had occupied and organized a defensive position at Ypres. It was a point d'appui, enabling us to prepare and maintain our connections with the Belgian Army. From Oct. 23 two British and French army corps were in occupation of this position, which was to be the base of their forward march in the direction of Roulers-Menin. The delays already explained and the strength of the forces brought up by the enemy soon brought to a standstill our progress along the line Poelcapelle, Paschendale, Zandvorde, and Gheluvelt. But in spite of the stoppage here, Ypres was solidly covered, and the connections of all the allied forces

were established. Against the line thus formed the German attack was hurled from Oct. 25 to Nov. 13, to the north, the east, and the south of Ypres. From Oct. 26 on the attacks were renewed daily with extraordinary violence, obliging us to employ our reinforcements at the most threatened points as soon as they came up. Thus, on Oct. 31, we were obliged to send supports to the British cavalry, then to the two British corps between which the cavalry formed the connecting link, and finally to intercalate between these two corps a force equivalent to two army corps. Between Oct. 30 and Nov. 6 Ypres was several times in danger. The British lost Zandvorde, Gheluveld, Messines, and Wytshaete. The front of the Allies, thus contracted, was all the more difficult to defend; but defended it was without a recoil.

REINFORCEMENTS ARRIVE.

The arrival of three French divisions in our line enabled us to resume from the 4th to the 8th a vigorous offensive. On the 10th and 11th this offensive, brought up against fresh and sharper German attacks, was checked. Before it could be renewed the arrival of fresh reinforcements had to be awaited, which were dispatched to the north on Nov. 12. By the 14th our troops had again begun to progress, barring the road to Ypres against the German attacks, and inflicting on the enemy, who advanced in massed formation, losses which were especially terrible in consequence of the fact that the French and British artillery had crowded nearly 300 guns on to these few kilometers of front.

Thus the main mass of the Germans sustained the same defeat as the detachments operating further to the north along the coast. The support which, according to the idea of the German General Staff, the attack on Ypres was to render to the coastal attack, was as futile as that attack itself had been.

During the second half of November the enemy, exhausted and having lost in the Battle of Ypres alone more than 150,000 men, did not attempt to renew his effort, but confined himself to an inter-

mittent cannonade. We, on the contrary, achieved appreciable progress to the north and south of Ypres, and insured definitely by a powerful defensive organization of the position the inviolability of our front.

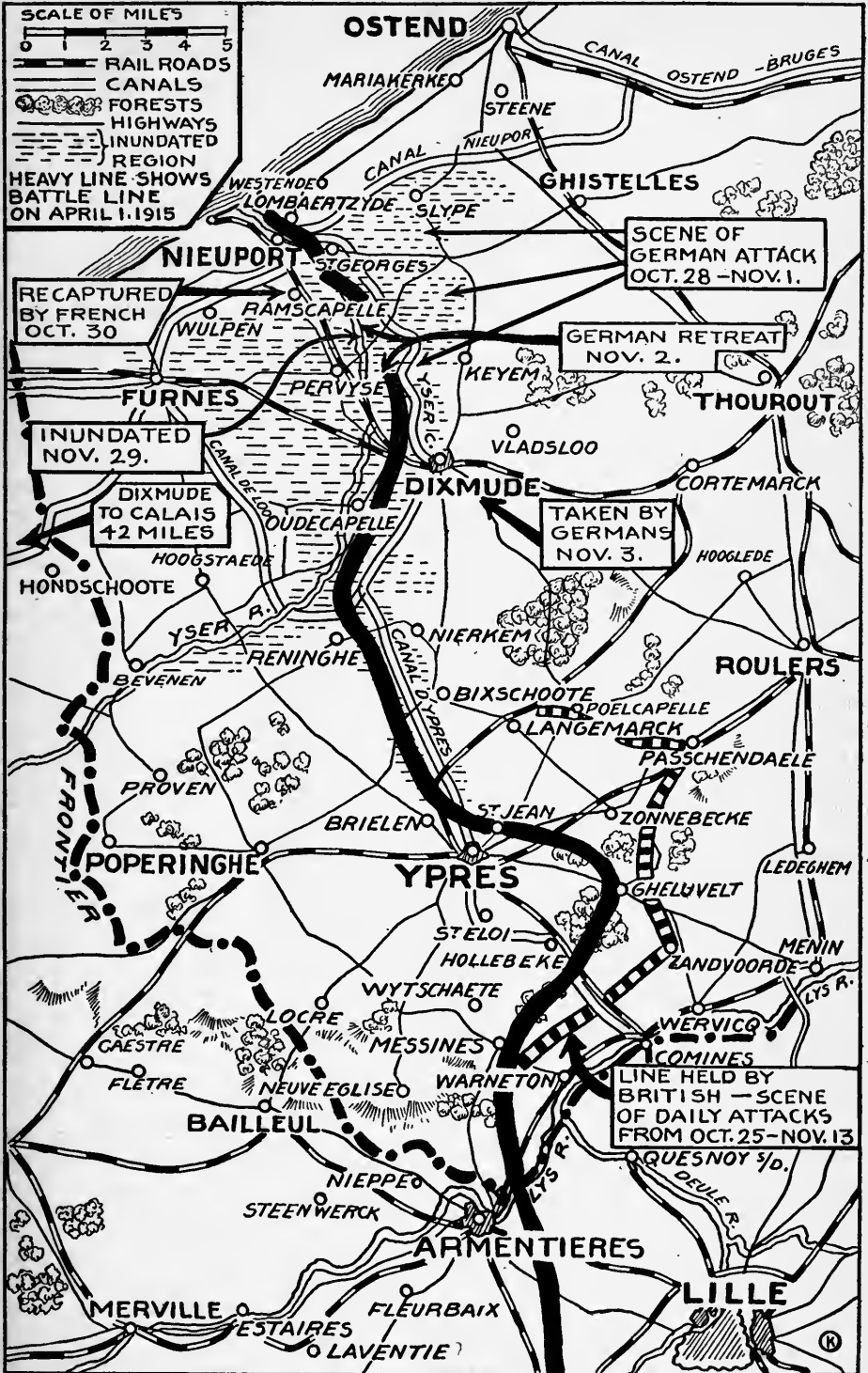
[The compiler of the report here adds a footnote saying that the bodies of more than 40,000 Germans were found on the battlefield during these three weeks of battle. The report next proceeds to summarize the character and results of the operations since the Battle of Flanders—that is, during the period Nov. 30-Feb. 1.]

Since the former date the French supreme command had not thought it advisable to embark upon important offensive operations. It has confined itself to local attacks, the main object of which was to hold in front of us as large a number of German corps as possible, and thus to hinder the withdrawal of the troops which to our knowledge the German General Staff was anxious to dispatch to Russia.

FEW SENT TO THE EAST.

As a matter of fact, the numbers transported to the eastern front have been very moderate. Of the fifty-two army corps which faced us on the western front, Germany has only been able to take four and one-half corps for the eastern front. On the other hand, climatic conditions—the rain, mud, and mist—were such as to diminish the effectiveness of offensive operations and to add to the costliness of any undertaken, which was another reason for postponing them. Still another reason lies in the fact that from now on the allied forces can count upon a steadily expanding growth, equally in point of numbers and units as of material, while the German forces have attained the maximum of their power, and can only diminish now both in numbers and in value. These conditions explain the character of the siege warfare which the operations have assumed during the period under review.

Meanwhile, it is by no means the case that the siege warfare has had the same



Map illustrating the Battle of Flanders, the Battle of Ypres, and the terrain of the frustrated German efforts to reach Dunkirk and Calais.

results for the Germans as for us. From Nov. 15 to Feb. 1, our opponents, in spite of very numerous attacks, did not succeed in taking anything from us, except a few hundred metres of ground to the north of Soissons. We, on the contrary, have obtained numerous and appreciable results.

[The French writer here proceeds to strike a balance of gains and losses between the allied and the German forces in France during the Winter campaign. The result he sums up as follows:]

1. A general progress of our troops; very marked at certain points.

2. A general falling back of the enemy, except to the northeast of Soissons.

To complete the balance it must be added that:

1. The German offensive in Poland was checked a month ago.

2. The Russian offensive continues in Galicia and the Carpathians.

3. A large part of the Turkish Caucasian army has been annihilated.

4. Germany has exhausted her resources of officers, (there are now on an average twelve officers to a regiment,) and henceforth will only be able to develop her resources in men to the detriment of the existing units.

5. The allied armies, on the contrary, possess the power of reinforcing themselves in a very considerable degree.

It may, therefore, be declared that in order to obtain complete success it is sufficient for France and her allies to know how to wait and to prepare victory with indefatigable patience.

The German offensive is broken.

The German defensive will be broken in its turn.

[It is evident from the report that the numbered German army corps are Prussian corps unless otherwise specified.]

THE FRENCH ARMY AS IT IS.

LONDON, March 18, (*Correspondence of The Associated Press.*)—*All of Part II., of the historical review of the war, emanating from French official sources, and purely from the French viewpoint, has been received by The Associated Press. Part II. deals with the*

conditions in the French Army, furnishing a most interesting chapter on this subject under the title, "The French Army as it Is."

The compiler of the report, beginning this part of his review on Feb. 1, says that the condition of the French Army is excellent and appreciably superior to what it was at the beginning of the war from the three points of view of numbers, quality, and equipment. Continuing, he says:

In the higher command important changes have been made. It has, in fact, been rejuvenated by the promotion of young commanders of proved quality to high rank. All the old Generals, who at the beginning of August were at the head of large commands, have been gradually eliminated, some as the result of the physical strain of war and others by appointment to territorial commands. This rejuvenation of the higher ranks of the army has been carried out in a far-reaching manner, and it may be said that it has embraced all the grades of the military hierarchy from commanders of brigades to commanders of armies. The result has been to lower the average age of general officers by ten years. Today more than three-fourths of the officers commanding armies and army corps are less than 60 years of age. Some are considerably younger. A number of the army corps commanders are from 46 to 54 years of age, and the brigade commanders are usually under 50. There are, in fact, at the front extremely few general officers over 60, and these are men who are in full possession of their physical and intellectual powers.

MANY COLONELS PROMOTED.

This rejuvenation of the high command was facilitated by a number of circumstances, notable among which were the strengthening of the higher regimental ranks carried out during the three years preceding the war, as a result of which at the outset of the campaign each infantry regiment had two Lieutenant Colonels, and each cavalry and artillery regiment a Colonel and Lieutenant Colonel, and also the system of promotion for the duration of the war. Many officers

who began the war as Colonels now command brigades. Some are even at the head of divisions or army corps. Ability proved on the field of battle is now immediately recognized and utilized, and in this way it has been possible to provide in the most favorable manner for the vacancies created by the changes in command which were considered necessary in the first weeks of the war.

The higher grades of the French Army are inspired by a remarkable unity in the matter of military theory, and by a solidarity of spirit which has found striking expression in the course of the numerous moves of army corps from one part of the theatre of operations to another, which have been carried out since the beginning of the war.

The cavalry after six months of war still possesses an excess of officers. There are on an average thirty-six officers to a regiment instead of the thirty-one considered to be the necessary minimum. The artillery, which has suffered relatively little, has also an excess of officers, and is further able to count upon a large number of Captains and other officers, who before the war were employed in the arsenals or in technical research. Finally the reserve artillery officers have nearly all proved to be excellent battery commanders.

The losses in the junior commissioned ranks have naturally been highest in the infantry. There is, however, nothing like a want of officers in this arm. Many Captains and Lieutenants who have been wounded by machine-gun fire (such wounds are usually slight and quickly healed,) have been able to return speedily to the front. The reserve officers have in general done remarkably well, and in many cases have shown quite exceptional aptitude for the rank of company commanders. The non-commissioned officers promoted to sub-Lieutenancies make excellent section leaders, and even show themselves very clever and energetic company commanders in the field.

It must be remembered also that thanks to the intellectual and physical development of the generation now serving with the colors; and thanks, above

all, to the warlike qualities of the race, and the democratic spirit of our army, we have been able to draw upon the lower grades and even upon the rank and file for officers. Many men who began the war on Aug. 2 as privates, now wear the officers' epaulettes. The elasticity of our regulations regarding promotion in war time, the absence of the spirit of caste, and the friendly welcome extended by all officers to those of their military inferiors who have shown under fire their fitness to command, have enabled us to meet all requirements.

The state of our infantry on Jan. 15 was very satisfactory and much superior to that of the German infantry. On an average each of our regiments has forty-eight officers, including eighteen regular officers, fifteen reserve officers, and fifteen non-commissioned officers. In each regiment six of the twelve companies are commanded by Captains who are regular officers, three by Captains of the reserve and three by Lieutenants. Each company has at least three officers. The state of the army as regards the commissioned ranks from the highest to the lowest is declared to be exceptionally brilliant. The army is led by young, well-trained, and daring chiefs, and the lower commissioned ranks have acquired the art of war by experience.

2,500,000 FRENCH AT FRONT.

Including all ranks, France now has more than 2,500,000 men at the front, and every unit is, or was on Jan. 15, at war strength. The infantry companies are at least 200 strong. In many regiments the companies have a strength of 250 or more.

In other arms, which have suffered less than the infantry, the units are all up to, or above, regulation strength.

This fact constitutes one of the most important advantages of the French Army over the Germans. While Germany has created a great number of new units, army corps or divisions, which absorbed at a blow all of her available resources in officers and men, the French supreme command has avoided the formation of new units, except in limited number, and has only admitted exceptions to this rule when it was able to

count with certainty on being able to provide amply for both the present and future requirements of the new units, as regards all ranks, without encroaching upon the reserves needed for the existing units.

At the same time, thanks to the depots in the interior of the country, the effectives at the front have been maintained at full strength. The sources of supply for this purpose were the remainder of the eleven classes of the reserves, the younger classes of the territorial army, and the new class of 1914. A large number of the men wounded in the earlier engagements of the war have been able to return to the front. They have been incorporated in the new drafts, providing these with a useful stiffening of war-tried men.

With regard to the supplies of men upon which the army can draw to repair the wastage at the front, we learn that there are practically half as many men in the depots as at the front, in other words about 1,250,000. Further supplies of men are provided by the class of 1915 and the revision of the various categories of men of military age previously exempted on grounds of health or for other reasons from the duty of bearing arms. As a result of this measure nearly half a million men have been claimed for the army, almost all of whom, after rigorous physical tests, have been declared fit for military service.

DRILLED BY CONVALESCENTS.

In the depots in which the new soldiers are being trained the services of many officers and non-commissioned officers discharged as convalescents after being wounded are utilized in order to give a practical turn to the instruction. There are still many voluntary enlistments, and with all these resources of men the army can count upon reinforcements soon to be available which will considerably augment its offensive power.

The quality of the troops has improved perceptibly since the beginning of the war. The men have become hardened and used to war, and their health—largely owing to the excellence of the commissariat—is extremely satisfactory.

In spite of the severity of the Winter hardly any cases of disease of the respiratory organs have occurred, and the sanitary returns of the army show an appreciable improvement on those of the preceding Winter.

With regard to the reserves, experience has verified the dictum of the Serbian and Bulgarian Generals in the war of 1913, namely, that "two months in the field are necessary in order to get at the full value of reserves." Our infantry is now accustomed to the rapid and thorough "organization" of the defensive. In August it neither liked nor had the habit of using the spade. Today those who see our trenches are astounded. They are veritable improvised fortresses, proof against the 77-millimeter gun and often against artillery of higher calibre. During the last five months not a single encounter can be cited in which our infantry did not have the advantage over the German infantry. All the enemy's attacks have been repulsed, except to the north of Soissons, where their success was due to the flooded state of the Aisne and the carrying away of our bridges. Our attacks, on the other hand, have yielded important results, and have been carried out with plenty of spirit, although without the imprudence which cost us such heavy losses in August.

The cavalry has made remarkable progress. Throughout October this branch was called on to eke out the inadequate numbers of the infantry, and showed itself perfectly adapted to the necessities of fighting on foot. Several regiments of cavalry have been used as infantry, and, armed with rifles, have rendered the most valuable services.

The artillery has displayed a superiority in the use of its admirable material, which is recognized by the Germans themselves.

LONDON, March 27, (Correspondence of The Associated Press.)—Further installments of the French official review of the condition of the French Army after six months of war have been obtained by The Associated Press. The sixth installment deals with material, artillery, transport, and supplies, and

the seventh takes up the situation of the German Army and makes an analysis of the German forces in the field and available for service.

The first chapter of the seventh installment, headed "The German Effort," opens with a statement as to the German forces at the beginning of the campaign. The writer says:

"The military effort of Germany at the outset of the campaign exceeded all anticipations. Her design was to crush the French Army in a few weeks under a tremendous mass of troops. Nothing was neglected to bring that mass together.

The number of German army corps in time of peace is twenty-five. When war began the German General Staff put in the field on the two theatres of operations: 1, as fighting troops, (active, reserve, Ersatz or Landwehr,) sixty-one army corps; 2, as troops to guard communications and territory, formations of the Landsturm.

In October six and a half new army corps made their appearance, plus a division of sailors—in all seven corps. From the end of November to the end of December there was only an insignificant increase, consisting of the division of sailors. In January, 1915, the number of fighting formations put into line by the German Army was therefore sixty-nine army corps, divided as follows:

Active corps, twenty-five and a half; reserve corps, twenty-one and a half; Ersatz brigades, six and a half; reserve corps of new formation, seven and a half, and corps of Landwehr, eight and a half.

GERMANY'S GREAT INITIAL EFFORT.

The immense effort thus made by Germany explains itself very well, if, having regard to the position of Germany at the opening of the war, one considers that of the Allies. Germany desired to take advantage of the circumstances which enabled her to make a simultaneous mobilization of all her forces—a mobilization which the three allied armies could not carry out so rapidly. Germany

wished with the mass of troops to crush first of all the adversary who appeared to her the most dangerous. This effort, broken for the first time on the Marne, attained its maximum at the moment of the battle of Flanders, in which more than fifty army corps out of sixty-nine were pitted against the French, British, and Belgian Armies.

Here also the method followed by Germany is easily comprehensible. At the end of October the Russian danger was beginning to become pressing, and it was necessary to win a decisive victory in the western theatre of the war. It was imperative to give international opinion the impression that Germany remained in that quarter mistress of operations. Finally, it behooved her by this victory to gain the freedom to transport a large number of army corps to Poland. We have seen that the battle of Flanders, instead of being a success for Germany, was a marked defeat. This defeat was fraught with results, and it dominates the present position of the German Army. The plans above described of the German mobilization, which had their justification in view of a prompt victory, were calculated to become extremely perilous from the moment that that victory failed to be gained.

INITIATIVE LOST BY GERMANY.

From that moment, in fact, Germany lost the initiative and the direction of the war. And, furthermore, she was condemned to suffer the counter-effects of the enormous and precipitate effort which she had made in vain. From the point of view of her effectiveness and her regimental cadres, (basic organization,) she had undergone a wastage which her adversaries, on the other hand, had been able to save themselves. She had, in the words of the proverb, put all her eggs in one basket, and in spite of her large population she could no longer, owing to the immediate and sterile abuse which she had made of her resources, pretend to regain the superiority of numbers.

She was reduced to facing as best she could on both war fronts the unceasingly increasing forces of the Allies. She

had attained the maximum of tension and had secured a minimum of results. She had thus landed herself in a difficulty which will henceforward go on increasing and which is made clear when the wastage which her army has suffered is closely studied.

WASTAGE OF GERMAN EFFECTIVES.

Chapter II. of this section of the review bears the headline "Wastage of German Effectives."

The wastage of effectives is easy to establish, it says. We have for the purpose two sources—the official lists of losses published by the German General Staff and the notebooks, letters, and archives of soldiers and officers killed and taken prisoners. These different documents show that by the middle of January the German losses on the two fronts were 1,800,000 men.

These figures are certainly less than the reality, because, for one thing, the sick are not comprised, and, for another, the losses in the last battle in Poland are not included. Let us accept them, however; let us accept also that out of these 1,800,000 men 500,000—this is the normal proportion—have been able to rejoin after being cured. Thus the final loss for five months of the campaign has been 1,300,000 men, or 260,000 men per month. These figures agree exactly with what can be ascertained when the variations of effectives in certain regiments are examined.

It is certain that the majority of the German regiments have had to be completely renewed. What, then, is the situation created by these enormous losses?

This question is answered by a statement headed "German troops available for 1915."

The total of German formations known at the beginning of January, says the review, represented in round numbers 4,000,000 men. According to the official reports on German recruiting, the entire resources of Germany in men amount to 9,000,000. But from these 9,000,000 have to be deducted men employed on railways, in the police, and in certain admin-

istrations and industries—altogether 500,000 men. The total resources available for the war were therefore 8,500,000. Out of these about one-half, say 4,000,000, are now at the front. The definitive losses represent at least 1,300,000 men. The available resources amounted, then, at the beginning of January, to 3,200,000 men.

GERMANY'S RESERVES UNTRAINED.

Of what are these resources composed? Chiefly of men who were untrained in time of peace, the trained reservists having almost all left the depots for the front. It has, moreover, to be noted that out of these 3,200,000 men there are, according to the statistics, 800,000 who are more than 39 years of age, and therefore of only mediocre military value. Thus there remain 2,400,000. Finally, the category of the untrained in peace comprises, according to the estimates of German military authorities themselves, one-quarter of inefficient.

The really valuable resources capable of campaigning are therefore just 2,000,000. These men, comprising the 1915, 1916, and 1917 classes, called out in anticipation, constitute—and this point cannot be too strongly insisted upon—the total of available resources for the operations during the twelve months of 1915. As to what the military value of these troops will be, considering the haste with which they have been trained, the formidable losses sustained in the battle of Flanders by the newly formed corps show very clearly. Their military value will be limited.

GERMAN LOSSES 260,000 A MONTH.

When it is remembered that, according to the German documents themselves, the definite loss each month is 260,000 men, it is manifest that the available resources for the year 1915 will not suffice to fill the gaps of a war of ten months.

It is then superabundantly established that in the matter of effectives Germany has reached the maximum of possible effort. If with the men at present available she creates, as it is certain that she is preparing to do at this moment, fresh

formations, she will be preventing herself, if the war lasts another ten months, as is admissible, from being able to complete afresh her old formations. If she creates no new formations, she will have in 1915 exactly what is necessary and no more to complete the existing units afresh.

Bearing in mind the ways of the German General Staff, one may suppose that, disregarding the eventual impossibility of recompleting, it is still addressing itself to creating new formations. The weakness to which Germany will expose herself in the matter of effectives has just been set forth, and it is easy to show that this weakness will be still further aggravated by the wastage in the regimental orders.

PRAISES FRENCH "SEVENTY-FIVES."

In the sixth installment, beginning with the field gun, the famous "seventy-fives," the compiler of the report, after rehearsing the splendid qualities of this weapon—its power, its rapidity of action, and its precision—points out that it possesses a degree of strength and endurance which makes it an implement of war of the first order.

It may be stated without hesitation [says the review] that our "seventy-five" guns are in as perfect condition today as they were on the first day of the war, although the use made of them has exceeded all calculations. The consumption of projectiles was, in fact, so enormous as to cause for a moment an ammunition crisis, which, however, was completely overcome several weeks ago.

The methodical and complete exploitation of all the resources of the country, organized since the beginning of the war, has enabled us to accumulate a considerable stock of fresh munitions, and an increasing rate of production is henceforth assured. We are thus sure of being able to provide without particular effort for all the needs of the campaign, present and future, however long the war may last, and it is this certainty which has enabled us to supply projectiles to several of the allied armies, among others, to the Serbian and Bel-

gian armies. From the statements of German prisoners we have learned that the effectiveness of our new projectiles is superior to that of the old ones.

FRENCH HEAVY GUNS SUPERIOR.

Our heavy artillery was in process of reorganization when the war broke out, with the result that we were indisputably in a position of inferiority in respect of this arm during the first battles. But today the rôles have been changed and our adversaries themselves acknowledge the superiority of our heavy artillery.

The change has been brought about in various ways, partly by the intense activity of the cannon foundries in new production, partly by the employment at the front of the enormous reserves of artillery preserved in the fortresses. The very large number of heavy guns at the front represents only a part of the total number available for use. There is an abundant stock of projectiles for the heavy artillery, which, as in the case of the field gun ammunition, is daily growing in importance. The same is true of the reserves of powder and other explosives and of all materials needed for the manufacture of shells.

With regard to small arms, hand grenades, bombs, and all the devices for lifetaking which the trench warfare at short distance has brought into use, the position of the French troops is in every way favorable.

There follows a passage on the development of the machine gun in this kind of warfare.

Owing to the extended use of this weapon, the number supplied to the various units has been appreciably increased, says the review. Not only is each unit in possession of its full regulation complement of machine guns, but the number of these guns attached to each unit has been increased since Feb. 1 by one-third.

The report next passes to the transport service, which, it says, has worked with remarkable precision since the beginning of the war. This section of the review closes by referring to food supplies for the army, which are described as abundant.

LONDON, March 27, (*Correspondence of The Associated Press.*)—*The eighth installment of the French official review of the war, previous chapters of which have been published, takes up the German losses of officers, the wastage of guns and projectiles, and "the moral wastage of the German Army."*

The chapter on losses of officers begins with the statement that the condition of the cadres, or basic organizations, in the German Army is bad. The proportion of officers, and notably of officers by profession, has been enormously reduced, it says; and a report made in December showed that in a total of 124 companies, active or reserve, there were only 49 officers of the active army. The active regiments have at the present time, according to the review, an average of 12 professional officers; the reserve regiments, 9 to 10; the reserve regiments of new formation, 6 to 7; and it is to be remembered that these officers have to be drawn upon afresh for the creation of new units.

"If Germany creates new army corps, and if the war lasts ten months," it continues, "she will reduce almost to nothing the number of professional officers in each regiment, a number which already is very insufficient."

FRENCH CONDITIONS IN CONTRAST.

The French report points out that on the other hand all the French regiments have been constantly kept at a minimum figure of eighteen professional officers per regiment. At the same time it admits that the commanders of German corps, commanders of active battalions, and the officers attached to the commanders of army corps are officers by profession.

The French report then addresses itself to the wastage of material. Discussing the wastage of guns, it says:

It is easy to ascertain the German losses in artillery. On Dec. 28 the Sixty-sixth Regiment of Artillery entrained at Courtrai for Germany twenty-two guns, of which eighteen were used up. This figure is extremely high for a single regiment.

The same facts have been ascertained

as regards heavy artillery. On Dec. 21 and 22 seventy-seven guns of heavy artillery, which were no longer serviceable, were sent to Cologne. These movements, which are not isolated facts, show how ill the German artillery has resisted the ordeal of the campaign.

Other proofs, moreover, are decisive. For some weeks we have noted the very peculiar aspect of the marking on the bands of a great number of shells of the 77 gun. When these markings are compared with those of shells fired three months ago it is plain beyond all question that the tubes are worn and that many of them require to be replaced. This loss in guns is aggravated by the necessity which has arisen of drawing upon the original army corps for the guns assigned to the recently formed corps or those in course of formation. Several regiments of field artillery have, in fact, had to give up two batteries.

WEARING OUT OF MATERIAL.

These two phenomena—wearing out of material and drafts upon batteries—will inevitably result either in the reduction of batteries from six to four guns, a reduction of the number of batteries in the army corps, or the partial substitution for 77 guns of 9-centimeter cannon of the old pattern, the presence of which has been many times perceived at the front.

Furthermore, the German artillery lacks and has lacked for a very long time munitions. It has been obliged to reduce its consumption of shells in a notable degree. No doubt is possible in this respect. The statements of prisoners since the battle of the Marne, and still more since the battle of the Yser, make it clear that the number of shots allowed to the batteries for each action is strictly limited. We have found on officers killed or taken prisoner the actual orders prescribing positively a strict economy of munitions.

For the last three months, too, we notice that the quality of the projectiles is mediocre. Many of them do not burst. On Jan. 7, in the course of a bombardment of Laventie, scarcely any of the German shells burst. The proportion of non-bursts was estimated at two-fifths

by the British on Dec. 14, two-thirds by ourselves in the same month. On Jan. 3 at Bourg-et-Comin, and at other places since then, shrapnel fell the explosion of which scarcely broke the envelope and the bullets were projected without any force. About the same time our Fourteenth Army Corps was fired at with shrapnel loaded with fragments of glass, and on several points of our front shell casings of very bad quality have been found, denoting hasty manufacture and the use of materials taken at hazard.

From numerous indications it appears that the Germans are beginning to run short of their 1898 pattern rifle. A certain number of the last reinforcements (January) are armed with carbines or rifles of a poor sort without bayonets. Others have not even rifles. Prisoners taken at Woevre had old-pattern weapons.

The upshot of these observations is that Germany, despite her large stores at the beginning, and the great resources of her industrial production, presents manifest signs of wear, and that the official optimism which she displays does not correspond with the reality of the facts.

MORAL WASTAGE.

Under the caption "Moral Wastage of the German Army," the review continues:

The material losses of the German Army have corresponded with a moral wastage which it is interesting and possible to follow, both from the interrogation of prisoners and the pocketbooks and letters seized upon them or on the killed.

At the beginning of the war the entire German Army, as was natural, was animated by an unshakable faith in the military superiority of the empire. It lived on the recollections of 1870, and on those of the long years of peace, during which all the powers which had to do with Germany displayed toward her a spirit of conciliation and patience which might pass for weakness.

The first prisoners we took in August showed themselves wholly indifferent to the reverses of the German Army. They were sincerely and profoundly convinced

that, if the German Army retired, it was in virtue of a preconceived plan, and that our successes would lead to nothing. The events at the end of August were calculated to strengthen this contention in the minds of the German soldiers.

The strategic retreat of the French Army, the facility with which the German armies were able to advance from Aug. 25 to Sept. 5, gave our adversaries a feeling of absolute and final superiority, which manifested itself at that time by all the statements gleaned and all the documents seized.

At the moment of the battle of the Marne the first impression was one of failure of comprehension and of stupor. A great number of German soldiers, notably those who fell into our hands during the first days of that battle, believed fully, as at the end of August, that the retreat they were ordered to make was only a means of luring us into a trap. German military opinion was suddenly converted when the soldiers saw that this retreat continued, and that it was being carried out in disorder, under conditions which left no doubt as to its cause and its extent.

This time it was really a defeat, and a defeat aggravated by the absence of regular supplies and by the physical and moral depression which was the result. The severity of the losses sustained, the overpowering effects of the French artillery, began from this moment to be noted in the German pocketbooks with veritable terror. Hope revived, however, at the end of some weeks, and there is to be found in the letters of soldiers and officers the announcement of "a great movement" which is being prepared, and which is to lead the German armies anew as far as Paris.

LOSSES IN "BATTLE OF CALAIS."

This is the great "battle of Calais," which, contrary to the anticipations of the enemy, was in reality fought to the east of the Yser. The losses of the Germans, which during those ten days exceeded 150,000 men, and may perhaps have reached 200,000, produced a terrifying impression on the troops. From that moment prisoners no longer declared them-

selves sure of success. For a certain time they had been consoled by the announcement of the capture of Warsaw. This pretended success having proved to be fictitious, incredulity became general.

During the last two months the most intelligent of the prisoners have all admitted that no one could any longer say on which side victory would rest. If we think of the absolute confidence with which the German people had been sustained, this avowal is of great importance.

Letters seized on a dead officer speak of the imminence of a military and economic hemming-in of Germany. They discuss the possibility of Germany find-

ing herself after the war with "empty hands and pockets turned inside out." There is no longer any question of imposing the conqueror's law upon adversaries at his mercy, but of fighting with the energy of despair to secure an honorable peace. An officer of the General Staff who was made prisoner on Jan. 18 said: "Perhaps this struggle of despair has already begun."

There follows a chapter bearing the title, "The System of Lies," in which the review describes the methods by which it is alleged the German Government "made a sustained effort to create in the army an artificial state of mind based entirely upon lies and a scientific system of fables."

SONNET ON THE BELGIAN EXPATRIATION.

By THOMAS HARDY.

[From King Albert's Book.]

I DREAMT that people from the Land of
Chimes
Arrived one Autumn morning with their
bells,
To hoist them on the towers and citadels
Of my own country, that the musical rhymes
Rung by them into space at measured times
Amid the market's dally stir and stress,
And the night's empty starlit silentness,
Might solace souls of this and kindred climes.
Then I awoke: and, lo, before me stood
The visioned ones, but pale and full of fear;
From Bruges they came, and Antwerp, and
Ostend,
No carillons in their train. Vicissitude
Had left these tinkling to the invaders' ear,
And ravaged street, and smoldering gable-
end.

War Correspondence

A Month of German Submarine War

By Vice Admiral Kirchhoff of the German Navy

Under the heading, "A Month of U-Boat War," Vice Admiral Kirchhoff of the German Navy discusses the German submarine warfare against merchant shipping in its first month. The article, appearing in the *Hamburger Fremdenblatt* of March 19, 1915, is reproduced:

ON March 18 a month had passed since the beginning of our sharp procedure against our worst foe. We can in every way be satisfied with the results achieved in the meantime! In spite of all "steps" taken before and thereafter, the English have everywhere had important losses to show at sea—some 200 ships lost since the beginning of the war, according to the latest statements of the Allies—so that even they themselves no longer dare to talk about the "German bluff."

On the new and greater "war zone" established by us, our submarines have known how to work bravely, and have been able, for instance, to operate successfully on a single morning on the east coast, in the Channel, and in the Irish Sea. We have heard of many losses of our opponents, and on the other hand of the subjugation of only two of our brave U-boats. Ceaselessly they are active on the coasts of Albion; shipping is paralyzed at some points; steamship companies—including also many neutral ones—have suspended their sailings; in short, our threat of a more acute condition of war "with all means at hand" has been fully fulfilled.

The "peaceful shipping," too, has taken notice of it and adjusted itself according to our instructions. The official objections of neutrals have died away without effect; throughout the world we have already been given right; the shipping circles of the neutral States are in great part holding entirely back. The

empty threats that floated over to us from across the Channel, that the captured crews of German submarines will be treated differently than other prisoners—yes, as plain pirates and sea robbers—those are nothing but an insignificant ebullition of British "moral insanity." They are a part of the hypocritical cant without which, somehow, Great Britain cannot get along. If Great Britain should act in accordance with it, however, then we shall know what we, for our part, have to do!

German and probably English mines, too, have helped our submarines in clearing up among the English mercantile and war fleet. Many merchant ships warned long in advance have been compelled to believe in the warning, and with them frequently a great part of their crews—"without any warning whatever," as our opponents like to say.

All measures of defense, yes, even more significant, all measures of deception and boastful "ruses de guerre," and even all attempts to hush up the news of German accomplishments and whenever possible to suppress it completely—all these efforts have been futile. Our results surpass the expectations that had been cherished. Who knows how many accomplishments other than those which have been published may also have been achieved? Foreign newspapers report a large number of steamships overdue. From overseas likewise we receive favorable reports about the sinking of enemy ships. But the best is the news

that our submarines have succeeded in sinking two English auxiliary cruisers and perhaps also one or two larger English transport ships with several thousand men on board.

The last announcement has filled us all with greatest satisfaction. This, our latest method of warfare, is "truly humane"; it leads more speedily to the goal than anything else, so that the number of victims will in the end be smaller after all. It brings peace to all of us sooner than the empty paper protests and crying to Heaven about violence

and international law, law of the sea, and laws of humanity could do. In the innocent exalted island kingdom many a fellow is already striking; why should not even the recruit strike, who is also beginning to get a glimmer of the truth that there are no props in the ocean waves?

The more opponents come before the bows of our ships and are sunk, the better! Down with them to the bottom of the sea; that alone will help! Let us hope that we shall soon receive more such cheerful news.

Three Weeks of the War in Champagne

By a British Observer

The following article, issued by the British Press Bureau, London, March 18, 1915, is from a British observer with the French forces in the field who has the permission of General Joffre to send communications home from time to time, giving descriptions of the work, &c., of the French Army which will be of interest to the British reader.

I PROPOSE to give some account of the operations which have been in progress for the last three weeks in Champagne. Every day since Feb. 15 the official communiqués find something to say about a district which lies midway between Rheims and Verdun. The three places which are always mentioned, which form the points of reference, are Perthes-lez-Hurlus, Le Mesnil-lez-Hurlus, and Beauséjour Farm. The distance between the first and the last is three and one-half miles; the front on which the fighting has taken place is about five miles; and the French have been attacking at one point or another in this front every day for the last three weeks. It is, therefore, an operation of a different kind to those which we have seen during the Winter months. Those were local efforts, lasting a day or two, designed to keep the enemy busy and prevent him from withdrawing

troops elsewhere; this is a sustained effort, made with the object of keeping a constant pressure on his first line of defense, of affecting his use of the railway from Bazancourt to Challerange, a few miles to the north, and of wearing down his reserves of men and ammunition. It may be said that Feb. 15 marks the opening of the 1915 campaign, and that this first phase will find an important place when the history of the war comes to be written.

We must first know something of the nature of the country, which is entirely different to that in which the British Army is fighting. It is one vast plain, undulating, the hills at most 200 feet higher than the valleys, gentle slopes everywhere. The soil is rather chalky, poor, barely worth cultivating; after heavy rain the whole plain becomes a sea of shallow mud; and it dries equally quickly. The only features are the pine woods, which have been planted by hundreds. From the point of view of profit, this would not appear to have been a success; either the soil is too poor, or else it is unsuitable to the maritime pine; for the trees are rarely more than 25 feet high. As each rise is topped, a new stretch of plain, a new set of small woods appear, just like that which has been left behind.



ELEUTHERIOS K. VENIZELOS

The great Greek statesman who recently resigned as Prime Minister.

(Photo from Medem Photo Service.)



LORD HARDINGE OF PENSHURST

Who, as Viceroy, rules England's Indian Empire during the critical period of the war.

The villages are few and small, most of them are in ruins after the fighting in September; and the troops live almost entirely in colonies of little huts of wood or straw, about four feet high, dotted about in the woods, in the valleys, wherever a little water and shelter is obtainable. Lack of villages means lack of roads; this has been one of the great difficulties to be faced; but, at the same time, the movement of wagons across country is possible to a far greater extent than in Flanders, although it is often necessary to use eight or ten horses to get a gun or wagon to the point desired.

From the military point of view the country is eminently suitable for troops, with its possibilities of concealment, of producing sudden surprises with cavalry, and of manoeuvre generally. It is, in fact, the training ground of the great military centre of Châlons; and French troops have doubtless been exercised over this ground in every branch of military operation, except that in which they are engaged at the present moment.

What commander, training his men over this ground, could have imagined that the area from Perthes-lez-Hurlus to Beauséjour Farm would become two fortress lines, developed and improved for four months; or that he would have to carry out an attack modeled on the same system as that employed in the last great siege undertaken by French troops, that of Sebastopol in 1855? Yet this is what is being done. Every day an attack is made on a trench, on the edge of one of the little woods or to gain ground in one of them; every day the ground gained has to be transformed so as to give protection to its new occupants and means of access to their supports; every night, and on many days, the enemy's counter-attacks have to be repulsed.

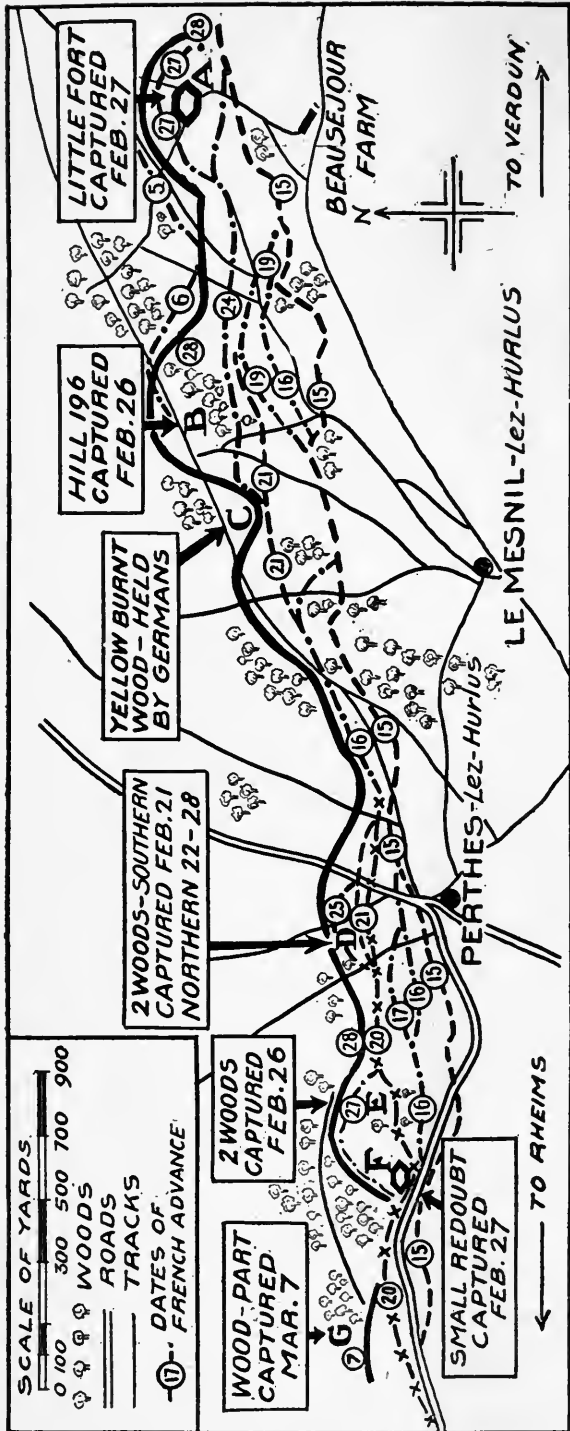
Each attack has to be prepared by a violent and accurate artillery fire; it may be said that a trench has to be morally captured by gun fire before it can be actually seized by the infantry. Once in the new trench, the men have to work with their intrenching tools, without exposing themselves, and wait for a counter-attack, doing what damage they can to the enemy with hand gre-

nades and machine guns. Thus the amount of rifle fire is very small; it is a war of explosives and bayonets.

Looking at the battle at a distance of about 2,000 yards from the enemy's line, the stillness of what one sees is in marked contrast to the turmoil of shells passing overhead. The only movement is the cloud of smoke and earth that marks the burst of a shell. Here and there long white lines are visible, when a trench has brought the chalky subsoil up to the top, but the number of trenches seen is very small compared to the number that exist, for one cannot see into the valleys, and the top of the ground is an unhealthy place to choose for seating a trench. The woods are pointed out, with the names given them by the soldiers, but it needs fieldglasses to see the few stumps that remain in those where the artillery has done its work. And then a telephone message arrives, saying that the enemy are threatening a counter-attack at a certain point, and three minutes later there is a redoubled whistling of shells. At first one cannot see the result of this fire—the guns are searching the low ground where the enemy's reserves are preparing for the movement, but a little later the ground in front of the threatened trench becomes alive with shell bursts, for the searching has given place to the building up of a wall of fire through which it is impossible for the foe to pass without enormous loss.

The attached map may enable us to look more closely at what has been achieved. The lowest dotted line, numbered 15, is the line of the French trenches on Feb. 15. They were then close up to the front of the German line with its network of barbed wire, its machine-gun emplacements, often of concrete, and its underground chambers for sheltering men from the shells. Each successive dotted line shows the line held by the French on the evening of the date written in the dotted line. Thus the total gain of ground, that between the most southerly and the most northerly dotted lines, varies between 200 yards, where the lines are close together northeast of

Map of the French Operations in the Champagne



Some of the severest fighting on the western battle front took place in this little section of about four miles of trenches, lying between Rheims and Verdun. For a whole month from Feb. 15, the attacks were kept up by the French forces almost continuously, and the sketch gives the graphic result of changes for three weeks of that time. Ostensibly the purpose of the French was to pierce the German line and cut the railway a few miles to the rear. Incidentally, the French aimed to keep their opponents busy, and thus

prevent any reinforcements being sent to von Hindenburg in the east. The total gain of ground—that between the most southerly and most northerly dotted lines—varies from 200 yards northeast of Perthes to 1,400 yards, half way between Le Mesnil and Beausefour Farm. But the whole of this space has been a series of trenches and fortified woods, each of which had to be attacked separately. The letters (A to G) in the sketch indicate the points of the severest fighting. A (the "little fort") was taken and lost three times

before the French finally held it. B saw some of the stiffest encounters, the Germans attacking the hill nearly every day after the French captured it, and even the Prussian Guard being put in. The woods at C, D, and E were centres of terrific combats, in which trenching and mining were continuous tasks. The redoubt at F was captured only after large losses on both sides. At the extreme west is still another wood, (G,) which the French attacked three times before they were successful in getting a foothold there.

Perthes, and 1,400 yards, half way between Le Mesnil and Beauséjour Farm. But the whole of this space has been a series of trenches and fortified woods, each of which has had to be attacked separately.

Some of the points where the fighting has been heaviest are shown in letters on the map. A is the "little fort," a redoubt on an open spur, holding perhaps 500 men. This was first attacked in January; it was partly taken, but the French in the end retained only the southern corner, where they remained for something like a fortnight. On Feb. 16 it was again taken in part, and lost the same day. On the 17th the same thing happened. On the 23d they once more got into the work; in the evening they repulsed five separate counter-attacks; then a sixth succeeded in turning them out. On the 27th they took all except a bit of trench in the northern face, and two days later they made that good, as well as a trench about fifty yards to the north of the work.

B is a small hill, marked 196. The capture of this, with its two lines of trenches, was one of the most brilliant pieces of work done. Since this date, the 26th, the enemy have continued to counter-attack nearly every day. It was here that the Prussian Guard was put in; but they have failed to get it back, and their losses have been very high. The prisoners stated that one regiment had its Colonel and all the superior officers killed or wounded. C is a wood, called the "Yellow Burnt Wood." It is still in the hands of the Germans, a regular nest of machine guns, which command the ground not only to the front but also down valleys to the east and west. The French are just in the southwest corner.

At D there are two woods; the southern we will call No. 3, the northern No. 4. On the 16th our allies got a trench just south of No. 3; they got into the wood on the 18th, and fought backward and forward in the wood that day and all the 19th and 20th; by the evening of the 20th they had almost reached the northern edge. On the 21st a stronger counter-attack than usual was repulsed, and in

pursuing the retiring enemy they secured the northern edge. On the 22d there was more fighting in No. 3, but in the end the French managed to make their way into No. 4 as far as a trench which runs along a crest midway through the wood. The next six days saw continuous fighting in No. 4, sometimes near the northern end, sometimes at the crest in the middle, and occasionally back near the southern end. The French now hold the northern edge, and have pushed troops into the "Square" wood just north of the line of the 25th.

At E again there are two small woods; these were both captured on the 26th, but the trenches in the northern one had been mined, and the French had no sooner seized them than they were blown up. At F there was another small redoubt; part of this was taken on the 19th from the east, but the work was not finally captured till the 27th, when 240 corpses were found in it. On the extreme west, at G, is a wood which has twice been unsuccessfully attacked. On the first occasion troops got into the wood, but a severe snowstorm prevented the artillery from continuing to assist them, and they were driven out. The second was an attempt to surprise the enemy at 2 A. M. on the 25th; this also failed. A third attack was made on March 7 and was successful; the French line now runs through the wood.

The above will serve to show the tenacity which is required for an operation of this kind. Up to the present the French have made steady and continuous progress, and their success may be best judged from the fact that they have not been forced back on any day behind the line they held in the morning, despite innumerable counter-attacks. And this is not merely a question of ground, but one of increasing moral superiority, for it is in the unsuccessful counter-attacks that losses are heavy, and these and the sense of failure affect the morale of an army sooner or later.

Will the French push through the line? Will a hole be made, or is the enemy like a badger, who digs himself in rather faster than you can dig him out?

I cannot tell; it would indeed be an astonishing measure of success for a first attempt, and the enemy may require a great deal more hammering at many points before he has definitely had enough at any one point. But these

operations have brought the day closer, and turn our thoughts to the time when we shall be able to move forward, and one finds the cavalrymen wondering whether perhaps they, too, will get their chance.

The Germans Concrete Trenches

By F. H. Gailor, American Rhodes Scholar of New College, Oxford

[From The London Daily Mail, March 24, 1915.]

BERGEN-OP-ZOOM.

AT the kind invitation of General Longchamps, German Military Governor of the Province of Namur, I spent two days with him going along the country in and behind the firing line in Northern France from near Rheims to the small village of Monthois, near Vouziers, on the Aisne.

About five miles out of Monthois we came to the artillery positions of the Germans. We could see the flashes of the guns long before we reached the hills where they were placed, but when we came up and dismounted the position was most cleverly concealed by a higher hill in front and the heavy woods which served as a screen for the artillery. I noticed many holes where the French shells had burst, and the valley to the north looked as if some one had been experimenting with a well digger. One 21-centimeter shell had cut a swath about 100 yards long out of the woods on the hill where we dismounted. The trees were twisted from their stumps as if a small cyclone had passed, and one could realize the damage the shells could do merely by the displaced air.

We went on forward into the valley on foot and stopped about two hundred yards in front and to the left of where the German guns were firing. There, although of course we could not see the French position, we could hear and see their shells as they exploded. They were firing short, one of the officers told me, because they thought the Germans were on the forward hill. He could see one of

the French aeroplanes directing their fire, but I could not make it out. We stayed there listening to the shells and watching the few movements of German batteries that were taking place. A party of officers hidden by the trees were taking observations and telephoning the results of the German fire and, no doubt, of the French fire in the German trenches. There was no excitement; but for the noise the whole scene reminded me of some kind of construction work, such as building a railroad.

After about an hour, when nothing had happened, one began to realize that even such excitement may become monotonous and be taken as a matter of course. One of the officers told me that the Germans had been there since the beginning of October and that even the trenches were in the same position as when they first came.

Certainly the trenches seem permanent enough for spending many Winters. A number of them have now been built of concrete, especially in that swampy part near the Aisne where they strike water about three feet underground. The difficulty is in draining out the water when it rains.

Some of the trenches have two stories, and at the back of many of them are subterranean rest houses built of concrete and connected with the trenches by passages. The rooms are about seven feet high and ten feet square, and above the ground all evidence of the work is concealed by green boughs and shrub-

bery so that they may escape the attention of the enemy's aeroplanes.

With the noise and the fatigue, the men say it is impossible to sleep naturally, but they become so used to the firing and so weary that they become oblivious of everything even when shells are falling within a dozen yards of them. They stay in the trenches five days and then get five days' rest. In talking to the men one feels the influence on them of a curious sort of fatalism—they have been lucky so far and will come through all right. One sees and feels everywhere the spirit of a great game. The strain of football a thousand times magnified. The joy of winning and boyish pleasure in getting ahead of the other fellows side by side with the stronger passions of hatred and anger and the sight of agony and death.

We talked to some of the little groups of men along the road who were going back to their five days in the trenches. Of course all large units are split up so as not to attract attention. They were all the same, all sure of winning, and all bearded, muddy, and determined. I could not help thinking of American football players at the end of the first half. These men seemed all the same. I have no recollection of a single individual. The "system" and its work has made a type not only of clothes but of face. Their answers to the usual questions were all the same, and one felt in talking to them that their opinions were machine-made. Three points stood out—Germany is right and will win; England is wrong and will knuckle under; we hate England because we are alike in religion, custom, and opinion, and it is the war of kindred races. Everywhere one met the arguments and stories of unfairness and cruelty in fighting that have appeared in the English papers, but with the names reversed. English soldiers had surrendered and then fired; had shot from beneath a Red Cross flag or had killed prisoners. The stories were simple and as hackneyed as most of those current in England.

The concrete rest houses were interesting. Most of them have furniture made from trees "to amuse us and pass the time." Both officers and men use the same type of house, though discipline forbids that the same house be used by both officers and men. The light in these houses is bad and the ventilation not all that it should be, but they are extremely careful about sanitation, and everywhere one smells disinfectants and sees evidence of scrupulous guarding against disease. Oil and candles are scarce and the "pocket electric" that all the men and officers carry does not last long enough for much reading. There are always telephone connections, but in most cases visits are impossible save by way of the underground passages and the trenches.

One officer described the life as entirely normal; another said, in speaking of a Louis XV. couch which had been borrowed from a near-by château and was the pride of a regiment, "Oh! we are cave-dwellers, but we have some of the luxuries of at least the nineteenth century."

The Major Commandant at Rethel showed me a letter from a friend demanding "some easy chairs and a piano for his trench house," and the Major said, "I hear they have music up on the Yser, but the French are too close to us here!"

All that I saw of the German Red Cross leads me to believe that it is adequate and efficient. At Rethel we saw a Red Cross train of thirty-two cars perfectly equipped. The cars are made specially with open corridors, so that stretchers or rubber-wheeled trucks may be rolled from one car to another. The berths are in two tiers, much like an American sleeping car, and each car when full holds twenty-eight men. There is an operating car fully equipped for the most delicate and dangerous cases; in fact, when we saw the train at Rethel it had stopped on its way to Germany for an operation on a man's brain.

The Spirits of Mankind

By Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States

The conviction that great spiritual forces will assert themselves at the end of the European war to enlighten the judgment and steady the spirits of mankind was expressed by President Wilson in an address of welcome delivered at the Maryland annual conference of the Methodist Protestant Church at Washington on April 8, 1915. The text of his address appears below.

THESE are days of great perplexity, when a great cloud of trouble hangs and broods over the greater part of the world. It seems as if great, blind, material forces had been released which had for long been held in leash and restraint. And yet underneath that you can see the strong impulses of great ideals.

It would be impossible for men to go through what men are going through on the battlefields of Europe and struggle through the present dark night of their terrible struggle if it were not that they saw, or thought that they saw, the broadening of light where the morning should come up and believed that they were standing each on his side of the contest for some eternal principle for right.

Then all about them, all about us, there sits the silent, waiting tribunal which is going to utter the ultimate judgment upon this struggle, the great tribunal of the opinion of the world; and I fancy I see, I hope that I see, I pray that it may be that I do truly see, great spiritual forces lying waiting for the outcome of this thing to assert themselves, and are asserting themselves even now to enlighten our judgment and steady our spirits.

No man is wise enough to pronounce judgment, but we can all hold our spirits in readiness to accept the truth when it dawns on us and is revealed to us in the outcome of this titanic struggle.

It is of infinite benefit that in assemblages like this and in every sort of as-

semblage we should constantly go back to the sources of our moral inspiration and question ourselves as to what principle it is that we are acting on. Whither are we bound? What do we wish to see triumph? And if we wish to see certain things triumph, why do we wish to see them triumph? What is there in them that is for the lasting benefit of mankind?

For we are not in this world to amuse ourselves with its affairs. We are here to push the whole sluggish mass forward in some particular direction, and unless you know the direction in which you want to go your force is of no avail. Do you love righteousness? is what each one of us ought to ask himself. And if you love righteousness are you ready to translate righteousness into action and be ashamed and afraid before no man?

It seems to me, therefore, that it is worth suggesting to you that you are not sitting here merely to transact the business and express the ideals of a great church as represented in the State of Maryland, but you are here also as part of the assize of humanity, to remind yourselves of the things that are permanent and eternal, which if we do not translate into action we have failed in the fundamental things of our lives.

You will see that it is only in such general terms that one can speak in the midst of a confused world, because, as I have already said, no man has the key to this confusion. No man can see the outcome, but every man can keep his own spirit prepared to contribute to the net result when the outcome displays itself.

“What the Germans Say About Their Own Methods of Warfare”

By Joseph Bedier, Professor in the College de France

[From an article in the *Revue de Paris* for January, 1915.]

I PURPOSE to show that the German armies cannot altogether escape the reproach of violating on occasion the law of nations. I shall establish this by French methods, through the use of documents of sound value.

My texts are genuine, well vouched for, and I have taken pains to subject them to a critical examination, as scrupulous and minute as heretofore in times of peace I expended in weighing the authority of some ancient chronicle, or in scrutinizing the authenticity of some charter. Perhaps this care was born of professional habit, or due to a natural craving for exactness, but in either case it is a voucher for the work, which is meant for all comers—for the passer-by, for the indifferent, and even for my country's foes. My wish is that the veriest looker-on, idly turning these pages, may be confronted only with documents whose authenticity will be self-evident, if he is willing to see, and whose ignominious tale will reach his heart, if ye have a heart.

I have, moreover, sought for documents not only incontestably genuine but of unquestioned authority. Accusation is easy, while proof is difficult. No belligerent has ever been troubled to find mountains of testimony, true or false, against his enemy; but were this evidence gathered by the most exalted magistrates, under the most solemn judicial sanction, it must unfortunately long remain useless; until the accused has full opportunity to controvert it, every one is free to treat it as false or, at the best, as controvertible. For this reason I shall avoid resting the case upon Belgian or French statements, though I know them to be true. My

purpose has been to bring forward such testimony that no man living, be he even a German, should be privileged to cast a doubt upon it. German crimes will be established by German documents.

These will be taken mainly from the “War Diaries,” which Article 75 of the German Army Regulations for Field Service enjoins upon soldiers to keep during their marches, and which were seized by the French upon the persons of their prisoners, as military papers, as authorized by Article 4 of The Hague Convention of 1907. The number of these is daily increasing, and I trust that some day, for the edification of all, the complete collection may be lodged in the Germanic section of manuscripts in the National Library. Meantime, the Marquis de Dampierre, paleographer and archivist, graduate of the *Ecole des Chartes*, is preparing, and will shortly publish, a volume in which the greater part of these notebooks will be minutely described, transcribed, and clarified. Personally, I have only examined about forty of them, but they will answer my purpose, by presenting relevant extracts, furnishing the name, rank, and regiment of the author, with indications of time and place. Classification is difficult, mainly because ten lines of a single text not infrequently furnish evidence of a variety of offenses. I must take them almost at random, grouping them under such analogies or association of ideas or images as they may offer.

I.

The first notebook at hand is that of a soldier of the Prussian Guard, the Gefreiter Paul Spielmann, (of Company

I, First Brigade of the Infantry Guard.) He tells the story of an unexpected night alarm on the 1st of September in a village near Blamont. The bugle sounds, and the Guard, startled from sleep, begins the massacre, (Figs. 1 and 2:)

for which the population is not respon- may recall that by Article 30 of The Hague Convention of 1907, signed on behalf of H. M. the Emperor of Ger- many, "no collective penalty, pecuniary or other, shall be proclaimed against a population, by reason of individual acts

gravid litt mit dem Leibe
 yltete in alle Laute
 sind noch so man
 hier Gefissen, großblief
 für alle auf, so wurde
 sofort F. jämlich. Wie
 die Zahl 60 sofort
 Lamm i. d. fiele alle
 Frauen, Wäber und ein
 Frau nämlich in Verbindung
 stand grand auf alle
 anzuführen, 3 Lamm fallen
 sich zu fassen, ignost und
 sind gestört für Altar
 und Lamm sind nun
 gestört, Lamm und

Hals für Dornwinning
 mit 4 Lamm F. sind
 fand inorgen am 2. 9
September da wurde
 jämlich Lamm
 für und gebunden, so
 fand auf 4 Stunden
 das in dem Dornwinning
 auf 2 Halm mit
 einem kleinen Dorn
 5-6 Dorn mit
 jämlich alle mit
 Lamm. Dorn und Dorn
 Lamm auf Lamm
 alle nicht gelassen
 Lamm alle sind abgef
 hat

Figure 1.

Figure 2.

The inhabitants fled through the village. It was horrible. The walls of houses are bespattered with blood and the faces of the dead are hideous to look upon. They were buried at once, some sixty of them. Among them many old women, old men, and one woman pregnant—the whole a dreadful sight. Three children huddled together—all dead. Altar and arches of the church shattered. Telephone communication with the enemy was found there. This morning, Sept. 2, all the survivors were driven out; I saw four little boys carrying on two poles a cradle with a child some five or six months old. The whole makes a fearful sight. Blow upon blow! Thunderbolt on thunderbolt! Everything given over to plunder. I saw a mother with her two little ones—one of them had a great wound in the head and an eye put out.

Deserved repression, remarks this soldier: "They had telephone communi- cation with the enemy." And yet, we

sible in solido." What tribunal during that dreadful night took the pains to establish this joint participation?

II.

The unsigned notebook of a soldier of the Thirty-second Reserve Infantry (Fourth Reserve Corps) has this entry:

Creil, Sept. 3.—The iron bridge was blown up. For this we set the streets on fire, and shot the civilians.

Yet it must be obvious that only the regular troops of the French Engineer Corps could have blown up the iron bridge at Creil; the civilians had no hand in it. As an excuse for these massacres, when any excuse is offered, the note- books usually note that "civilians" or "francs-tireurs" had fired on the troops. But the "scrap of paper" which Ger- many subscribed—the Convention of

1907—provides in its first article “the laws, the rights, and the duties are not applicable solely to the army, but also to militia and bodies of volunteers” under certain conditions, of which the main one is that they shall “openly bear arms;” while Article 2 stipulates that “the population of an unoccupied territory, which on the approach of the enemy spontaneously takes up arms to resist the invading forces, without having had time to organize as provided in Article 1, shall be considered as a belligerent, if they bear arms openly and observe the laws and customs of war.”

The image shows a page of handwritten German text, which is a translation of the original German source. The text is written in a cursive hand and is somewhat difficult to read due to the handwriting. It appears to be a report or a set of notes, possibly related to military operations or the treatment of civilians during a conflict. The text is contained within a rectangular border.

Figure 3.

In the light of this text, the bearing of the barbarous recitals which follow may be properly estimated:

(a) Notebook of Private Hassemmer, (Eighth Corps, Sept. 3, 1914, at Sommepey, Marne.—Dreadful butchery. Village burned to the ground; the French thrown into the burning houses, civilians and all burned together.

(b) Notebook of Lieut. Kietzmann, (Second Company, First Battalion, Fortyninth Infantry,) under date of Aug. 18, 1914, (Fig. 3).—A short distance above Diest is the village of Schaffen. About fifty civilians were concealed in the church tower, and from there fired on our troops with a mitrailleuse. All the civilians were shot.

[It may here be noted, for the sake of precision, that the First Report of the Belgian Commission of Inquiry, Antwerp, Aug. 28, Page 3, identifies some of the “civilians” killed at Schaffen on the 18th of August; among them, “the wife of François Luyckz, 45 years of age, with

her daughter aged 12, who were discovered in a sewer and shot”; and “the daughter of Jean Ooyen, 9 years of age, who was shot”; and “André Willem, sacristain, who was bound to a tree and burned alive.”]

(c) Notebook of a Saxon officer, unnamed, (178th Regiment, Twelfth Army Corps, First Saxon Corps,) Aug. 26.—The exquisite village of Gué-d’Hossus (Ardennes) was given to the flames, although to my mind it was guiltless. I am told that a cyclist fell from his machine, and in his fall his gun was discharged; at once the firing was begun in his direction, and thereupon all the male inhabitants were simply thrown into the flames. It is to be hoped that like atrocities will not be repeated.

This Saxon officer had, nevertheless, already witnessed like “atrocities.” The preceding day, Aug. 25, at Villers-en-Fagne, (Belgian Ardennes,) “where we found grenadiers of the guard, killed and wounded,” he had seen “the curé and other inhabitants shot”; and three days previous, Aug. 23, at the village of Bouvignes, north of Dinant, he had witnessed what he thus describes:

Through a breach made in the rear we get access into the residence of a well-to-do inhabitant and occupy the house. Passing through a number of apartments, we reach a door where we find the corpse of the owner. Further on in the interior our men have wrecked everything like vandals. Everything has been searched. Outside, throughout the country, the spectacle of the inhabitants who have been shot defies any description. They have been shot at such short range that they are almost decapitated. Every house has been ransacked to the furthest corners, and the inhabitants dragged from their hiding places. The men shot; the women and children locked into a convent, from which shots were fired. And, for this reason, the convent is about to be set fire to; it may, however be ransomed if it surrenders the guilty ones and pays a ransom of 15,000 francs.

We shall see as we proceed how these notebooks complement one another.

(d) Notebook of the Private Philipp, (from Kamenz, Saxony, First Company, First Battalion, 178th Regiment.) On the day indicated above—Aug. 23—a private of the same regiment was the witness of a scene similar to that just described; perhaps, the same scene, but the point of view is different.—At 10 o’clock in the evening the First Battalion of the 178th came down into the burning village to

the north of Dinant—a saddening spectacle—to make one shiver. At the entrance to the village lay the bodies of some fifty citizens, shot for having fired upon our troops from ambush. In the course of the night many others were shot down in like manner, so that we counted more than two hundred. Women and children, holding their lamps, were compelled to assist at this horrible spectacle. We then sat down midst the corpses to eat our rice, as we had eaten nothing since morning. (Fig. 4.)

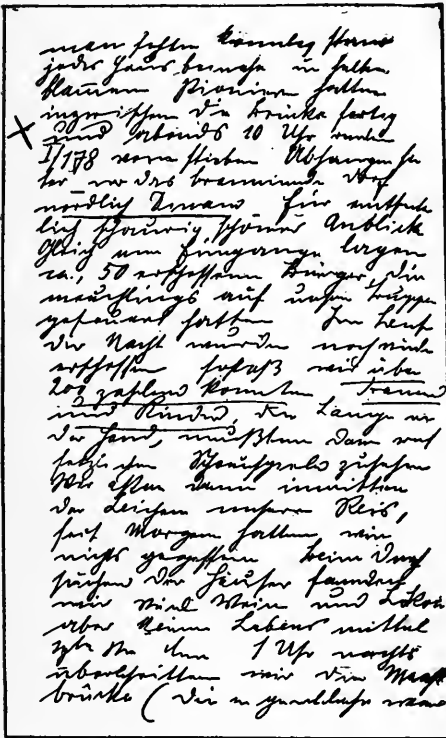


Figure 4.

Here is a military picture fully outlined, and worthy to compete in the Academy of Fine Arts of Dresden. But one passage of the text is somewhat obscure and might embarrass the artist—“Women and children, holding their lamps, were compelled to assist at this horrible spectacle.” What spectacle?—the shooting, or the counting of the corpses? To get some certainty on this historic point, the artist should question that noble soldier—the Colonel of the 178th.

His work of that night, however, was in accord with the spirit of his com-

panions in arms, and of his chiefs. We may assure ourselves of this by consulting the Sixth Report of the Belgian Commission of Inquiry upon the violation of the rules of the law of nations (Havre, Nov. 10, 1914) and the ignoble proclamations placarded by the Germans throughout Belgium. I will content myself with three short extracts.

Extract from a proclamation of General von Bülow, placarded at Liège, Aug. 22, 1914:

The inhabitants of the city of Andenne, after having protested their peaceful intentions, were guilty of a treacherous surprise upon our troops. It was with my consent that the General in Chief set fire to the whole locality, and that about one hundred persons were shot.

(The Belgian report controverts the accusation against the inhabitants of Andenne of having taken hostile measures against the German troops, and adds: “As a matter of fact, more than two hundred persons were shot”—almost everything was ravaged. For a distance of at least three leagues the houses were destroyed by fire.)

Extract from a proclamation of Major Dieckmann, placarded at Grivegnée, Sept. 8, 1914:

Any one not responding instantly to the command “raise your arms” is subject to the penalty of death.

Extract from proclamation of Marshal Baron von der Goltz, placarded at Brussels, Oct. 5, 1914:

Hereafter the localities nearest the place where similar acts (destruction of railways or telegraphic lines) were done—whether or not they were accomplices in the act—will be punished without mercy. To this end hostages have been taken from all the localities adjacent to railways menaced by similar attacks, and upon the first attempt to destroy the railways, telegraphic or telephone lines, they will at once be shot.

III.

I copy from the first page of an unsigned notebook, (Fig. 5):

Langeviller, Aug. 22.—Village destroyed by the Eleventh Battalion of Pioneers. Three women hanged to trees; the first dead I have seen.

Who can these three women be?—criminals undoubtedly—guilty of having fired upon German troops, unless, in-

unquestionably. Shall we look for proof of it? The young soldier, who tells us above that these corpses were the first dead he had ever seen, adds a week later, on the tenth and last page of his notebook, the following, (Fig. 6:)

In this way we destroyed eight dwellings and their inhabitants. In one of the houses we bayoneted two men, with their wives and a young girl 18 years old. The young one almost unmaned me, her look was so innocent! But we could not master the excited troop, for at such times they are no longer men—they are beasts.

Handwritten German text in a notebook, appearing to be a list or report of actions, possibly related to the destruction of dwellings mentioned in the text above.

Figure 6.

Let me add a few texts which will attest that these assassinations of women and children are customary tasks set to German soldiers:

(a) The writer in a notebook, unsigned, reports that at Orchies (Nord) "a woman was shot for not having obeyed the command to halt!" where-

Handwritten German text in a notebook, appearing to be a list or report of actions, possibly related to the destruction of dwellings mentioned in the text above.

Figure 5.

deed, they may have been "in communication by telephone" with the enemy; and the Eleventh Pioneers unquestionably meted out to them just punishment. But, at all events, they expiated their guilt, and the Eleventh Pioneers has passed on. The crime these women committed is unknown to the troops which are to follow. Among these new troops will there be found no chief, no Christian, to order the ropes cut and allow these dangling bodies to rest on the earth? No, the regiment passes under the gibbets and their flags brush against the hanging corpses; they pass on, Colonel and officers—gentlemen all—Kulturträger. And they do this knowingly; these corpses must hang there as an example, not for the other women of the village, for these doubtless already understand, but as an example to the regiment and to the other regiments that will follow, and who must be attuned to war, who must be taught their stern duty to kill women when occasion offers. The teaching will be effective,

upon he adds, "the whole locality was set on fire." (Fig. 7.)

*25. Aufschuß. Von 7. u. 8. Abtheilung
 wurden mit Beschuss die Leichen
 von 10 Uhr Vormittag nach Aufbruch
 von 4 Uhr, durch
 Feuer der Feinde. Dämlich
 wurden die Leichen durch
 Feuer von 10 Uhr
 nach 10 Uhr, durch Feuer
 von 10 Uhr, durch Feuer
 von 10 Uhr, durch Feuer
 von 10 Uhr, durch Feuer*

Figure 7.

(b) The officer of the 178th Saxon Regiment, mentioned above, reports that in the vicinity of Lisognes (Belgian Ardennes) "the Chasseur of Marburg, having placed three women in line, killed them all with one shot."

(c) A few lines more, taken from the notebook of the Reservist Schlauter (Third Battery, Fourth Regiment, Field Artillery of the Guard,) (Fig. 8:)

Aug. 25, (in Belgium.)—We shot 300 of the inhabitants of the town. Those that survived the salvo were requisitioned as grave diggers. You should have seen the women at that time! But it was impossible to do otherwise. In our march upon Wilot things went better; the inhabitants who wished to leave were allowed to do so. But whoever fired was shot. Upon our leaving Owele the rifles rang out, and with that, flames, women, and all the rest.

IV.

Frequently when a German troop want to carry a position, they place before them civilians—men, women, and children—and find shelter behind these ramparts of living flesh. As such a stratagem is essentially playing upon the nobility of heart of the adversary, and saying to him "you won't fire upon these unfortunates, I know it, and I hold you at my mercy, unarmed, because you are not as craven as I am," as it implies a homage to the enemy and the self-degradation of the one employing it, it is almost inconceivable that soldiers should resort to it; it represents a new invention in the long story of human

vileness, which even the dreadful Penitentiels of the Middle Ages had not discovered. In reading the stories from French, Belgian, and English sources, attributing such practices to the Germans, it has made me doubt, if not the truthfulness, at least the detailed exactness of the stories. It seemed to me that the tales must be of crimes by

*Wir sind nicht weniger 300
 aufgeschossen die die Dörfer über
 latten müssen Toten erhaben sein
 das war als Oblich die Weiber
 aber es geht nicht anders auf das
 Abfolgermurdung nach
 ging ab Döfner die Feinde
 wir sind nicht weniger 300
 aufgeschossen die die Dörfer über
 latten müssen Toten erhaben sein
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 das war als Oblich die Weiber
 aber es geht nicht anders auf das
 Abfolgermurdung nach
 ging ab Döfner die Feinde*

Figure 8.

men who would be disavowed, individual lapses, which do not dishonor the nation, because the nation on ascertaining them would repudiate them. But how can we doubt that the German Nation has, on the contrary, accepted these acts as exploits worthy of herself, that in them she recognizes her own aptitudes, and finds pleasure in the contemplation; how, I ask, can we doubt this in reading the following narrative signed by a Bavarian officer, Lieut. A. Eberlein, spread out in the columns of one of the best known periodicals of Germany, the Münchner Neueste Nachrichten, in its issue of Wednesday, Oct. 7, 1914, Page 22, Lieut. Eberlein relates there the occupation of

Wäucher neueste Nachrichten.

unser braver Offizierskollektortier W. hat ja mit eigener Lebensgefährdung Meldung an die Brigade von unserer bedrängten Lage gemacht; er wird wohl auch ungefähr angegeben haben, in welchem Haus wir uns aufhalten. Zum Heberfluch werden wir auch noch ein weißes Leinwand oben zum Dachfenster hinaus.

In dieser Lage, vollständig abgeschnitten von unserer Brigade, mochten wir wohl zwei Stunden ausgeschalten haben, da Jürgen plötzlich durch ein geöffnetes Fenster — die Brüstung ist ganz nieder — zwei elegante junge Damen herein, weiße Felle, Hüter in den Händen schwingend, und sich mir zu Füßen werfend. Die Situation war mir, man verzeihe mir diesen Ausdruck, hochdramatisch. Die eine spricht deutsch, d. h. sie liest einzelne Worte heraus, die ich mir zusammenreichte. Ihre Mutter und Schwester sind gefangen von den Deutschen, sie selbst sollen den Maitre von St. Dié holen, sonst werden die beiden als Geiseln erschossen. Eine halbe Stunde hat ihnen der Herr General Zeit gegeben. Nun sind sie auf der Suche in unser Artillerie- und Infanterierevier gekommen, und sind über die Leichen der Unserigen hinweg in unser Haus gezwungen.

Ich lasse sie in den hochbesetzten Weinkeller hinarbeitführen. Beunruhigung: Würde später mit dem Herrn General persönlich sprechen. Außerdem mußte ich schon längst, daß der Herr Maitre mit samt den Beigeordneten verhaftet ist, ebenso wie unter weißerlicher Bedeckung, der sie herbeiführen sollte.

Aber fünf Andere Zivilisten haben wir verhaftet und da kommt mir ein guter Gedanke. Sie werden auf Stühle gesetzt und ihnen bedeutet, einen Sitzplatz mitten in der Straße zu nehmen. Händeringen und Füßen auf der einen, ein paar Bewachselben auf der andern Seite. Man wird allmählich furchtbar hart. Dann legen sie draußen auf der Straße. Wie viele Stühle, so viele sie festgehalten, weiß ich nicht, aber ihre Hände sind die ganze Zeit frampfhaft geallert.

So ließ er mir tun, aber das Mittel hilft sofort. Das Revolverfeuer aus den Häusern läßt sofort nach, wir können jetzt auch das gegenüberliegende Haus besetzen und sind damit die Herren der Dauptstraße. Was sich jetzt noch auf der Straße zeigt, wird niedergeschossen. Auch die Artillerie hat unterdessen kräftig gearbeitet, und als gegen 7 Uhr abends die Brigade zum Sturm vorrückt, am uns zu treffen, kann ich die Meldung erklären: „St. Dié vom General frei!“

Wie ich später erfuhr, hat das ... Reserve-Regiment, das nördlich von uns in St. Dié einzug, ganz ähnliche Erfahrungen gemacht wie wir. Vier vier Zivilisten, die sie ebenfalls auf die Straße zogen, wurden jedoch von den Franzosen erschossen. Ich habe sie selbst am Krankenhaus mitten in der Straße liegen sehen.

Nun noch eine Episode aus diesem Tag, die dem weichen, weichen Geist unserer Soldaten, auch in solch kritischer Situation beherrscht. Es war gerade in dem Augenblick, in dem keiner von uns für sein Leben einen Bitterling mehr gegeben hätte, da tritt unser Hermit — er ist der Anpus eines haren rüchigen Reservemannes — auf mich zu, in der Hand — ein Glas Bier. „Bier gefällig, Herr Oberleutnant?“ — Er hat in aller Seelenruhe hinter dem Bullet ein „Ja!“ Bier angezapft und jedem ein Glas Federmilch, auch manchem, dem dies der letzte Schluß werden sollte.

Ja, ja, das Leben bewegt sich in Gegensätzen, am meisten im Krieg.

Oberleutnant U. Charleis. (m.)

was compelled to barricade himself in a house, (Fig. 9:)

We arrested three civilians, and a bright idea struck me. We furnished them with chairs and made them seat themselves in the middle of the street. There were supplications on one part, and some blows with the stocks of our guns on the other. One, little by little, gets terribly hardened. Finally, there they were sitting in the street. How many anguished prayers they may have muttered, I cannot say, but during the whole time their hands were joined in nervous contraction. I am sorry for them, but the stratagem was of immediate effect. The enfilading directed from the houses diminished at once; we were able then to take possession of the house opposite, and thus became masters of the principal street. From that moment every one that showed his face in the street was shot. And the artillery meanwhile kept up vigorous work, so that at about 7 o'clock in the evening, when the brigade advanced to rescue us, I could report "Saint-Dié has been emptied of all enemies."

As I learned later, the — Regiment of Reserves, which came into Saint-Dié further north, had experiences entirely similar to our own. The four civilians whom they had placed on chairs in the middle of the street were killed by French bullets. I saw them myself stretched out in the street near the hospital.

V.

Article 28 of The Hague Convention of 1907, subscribed to by Germany, uses this language: "The sacking of any town or locality, even when taken by assault, is prohibited." And Article 47 runs: "[in occupied territory] pillage is forbidden."

We shall see how the German armies interpret these articles.

Private Handschuhmacher (Eleventh Battalion of Chasseurs Reserves) writes in his notebook:

Aug. 8, 1914, Gouvy, (Belgium.)—There, the Belgians having fired on some German soldiers, we started at once pillaging the merchandise warehouse. Several cases—eggs, shirts, and everything that could be eaten was carried off. The safe was forced and the gold distributed among the men. As to the securities, they were torn up.

This happened as early as the fourth day of the war, and it helps us to understand a technical article on the operations of the military treasury (Der Zahlmeister im Felde) in the Berliner Tage-

Saint-Dié at the end of August. He entered the town at the head of a column, and while waiting for reinforcements

Figure 9.

blatt of the 26th of November, 1914, in which an economic phenomenon of rather unusual import is recited as a simple incident: "Experience has demonstrated that very much more money is forwarded by postal orders from the theatre of operations to the interior of the country than vice versa."

As, in accordance with the continual practice of the German armies, pillaging is only a prelude to incendiarism, the sub-officer Hermann Levith (160th Regiment of Infantry, Eighth Corps) writes:

The enemy occupied the village of Bievre and the edge of the wood behind it. The Third Company advanced in first line. We carried the village, and then pillaged and burned almost all the houses.

And Private Schiller (133d Infantry, Nineteenth Corps) writes:

Our first fight was at Haybes (Belgium) on the 24th of August. The Second Battalion entered the village, ransacked the houses, pillaged them, and burned those from which shots had been fired.

And Private Sebastian Reishaupt (Third Bavarian Infantry, First Bavarian Corps) writes:

The first village we burned was Parux, (Meurthe-et-Moselle.) After this the dance began, throughout the villages, one after the other; over the fields and pastures we went on our bicycles up to the ditches at the edge of the road, and there sat down to eat our cherries.

They emulate each other in their thefts; they steal anything that comes to hand and keep records of the thefts—"Schnaps, Wein, Marmelade, Zigarren," writes this private soldier; and the elegant officer of the 178th Saxon Regiment, who was at first indignant at the "vandalismus" of his men, further on admits that he himself, on the 1st of September, at Reithel, stole "from a house near the Hôtel Moderne a superb waterproof and a photographic apparatus for Felix." All steal, without distinction or grade, or of arms, or of cause, and even in the ambulances the doctors steal. Take this example from the notebook of the soldier Johannes Thode (Fourth Reserve Regiment of Ersatz):

At Brussels, Oct. 5, 1914.—An automobile arrived at the hospital laden with war booty—one piano, two sewing machines,

many albums, and all sorts of other things.

"Two sewing machines" as "war booty." From whom were these stolen? Beyond a doubt from two humble Belgian women. And for whom were they stolen?

VI.

I must admit that, out of the forty notebooks, or thereabout, that I have handled, there are six or seven that do not relate any exactions, either from hypocritical reticence or because there are some regiments which do not make war in this vile fashion. And there are as many as three notebooks whose writers, in relating these ignoble things, express astonishment, indignation, and sorrow. I will not give the names of these, because they deserve our regard, and I wish to spare them the risk of being some day blamed or punished by their own.

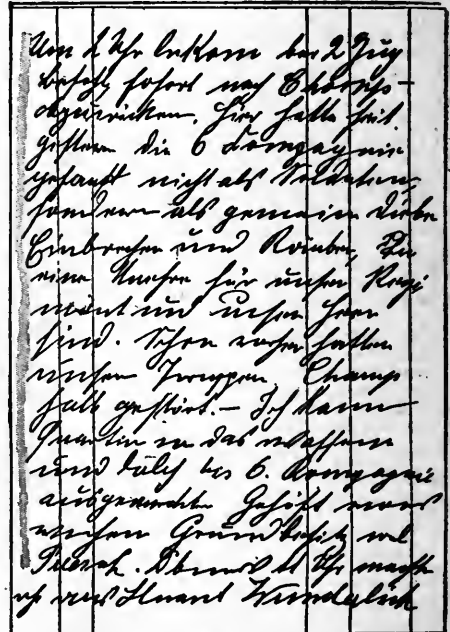


Figure 10.

The first, the Private X., who belongs to the Sixty-fifth Infantry, Regiment of Landwehr, says of certain of his companions in arms, (Fig. 10:)

They do not behave as soldiers, but rather as highwaymen, bandits, and brig-

About thirty soldiers of Stenger's Brigade (112th and 142d Regiments of Baden Infantry) were questioned. I have read their depositions, taken under oath and signed with their own names; all confirming the fact that this order of the day was given to them on the 26th of August. In one place by the Major Mosebach, in another by Lieut. Curtius, &c. Most of these witnesses said that they were ignorant whether the order was carried out, but three among them testified that it was carried out under their own eyes in the Forest of Thiaville, where ten or twelve wounded French, already made prisoners by a battalion, were done away with; two others of the witnesses saw the order carried out along the road of Thiaville, where several wounded, found in the ditches by the company as it marched past, were killed.

nurde der 8te Corporalschaft
zugewandt ohne voll
franz. Leichen finden
prossen jenen der
A. Berndt & Ober. Battalion
appell Vorkampfer unter dem
der Waffen. Wale zum
Giblerst patrouillieren
man just 4 mal laufen
dinner. Wale eben
voll a für im Walderma
sch ohne Kuh nebst Kall
angeshossen gefunden
auch mehr für ang Leichen
wäre hofst verstreut
Sferst mit Sonntag aber
6 um Gottes Dienst
dann das ganze Dorf
fast ganz zusammen
gehoben. St. Kemy

Figure 13.

Of course, I cannot here produce the original autograph of General Stenger, nor am I here called upon to furnish the names of the German prisoners who gave this testimony. But I shall have no

trouble to establish entirely similar crimes on the faith of German autographs.

For instance, we find in the notebook of Private Albert Delfosse (111th Infantry of Reserves, Fourteenth Reserve Corps, (Fig. 13:)

In the woods (near Saint-Rémy, 4th or 5th of September)—Found a very fine cow and a calf killed; and again the corpses of Frenchmen horribly mutilated.

Must we understand that these bodies were mutilated by loyal weapons, torn perhaps by shells? This may be, but it would be a charitable interpretation, which is belied by this newspaper heading, (Figs. 14 and 15:)

JAUERSCHES TAGEBLATT

Amtlicher Anzeiger

Für Stadt und Kreis Jauer

Jauer, Sonntag, Den 18, Oktober, 1914.

Nr. 245.

106. Jahrgang.

This is a heading of a newspaper picked up in a German trench. Jauer is a city of Silesia, about fifty kilometers west of Breslau, where two battalions of the 154th Regiment of Saxon Infantry are garrisoned. One Sunday morning, Oct. 18, doubtless at the hour when the inhabitants—women and children—were wending their way to church, there was distributed throughout the quiet little town, and through the hamlets and villages of the district, the issue of this local paper with the following inscription: "A day of honor for our regiment, Sept. 24, 1914," as the title of an article of some two hundred lines, sent from the front by a member of the regiment—the sub-officer Klemt of the First Company, 154th Infantry Regiment.

The sub-officer Klemt relates how, on the 24th of September, his regiment having left Hannonville in the morning, accompanied by Austrian batteries, suddenly came up against a double fire of infantry and artillery. Their losses were terrible, and yet the enemy was still invisible. Finally, says this officer, it was found that the bullets came from above, from trees which the French



GENERAL VON KUSMANEK

Whose stubborn defense of Przemysl made it one of the most notable sieges of history.

(Photo from Underwood & Underwood.)



CAPT.-LIEUT. OTTO WEDDIGEN

Whose submarine exploits have done more damage to England's navy than all Germany's gunners.

(Photo from The Photo News.)

Immer'sches Tageblatt

Das Blatt erscheint jeden Morgen um 6 Uhr.
Abonnement 12 M. pro Monat, 3 M. pro
Quartal, 10 M. pro Semester, 30 M. pro
Jahr. Einmalige Beiträge 1 M. pro
Zeile. Druckerei des Verlegers.

Ämtlicher Anzeiger
für Stadt und Kreis Jauer

Das Blatt kostet 10 Pfennig pro Nummer.
Für den Abnehmer des Jahrganges 12 M.
Für den Abnehmer des Semesters 6 M.
Für den Abnehmer des Quartals 3 M.
Für den Abnehmer des Monats 1 M.

Die Geschäftsstelle des Verlegers befindet sich in Jauer, in der ersten Etage des Hauses Nr. 11.
Jauer, Sonntag, den 18. Oktober 1914. 106. Jahrgang.

Abermals ein englischer Kreuzer vernichtet.

Die Unterseeboote eilen an der Arbeit.

Mittheilung. Vorkriegs, 17. Okt. Aus London wird amlich mit dem 16. Okt. gemeldet: Am 15. Okt. nachmittags wurde der englische Kreuzer „Haw“ in der nördlichen Nordsee durch einen Torpedoschuss eines Unterseebootes zum Sinken gebracht. 1 Offizier, 49 Mann wurden getödtet und in Nordsee gelandet. Etwa 350 Mann werden vernichtet. Zu gleicher Zeit wurde der Kreuzer „Thetis“ ausgegriffen, aber ohne Erfolg.

Die 25. Z. B. von amtlicher Stelle mitgeteilt wird, dass eine Bekämpfung von deutscher Seite nicht vor.

Der neueste amtliche deutsche Schlachtenbericht.

Unsere Leute in Brügge, Oende und bei Scheldwind. — Answahl eines rabis. — Fortdauer der Kämpfe bei Warschau.

Am 17. Oktober, Großes Hauptquartier, 17. Oktober, vormittags. In Brügge und Oende wurde reichliches Kriegsmaterial erbeutet, u. a. eine große Anzahl Infanterie-Gewehre und Munition, sowie 200 Kavassitten.

Am 17. Oktober, Großes Hauptquartier, 17. Oktober, vormittags. In Warschau wurden durch die Russen am gestrigen Tage ruhig. Die Zahl der bei Scheldwind gemachten Gefangenen steigerte sich auf 1000, ebenso wurden noch mehrere Gefangene gemacht.

Die Kämpfe bei und südlich Warschau dauern noch fort.

W. T. B.

Ein Tag der Ehre für unser Regiment.

24. September 1914.

Am 23. September kamen wir in Dänemünde, einem Dorf am Fluss der I. Weichsel an. Hier der Straße links Dänemünde ist ein großer Ort. Hier, nicht weit von diesem Ort, so können wir ein ganz kleines Dorf. Hier steht ein großer Baum, der uns sehr gut zu sehen ist. Hier steht ein großer Baum, der uns sehr gut zu sehen ist. Hier steht ein großer Baum, der uns sehr gut zu sehen ist.

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Figure 14.

soldiers had climbed. From this point let me quote verbatim, (Fig. 16):

They're brought down from the trees like squirrels, to get a hot reception with bayoneted stock; they'll need no more

doctors' care. We are not fighting loyal enemies, but treacherous brigands: [Note— It is scarcely necessary to point out that it is no more "treacherous," but quite as lawful, to fire from the branches of a tree as from a window, or from a trench,

Am Ende des Jahres...
 ...
 ...
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Am Ende des Jahres...
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Am Ende des Jahres...
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Am Ende des Jahres...
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Am Ende des Jahres...
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Colates und Provinzialien.
 ...
Wester-Grick.
 ...

Am Ende des Jahres...
 ...
 ...
 ...

Am Ende des Jahres...
 ...
 ...
 ...

Wer mindert die Hof in Omprenzen?
 ...
 ...
 ...

Am Ende des Jahres...
 ...
 ...
 ...

Figure 15.

and that, on the contrary, it is rather more venturesome and more courageous, as the sequel of this story will show.] We crossed the clearing at a bound. The foe is hidden here and there among the bushes, and now we are upon them. No quarter will be given. We fire standing, at will; very few fire kneeling; nobody dreams of shelter. We finally reach a slight depression in the ground, and

feelt alle. Schon werden die ersten Franzmänner entdeckt. Von den Bäumen werden sie heruntergeknallt wie Eichhörnchen, unten mit Kolben und Seitengewehr „warm“ empfangen, brauchen sie keinen Arzt mehr, wir kämpfen nicht mehr gegen ehrliche Feinde, sondern gegen tüchtige Räuber. Springend geh's über die Lichtung hinüber — da! dort! in den Feden stecken sie drin, nun aber drauß, Pardon wird nicht gegeben. Stehend, freihändig, höchstens knieend wird geschossen, on Dedung denkt niemand mehr. Wir kommen an eine Mulde, tote und verwundete Rothosen liegen messenhaft umher, die Vermundeten werden erschlagen oder erstochen, denn schon wissen wir, daß diese Lumpen, wenn wir vorbei sind, uns im Rücken besauern.

Mit der größten Erbitterung wird gekämpft.

Dort liegt ein Franzmann lang ausgestreckt, das Gesicht auf dem Boden, er stellt sich aber nur tot. Der Fußtritt eines strammen Musketiers belehrt ihn, daß wir da sind. Sich umdrehend, ruft er Pardon, aber schon ist er mit den Worten: „Siehst du, du B... , so stechen eure Dinger“ auf der Erde festgenagelt. Neben mir das unheimliche Krachen kommt von den Kolbenschlägen her, die ein 154er wüthig auf einen französischen Kolbstopf niederhauen läßt. Wohlweislich benutzte er zu der Arbeit ein französisches Gewehr, um das seinige nicht zu zerbrechen. Leute mit besonders weichem Gemüt geben verwundeten Franzosen die Gnade zugeteilt, die anderen hauen und stechen nach Möglichkeit. Tapfer haben sich die Gegner geschlagen, es waren Elitegruppen, die wir vor uns hatten, auf 30—10 Meter ließen sie uns herankommen, dann war's allerdings zu spät. Massenhaft weggeworfene Tornister und Waffen zeugen davon, daß sie fliehen wollten, aber das Entsetzen beim Anblick der selbgrauen „Unholden“ hat ihnen die Füße gelähmt und mitten im schmalen Stege hat ihnen die deutsche Kugel ihr „Stopp“

Figure 16.

there the red trousers are lying in masses, here and there—dead or wounded. We club or stab the wounded, for we know that these rascals, as soon as we are gone by, will fire from behind. We find one Frenchman lying at full length upon his face, but he is counterfeiting death. A kick from a robust fusilier gives him notice that we are there. Turning over he asks for quarter, but he gets the reply—“Oh! is that the way, blackguard, that your tools work?” and he is pinned to the ground. On one side of me I hear curious cracklings. They're the blows which a soldier of the 154th is vigorously showering upon the bald pate of a Frenchman with the stock of his gun; he very wisely chose for this work a French gun, for fear of breaking his own. Some men of particularly sensitive soul grant the French wounded the grace to finish them with a bullet, but others scatter here and there, wherever they can, their clubbings and stabbings. Our adversaries have fought bravely. They were elite troops that we had before us. They had allowed us to come within thirty, and even within ten, meters—too close. Their arms and knapsacks thrown down in heaps showed that they wanted to fly, but upon the appearance of our “gray phantoms.” terror paralyzed them,

and, on the narrow path in which they crowded, the German bullets brought them the order to halt! There they are at the very entrance of their leafy hiding places, lying down moaning and asking for quarter, but whether their wounds are light or grievous, the brave fusiliers saved their country the expensive care which would have to be given to such a number of enemies.

Now the recital continues very ornate, very literary, and the writer relates how his Imperial Highness Prince Oscar of Prussia, being advised of the exploits (perhaps, indeed, other exploits than these) of the 154th and of the Regiment of Grenadiers, which forms the Brigade with the 154th, declared them both worthy of the name of “King's Brigade,” and the recital closes with this phrase: “When night came on, with a prayer of thankfulness on our lips we fell asleep to await the coming day.” Then adding, by way of postscript, a little phrase “Heimkehr vom Kampf.” He carries the notebook—prose and verse together—to his Lieutenant, who countersigns it: “Certified as correct, De Niem, Lieutenant Commanding the Company,” and then he sends his paper to his town of Jauer, where he is quite confident that he will find some newspaper publisher to accept it, printers to set it up, and a whole population to enjoy it. Now, let me ask any reader—whatever be his country—if he can imagine it possible for such a tale to be spread abroad in any paper in his language, in his native town, for the edification of his wife and his children. In what other country than in Germany is such a thing conceivable? Not in France, at all events. Now, if my readers want another document to show how customary it is in the German Army to mutilate the wounded, well, I will borrow one from the notebook of Private Paul Glöde of the Ninth Battalion of Pioneers, Ninth Corps, (Figs. 17 and 18:)

Aug. 12, 1914, in Belgium.—One can get an idea of the fury of our soldiers in seeing the destroyed villages. Not one house left untouched. Everything eatable is requisitioned by the unofficered soldiers. Several heaps of men and women put to execution. Young pigs are running about looking for their mothers.

Worgfare nos Ruginmehm
 Den Tuga was das heuss zu
 zornig geygen finter Ruffen
 yvornke Hallyng. Gynop
 farnim uben im Ca 50m
 Am fur rounfuch Kadungam
 40 stant band Worgyapen was
 Ven fluden Wfar zu Wapf
 fimmfelbst in einem Hult
 Tammaln dab J. Sabailan
 Wor ind der farnid: fhorck
 haffpung vor fad Dinard,
 fultub farnim der farnid
 Wnfarnim von farnopfen
 falgimn (frobafung und fief
 Glapfen). Fimpf agon von farn
 noton in die farnid -
 Abands d'W geyung: farnid
 fuf alle Gw. Wmny
 folon von frop farnid

Figure 12.

are the work of isolated brutes, (such as, unfortunately, may be found even in the most noble armies,) but that, on the contrary, the crimes represented here are collective actions in obedience to service orders, and such as rest upon and dishonor not only the individual but the entire troop, the officers, and the nation; and if we will further note that these thirty notebooks taken at random—Bavarian, Saxon, Pomeranian, Brandeburger, or from the provinces of Baden and the Rhine—must of necessity represent hundreds and thousands of others quite similar, as we may judge from the frightful monotony of their recitals; if we consider all this, we must, I think, be forced to admit that these atrocities are nothing less than the practical application of a methodically organized system.

VII.

H. M. the Emperor of Germany, by ratifying The Hague Convention of 1907, covenanted (Article 24) that "it

is forbidden (c) to kill or wound an enemy who, having laid down his arms, or being without means of defense, has surrendered unconditionally. (d) To declare that no quarter shall be given."

Have the German armies respected these covenants? Throughout Belgian and French reports depositions such as the following abound. This is taken from a French Captain of the 288th Infantry:

On the 22d, in the evening, I learned that in the woods, about one hundred and fifty meters north of the square formed by the intersection of the great Calonne trench with the road from Vaux-les-Palameis to Saint-Rémy, there were corpses of French soldiers shot by the Germans. I went to the spot and found the bodies of about thirty soldiers within a small space, most of them prone, but several still kneeling, and all having a precisely similar wound—a bullet through the ear. One only, seriously wounded in his lower parts, could still speak, and told me that the Germans before leaving had ordered them to lie down and that then had them shot through the head; that he, already wounded had secured indulgence by stating that he was the father of three small children. The skulls of these unfortunates were scattered; the guns, broken at the stock, were scattered here and there; and the blood had besprinkled the bushes to such an extent that in coming out of the woods my cape was spattered with it; it was a veritable shambles.

I quote this testimony, not to base any accusations upon it, but simply to give precision to our indictment. I will not lay stress upon it as evidence, for I wish to keep to the rule which I have laid down—to have records of nothing but German sources of information.

I will quote here the text of an order of the day addressed by General Stenger, in command of the Fifty-eighth German Brigade, on the 26th of August, to the troops under his orders:

From this day forward no further prisoners will be taken. All prisoners will be massacred. The wounded, whether in arms or not in arms, shall be massacred. Even the prisoners already gathered in convoys will be massacred. No living enemy must remain behind us.

Signed—First Lieutenant in Command of the Company, Stoy; Colonel Commanding the Regiment, Neubauer; General in Command of the Brigade, Stenger.

Dogs chained, without food or drink. And the houses about them on fire. But the just anger of our soldiers is accompanied also by pure vandalism. In the villages, already emptied of their inhabitants, the houses are set on fire. I feel sorry for this population. If they have made use of disloyal weapons, after all, they are only defending their own country. The atrocities which these non-combatants are still committing are revenged after a savage fashion. Mutilations of the wounded are the order of the day.

This was written as early as the 12th of August—the tenth day after the invasion of innocent Belgium—and these wounded creatures that were tortured had done nothing more than defend their land against Germany—their native land—which Germany had sworn, not only to respect but, if need be, to defend. And yet, in many countries pharisees reading these lines will go forward tranquilly to their churches, or their temples, or their banking houses, or their foreign offices, saying: "In what do these things concern us?" "Ja, ja, this is war." Yes, it is war, but war such as was never made by the soldiers of Marceau, such as never will be made by the soldiers of Joffre, such as never has been made and never will be made by France—"Mother of Arts, of Arms, and of Laws." Yes, it is war, but war such as Attila would not have carried on if he had subscribed to certain stipulations; for, in subscribing them, he would have awakened the notion, which alone distinguishes the civilized man from the barbarian, distinguishes a nation from a horde—respect for the word once given. Yes, it is war, but war the theory of which could only be made up by such pedant megalomaniacs as the Julius von Hartmanns, the Bernhardtis, and the Treitschkes; the theory which accords to the elect people the right to uproot from the laws and customs of war what centuries of humanity, of Christianity, and chivalry have at great pains injected into it; the theory of systematic and organized ferocity; today exposed to public reprobation, not only as an odious thing, but no less silly and absurd. For have we not reached the ridiculous when the incendiaries of Lou-

Dorfer nicht kein Haus mit
 nicht ganz. Alles erstare
 wird von entsetzten
 Soldaten requiriert
 Mehrere Häuser Menschen
 set man, die stand
 heftlich erschossen
 werden kleine Schweine
 hinter man in Buchen
 ihre Mutter Hunde
 lagen an der Kette &
 helfen mit den Feind
 & zu saufen & über
 ihnen kann die
 Häuser

Neben der gerechten Wut
 der Soldaten schreitet
 aber auch pure Vandalie
 In ganz leeren Dörfern
 sieht man sie den
 roten Hahn gegen will.
 knirscht auf die Häuser.
 Nun tun die Leute gut
 Wenn sie auch in feine
 Waffen geblasen da wir
 bei die Sie vor Vaterland
 sind

Die Grausamkeiten die verübt
 wurden & noch werden von
 Seiten der Deutschen werden
 nicht gerächt
 Vertreibungen der Ker
 namentlich sind die

Figure 17.

Fayes ordnung
 12.8.14 Bis jetzt habe ich nur
 noch nicht mitgeben

Figure 18.

[Continuation of Figure 17.]

vain, and Malines, and Rheims, the assassins of women and children, and of the wounded, already find it necessary to repudiate their actions, at least in words, and to impose upon the servility of their ninety-three Kulturträger such denials as this: "It is not true that we are making war in contempt of the law of nations, nor that our soldiers are committing acts of cruelty, or of insubordination, or indiscipline. * * * We will carry this conflict through to the end as a civilized people, and we answer for this upon our good name and upon our honor!" Why this humble and pitiful repudiation? Perhaps because their theory of war rested upon the postulate of their invincibility, and that, in the first shiver of their defeat upon

the Marne, it collapsed, and now their repudiation quickly follows—in dread of the *lex talionis*.

I will stop here. I leave the conclusion to the allied armies, already in sight of victory.

NOTE.—General Stenger's order of the day, mentioned on page , was communicated orally by various officers in various units of the brigade. Consequently, the form in which we have received it may possibly be incomplete or altered. In face of any doubt, the French Government has ordered an inquiry to be made into the prisoners' camps. Not one of the prisoners to whom our magistrates presented the order of the day in the

above-mentioned form found a word to alter. They one and all declared that this was the order of the day which had been orally given in the ranks, repeated from man to man; many added the names of the officers who had communicated the order to them; some related in what a vile way it had been carried out under their eyes. All the evidence of these German soldiers was collected in a legal manner, under the sanction of an oath, and it is after reading their depositions that I wrote the order of the day.

The text of all this evidence was transmitted to all the French Embassies and Legations in foreign countries on the 24th of October, 1914. Every neutral wishing to clear his conscience is at liberty to obtain it from the representatives of the French Republic, who will certainly respond willingly.

THE RECRUIT.

By HORTENSE FLEXNER.

HE had a woodland look—half-startled,
gay—

As if his eyes, light-thirsty, had not
learned

To wake accustomed on earth's joyous day.

A child, whose merriment and wonder
burned

In harmless flame, even his uniform

Was but a lie to hide his wind-wild grace,
Whose limbs were rounded youth, too supple,
warm,

To hold the measure of the street-made
pace.

Music and marching—colors in the sky—

The crowded station, then the train—
farewell!

For all he had the glance, exultant, shy,

That seemed to marvel, "More to see—to
tell!"

Yet with his breathing moved, hid by his coat,
A numbered, metal disk, strapped round his
throat!

American Reply to Britain's Blockade Order

By William J. Bryan, American Secretary of State

WITH the publication on April 6, 1915, of its note in reply to the British Government's Order in Council, proclaiming a virtual blockade against commerce to and from Germany—printed in the April, 1915, number of THE NEW YORK TIMES CURRENT HISTORY—the American Government rested its case. The text of the note to Great Britain follows:

WASHINGTON, March 30, 1915.

The Secretary of State to the American Ambassador at London:

You are instructed to deliver the following to his Majesty's Government in reply to your Nos. 1,795 and 1,798 of March 15: The Government of the United States has given careful consideration to the subjects treated in the British notes of March 13 and March 15, and to the British Order in Council of the latter date.

These communications contain matters of grave importance to neutral nations. They appear to menace their rights of trade and intercourse, not only with belligerents but also with one another. They call for frank comment in order that misunderstandings may be avoided. The Government of the United States deems it its duty, therefore, speaking in the sincerest spirit of friendship, to make its own view and position with regard to them unmistakably clear.

The Order in Council of the 15th of March would constitute, were its provisions to be actually carried into effect as they stand, a practical assertion of unlimited belligerent rights over neutral commerce within the whole European area and an almost unqualified denial of the sovereign rights of the nations now at peace.

This Government takes it for granted that there can be no question what those

rights are. A nation's sovereignty over its own ships and citizens under its own flag on the high seas in time of peace is, of course, unlimited, and that sovereignty suffers no diminution in time of war, except in so far as the practice and consent of civilized nations has limited it by the recognition of certain now clearly determined rights which it is conceded may be exercised by nations which are at war.

A belligerent nation has been conceded the right of visit and search, and the right of capture and condemnation, if upon examination a neutral vessel is found to be engaged in unneutral service or to be carrying contraband of war intended for the enemy's Government or armed forces.

It has been conceded the right to establish and maintain a blockade of an enemy's ports and coasts and to capture and condemn any vessel taken in trying to break the blockade. It is even conceded the right to detain and take to its own ports for judicial examination all vessels which it suspects for substantial reasons to be engaged in unneutral or contraband service and to condemn them if the suspicion is sustained. But such rights, long clearly defined both in doctrine and practice, have hitherto been held to be the only permissible exceptions to the principle of universal equality of sovereignty on the high seas as between belligerents and nations not engaged in war.

It is confidently assumed that his Majesty's Government will not deny that it is a rule sanctioned by general practice that, even though a blockade should exist and the doctrine of contraband as to unblockaded territory be rigidly enforced, innocent shipments may be freely transported to and from the United States

through neutral countries to belligerent territory, without being subject to the penalties of contraband traffic or breach of blockade, much less to detention, requisition, or confiscation.

Moreover, the rules of the Declaration of Paris of 1856—among them that free ships make free goods—will hardly at this day be disputed by the signatories of that solemn agreement.

His Majesty's Government, like the Government of the United States, have often and explicitly held that these rights represent the best usage of warfare in the dealings of belligerents with neutrals at sea. In this connection I desire to direct attention to the opinion of the Chief Justice of the United States in the case of the *Peterhof*, which arose out of the civil war, and to the fact that that opinion was unanimously sustained in the award of the Arbitration Commission of 1871, to which the case was presented at the request of Great Britain. From that time to the Declaration of London of 1909, adopted with modifications by the Order in Council of the 23d of October last, these rights have not been seriously questioned by the British Government. And no claim on the part of Great Britain of any justification for interfering with the clear rights of the United States and its citizens as neutrals could be admitted. To admit it would be to assume an attitude of unneutrality toward the present enemies of Great Britain, which would be obviously inconsistent with the solemn obligations of this Government in the present circumstances. And for Great Britain to make such a claim would be for her to abandon and set at naught the principles for which she has consistently and earnestly contended in other times and circumstances.

The note of his Majesty's principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, which accompanies the Order in Council, and which bears the same date, notifies the Government of the United States of the establishment of a blockade which is, if defined by the terms of the Order in Council, to include all the coasts and ports of Germany and every port of possible access to enemy terri-

tory. But the novel and quite unprecedented feature of that blockade, if we are to assume it to be properly so defined, is that it embraces many neutral ports and coasts, bars access to them, and subjects all neutral ships seeking to approach them to the same suspicion that would attach to them were they bound for the ports of the enemies of Great Britain, and to unusual risks and penalties.

It is manifest that such limitations, risks, and liabilities placed upon the ships of a neutral power on the seas, beyond the right of visit and search and the right to prevent the shipment of contraband already referred to, are a distinct invasion of the sovereign rights of the nation whose ships, trade, or commerce is interfered with.

The Government of the United States is, of course, not oblivious to the great changes which have occurred in the conditions and means of naval warfare since the rules hitherto governing legal blockade were formulated. It might be ready to admit that the old form of "close" blockade, with its cordon of ships in the immediate offing of the blockaded ports, is no longer practicable in the face of an enemy possessing the means and opportunity to make an effective defense by the use of submarines, mines, and air craft; but it can hardly be maintained that, whatever form of effective blockade may be made use of, it is impossible to conform at least to the spirit and principles of the established rules of war.

If the necessities of the case should seem to render it imperative that the cordon of blockading vessels be extended across the approaches to any neighboring neutral port or country, it would seem clear that it would still be easily practicable to comply with the well-recognized and reasonable prohibition of international law against the blockading of neutral ports, by according free admission and exit to all lawful traffic with neutral ports through the blockading cordon.

This traffic would, of course, include all outward-bound traffic from the neutral country and all inward-bound traffic to the neutral country, except contraband in transit to the enemy. Such pro-

cedure need not conflict in any respect with the rights of the belligerent maintaining the blockade, since the right would remain with the blockading vessels to visit and search all ships either entering or leaving the neutral territory which they were in fact, but not of right, investing.

The Government of the United States notes that in the Order in Council his Majesty's Government give as their reason for entering upon a course of action, which they are aware is without precedent in modern warfare, the necessity they conceive themselves to have been placed under to retaliate upon their enemies for measures of a similar nature, which the latter have announced it their intention to adopt, and which they have to some extent adopted, but the Government of the United States, recalling the principles upon which his Majesty's Government have hitherto been scrupulous to act, interprets this as merely a reason for certain extraordinary activities on the part of his Majesty's naval forces and not as an excuse for or prelude to any unlawful action.

If the course pursued by the present enemies of Great Britain should prove to be in fact tainted by illegality and disregard of the principles of war sanctioned by enlightened nations, it cannot be supposed, and this Government does not for a moment suppose, that his Majesty's Government would wish the same taint to attach to their own actions or would cite such illegal acts as in any sense or degree a justification for similar practices on their part in so far as they affect neutral rights.

It is thus that the Government of the United States interprets the language of the note of his Majesty's principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, which accompanies the copy of the Order in Council, which was handed to the Ambassador of the United States by the Government in London and by him transmitted to Washington.

This Government notes with gratification that "wide discretion is afforded to the prize court in dealing with the trade of neutrals in such a manner as may in

the circumstances be deemed just, and that full provision is made to facilitate claims by persons interested in any goods placed in the custody of the Marshal of the prize court under the order." That "the effect of the Order in Council is to confer certain powers upon the executive officers of his Majesty's Government," and that "the extent to which these powers will be actually exercised and the degree of severity with which the measure of blockade authorized will be put into operation are matters which will depend on the administrative orders issued by the Government and the decisions of the authorities especially charged with the duty of dealing with individual ships and cargoes, according to the merits of each case."

This Government further notes with equal satisfaction the declaration of the British Government that "the instructions to be issued by his Majesty's Government to the fleet and to the customs officials and executive committees concerned will impress upon them the duty of acting with the utmost dispatch consistent with the object in view, and of showing in every case such consideration for neutrals as may be compatible with that object, which is succinctly stated, to establish a blockade to prevent vessels from carrying goods for or coming from Germany."

In view of these assurances formally given to this Government, it is confidently expected that the extensive powers conferred by the Order in Council on the executive officers of the Crown will be restricted by orders issued by the Government, directing the exercise of their discretionary powers in such a manner as to modify in practical application those provisions of the Order in Council, which, if strictly enforced, would violate neutral rights and interrupt legitimate trade. Relying on the faithful performance of these voluntary assurances by his Majesty's Government, the United States takes it for granted that the approach of American merchantmen to neutral ports situated upon the long line of coast affected by the Order in Council will not be interfered with when it is

know that they do not carry goods which are contraband of war or goods destined to or proceeding from ports within the belligerent territory affected.

The Government of the United States assumes with the greater confidence that his Majesty's Government will thus adjust their practice to the recognized rules of international law because it is manifest that the British Government have adopted an extraordinary method of "stopping cargoes destined for or coming from the enemy's territory," which, owing to the existence of unusual conditions in modern warfare at sea, it will be difficult to restrict to the limits which have been heretofore required by the law of nations. Though the area of operations is confined to "European waters, including the Mediterranean," so great an area of the high seas is covered and the cordon of ships is so distant from the territory affected that neutral vessels must necessarily pass through the blockading force in order to reach important neutral ports which Great Britain as a belligerent has not the legal right to blockade and which, therefore, it is presumed she has no intention of claiming to blockade.

The Scandinavian and Danish ports, for example, are open to American trade. They are also free, so far as the actual enforcement of the Order in Council is concerned, to carry on trade with German Baltic ports, although it is an essential element of blockade that it bear with equal severity upon all neutrals.

This Government, therefore, infers that the commanders of his Majesty's ships of war, engaged in maintaining the so-called blockade, will be instructed to avoid an enforcement of the proposed measures of non-intercourse in such a way as to impose restrictions upon neutral trade more burdensome than those which have been regarded as inevitable, when the ports of a belligerent are actually blockaded by the ships of its enemy.

The possibilities of serious interruption of American trade under the Order in Council are so many, and the methods proposed are so unusual, and seem liable to constitute so great an impediment and embarrassment to neutral commerce, that the Government of the United States, if the Order in Council is strictly enforced, apprehends many interferences with its legitimate trade which will impose upon his Majesty's Government heavy responsibilities for acts of the British authorities clearly subversive of the rights of neutral nations on the high seas. It is, therefore, expected that the Majesty's Government, having considered these possibilities, will take the steps necessary to avoid them, and, in the event that they should unhappily occur, will be prepared to make full reparation for every act which, under the rules of international law, constitutes a violation of neutral rights.

As stated in its communication of Oct. 22, 1914, "this Government will insist that the rights and duties of the United States and its citizens in the present war be defined by the existing rules of international law and the treaties of the United States irrespective of the provisions of the Declaration of London, and that this Government reserves to itself the right to enter a protest or demand in each case, in which those rights and duties so defined are violated or their free exercise interfered with by the authorities of the British Government."

In conclusion you will reiterate to his Majesty's Government that this statement of the view of the Government of the United States is made in the most friendly spirit, and in accordance with the uniform candor which has characterized the relations of the two Governments in the past, and which has been in large measure the foundation of the peace and amity existing between the two nationals without interruption for a century.

BRYAN.

Germany's Conditions of Peace

The First Authoritative German Presentation of the Idea

By Dr. Bernhard Dernburg, Late German Colonial Secretary of State

THAT Germany would be willing to make peace on the basis of a free neutral sea, guaranteed by the powers, was indicated in a letter written by Dr. Bernhard Dernburg, ex-Colonial Secretary of Germany, and read at a pro-German mass meeting held in Portland, Me., on April 17, 1915. After an explanatory note Dr. Dernburg divided into numbered clauses his letter, as follows:

(1) Whatever peace is concluded should be of a permanent nature; no perfunctory patching up should be permitted. The horror of all the civilized nations of the Old World slaughtering one another, every one convinced of the perfect righteousness of their own cause—a recurrence, if it could not be avoided absolutely, should be made most remote, so as to take the weight from our minds that all this young blood of the best manhood of Europe might be spilled in vain.

(2) For this purpose it must be borne in mind that the world has changed considerably since the last big conflagration, and that all the countries striving for humanity and civilization are now one big family, with interests, spiritual as well as commercial, interlocking to a degree that no disturbance of any part of the civilized globe can exist without seriously affecting the rest. A disturbance in one quarter must make quite innocent bystanders involuntary victims, to the serious detriment of spiritual peace and commercial pursuits.

The great highway on which thoughts and things travel are the high seas. I can with full authority disclaim any ambition by my country as to world dominion. She is much too modest, on the one hand, and too experienced, on the other hand, not to know that such a state will never be tolerated by the rest.

Events have shown that world dominion can only be practiced by dominion of the high seas. The aim of Germany is to have the seas, as well as the narrows, kept permanently open for the free use of all nations in times of war as well as in times of peace. The sea is nobody's property and must be free to everybody. The seas are the lungs from which humanity draws a fresh breath of enterprise, and they must not be stopped up.

I, personally, would go so far as to neutralize all the seas and narrows permanently by a common and effective agreement guaranteed by all the powers, so that any infringement on that score would meet with the most severe punishment that can be meted out to any transgressor.

(3) A free sea is useless except combined with the freedom of cable and mail communications with all countries, whether belligerent or not. I should like to see all the cables jointly owned by the interested nations and a world mail system over sea established by common consent. But, more than this, an open sea demands an open policy. This means that, while every nation must have the right, for commercial and fiscal purposes, to impose whatever duties it thinks fit, these duties must be equal for all exports and imports for whatever destination and from whatever source. It would be tantamount to world empire, in fact, if a country owning a large part of the globe could make discriminating duties between the motherland and dominions or colonies as against other nations.

This has been of late the British practice. German colonies have always been open to every comer, including the motherland, on equal terms. Such equality of

treatment should be the established practice for all the future. The only alternative to an open sea and free intercourse policy would be a Chinese wall around each country. If there is no free intercourse every country must become self-sufficient. Germany has proved that it can be done. But this policy would mean very high customs barriers, discrimination, unbounded egotism, and a world bristling in arms. While the free sea policy stands for the true aims of international relations, namely, in exchange of goods, which must benefit either party, to be mutually satisfactory, it will engender friendly feeling among all the peoples, advance civilization, and thereby have a sure tendency toward disarmament.

(4) Germany has been taxed with disregarding treaty obligations, tearing up a scrap of paper—a solemn engagement of international character regarding Belgium. I have the less reason to enter into this matter since—if it was a breach of international law at all—it has been followed up by all other belligerents by destroying other parts of that code so essential to the welfare of the community of nations. Two German men-of-war have been destroyed in neutral waters. The protests that the Government of this country had to make against Great Britain's treatment of international sea law and the rights of the neutrals are too numerous to be recounted. Chinese neutrality has been violated in the grossest way.

In disregard of all conventions, China is now being subjected to demands incompatible with the rights of self-respecting nations. Egypt and Cyprus have been annexed by Great Britain, disregarding all treaties. Germany's diplomatic representatives have been driven from China, Morocco, and Egypt—all countries sovereign at the time. The Declaration of London, which had been set up by the Government of the United States as the governing document, had to be dropped as such. There is practically no part of international law that could stand the test. Justice toward neutrals compels that international law

should be re-established in a codified form, with sufficient guarantees so as to save, as far as possible, all the neutrals from possible implication in a war in which they do not take part.

(5) Germany does not strive for territorial aggrandizement in Europe; she does not believe in conquering and subjugating unwilling nations—this on account of a spirit of justice and her knowledge of history. No such attempts have ever been permanently successful.

Belgium commands the main outlet of Western German trade, is the natural foreland of the empire, and has been conquered with untold sacrifice of blood and treasure. It offers to German trade the only outlet to an open sea and it has been politically established, maintained, and defended by England in order to keep these natural advantages from Germany.

The love for small peoples that England heralds now will never stand investigation, as shown by the destruction of the small Boer republics. So Belgium cannot be given up. However, these considerations could be disregarded if all the other German demands, especially a guaranteed free sea, were fully complied with and the natural commercial relationship of Belgium to Germany was considered in a just and workable form. In this case Germany will not fail when the times come to help in rebuilding the country; in fact, she is doing so now.

(6) Germany is a country smaller in size than California, but populated thirty-five times as thickly as that State. She loves and fosters family life, and sees her future in the raising of large families of healthy children under the home roof and under the national flag. German parents have no desire to expatriate every year a considerable number of their children. This implies that her industrial development, which would alone give occupation to the yearly increase of pretty nearly a million people, should go on unhampered.

The activity of her people should have an outlet in the development of such foreign parts as need or wish for development. Great Britain has shown very little foresight in constantly opposing such efforts,

playing Morocco into the hands of France, a nation that remained stationary for forty-four years, with little more than half of the population of Germany, and with a system equally undermining religion and morality in keeping families small for the sake of worldly comforts.

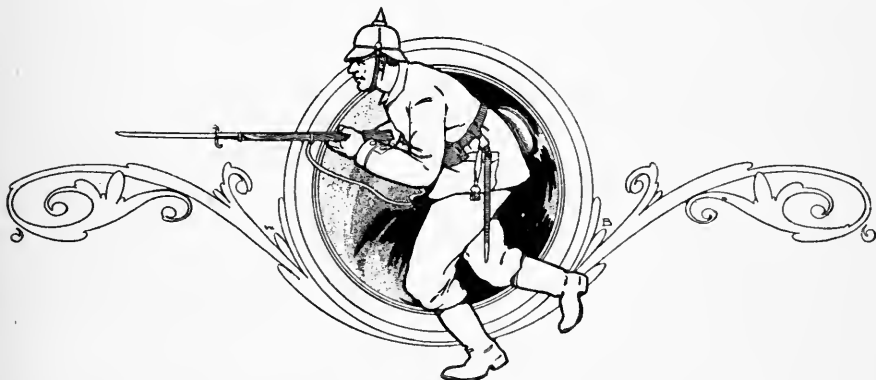
England, furthermore, constantly obstructed the German endeavor to reclaim for the benefit of all of the world the granary in Mesopotamia. A permanent peace will mean that this German activity must get a wide scope without infringing upon the rights of others. Germany should be encouraged to continue her activities in Africa and Asia Minor, which can only result in permanent benefit to all the world. Americans have a saying "that it will never do good to sit on a safety valve."

There is nothing in the program of my country which would not be beneficial to the rest of the world, especially the United States. That this is so the events of the last months have conclusively shown, and a better appreciation of what Germany really stands for has recently

taken place. So, if I plead the cause of my country, I am not pleading as a German alone, but as a citizen of a country who wishes to be a useful and true member of the universality of nations, contributing by humanitarian aims and by the enhancement of personal freedom to the happiness of even the lowliest members of the great world community.

I am proud to say that I cannot only give this assurance, but produce facts, and I beg to refer to the modern system of social reforms which Germany inaugurated and carries through at an expense which is every year larger by half than the expense of the military system.

The brunt of this war has not been borne by the men who fight, but by the women who suffer, and it will be one of the proudest and most coveted achievements that Germany will gain in rewarding in a dignified and permanently beneficial way the enormous sacrifices of womanhood, to alleviate to the extent of the possible the hardships and sorrows that this war has brought upon them.



The Allies' Conditions of Peace

By Sir Edward Grey

Sir Edward Grey, presiding at a lecture on the war by Mr. Buchan, delivered March 22, 1915, reviewed the origin and causes of the conflict. Germany, he said, refused every suggestion made to her for settling the dispute by means of a conference. On her must rest for all time the appalling responsibility for having plunged Europe into this war. One essential condition of peace must be the restoration to Belgium of her independence and reparation to her for the cruel wrong done to her. England claims for herself and her allies claim for themselves, and together will secure for Europe, the right of independent sovereignty for the different nations, the right to pursue a national existence in the light of general liberty.

THE occasion of our meeting this afternoon is to hear a lecture from my friend Mr. Buchan on the strategy of the war, and he is sure to make it informing and interesting. His friends know him as a man of fine public spirit and patriotism, in whom a crisis such as this in his country's history arouses the noblest feelings. I am sorry that an engagement makes it necessary for me to return soon to the Foreign Office, and therefore it will be a great disappointment to me not to hear the whole of the lecture. I take the opportunity to make my apology now, and also to make one or two remarks on the origin and issues of the war. While we are engaged in considering the particular methods by which the war may be prosecuted to a successful conclusion do not let us lose sight even for a moment of the character and origin of this war and of the main issues for which we are fighting. Hundreds of millions of money have been spent, hundreds of thousands of lives have been lost, and millions have been maimed and wounded in Europe during the last few months. And all this might have been avoided by the simple method of a conference or a joint discussion between the powers concerned which might have been held in London, at The Hague, or wherever and in whatever form Germany would have consented to have it. It would have been far easier to have settled by conference the dispute between Austria-Hungary and Serbia, which Germany made the occasion for this war, than it was to get successfully through

the Balkan crisis of two years ago. Germany knew from her experience of the conference in London which settled the Balkan crisis that she could count upon our good will for peace in any conference of the powers. We had sought no diplomatic triumph in the Balkan Conference; we did not give ourselves to any intrigue; we pursued impartially and honorably the end of peace, and we were ready last July to do the same again.

In recent years we have given Germany every assurance that no aggression upon her would receive any support from us. We withheld from her one thing—we would not give an unconditional promise to stand aside, however aggressive Germany herself might be to her neighbors. Last July, before the outbreak of the war, France was ready to accept a conference; Italy was ready to accept a conference; Russia was ready to accept a conference; and we know now that after the British proposal for a conference was made, the Emperor of Russia himself proposed to the German Emperor that the dispute should be referred to The Hague. Germany refused every suggestion made to her for settling the dispute in this way. On her rests now, and must rest for all time, the appalling responsibility for having plunged Europe into this war and for having involved herself and the greater part of the Continent in the consequences of it.

We know now that the German Government had prepared for war as only people who plan can prepare. This is the fourth time within living memory that Prussia had made war in Europe.

In the Schleswig-Holstein war, in the war against Austria in 1866, in the war against France in 1870, as we now know from all the documents that have been revealed, it was Prussia who planned and prepared these wars. The same thing has occurred again, and we are determined that it shall be the last time that war shall be made in this way.

We had assured Belgium that never would we violate her neutrality so long as it was respected by others. I had given this pledge to Belgium long before the war. On the eve of the war we asked France and Germany to give the same pledge. France at once did so. Germany declined to give it. When, after that, Germany invaded Belgium we were bound to oppose Germany with all our strength, and if we had not done so at the first moment, is there any one who now believes that when Germany attacked the Belgians, when she shot down combatants and non-combatants in a way that violated all the rules of war of recent times and the laws of humanity of all time—is there any one who thinks it possible now that we could have sat still and looked on without eternal disgrace?

Now what is the issue for which we are fighting? In due time the terms of peace will be put forward by our Allies in concert with us—in accordance with the alliance that exists between us—and published to the world. One essential condition must be the restoration to Belgium of her independence, national life, and free possession of her territory, and reparation to her as far as reparation is possible for the cruel wrong done to her. That is part of the great issue for which we, with our allies, are contending, and the great part of the issue is this—We wish the nations of Europe to be free to live their independent lives, working out their own form of government for themselves, and their own national developments, whether they be great nations or small States, in full liberty. This is our ideal. The German ideal—we have had it poured out by German professors and publicists since the war began—is that of the Germans as a superior people, to whom all

things are lawful in the securing of their own power, against whom resistance of any sort is unlawful—a people establishing a domination over the nations of the Continent, imposing a peace which is not to be liberty for every nation, but subservience to Germany. I would rather perish or leave the Continent altogether than live on it under such conditions.

After this war we and the other nations of Europe must be free to live, not menaced continually by talk of “supreme war lords,” and “shining armor,” and the sword continually “rattled in the scabbard,” and heaven continually invoked as the accomplice of Germany, and not having our policy dictated and our national destinies and activities controlled by the military caste of Prussia. We claim for ourselves and our allies claim for themselves, and together we will secure for Europe, the right of independent sovereignty for the different nations, the right to pursue a national existence, not in the shadow of Prussian hegemony and supremacy, but in the light of equal liberty.

All honor for ever be given from us whom age and circumstances have kept at home to those who have voluntarily come forward to risk their lives, and give their lives on the field of battle on land and on sea. They have their reward in enduring fame and honor. And all honor be from us to the brave armies and navies of our Allies, who have exhibited such splendid courage and noble patriotism. The admiration they have aroused, and their comradeship in arms, will be an ennobling and enduring memory between us, cementing friendships and perpetuating national good will. For all of us who are serving the State at home or in whatever capacity, whether officials, or employers, or wage earners, doing our utmost to carry on the national life in this time of stress, there is the knowledge that there can be no nobler opportunity than that of serving one's country when its existence is at stake, and when the cause is just and right; and never was there a time in our national history when the crisis was so great and so imperative, or the cause more just and right.

South Africa's Romantic Blue Paper

Recording the Vision of "Oom Niklaas," the Boer Seer of Lichtenburg

[FROM THE NEW YORK TIMES, April 18, 1915.]

THE South African "Blue Paper" is out. It is unique. However widely and however eagerly the official documents of the other countries involved in the present war may have been read, they could not be called romantic in any sense of the word.

The "Blue Paper" issued by the Union of South Africa presents a distinct contrast. In the third paragraph of the very first page of this weighty document, which deals with the recent rebellion, is the following unusual sentence:

It is not surprising, then, that in the ferment aroused by the gigantic struggle in Europe, which seemed to be shaking the world to its foundations, young men began to see visions and old men to dream dreams of what the outcome might be for South Africa.

And this is followed by a still stranger passage:

The times were not without their signs. There was a seer in Lichtenburg who had visions of strange import. Years ago and long before any one in this country had dreamed of war he beheld a great fight of bulls, six or seven of them, engaged in bloody combat; a gray bull had emerged victorious from the contest.

The bulls signified the great nations of Europe, and the gray bull was Germany. Thousands had discussed this strange vision and had remembered its prophetic character when, later, war actually broke out. The vision seemed ominous. Germany was predestined to triumph.

The seer is Niklaas van Rensburg, and he runs through this Government report like a scarlet thread through gray homespun. It is around his influence that the uprising of Sept. 15 is built. It is under his roof that all manner of lurid conspiracies are hatched. Not only do his words carry with the crowds that gather before his house to hear his prophecy, but his warnings shape the actions of

some of the Transvaal Generals. The Government report will not go so far as to brand "Oom Niklaas" as a hoax. Says the preface:

It is desired to point out that the narrative of events has been compiled in as objective a manner as possible, and that it contains no statement which is not borne out by evidence in possession of the Government.

Evidently, to denounce visions of gray bulls as hocus-pocus would be to describe a puzzling situation much too subjectively, since the Government has apparently no evidence that these are not genuine prophecy. The best the Government can do is to call them "extraordinary and apparently quite authentic."

But the extraordinary part of it is that an illiterate old soothsayer should be considered important enough to be included in an official report.

His most famous and most influential prophecy, the one that will go down in the history of South Africa, was that which concerned General de la Rey and the fatal number 15.

The prophecy which came back to the minds of van Rensburg's followers when war broke out was one concerning General de la Rey, the intrepid soldier who had commanded the Lichtenburg burghers in the Boer war and since become President of the Western Transvaal Farmers' Association. Van Rensburg had always admired General de la Rey. He had frequently hinted to his circle that great things were in store for him. One of his visions had been well known to General de la Rey and his friends for some years. The report says:

The seer had beheld the number 15 on a dark cloud from which blood issued, and then General de la Rey returning home without his hat. Immediately afterward came a carriage covered with flowers.



H. M. CONSTANTINE I.
King of Greece.

(Photo from P. S. Rogers.)



JOHN REDMOND

The great Irish leader, who says that Ireland has now taken her proper place in the British Empire.

(Photo from P. S. Rogers.)

This was several years ago. But the people did not forget the prophecy, and when war broke out in Europe the Western Transvaal—in the Lichtenburg-Wolmaransstad area, where van Rensburg's influence was strongest—was immediately aflame. The Government does not seek to minimize the importance of this influence:

When the war at last broke out, the effect in Lichtenburg was instantaneous. The prophecies of van Rensburg were eagerly recalled, and it was remembered that he had foretold a day on which the independence of the Transvaal would be restored.

Certain individuals could be seen daily cleaning their rifles and cartridges in order to be ready for the day. Within a week of the declaration of war between England and Germany the district was further profoundly stirred by the news (now become generally known) that a great meeting of local burghers was to be held at Treurfontein on the 15th of August, and that certain local officers were commandeering their burghers to come to this meeting armed and fully equipped for active service.

The outbreak of the war in Europe suddenly brought the Lichtenburger's prophecy down to earth and crystallized the dream. The commandants were evidently as convinced that independence was at hand as the crowd.

Careful inquiries by other local officers brought to light the following facts:

Veld Kornet, I. E. Claassen, and Commandant F. G. A. Wolmarans of Ward Ouder Hartsrivier had been commandeering their own burghers as well as their political friends since the first week of August to come to the meeting which was to be held at Treurfontein on the 15th. The instructions given to these men were that they were to come with rifle, horse, saddle and bridle, and as much ammunitions and provisions as they could manage to bring.

The meeting was to be addressed by General de la Rey, and it was generally believed that the assembled burghers would march on Potchefstroom immediately after the meeting.

None doubted the truth of the seer's prophecy now. The Western Transvaal took it for its guide with implicit confidence.

The strange vision of the number 15, which had long been common knowledge, was now discussed with intense interest. The 15, it was said, signified the 15th of August, the day of the meeting. That would be the day which had been so long expected—the day of liberation.

Van Rensburg was now the oracle. His prophecies with regard to the great war had been signally fulfilled. Germany was at grips with England, and her triumph was looked upon as inevitable.

The day had arrived to strike a blow for their lost independence. Van Rensburg assured his following that the Union Government was "finished." Not a shot would be fired. The revolution would be complete and bloodless.

Between the 10th and the 15th the plotters in Lichtenburg were actively preparing for the day. There is evidence that German secret agents were working in concert with them. When doubters asked how they could be so certain that the 15 signified a day of the month—and of the month of August in particular—they were scornfully if illogically told that "in God's time a month sooner or later made no difference."

Of course, General de la Rey was the storm centre. He had been mentioned in the same vision with the number 15 and it was taken for granted that he would play the chief rôle in the Treurfontein meeting. De la Rey was the unquestioned ruler of the Western Transvaal. The report states:

He possessed an unrivaled influence and was looked up to as the uncrowned king of the West. His attitude at the meeting would sway the mass of his adherents and decide the question of peace or war.

Accordingly, General Louis Botha, Premier of the South African Union, summoned General de la Rey to Pretoria some days before the meeting, and persuaded him to use his best efforts to allay excitement.

On the 15th the meeting was held. The situation was a tense one. Not one of the burghers present doubted the outcome. Yet General de la Rey exhorted them to remain cool and calm. He urged them to await the turn of events in Europe. After his address a "strange and unusual silence" was observed, says the "Blue Paper."

A resolution was passed unanimously expressing complete confidence in the Government to act in the best interests of South Africa in the present world crisis. The burghers appeared to have taken their leader's advice to heart, as they dispersed quietly to their homes.

All danger of a rebellious movement had apparently been averted.

The only difficulty was that the prophecy of "Oom Niklaas" was still

standing. The fact that the uprising had failed did not seem in the least to invalidate the vision. If the mysterious number did not mean Aug. 15, then perhaps it did mean Sept. 15.

Accordingly, preparations were laid for a rebellion for the latter date. The plot was engineered by Lieut. Colonel Solomon G. Maritz and General Christian Frederick Beyers. Maritz is a brilliant though unlettered Colonel who won distinction in the Boer war, while Beyers was the Commandant General of the South African Union forces. Beyers is dead now; Maritz and some of the prominent men associated in the conspiracy are in prison awaiting trial.

Beyers and Maritz did not trust entirely to the prophecy of the seer of Lichtenburg. Maritz had already obtained a guarantee from the authorities in German West Africa, with whom he had been in communication for some time, that in the event of Germany's victory the Free State and the Transvaal would be given their freedom. He had organized the back-veldt Boers into readiness to go over into German West Africa at a moment's notice. In the Free State, General de Wet was ready to aid the rebellion, and the Western Transvaal, already excited, could easily be swung into line.

The regiments of the west were to concentrate at Potchefstroom early in September for their annual training. At that time the members of the Government, among them General de la Rey, who is a member of the Legislative Assembly, would be in Cape Town for the session of the Parliament.

Everything made the 15th of September look like an auspicious date for the conspirators and those who believed in van Rensburg. But General de la Rey still remained the storm centre. He was the factor which upset all plans. He was the most difficult obstacle. A large personality, his influence could never be discounted. If he could be induced to join the conspiracy the cause was as good as won. Should he oppose the movement it was lost, for neither Beyers nor Major Kemp, a leader in his district in West Transvaal, could hope to do any-

thing against General de la Rey in the west.

General de la Rey believed in the Lichtenburg prophet. A strong man, of extraordinary force and intelligence, the whole course of his plans might be altered by a new vision from van Rensburg. Beyers knew this, says the report, and saw the way by which he should win the General to the conspiracy.

There is evidence to prove that General Beyers set himself systematically to work in General de la Rey's mind in order to induce him to join the conspiracy.

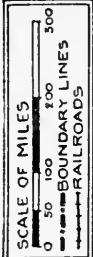
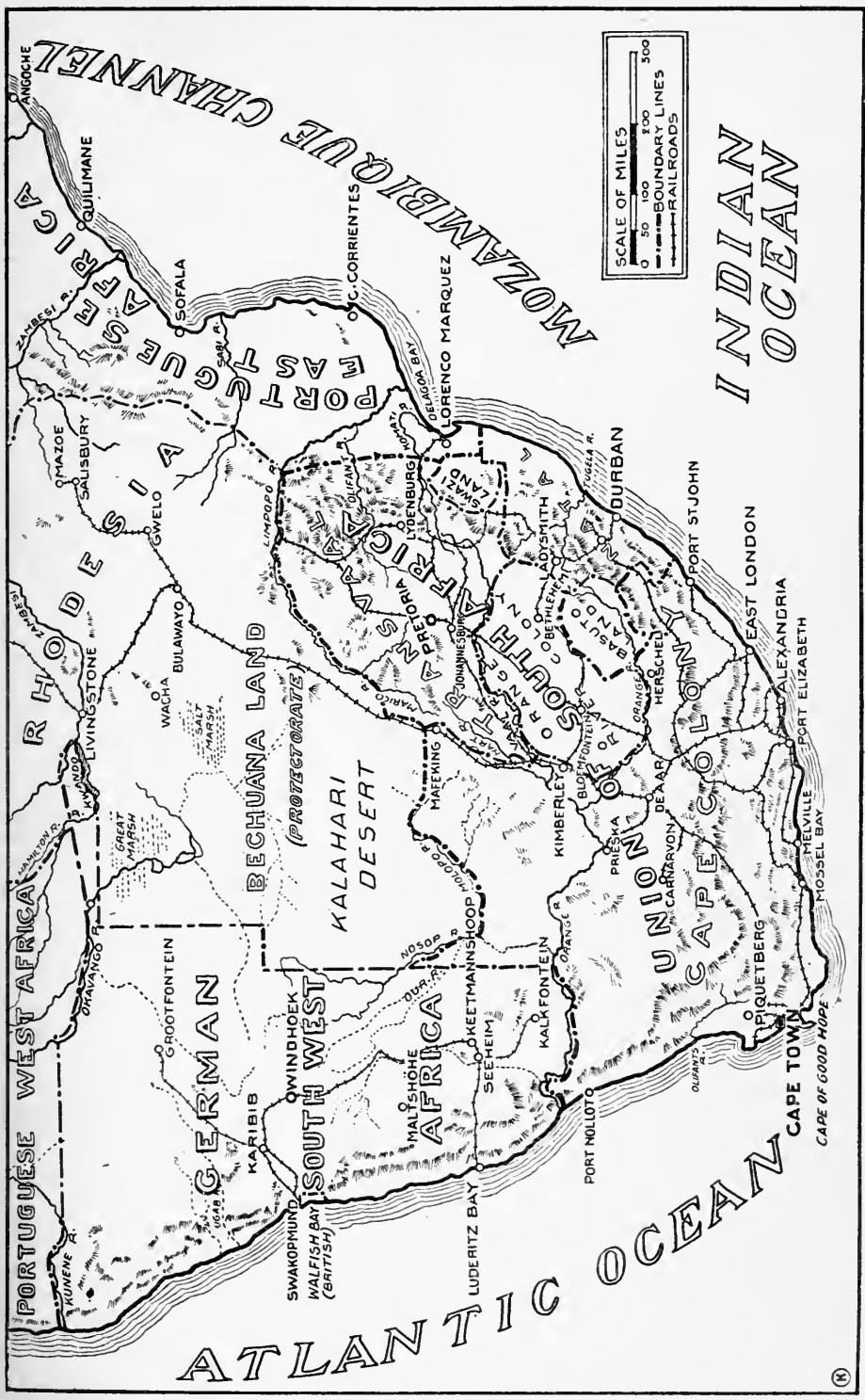
General de la Rey was known to hold strong religious views, which colored his whole outlook. The seer, van Rensburg, who was always full of religious talk, had in this way acquired a considerable amount of influence over General de la Rey.

There is the best of evidence (General Beyers's own statement) for the belief that he himself did not scruple to work on General de la Rey's mind through his religious feelings.

Just how Beyers accomplished this has not yet been revealed, but there was material enough to his hand. The news from Europe was disquieting. The German drive to Paris seemed irresistible. It looked as if in a week or two Germany would have the Allies at her mercy.

The prophet saw visions in which 40,000 German soldiers were marching up and down the streets of London. He predicted significantly that the new South African State would have at its head "a man who feared God." The Government of Premier Botha and General Smuts, the Minister of Finance and Defense, was "finished." He had seen the English leaving the Transvaal and moving down toward Natal. When they had gone far away, a vulture flew from among them and returned to the Boers and settled down among them. That was Botha. As for Smuts, he would flee desperately to England and would never be seen in South Africa again. Through it all ran the strange number 15.

This was excellent material for the conspirators. But the problem was to get General de la Rey away from the Parliament session at Cape Town and into the Potchefstroom camp at the psychological moment. Beyers sent a series of



INDIAN OCEAN

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urgent telegrams to Cape Town hinting at important business. He emphasized the need for General de la Rey's immediate presence in Potchefstroom. He had evidently not yet broached the conspiracy to the General, but hoped only to get him to the camp at the critical moment when his presence would prove the deciding factor.

Everything in Potchefstroom was in readiness. The Active Citizen Force concentrated here—about 1,600 men—was to start the uprising. The movement was to be promptly seconded throughout the Western Transvaal. The "Vierkleur" was to be hoisted, and a march made on Pretoria, men and horses being commandeered on the way. This was to take place on Tuesday, the 15th. There was an attempt to line up the prophet to add to the theatric effect, says the report.

On the night of the 14th the "Prophet" himself was specially sent for by motor car to be personally present on the 15th to witness the consummation of his prophecy. The conspirators hoped to profit by the impression he would undoubtedly make on those who still hesitated.

Unfortunately for them, however, the seer refused to leave his home, saying that "it was not yet clear to him that that was his path."

The signal for the revolt was to be the arrival of General Beyers and General de la Rey in the Potchefstroom camp. The latter was returning from Cape Town via Kimberley, and was due to arrive in Potchefstroom on the 15th. But for some reason he chose to come back through the Free State, and by the 15th was only at Johannesburg.

This upset plans. Beyers had to act quickly. He had his chauffeur overhaul his motor car, equip it with new tubes and covers, in readiness for "a long journey." In a short time the car was on its way to bring General de la Rey from Johannesburg to Pretoria, where Beyers would meet him.

There was no time to be lost. It was too late to stage the rebellion for the 15th, but Beyers arranged for it to be at 4 o'clock on the morning of Wednesday, the 16th.

General de la Rey arrived in Pretoria.

General Beyers met him and asked him to go immediately with him to Potchefstroom.

The car came within sight of Johannesburg. A police cordon had been thrown around the town for the purpose of capturing three desperadoes, known as the "Foster gang," who were trying to escape in a motor car. The police were instructed to stop all motors and to examine in particular any car containing three men.

Beyers's car held three men. It was racing at high speed. It was, of course, challenged by the police and ordered to stop. But Beyers knew nothing of the "Foster gang" and the reason for the police cordon. Keyed up to the highest pitch of nervous tension, his immediate conclusion was that his plot had been discovered and that the police were after him. He believed he was trapped.

Meanwhile, Major Kemp at Potchefstroom grew more and more anxious as the hours slipped by. Midnight came, and no news of the two Generals. About 3 o'clock in the morning, says the report, an officer sharing the tent of a Lieutenant Colonel by the name of Kock, who was Kemp's confidant, was awakened by the entrance of a man. It proved to be Major Kemp. He leaned over Kock's bed and whispered something in his ear.

Kock, in a profoundly startled voice, exclaimed, "Oh, God!"

Kemp left immediately, and Kock then whispered to his friend: "General de la Rey is dood geskiet," (General de la Rey has been shot dead.)

The effect of this news on South Africa can be imagined. The whole country was aflame. This was what the number 15 meant. The General had indeed "returned home without his hat, followed by a carriage full of flowers."

Report ran through every town that General de la Rey had been deliberately assassinated by the Government. As a matter of fact, the report states that the shooting was purely accidental, done by the police under the belief that this motor car which would not halt at their com-

mand contained the "Foster gang." Beyers exhibited the motor-car everywhere, arousing sentiment to the highest pitch.

The rest was easy. The rank and file, at least, now believed firmly in the prophet. He had always said that Gen-

eral Botha would offer no resistance, that the revolution would be bloodless, and thousands went over to the cause led by Maritz and Beyers in this belief. But it was not until Oct. 12 that martial law was proclaimed in South Africa. The rebellion had begun.

THE BELLS OF BERLIN

[From Punch of London.]

(Which are said to be rung by order occasionally to announce some supposed German victory.)

The Bells of Berlin, how they hearten the Hun

(Oh, dingle dong dangle ding dongle ding dee;)

No matter what devil's own work has been done

They chime a loud chant of approval, each one,

Till the people feel sure of their place in the sun

(Oh, dangle ding dongle dong dingle ding dee.)

If Hindenburg hustles an enemy squad

(Oh, dingle dong dangle ding dongle ding dee.)

The bells all announce that the alien sod
Is damp with the death of some thousand
men odd,

Till the populace smiles with a gratified nod

(Oh, dangle ding dongle dong dingle ding dee.)

If Tirpitz behaves like a brute on the brine

(Oh, dingle dong dangle ding dongle ding dee.)

The bells with a clash and a clamor combine
To hint that the Hated One's on the decline,
And the city gulps down the good tidings like
wine,

(Oh, dangle ding dongle dong dingle ding dee.)

The Bells of Berlin, are they cracked through
and through

(Oh, dingle dong dangle ding dongle ding dee.)

Or deaf to the discord like Germany, too?

For whether their changes be many or few,
The worst of them is that they never ring
true,

(Oh, dangle ding dongle dong dingle ding dee.)

Warfare and British Labor

By Earl Kitchener, England's Secretary of State for War

In his speech delivered in the House of Lords on March 15, 1915, Earl Kitchener calls upon the whole nation to work, not only in supplying the manhood of the country to serve in the ranks, but in supplying the necessary arms, ammunition, and equipment for successful operations in various parts of the world.

FOR many weeks only trench fighting has been possible owing to the climatic conditions and waterlogged state of the ground.

During this period of apparent inaction, it must not be forgotten that our troops have had to exercise the utmost individual vigilance and resource, and, owing to the proximity of the enemy's lines, a great strain has been imposed upon them. Prolonged warfare of this sort might be expected to affect the morale of an army, but the traditional qualities of patience, good temper, and determination have maintained our men, though highly tried, in a condition ready to act with all the initiative and courage required when the moment for an advance arrived. The recently published accounts of the fighting in France have enabled us to appreciate how successfully our troops have taken the offensive. The German troops, notwithstanding their carefully prepared and strongly intrenched positions, have been driven back for a considerable distance and the villages of Neuve Chapelle and L'EpINETTE have been captured and held by our army, with heavy losses to the enemy.

In these operations our Indian troops took a prominent part and displayed fine fighting qualities. I will in this connection read a telegram I have received from Sir John French:

Please transmit following message to Viceroy India: I am glad to be able to inform your Excellency that the Indian troops under General Sir James Willcocks fought with great gallantry and marked success in the capture of Neuve Chapelle and subsequent fighting which took place on the 10th, 11th, 12th and 13th of this month. The fighting was very severe and the losses heavy, but nothing daunted them. Their tenacity, courage

and endurance were admirable and worthy of the best traditions of the soldiers of India.

I should like also to mention that the Canadian Division showed their mettle and have received the warm commendation of Sir John French for the high spirit and bravery with which they have performed their part. Our casualties during the three days' fighting, though probably severe, are not nearly so heavy as those suffered by the enemy, from whom a large number of prisoners have been taken.

Since I last spoke in this House substantial reinforcements have been sent to France. They include the Canadian Division, the North Midland Division, and the Second London Division, besides other units. These are the first complete divisions of the Territorial Force to go to France, where I am sure they will do credit to themselves and sustain the high reputation which the Territorials have already won for themselves there. The health of the troops has been remarkably good, and their freedom from enteric fever and from the usual diseases incidental to field operations is a striking testimony to the value of inoculation and to the advice and skill of the Royal Army Medical Corps and its auxiliary organizations.

The French army, except for a slight withdrawal at Soissons, owing to their reinforcements being cut off by the swollen state of the Aisne River, have made further important progress at various points on the long line they hold, especially in Champagne. Association with both our allies in the western theatre has only deepened our admiration of their resolute tenacity and fighting qualities.

In the Eastern theatre the violent Ger-

man attacks on Warsaw have failed in their purpose, and a considerable concentration of German troops to attack the Russian positions in East Prussia, after causing a retirement, are now either well held or are being driven back. In the Caucasus fresh defeats have been inflicted by the Russians on the Turks, and the latter have also been repulsed by our forces in Egypt when they attempted to attack the Suez Canal. The operations now proceeding against the Dardanelles show the great power of the allied fleets, and, although at the present stage I can say no more than what is given in the public press on the subject, your Lordships may rest assured that the matter is well in hand.

The work of supplying and equipping new armies depends largely on our ability to obtain the war material required. Our demands on the industries concerned with the manufacture of munitions of war in this country have naturally been very great, and have necessitated that they and other ancillary trades should work at the highest possible pressure. The armament firms have promptly responded to our appeal, and have undertaken orders of vast magnitude. The great majority also of the employees have loyally risen to the occasion, and have worked, and are working, overtime and on night shifts in all the various workshops and factories in the country.

Notwithstanding these efforts to meet our requirements, we have unfortunately found that the output is not only not equal to our necessities, but does not fulfill our expectations, for a very large number of our orders have not been completed by the dates on which they were promised. The progress in equipping our new armies, and also in supplying the necessary war material for our forces in the field, has been seriously hampered by the failure to obtain sufficient labor, and by delays in the production of the necessary plant, largely due to the enormous demands not only of ourselves, but of our allies.

While the workmen generally, as I have said, have worked loyally and well, there have, I regret to say, been instances where absence, irregular time-

keeping, and slack work have led to a marked diminution in the output of our factories. In some cases the temptations of drink account for this failure to work up to the high standard expected. It has been brought to my notice on more than one occasion that the restrictions of trade unions have undoubtedly added to our difficulties, not so much in obtaining sufficient labor, as in making the best use of that labor. I am confident, however, that the seriousness of the position as regards our supplies has only to be mentioned, and all concerned will agree to waive for the period of the war any of those restrictions which prevent in the very slightest degree our utilizing all the labor available to the fullest extent that is possible.

I cannot too earnestly point out that, unless the whole nation works with us and for us, not only in supplying the manhood of the country to serve in our ranks, but also in supplying the necessary arms, ammunition, and equipment, successful operations in the various parts of the world in which we are engaged will be very seriously hampered and delayed. I have heard rumors that the workmen in some factories have an idea that the war is going so well that there is no necessity for them to work their hardest. I can only say that the supply of war material at the present moment and for the next two or three months is causing me very serious anxiety, and I wish all those engaged in the manufacture and supply of these stores to realize that it is absolutely essential not only that the arrears in the deliveries of our munitions of war should be wiped off, but that the output of every round of ammunition is of the utmost importance, and has a large influence on our operations in the field.

The bill which my noble friend is about to place before the House as an amendment to the Defense of the Realm act is calculated to rectify this state of things as far as it is possible, and, in my opinion, it is imperatively necessary. In such a large manufacturing country as our own the enormous output of what we require to place our troops in the field thoroughly equipped and found with

ammunition is undoubtedly possible, but this output can only be obtained by a careful and deliberate organization for developing the resources of the country so as to enable each competent workman to utilize in the most useful manner possible all his ability and energy in the common object which we all have in view, which is the successful prosecution and victorious termination of this war. [Cheers.] I feel sure that there is no business or manufacturing firm in this country that will object for one moment to any delay or loss caused in the product of their particular industry when they feel that they and their men are taking part with us in maintaining the soldiers in the field with those necessities without which they cannot fight.

As I have said, the regular armament firms have taken on enormous contracts vastly in excess of their ordinary engagements in normal times of peace. We have also spread orders both in the form of direct contracts and subcontracts over a large number of subsidiary firms not accustomed in peace time to this class of manufacture. It will, I am sure, be readily understood that, when new plant is available for the production of war material, those firms that are not now so engaged should release from their own work the labor necessary to keep the machinery fully occupied on the production for which it is being laid down, as well as to supply sufficient labor to

keep working at full power the whole of the machinery which we now have.

I hope that this result will be attained under the provisions of the bill now about to be placed before you. Labor may very rightly ask that their patriotic work should not be used to inflate the profits of the directors and shareholders of the various great industrial and armament firms, and we are therefore arranging a system under which the important armament firms will come under Government control, and we hope that workmen who work regularly by keeping good time shall reap some of the benefits which the war automatically confers on these great companies.

I feel strongly that the men working long hours in the shops by day and by night, week in and week out, are doing their duty for their King and country in a like manner with those who have joined the army for active service in the field. [Cheers.] They are thus taking their part in the war and displaying the patriotism that has been so manifestly shown by the nation in all ranks, and I am glad to be able to state that his Majesty has approved that where service in this great work of supplying the munitions of war has been thoroughly, loyally and continuously rendered, the award of a medal will be granted on the successful termination of the war. [Cheers.]

SAVIORS OF EUROPE

By Rene Bazin

[From King Albert's Book.]

I BELIEVE that King Albert and Belgium, in sacrificing themselves as they have done for right, have saved Europe.

I believe that in order to act with such decision it was essential to have a King, that is to say, a leader responsible to history, of an old and proved stock.

I believe that for such action a Christian nation was essential, a nation capable of understanding, of accepting, and of enduring the ordeal.

I believe that the first duty of the Allies will be to restore the Kingdom of Belgium, and that the example shown by the King and his people will be exalted in all civilized countries as long as the world reads history.

Britain's Peril of Strikes and Drink

By David Lloyd George, Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The gravity of labor disputes in the present time of national danger was dealt with by Mr. Lloyd George in a speech to his constituents at Bangor on Feb. 28, 1915, special reference being made to the Clyde strike. He declared that compulsory arbitration in war time was imperative, as it was "intolerable that the lives of Britons should be imperiled for a matter of a farthing an hour." This was essentially an engineers' war, for equipment was even more needed than men. Mr. Lloyd George went on to comment on the adverse effect of drinking upon production, and added: "We have great powers to deal with drink, and we shall use them."

I HAVE promised for some time to address a meeting at Bangor. I have been unable to do so because Ministers of the Crown have been working time and overtime, and I am sorry to say that we are not even able to make the best of the day of rest, the urgency is so great, the pressure is so severe. I had something to say today, otherwise I should not have been here, and I had something to say that required stating at once. This is the only day I had to spare. It is no fault of mine. It is because we are entirely absorbed in the terrible task which has been cast upon our shoulders. I happened to have met on Friday morning, before I decided to come down here, one of the most eminent Scottish divines, a great and old friend of mine, Dr. Whyte of Edinburgh. We were discussing what I have got to say today. I remarked to him, "I have only one day on which to say it, and as that is Sunday afternoon I am very much afraid my constituents won't listen to me." He replied, "If they won't have you, come to Scotland, and we will give you the best Sunday afternoon meeting you ever had." But I thought I would try Wales first. [Cheers.] He told me that in the Shorter Catechism you are allowed to do works of charity and necessity, and those who tell me that this is not work of necessity do not know the need, the dire need, of their country at this hour. At this moment there are Welshmen in the trenches of France fac-

ing cannon and death; the hammering of forges today is ringing down the church bells from one end of Europe to the other. When I know these things are going on now on Sunday as well as the week days I am not the hypocrite to say, "I will save my own soul by not talking about them on Sundays." [Cheers.]

Do we understand the necessity? Do we realize it? Belgium, once comfortably well-to-do, is now waste and weeping, and her children are living on the bread of charity sent them by neighbors far and near. And France—the German Army, like a wild beast, has fastened its claws deep into her soil, and every effort to drag them out rends and tears the living flesh of that beautiful land. The beast of prey has not leaped to our shores—not a hair of Britain's head has been touched by him. Why? Because of the vigilant watchdog that patrols the deep for us; and that is my complaint against the British Navy. It does not enable us to realize that Britain at the present moment is waging the most serious war it has ever been engaged in. We do not understand it. A few weeks ago I visited France. We had a conference of the Ministers of Finance of Russia, France, Great Britain, and Belgium. Paris is a changed city. Her gayety, her vivacity, is gone. You can see in the faces of every man there, and of every woman, that they know their country is in the grip of grim tragedy. They are

resolved to overcome it, confident that they will overcome it, but only through a long agony.

No visitor to our shores would realize that we are engaged in exactly the same conflict, and that on the stricken fields of the Continent and along the broads and the narrows of the seas that encircle our islands is now being determined, not merely the fate of the British Empire, but the destiny of the human race for generations to come. [Cheers.] We are conducting a war as if there was no war. I have never been doubtful about the result of the war, [cheers.] and I will give you my reasons by and by. Nor have I been doubtful, I am sorry to say, about the length of the war and its seriousness. In all wars nations are apt to minimize their dangers and the duration. Men, after all, see the power of their own country; they cannot visualize the power of the enemy. I have been accounted as a pessimist among my friends in thinking the war would not be over before Christmas. I have always been convinced that the result is inevitably a triumph for this country. I have also been convinced that that result will not be secured without a prolonged struggle. I will tell you why. I shall do so not in order to indulge in vain and idle surmises as to the duration of the war, but in order to bring home to my countrymen what they are confronted with, so as to insure that they will leave nothing which is at their command undone in order, not merely to secure a triumph, but to secure it at the speediest possible moment. It is in their power to do so. It is also in their power, by neglect, by sloth, by heedlessness, to prolong their country's agony, and maybe to endanger at least the completeness of its triumphs. This is what I have come to talk to you about this afternoon, for it is a work of urgent necessity in the cause of human freedom, and I make no apology for discussing on a Sunday the best means of insuring human liberty. [Cheers.]

I will give you first of all my reasons for coming to the conclusion that after this struggle victory must wait on our banners if we properly utilize our re-

sources and opportunities. The natural resources of the allied countries are overwhelmingly greater than those of their enemies. In the man capable of bearing arms, in the financial and economic resources of these countries, in their accessibility to the markets of the world through the command of the sea for the purpose of obtaining material and munitions—all these are preponderatingly in favor of the allied countries. But there is a greater reason than all these. Beyond all is the moral strength of our cause, and that counts in a struggle which involves sacrifices, suffering, and privation for all those engaged in it. A nation cannot endure to the end that has on its soul the crimes of Belgium. [Loud cheers.] The allied powers have at their disposal more than twice the number of men which their enemies can command. You may ask me why are not those overwhelming forces put into the field at once and this terrible war brought to a triumphant conclusion at the earliest possible moment. In the answer to that question lies the cause of the war. The reason why Germany declared war is in the answer to that question.

In the old days when a nation's liberty was menaced by an aggressor a man took from the chimney corner his bow and arrow or his spear, or a sword which had been left to him by an ancestry of warriors, went to the gathering ground of his tribe, and the nation was fully equipped for war. That is not the case now. Now you fight with complicated, highly finished weapons, apart altogether from the huge artillery. Every rifle which a man handles is a complicated and ingenious piece of mechanism, and it takes time. The German arsenals were full of the machinery of horror and destruction. The Russian arsenals were not, and that is the reason for the war. Had Russia projected war, she also would have filled her arsenals, but she desired above everything peace. ["Hear, hear!"] I am not sure that Russia has ever been responsible for a war of aggression against any of her European neighbors. Certainly this is not one of them. She wanted peace, she needed peace, she meant peace, and she

would have had peace had she been left alone. She was at the beginning of a great industrial development, and she wanted peace in order to bring it to its full fructification. She had repeatedly stood insolences at the hands of Germany up to the point of humiliation, all for peace, and anything for peace.

Whatever any one may say about her internal Government, Russia was essentially a peaceable nation. The men at the head of her affairs were imbued with the spirit of peace. The head of her army, the Grand Duke Nicholas, [cheers,] is about the best friend of peace in Europe. Never was a nation so bent on preserving peace as Russia was. It is true Germany six or seven years ago had threatened to march her legions across the Vistula and trample down Russia in the mud, and Russia, fearing a repetition of the same threat, was putting herself in a position of defense. But she was not preparing for any aggression, and Germany said, "This won't do. We don't like people who can defend themselves. We are fully prepared. Russia is not. This is the time to plant our dagger of tempered steel in her heart before her breast-plates are forged." That is why we are at war. [Cheers.] Germany hurried her preparations, made ready for war. She made a quarrel with the same cool calculation as she had made a new gun. She hurled her warriors across the frontier. Why? Because she wanted to attack somebody, a country that could not defend herself. It was the purest piece of brigandage in history. [Cheers.] All the same there remains the fact that Russia was taken at a disadvantage, and is, therefore, unable to utilize beyond a fraction the enormous resources which she possesses to protect her soil against the invader. France was not expecting war, and she, therefore, was taken un-awares.

What about Britain? We never contemplated any war of aggression against any of our neighbors, and therefore we never raised an army adequate to such sinister purposes. During the last thirty years the two great political parties in the State have been responsible for the

policy of this country at home and abroad. For about the same period we have each been governing this country. For about fifteen years neither one party nor the other ever proposed to raise an army in this country that would enable us to confront on land a great Continental power. What does that mean? We never meant to invade any Continental country. [Cheers.] That is the proof of it. If we had we would have started our great armies years ago. We had a great navy, purely for protection, purely for the defense of our shores, and we had an army which was just enough to deal with any small raid that happened to get through the meshes of our navy, and perhaps to police the empire. That was all, no more. But now we have to assist neighbors becoming the victims of a power with millions of warriors at its command, and we have to improvise a great army, and gallantly have our men flocked to the standard. [Cheers.] We have raised the largest voluntary army that has been enrolled in any country or any century—the largest voluntary army, and it is going to be larger. [Cheers.]

I saw a very fine sample of that army this morning at Llandudno. I attended a service there, and I think it was about the most thrilling religious service I have ever been privileged to attend. There were men there of every class, every position, every calling, every condition of life. The peasant had left his plow, the workman had left his lathe and his loom, the clerk had left his desk, the trader and the business man had left their counting houses, the shepherd had left his sunlit hills, and the miner the darkness of the earth, the rich proprietor had left his palace, and the man earning his daily bread had quitted his humble cottage. There were men there of diverse and varied faiths who worshipped at different shrines—men who were in array against each other months ago in bitter conflict, and I saw them march with one step under one flag to fight for the same cause, and I saw them worship the same God. What has brought them together? The love of their native land, resentment for a cruel

wrong inflicted upon the weak and defenseless. More than that, what brought them together was that instinct which comes to humanity at critical times when the moment has arrived to cross rivers of blood in order to rescue humanity from the grip of some strangling despotism. [Cheers.] They have done nobly. That is what has brought them together, but we want more, [cheers,] and I have no doubt we will get more.

If this country had produced an army which was equal in proportion to its population to the number of men under arms in France and in Germany at the present moment there would be three millions and a half in this country and 1,200,000 in the Colonies. [Cheers.] That is what I mean when I say our resources are quite adequate to the task. It is not our fight merely—it is the fight of humanity. [Cheers.] The allied countries between them could raise armies of over twenty millions of men. Our enemies can put in the field barely half that number.

Much as I should like to talk about the need for more men, that is not the point of my special appeal today. We stand more in need of equipment than we do of men. This is an engineers' war, [cheers,] and it will be won or lost owing to the efforts or shortcomings of engineers. I have something to say about that, for it involves sacrifices for all of us. Unless we are able to equip our armies our predominance in men will avail us nothing. We need men, but we need arms more than men, and delay in producing them is full of peril for this country. You may say that I am saying things that ought to be kept from the enemy. I am not a believer in giving any information which is useful to him. You may depend on it he knows, but I do not believe in withholding from our own public information which they ought to possess, because unless you tell them you cannot invite their co-operation. The nation that cannot bear the truth is not fit for war, and may our young men be volunteers, while the unflinching pride of those they have left behind them in their deed of sacrifice ought to satisfy the most apprehensive that we are not a

timid race, who cannot face unpleasant facts! The last thing in the world John Bull wants is to be mollycoddled. The people must be told exactly what the position is, and then we can ask them to help. We must appeal for the co-operation of employers, workmen, and the general public; the three must act and endure together, or we delay and maybe imperil victory. We ought to requisition the aid of every man who can handle metal. It means that the needs of the community in many respects will suffer acutely vexatious, and perhaps injurious, delay; but I feel sure that the public are prepared to put up with all this discomfort, loss, and privation if thereby their country marches triumphantly out of this great struggle. [Cheers.] We have every reason for confidence; we have none for complacency. Hope is the mainspring of efficiency; complacency is its rust.

We laugh at things in Germany that ought to terrify us. We say, "Look at the way they are making their bread—out of potatoes, ha, ha!" Aye, that potato-bread spirit is something which is more to dread than to mock at. I fear that more than I do even von Hindenburg's strategy, efficient as it may be. That is the spirit in which a country should meet a great emergency, and instead of mocking at it we ought to emulate it. I believe we are just as imbued with the spirit as Germany is, but we want it evoked. [Cheers.] The average Briton is too shy to be a hero until he is asked. The British temper is one of never wasting heroism on needless display, but there is plenty of it for the need. There is nothing Britishers would not give up for the honor of their country or for the cause of freedom. Indulgences, comforts, even the necessities of life they would willingly surrender. Why, there are two millions of them at this hour who have willingly tendered their lives for their country. What more could they do? If the absorption of all our engineering resources is demanded, no British citizen will grudge his share of inconvenience.

But what about those more immediately concerned in that kind of work? Here

I am approaching something which is very difficult to talk about—I mean the employers and workmen. I must speak out quite plainly; nothing else is of the slightest use. For one reason or another we are not getting all the assistance we have the right to expect from our workers. Disputes, industrial disputes, are inevitable; and when you have a good deal of stress and strain, men's nerves are not at their best. I think I can say I always preserve my temper in these days—I hope my wife won't give me away—[laughter]—and I have no doubt that the spirit of unrest creeps into the relations between employer and workmen. Some differences of opinion are quite inevitable, but we cannot afford them now; and, above all, we cannot resort to the usual method of settling them.

I suppose I have settled more labor disputes than any man in this hall, and, although those who only know me slightly may be surprised to hear me say it, the thing that you need most is patience. If I were to give a motto to a man who is going to a conference between employers and workmen I would say: "Take your time; don't hurry. It will come around with patience and tact and temper." But you know we cannot afford those leisurely methods now. Time is victory, [cheers,] and while employers and workmen on the Clyde have been spending time in disputing over a fraction, and when a week-end, ten days, and a fortnight of work which is absolutely necessary for the defense of the country has been set aside, I say here solemnly that it is intolerable that the life of Britain should be imperiled for the matter of a farthing an hour.

Who is to blame? That is not the question, but—How it is to be stopped? Employers will say, "Are we always to give way?" Workmen say, "Employers are making their fortunes out of an emergency of the country; why are not we to have a share of the plunder?" ["Hear, hear!" and laughter.] There is one gentleman here who holds that view. [Laughter.] I hope he is not an engineer. [Renewed laughter.] "We work harder than ever," say the workmen. All I can

say is, if they do they are entitled to their share. But that is not the point—who is right? Who is wrong? They are both right and they are both wrong. The whole point is that these questions ought to be settled without throwing away the chances of humanity in its greatest struggle. [Cheers.] There is a good deal to be said for and there is a vast amount to be said against compulsory arbitration, but during the war the Government ought to have power to settle all these differences, and the work should go on. The workman ought to get more. Very well, let the Government find it out and give it to him. If he ought not, then he ought not to throw up his tools. The country cannot afford it. It is disaster, and I do not believe the moment this comes home to workmen and employers they will refuse to comply with the urgent demand of the Government. There must be no delay.

There is another aspect of the question which it is difficult and dangerous to tackle. There are all sorts of regulations for restricting output. I will say nothing about the merits of this question. There are reasons why they have been built up. The conditions of employment and payment are mostly to blame for those restrictions. The workmen had to fight for them for their own protection, but in a period of war there is a suspension of ordinary law. Output is everything in this war.

This war is not going to be fought mainly on the battlefields of Belgium and Poland. It is going to be fought in the workshops of France and Great Britain; and it must be fought there under war conditions. There must be plenty of safeguards and the workman must get his equivalent, but I do hope he will help us to get as much out of those workshops as he can, for the life of the nation depends on it. Our enemies realize that, and employers and workmen in Germany are straining their utmost. France, fortunately, also realizes it, and in that land of free institutions, with a Socialist Prime Minister, a Socialist Secretary of State for War, and a Socialist Minister of Marine, the employers and workmen are subordinating

everything to the protection of their beautiful land.

I have something more to say about this, and it is unpleasant. I would wish that it were not I, but somebody else that should say it. Most of our workmen are putting every ounce of strength into this urgent work for their country, loyally and patriotically. But that is not true of all. There are some, I am sorry to say, who shirk their duty in this great emergency. I hear of workmen in armaments works who refuse to work a full week's work for the nation's need. What is the reason? They are a minority. The vast majority belong to a class we can depend upon. The others are a minority. But, you must remember, a small minority of workmen can throw a whole works out of gear. What is the reason? Sometimes it is one thing, sometimes it is another, but let us be perfectly candid. It is mostly the lure of the drink. They refuse to work full time, and when they return their strength and efficiency are impaired by the way in which they have spent their leisure. Drink is doing us more damage in the war than all the German submarines put together.

What has Russia done? [Cheers.] Russia, knowing her deficiency, knowing how unprepared she was, said, "I must pull myself together. I am not going to be trampled upon, unready as I am. I will use all my resources." What is the first thing she does? She stops the drink. [Cheers.] I was talking to M. Bark, the Russian Minister of Finance, a singularly able man, and I asked, "What has been the result?" He said, "The productivity of labor, the amount of work which is put out by the workmen, has gone up between 30 and 50 per cent." [Cheers.] I said, "How do they stand it without their liquor?" and he replied, "Stand it? I have lost revenue over it up to £65,000,000 a year, and we certainly cannot afford it, but if I proposed to put it back there would be a revolution in Russia." That is what the Minister of Finance told me. He told me that it is entirely attributable to the act of the Czar himself. It was a bold and courageous step—one of the most

heroic things in the war. [Cheers.] One afternoon we had to postpone our conference in Paris, and the French Minister of Finance said, "I have got to go to the Chamber of Deputies, because I am proposing a bill to abolish absinthe." [Cheers.] Absinthe plays the same part in France that whisky plays in this country. It is really the worst form of drink used, not only among workmen, but among other classes as well. Its ravages are terrible, and they abolished it by a majority of something like 10 to 1 that afternoon. [Cheers.]

That is how those great countries are facing their responsibilities. We do not propose anything so drastic as that—we are essentially moderate men. [Laughter.] But we are armed with full powers for the defense of the realm. We are approaching it, I do not mind telling you, for the moment, not from the point of view of people who have been considering this as a social problem—we are approaching it purely from the point of view of these works. We have got great powers to deal with drink, and we mean to use them. [Cheers.] We shall use them in a spirit of moderation, we shall use them discreetly, we shall use them wisely, but we shall use them fearlessly, [cheers,] and I have no doubt that, as the country's needs demand it, the country will support our action and will allow no indulgence of that kind to interfere with its prospects in this terrible war which has been thrust upon us.

There are three things I want you to bear in mind. The first is—and I want to get this into the minds of every one—that we are at war; the second, that it is the greatest war that has ever been fought by this or any other country, and the other, that the destinies of your country and the future of the human race for generations to come depend upon the outcome of this war. What does it mean were Germany to win? It means world power for the worst elements in Germany, not for Germany. The Germans are an intelligent race; they are undoubtedly a cultivated race; they are a race of men who have been responsible for great ideas in this world. But this would mean the dominance of the worst

elements among them. If you think I am exaggerating just you read for the moment extracts from the articles in the newspapers which are in the ascendancy now in Germany about the settlement which they expect after this war. I am sorry to say I am stating nothing but the bare, brutal truth. I do not say that the Kaiser will sit on the throne of England if he should win. I do not say that he will impose his laws and his language on this country as did William the Conqueror. I do not say that you will hear the tramp, the noisy tramp of the goose step in the cities of the Empire. [Laughter.] I do not say that Death's Head Hussars will be patrolling our highways. I do not say that a visitor, let us say, to Aberdaron, will have to ask a Pomeranian policeman the best way to Hell's Mouth. [Loud laughter.] That is not what I mean. What I mean is that if Germany were triumphant in this war it would practically be the dictator of the international policy of the world. Its spirit would be in the ascendant. Its doctrines would be in the ascendant; by the sheer power of its will it would bend the minds of men in its own fashion. Germanism in its later and worst form would be the inspiring thought and philosophy of the hour.

Do you remember what happened to France after 1870? The German armies left France, but all the same for years after that, and while France was building up her army, she stood in cowering terror of this monster. Even after her great army was built France was oppressed with a constant anxiety as to what might happen. Germany dismissed her Ministers. Had it not been for the intervention of Queen Victoria in 1874 the French Army would never have been allowed to be reconstructed, and France would simply have been the humble slave of Germany to this hour. What a condition for a country! And now France is fighting not so much to recover her lost provinces, she is fighting to recover her self-respect and her national independence; she is fighting to shake off this nightmare that has been on her soul for over a generation, [cheers,] a France

with Germany constantly meddling, bullying, and interfering. And that is what would happen if Russia were trampled upon, France broken, Britain disarmed. We should be left without any means to defend ourselves. We might have a navy that would enable us, perhaps, to resent insult from Nicaragua, [laughter,] we might have just enough troops, perhaps, to confront the Mad Mullah—I mean the African specimen. [Loud laughter.]

Where would the chivalrous country be to step in to protect us as we protected France in 1874? America? If countries like Russia and France, with their huge armies, and the most powerful navy in the world could not face this terrible military machine, if it breaks that combination, how can America step in? It would be more than America can do to defend her own interests on her own continent if Germany is triumphant. They are more unready than we were. Ah! but what manner of Germany would we be subordinate to? There has been a struggle going on in Germany for over thirty years between its best and its worst elements. It is like that great struggle which is depicted, I think, in one of Wagner's great operas between the good and the evil spirit for the possession of the man's soul. That great struggle has been going on in Germany for thirty or forty years. At each successive general election the better elements seemed to be getting the upper hand, and I do not mind saying I was one of those who believed they were going to win. I thought they were going to snatch the soul of Germany—it is worth saving, it is a great, powerful soul—I thought they were going to save it. So a dead military caste said, "We will have none of this," and they plunged Europe into seas of blood. Hope was again shattered. Those worst elements will emerge triumphant out of this war if Germany wins.

What does that mean? We shall be vassals, not to the best Germany, not to the Germany of sweet songs and inspiring, noble thoughts—not to the Germany of science consecrated to the service of man, not to the Germany of a virile philosophy that helped to break the

shackles of superstition in Europe—not to that Germany, but to a Germany that talked through the raucous voice of Krupp's artillery, a Germany that has harnessed science to the chariot of destruction and of death, the Germany of a philosophy of force, violence, and brutality, a Germany that would quench every spark of freedom either in its own land or in any other country in rivers of blood. I make no apology on a day consecrated to the greatest sacrifice for coming here to preach a holy war against that. [Great cheering.]

Concluding this speech in Welsh, Mr. Lloyd George said: "War is a time of sacrifice and of service. Some can render one service, some another, some here and some there. Some can render great assistance, others but little. There is not one who cannot help in some measure, whether it be only by enduring cheerfully his share of the discomfort. In the old Welsh legend there is a story of a man who was given a series of what appeared to be impossible tasks to perform ere he could reach the desires of his heart. Among other things he had to do was to recover every grain of seed that had been sown in a large field and bring it all in without one missing by sunset. He came to an anthill and won all the hearts and enlisted the sympathies of the industrious little people. They spread over the field, and before sundown the seed was all in except one, and as the sun was setting over the western skies a lame ant hobbled along with that grain also. Some of us have youth and vigor and suppleness of limb; some of us are crippled with years or infirmities, and we are at best but little ants. But we can all limp along with some share of our country's burden, and thus help her in this terrible hour to win the desire of her heart." [Loud cheers.]

Mr. Lloyd George and his party returned after the meeting to Llandudno, where today he will inspect the First Brigade of the Welsh Army Corps.

BRITAIN'S MUNITIONS COMMITTEE

LONDON, April 14.—*The Times* says this morning:

An important step has at last been

taken by the Government toward the solution of the supreme problem of the moment—the organization of the national output of munitions of war. A strong committee has been appointed, with full power to deal with the question. It is to be representative of not merely one department but of the Treasury, Admiralty, War Office, and Board of Trade; in short, of the whole Government, with all its resources and authority.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer is to be Chairman, and the first meeting will be held today.

The work before the committee is nothing less than the organization of the whole resources of the nation for the production of materials of war. Hitherto, in spite of many warnings and some half-hearted attempts at organization, there has been no central, co-ordinated authority.

It is an open secret that it was during Lloyd George's visit to France at the beginning of the year that he first appreciated the scientific organization of labor which our Allies had already achieved. Not content with utilizing and extending the existing armament plant, the French have long since diverted several temporarily irrelevant industries to the main business of waging war.

With reference to the drink problem The Times says:

While the Government is apparently considering the expropriation of all the licensed houses in the kingdom, this far-reaching proposal has not at present gone beyond the stage of inquiry and consultation, and it is tolerably certain that it will go no further unless it is assured of no serious opposition in the country.

The Parliamentary Opposition, the leaders of which have been consulted in a general way, are believed to stand by the principle which they followed since the war began, namely: They are not prepared to quarrel with any measure which the Government regards as necessary for the active prosecution of the war so long as no injustice is done to established interests.

Italy's Evolution as Reflected in Her Press

Italy has reached her present position through the development of a policy the steps of which have been brightly illuminated by the press of the Peninsula. The most important of these steps may be designated as follows:

First, the declaration of the Government to the German Ambassador at Rome on Aug. 1, 1914, that it did not regard the conflict begun by Austria-Hungary and Germany as a defensive war and hence not binding on it as a member of the Triple Alliance, and its subsequent declarations of "neutrality," of "armed neutrality," and of "a neutrality which is likely to be broken if the interests of the country demanded it."

Second, Premier Salandra's speech of Dec. 3 for "armed, alert neutrality," and the declaration in Parliament on Dec. 5 by Signor Giolitti showing that the declaration of Aug. 1 was merely a repetition of one conveyed to Austria in the Summer of 1913, when Austria had suggested that she aid Bulgaria in subduing Serbia.

Third, the arrival in Rome in December of the former German Imperial Chancellor, Prince von Bülow, as Extraordinary Ambassador to the Quirinal, for the purpose of keeping Italy neutral, and, when this seemed doubtful, to negotiate between Italy and Austria what territorial compensation the latter would render the former in order to perpetuate the neutrality of the Peninsula.

Aside from the influence of these official acts, which invited press comments, the Italian papers have paid keen attention to the conduct of the war, concerning which the Government could not, on account of its neutrality, offer an opinion. Among such incidents of conduct have been the British declaration of a protectorate over Egypt and the bombardment of the Dardanelles by the Franco-British fleet.

In order to weigh the full significance of the comments of the Italian papers on these subjects a word may be said concerning the status of the journals themselves:

The most conspicuous is the *Idea Nazionale*, a paper of Rome practically dedicated to intervention. Then comes the conservative and solid *Corriere della Sera* of Milan, whose Rome correspondent, Signor Torre, has peculiar facilities for learning the intentions of the Ministry. Both the *Tribuna* and the *Giornale d'Italia* are considered Government organs, but, while the former rarely comments with authority except on accomplished facts, the latter, although often voicing the unofficial and personal opinions of Premier Salandra, who is known to be privately in favor of intervention, also voices the sentiment of former Premier Giolitti, who is known to be for continued neutrality. The *Stampa* of Turin is a Giolitti organ.

The *Osservatore Romano* is the well-known Vatican organ, which naturally supports Austria, a Catholic country, where such support does not conflict too pointedly with the sentiments of Catholics in neutral countries. Other clerical papers with strong pro-German opinions and with German industrial backing are the *Corriere d'Italia* and the *Popolo Romano*. The *Messaggero* of Rome and the *Secolo* of Milan, influenced by important British and French interests, are for intervention at all costs. The *Avanti* is the Socialist organ.

CAUSES OF ITALY'S NEUTRALITY.

From the Corriere della Sera, Aug. 2, 1914:

Italy's decision to remain neutral is based on three causes:

1. The terms of the Triple Alliance call for Italy's participation in war only if Germany or Austria-Hungary is attacked by another power. The present war is not a defensive war, but one brought on by Austria-Hungary and Germany.

2. The spirit of the alliance demands that no warlike action be taken involv-

ing the three countries without full mutual discussion and agreement. Italy was not even consulted by Austria-Hungary and the course of events was brought to her knowledge only by news agency reports.

3. When Italy went to war with Turkey, Austria prevented her from acting with a free hand in the Adriatic and the Aegean, thereby prolonging the war at an enormous cost in men and money to Italy. Italy would be justified in acting in precisely the same manner now toward Austria-Hungary.

From Secolo, Sept. 3, 1914:

During the last few days we have assisted at a deplorable example of our Latin impressionability. The first German victories have made Italians waver, and Germany is taking advantage of the popular nervousness, and is working on public opinion in countless ways. Italy is invaded by Germans, who assert that Germany will issue victorious, and that her commercial and industrial activity will not be arrested. We are inundated with German letters, telegrams, newspapers, and private communications from German commercial houses, all asserting that Germany will win, and that Italy should keep neutral, to be on the winning side.

We are not of that opinion. We cannot lose sight of England. Germany knows that England represents her great final danger, hence the bitterness with which she speaks of England in all the above communications. England is not playing a game of bluff. She is not impotent by land, as Germany says, and may give Germany a mortal blow by sea. The war may possibly end in a titanic duel between England and Germany. In this case England will go through with the struggle calmly and grimly, smiling at difficulties and disregarding losses.

From the Corriere d'Italia, Sept. 17, 1914:

We do not know what Italy will do tomorrow, but we are of opinion that, in face of all eventualities, it is the elementary duty of patriotism not to trouble the calm expectancy of public opinion and not to mar the task of the Government, already difficult enough.

From the Messaggero, Sept. 18, 1914:

The Italian Nation is beginning to ask itself whether it ought to remain until the conclusion of peace in an attitude of resignation. It is necessary for us with clear vision to take our place in the fighting line. While the destinies of a new Europe are being decided on the battlefields of Champagne, Belgium, Galicia, and Hungary the Government is assuming a grave responsibility be-

fore the country in deciding to be disinterested in the struggle. The keen popular awakening which is manifested in demonstrations, meetings, and public discussions shows that growing preoccupation and varied uneasiness will not cease so long as the fate of the country is not decided at the right time by men who by temperament are best fitted to be interpreters of the soul and the interests of the nation.

From the Corriere della Sera, Oct. 4, 1914:

Many who now invoke a war of liberation complained at the beginning of August that Italy had not helped her allies. The declaration of neutrality then seemed the greatest act of wisdom performed by Italy for many years. Now, however, we must think of the future. Let us remember that the powers will only support our wishes when they have need of us. Gratitude and sympathy are mere phrases when the map of Europe is being redrawn. If Italy desire to safeguard her interests in the Adriatic she cannot postpone her decision till the last moment. Italy is isolated; the Triple Alliance treaty cannot defend her even if it be still in force. Italy and Austria, as Count Nigra and Prince Bülow said, must be allies or enemies. Can they remain allies after what has happened?

ITALY'S ARMED, ALERT NEUTRALITY.

From the Idea Nazionale, Dec. 3, 1914:

The day on which Italy will undertake to realize those aspirations she will find full and unconditional support. Great Britain is favorable to Italy gaining supremacy in the Adriatic, which is so necessary to her existence. If Great Britain needs Italy's support in Africa it will be only a matter of one or two army corps, and such an expedition, while having a great moral and political importance, would not diminish Italian military power in Europe.

From the Avanti, Dec. 4, 1914:

Premier Salandra's speech was Jesuitical. It contents the Jingoism by certain

dubious phrases, while discontenting the Clerical and Conservative neutrals.

From the Corriere d'Italia, Dec. 4, 1914:

This much-applauded word, "aspirations," was not (in Signor Salandra's speech) meant to refer to any particular belligerent, and the Cabinet consequently has no program.

From the Stampa, Dec. 5, 1914:

Austria, before the war, disclaimed any intention of occupying Serbia, and her declaration cannot be disregarded by Italy, whose relations with Austria have been always conditional on the maintenance of the Balkan status quo, which Austria now threatens to alter. The Italian Government cannot ignore this condition, especially as during the Libyan war Austria menaced Italy, unless she desisted from bombarding the Albanian coast. Thus the Serbian situation may constitute a new factor.

From the Corriere della Sera, Jan. 31, 1915:

Italy's true policy is to come to a friendly agreement with the Slavs, which will guarantee their mutual interests. Italy wants a national settlement in the Balkan Peninsula, independent of the great powers. In no circumstances can Italy bind her lot to Austria-Hungary's policy.

BRITISH PROTECTORATE OVER EGYPT.

From the Idea Nazionale, Dec. 19, 1914:

The British Government's act merely sanctions a situation already existing in fact since 1882. In our governing circle it is not thought that the change of régime in Egypt will occasion, at least for the time being, any great modifications in public law in relation to the international statutes regulating the position of foreigners in Egypt.

From the Tribuna, Dec. 20, 1914:

The Mediterranean agreement, in which Italy, too, has taken part, implicitly recognized the actual status Eng-

land had acquired in Egypt. Now the war has demonstrated the judicial incongruity of a Turkish province in which and for which the English had to carry out warlike operations against Turkey. The protectorate already existed in substance, and Great Britain might now even have proclaimed annexation.

From the Giornale d'Italia, Dec. 19, 1914:

Great Britain had for some months been preparing this event, which legally regulates a situation which has existed in fact. The present situation has been brought about without any disturbance, like everything that England does, in silence, neatly and without disturbing any one. Nobody can be astonished at Great Britain's declaration of a protectorate over Egypt.

THE DARDANELLES.

From the Giornale d'Italia, March 7, 1915:

It will be extremely difficult for Italy longer to remain neutral. The attack by the allied fleet on the Dardanelles has brought up three great problems affecting Italian interests. The first of these problems is the new rule to allow Russia access to the Mediterranean through the Dardanelles; the second concerns the equilibrium of the Balkans, and the third the partition of Asiatic Turkey, which affects the equilibrium of the Eastern Mediterranean. It is impossible for Italy to keep out of the solution of such problems unless she be satisfied to see not only the powers of the Triple Entente settle these affairs according to their interests, but also the small but audacious and resolute nation, Greece.

From the Messaggero, March 17, 1915:

The cession of the Trentino would be valueless if it implied the abandonment of Italian aspirations in Venetia Giulia, (land west of the Julian Alps,) in the Adriatic, and in Asia Minor, and submission to German policy. We cannot obtain by neutrality the territory we want, nor, if we renew the Triple Alliance, can we make an agreement with

Great Britain for our security in the Mediterranean.

VON BUELOW'S WORK AND PLEA FOR INTERVENTION.

From the Corriere della Sera, Feb. 8, 1915:

Happily our aspirations in the Adriatic, our interests in the Central Mediterranean and in Northern Africa coincide admirably with the policy which it is easiest for us to pursue. Unless we profit with the utmost prudence, with the greatest circumspection, by the present rare opportunity which history offers us to set the finishing touches to our unification, to render our land and sea frontiers immeasurably more secure than they are, to harmonize our foreign with our domestic policy, we shall experience after the close of the war the darkest and most difficult days of our existence. The crisis through which we are passing is the gravest we have yet encountered. Let us make it a crisis of growth, not a symptom of irreparable senile decay.

From the Stampa, March 15, 1915:

There is surely no possibility of an Austro-Italian war without German intervention. If Italy attacks Austria, Germany will attack Italy; nor will Austria make concessions, for Austria, like Turkey, never changes her system, even when wrong.

From the Giornale d'Italia, March 19, 1915:

Italy either can obtain peacefully immediate and certain satisfaction of her sacred aspirations, together with the protection of her great and complex interests, or she can have recourse to the supreme test of arms. It is absurd to think that Italy, after seven months of preparation, when she is in an especially advantageous diplomatic and military position, will be satisfied with the Biblical mess of pottage or less—mere promises.

However negotiations go the great national interests must be protected at any costs. This is the firm will of the country and the duty of the Government. For fifty years Italy has made great sacrifices to be an element of peace in Europe. The equilibrium and peace of the Continent were broken through the fault of others against Italy's desire and without consulting her. Others have the responsibility for the present terrible crisis, but Italy would be unworthy if she did not issue with honor and advantage from the conflict. Greece, Rumania, and Bulgaria are awaiting Italy's move and will follow suit. Thus Italian influence is great at this moment, which must be seized, as it is in her power to contribute to the formation of a new international combination.

SOME RUSES DE GUERRE.

By A. M. WAKEMAN.

(Respectfully submitted to the British Government.)

GREAT Churchill's plan to fool the foe is simple and unique—

You only take a neutral flag and hoist it at your peak.

Thereby a ship with funnels four looks just like one with two,

Because the pattern has been changed on her Red, White, and Blue.

Now, cannot you improve on this, and so protect your towns,

As well as all your gallant ships at anchor in the Downs?

Old London, with the Stars and Stripes, might well pass for New York;

And Baltimore for Maryland instead of County Cork.

To mouth of Thames (N-O-R-E) just add four letters more,

Then hoist the Danish ensign, and, behold, 'tis Elsinore!

And Paris will be Washington if, on the Eiffel Tower,

They raise the flag of U. S. A., (a well-known neutral power.)

Your sailors might wear Leghorn hats, and out upon the blue,

They'd look like sons of Italy, (at present neutral, too;)

And, if upon your King the Hun would try to work some ill,

With pickelhaube on his head he'd pass for Uncle Bill.

THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[German Cartoon]

The Fatal Moment In America



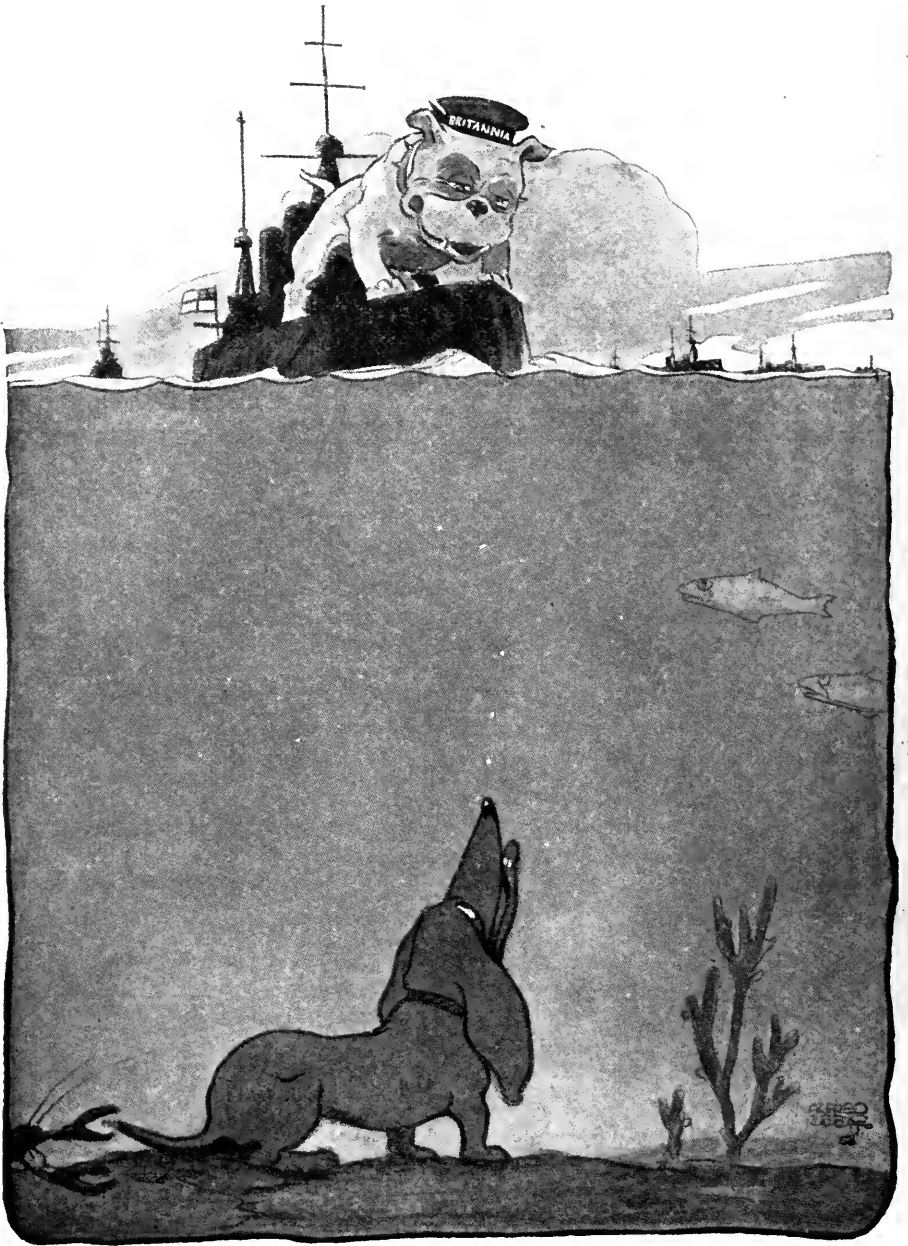
—From *Simplicissimus*, Munich.

“Citizens of America, protect your existence and your honor by the force of arms!”

“Sorry, but just now we happen to be sold out!”

[English Cartoon]

Top Dog



—From *The Bystander*, London.

[German Cartoon]

England's "Splendid Isolation"



—From *Simplicissimus*, Munich.

The Sultan "Over the Water"



—From *Punch*, London.

MEHMED V. (to Constantinople): "I don't want to leave you, but I think I ought to go."

[German Cartoon]
Churchill's Flag Swindle



—From *Simplicissimus*, Munich.

“Really I don’t care to go out any more in these disgraceful rags!”

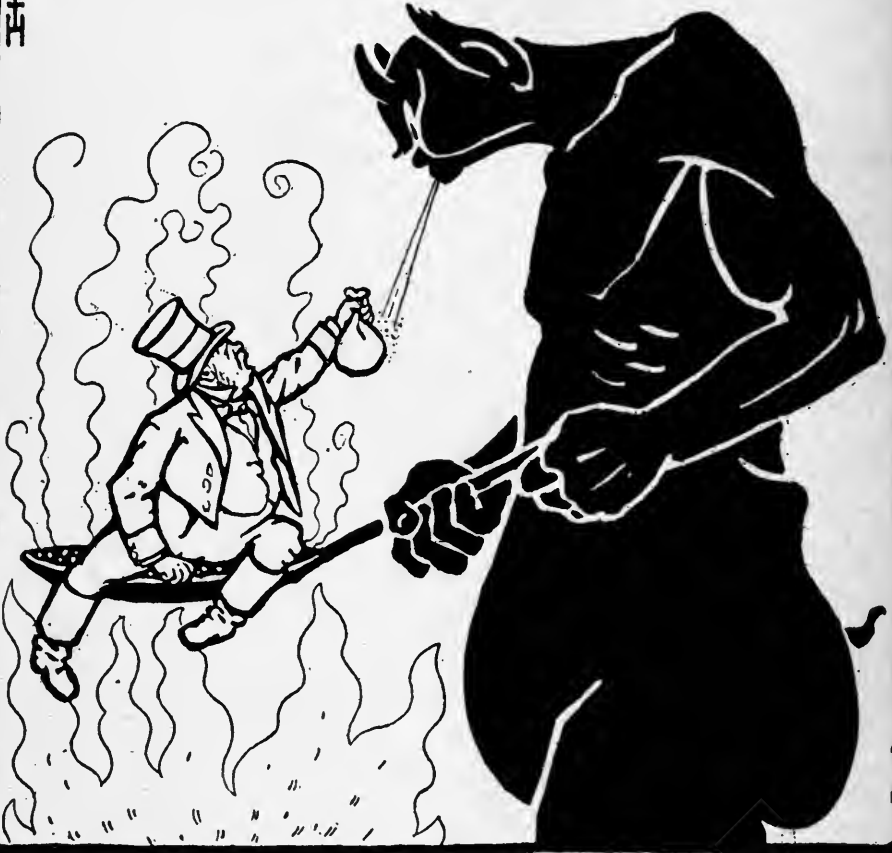
“Cheer up, Mrs. Britannia, just steal something better!”

[German Cartoon]

May God Punish England!

Gott Strafe England!

1-11



Simplicissimus-Verlag, München

[Reproduction of a cover design of a widely advertised issue of "Simplicissimus," the German comic weekly published in Munich. The legend at the top reads, "May God Punish England!"]

Speeches of the Kaiser in 1915



—From *L'Asino*, Rome.

JANUARY: "I alone will defeat the world."
JUNE: "All goes badly—the fault is not mine."

MARCH: "Naturally, with God's help."
DECEMBER: "The fault is his."

[English Cartoon]

Our Embarrassing Cousin



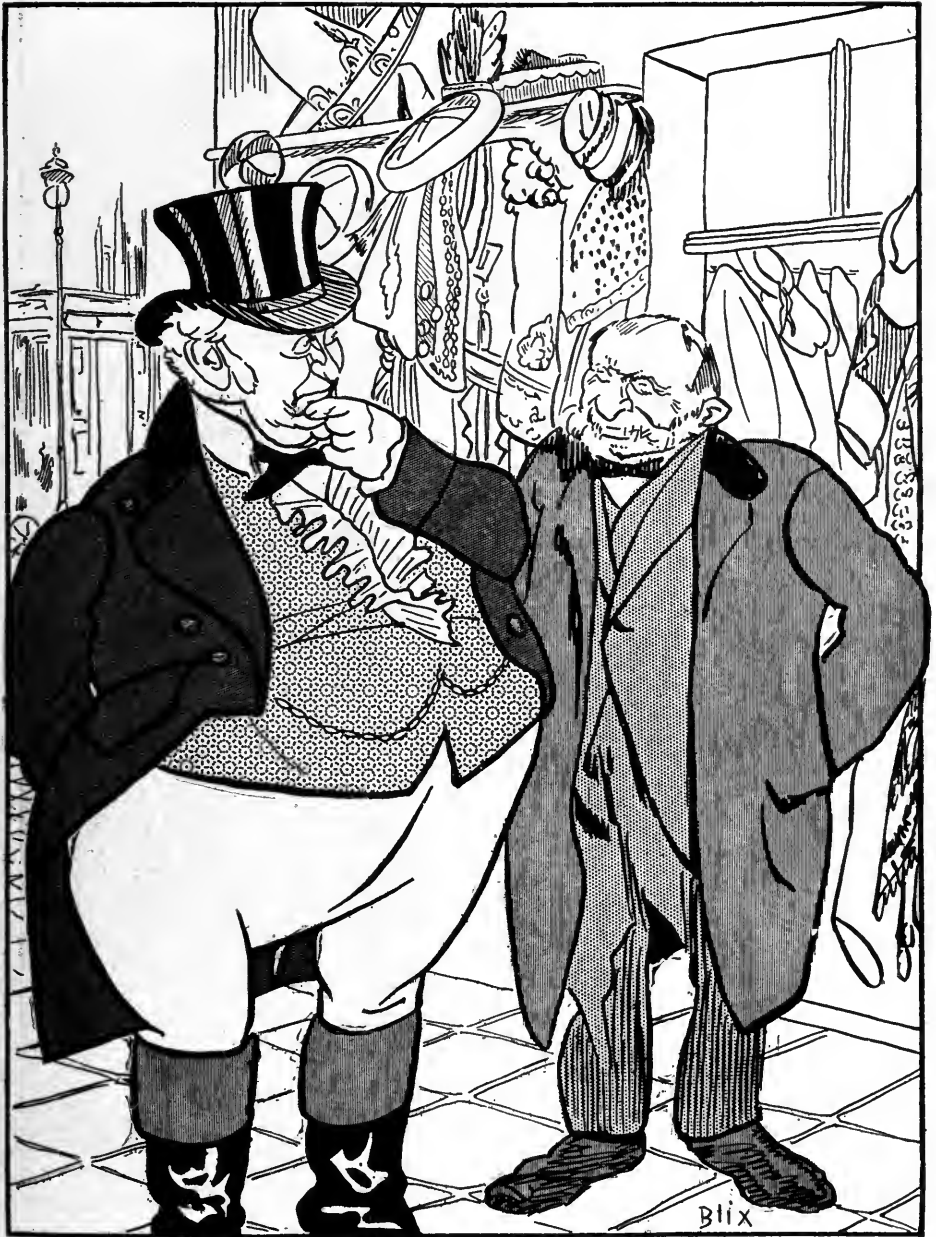
—From *The Bystander*, London.

JONATHAN: "In spite 'f my noo-trality, John, d'ye notice how 'ffectionate I am?—how I sympathise with yer?"

JOHN BULL: "M—m'yes, that's all right, but I should like it better just now if you'd leave my hands a bit freer to fight those rascals as they deserve!"

[German Cartoon]

John Bull at the Costumer's



—From *Simplicissimus*, Munich.

“What costume shall I choose so that none will recognize me?”
“Why don’t you go as a gentleman?”

[English Cartoon]

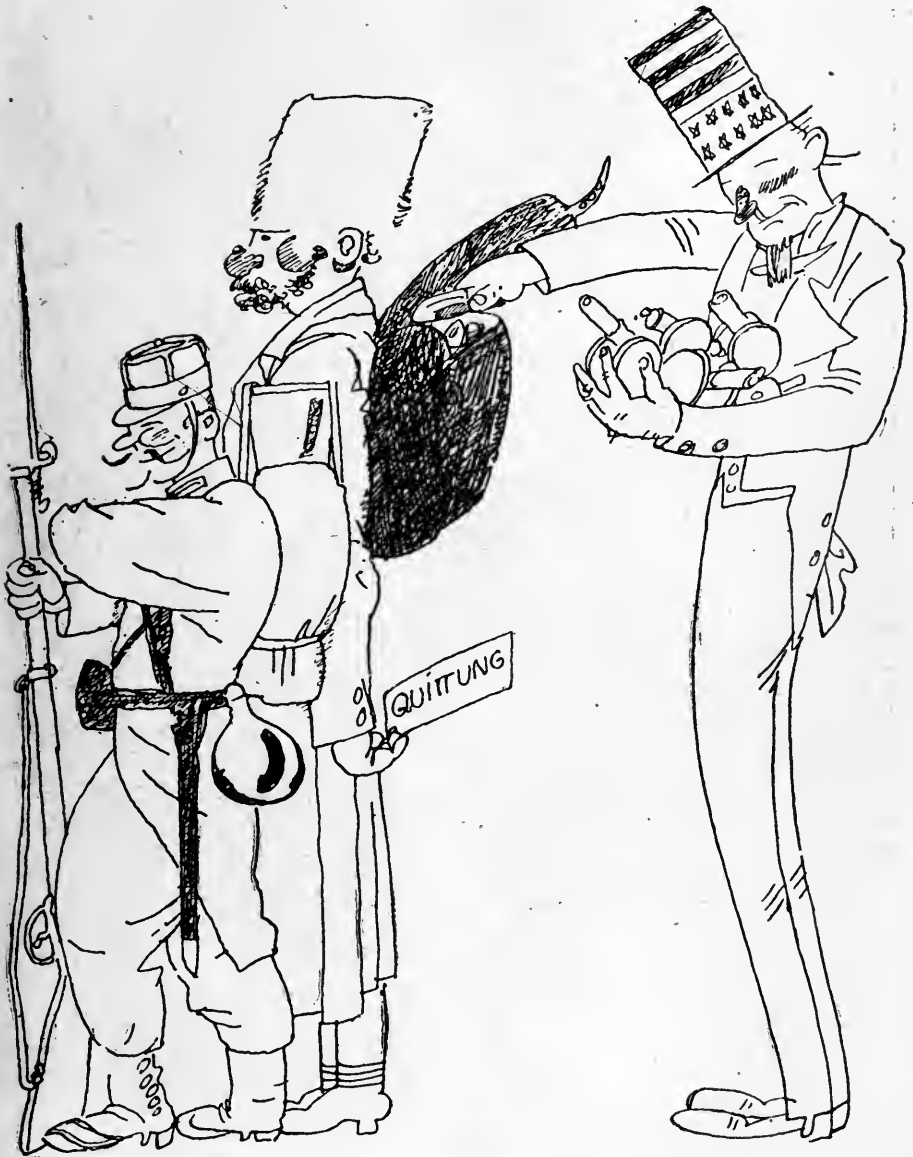
William o' the Wisp



—From *Punch*, London.

[German Cartoon]

American Neutrality



—From *Meggendorfer-Blätter*, Munich.

[English Cartoon]

What the War Office Has to Put Up With



—From *Punch*, London.

Demonstration of a device for catching bombs from airships.

[German Cartoon]

Va Banque!

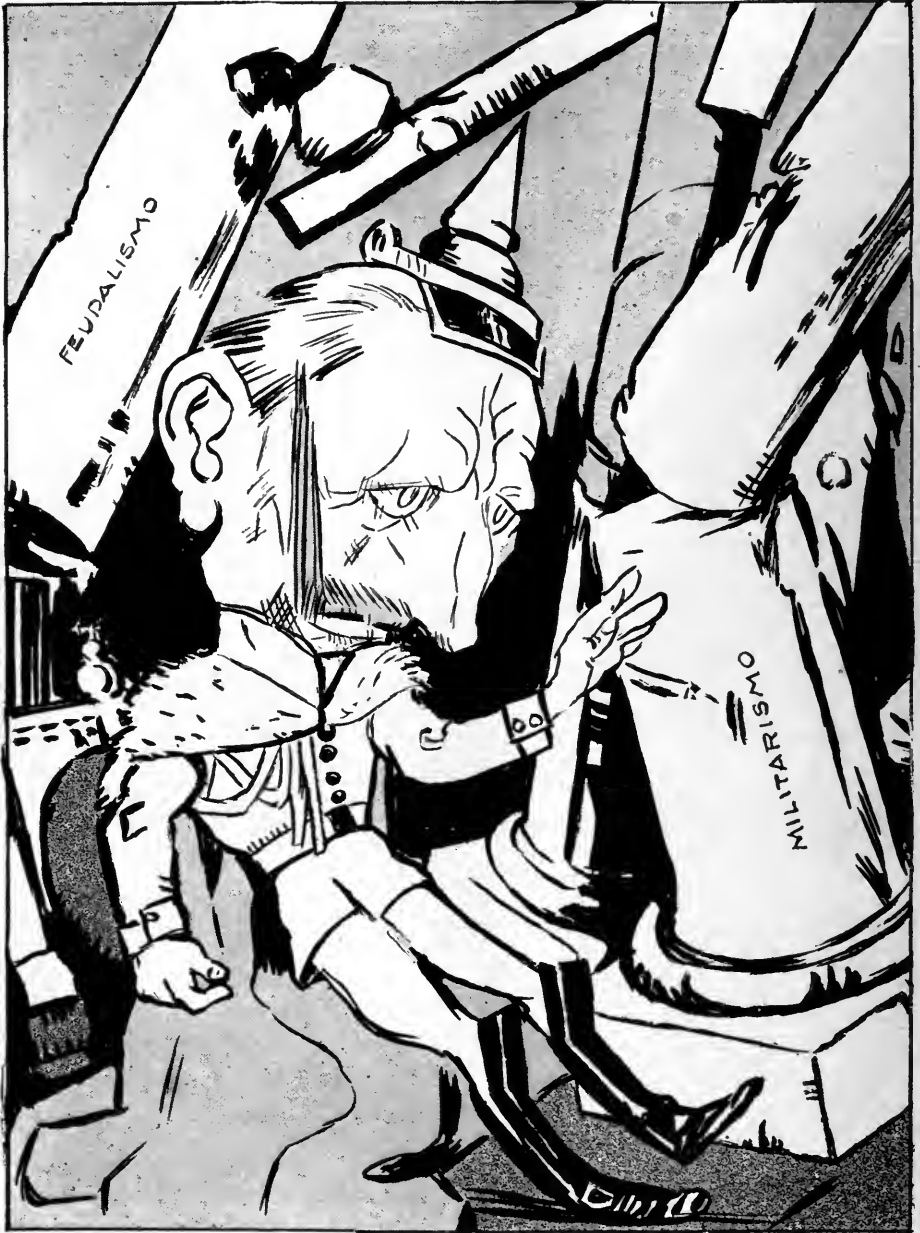


—From *Lustige Blätter*, Berlin.

The Monte Carlo habitue's last play.

[Italian Cartoon]

The Final Earthquake—In Germany



—From *L'Asino*, Rome.

By the grace of God and the will of the nation.
[The falling columns are marked "feudalism" and "militarism."]

[German Cartoon]

From the English Eating-House



—From *Lustige Blätter*, Berlin.

England utilizes the refuse of her domestic establishment as cannon fodder.

The Bread-Winner



—From *Punch*, London

[Italian Cartoon]

Italy's Neutrality



—From *L'Asino*, Rome.

Every day the dance becomes more difficult.
[The dancer is the German Ambassador, von Buelow.]

[English Cartoon]

Busy Packing



—From *The Bystander*, London

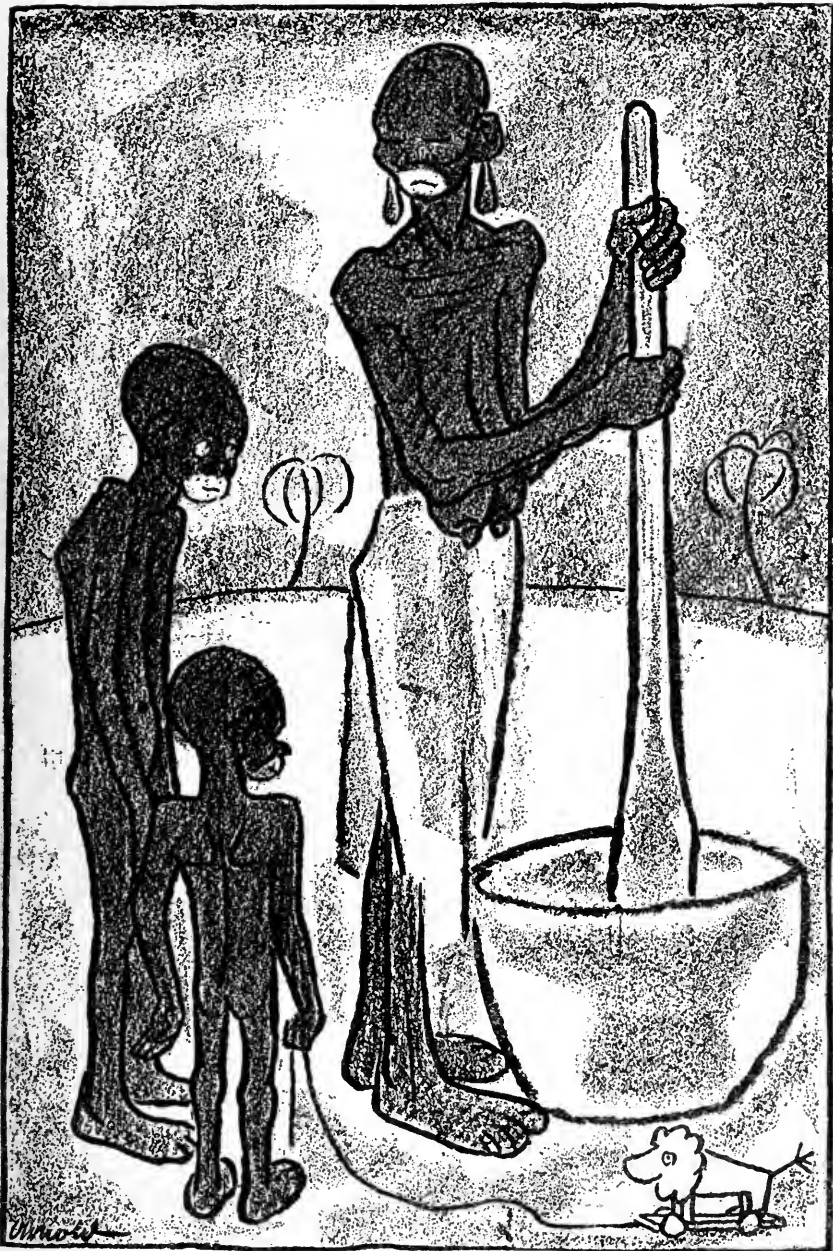
SULTAN MEHMED: “‘Am I there?’!! I should rather think I am!! We’re being ‘moved,’ you know. And the hammering outside is something too awful!!”

HIS ISLAMIC MAJESTY HADJI GUILLIOUN: “Kismet, my boy, Kismet! Besides, I feel sure you’ll be awfully pleased with Asia Minor—so quiet!—we Mussulmans always feel so at home there, too!”

[The English preface their telephone conversations with “Are you there?” instead of “Hello!”]

[German Cartoon]

In the Cause of Culture



—From *Simplicissimus*, Munich.

“Papa has gone away to Europe to protect the nice Englishmen from the savages. If you are very good, perhaps he will bring you back a nice German beefsteak.”

[English Cartoon]

Queen Elizabeth in the Dardanelles



—From *Punch*, London

[The reference is to the huge British dreadnought that bears the name of England's famous queen.]

[French Cartoon]

The "Sick Man" At Home



—From *Le Rire*, Paris

The camel with two humps.

[The original title was "*Le Chameau à deux Boches.*" In French slang a German is a *bosche.*]

“The Cripple-Entente”



—From *Lustige Blätter*, Berlin

As it must finally be.

Beware of the John-Bull-Dog!

"Go lie down,
contemptible little
England!"



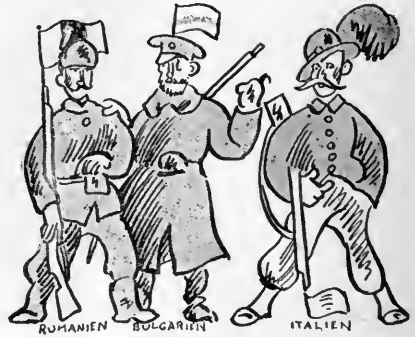
"What I get my
teeth into I
hang onto!"

—From *Le Rire*, Paris

The Great Question



"If I remain neutral, will you remain neutral?"



"If you were neutral, would he be neutral?"



"If he is neutral then we will remain neutral."



"If we remain neutral, will they remain neutral?"



"And you also, neutral?"

"Shall you remain neutral?"

—From *Lustige Blätter*, Berlin.

America's Neutrality

By Count Albert Apponyi

[FROM THE NEW YORK TIMES, MARCH 28, 1915.]

The letter which follows was sent by Count Albert Apponyi to Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, and was written in the latter part of last month in Budapest. Count Apponyi, who is one of the most distinguished of contemporary European statesmen, was President of the Hungarian Parliament from 1872 to 1904. He was formerly Minister of Public Instruction, Privy Councillor, Member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague, and Member of the Interparliamentary Union.

I HAVE been greatly interested in your account of American neutrality in the present European crisis.

I must confess that I had seen it in a somewhat different light before and that some of the facts under our notice still appear to me as hardly concordant with the magnificent attitude of impartiality, nay, not even with the international duties of neutrality, which intellectual and official America professes to keep.

We cannot explain to ourselves that a neutral power should suffer the selling of arms and ammunition by its citizens to one of the belligerent parties, when no such selling to the other party is practically feasible; we cannot understand why America should meekly submit to the dictates of England, declaring all foodstuffs and manufacturing materials contraband of war, with not even a show of right and with the clear and openly proclaimed intention of starving Germany and Austria-Hungary; why, on the other hand, America should use an almost threatening language against Germany, and against Germany alone, when the latter country announces reprisals against the English trade, which, under given circumstances, can be considered only as acts of legitimate self-defense against an enemy who chooses to wage war not on our soldiers only, but on our women and children, too.

With all the respect we feel for the United States, we cannot find this attitude of their Government either fair or dignified. I offer these remarks in no spirit of uncalled-for criticism, but because I see how much the moral authority of the United States and their splendid situation as the providential peace

makers of some future—alas! still far off—day has been impaired by the aforementioned proceedings. We cannot help considering them as so many acts of ill-disguised hostility against ourselves and of compliance with our foes. How can you expect, then, to have your good offices accepted with confidence by both belligerent parties when the times are ripe for them? It seems like the throwing away of a magnificent opportunity, and I think that those who, like yourself, cherish for your country the noble ambition of being some day the restorer of peace, should exert themselves to prevent practices which, if continued, would disable her to play any such part.

In your letter you strike the keynote of what I cannot help considering the partiality of Americans for the Entente powers. It is the idea that "in the western area of conflict, at least, there is an armed clash between the representatives of dynastic institutions and bureaucratic rule on the one hand with those of representative government and liberal institutions on the other." I can understand that it impresses some people that way, but I beg to enter a protest against this interpretation of the conflict.

Liberal or less liberal institutions have nothing to do with it in the west; the progress of democracy in Germany will not be stopped by her victory, it will rather be promoted by it, because the masses are conscious of bearing the burden of war and of being the main force of its vigorous prosecution, and they are enlightened and strong enough to insist on a proper reward. Rights cannot be denied to those who fulfilled duties involving self-sacrifice of the sublimest kind with unflinching devotion.

No practical interest of democracy then is involved in the conflict of the western powers.

As to their representing liberal institutions in a higher or lower degree, I am perfectly willing to admit England's superior claims in that respect, but I am not at all inclined to recognize such superiority in modern France, republic though she calls herself. The omnipresence and omnipotence of an obtruding bureaucratic officialism is just what it has been under the old monarchy; religious oppression has only changed sides, but it still flourishes as before. In former times the Roman Catholic religion was considered as a State religion and in her name were dissent and Freemasonry oppressed; today atheism is the official creed, and on its behalf are Catholic believers oppressed.

Separation of Church and State, honestly planned and loyally fulfilled in America has been perverted in modern France into a network of vexations and unfair measures against the Church and her faithful servants; the same term is used and this misleads you to cover widely different meanings. In a word, it is a perfect mistake to consider modern France as the "sweet land of liberty" which America is. A German citizen, with less show of political rights, enjoys more personal freedom than is granted to a French one, if he happens to differ from the ruling mentality.

So stand things in the western area of conflict. But how about the east? You are kind enough to admit in your letter that "from this (the aforementioned) standpoint of course the appearance of Russia among the allies is an anomaly and must be explained on other grounds." Anomaly is a rather tame word to characterize the meaning of this appearance of Russia. I should hardly designate it by this term.

She does not "appear among the allies." She is the leading power among them; it is her war, as Mr. Tsvolski, the Russian Ambassador to Paris, very properly remarked: "C'est ma guerre." She planned it, she gave Austria-Hungary no chance to live on peaceful terms with her neighbors, she forced it upon us, she

drew France into it by offering her a bait which that poor country could not resist, she created the situation which England considered as her best opportunity for crushing Germany. I must repeat it over and over again: it is in its origin a Russian war, with a clearly outlined Russian program of conquest.

Here, then, you have a real clash between two principles; not shades of principles as these may subsist between Germany and her western foes, but principles in all their essential features; not between different tints of gray, but between black and white, between affirmation and negation; affirmation of the principle of human dignity, liberty, safety, and negation of the same; western evolution and eastern reaction.

I wonder why those prominent Americans who are so deeply impressed by the comparatively slight shades of liberalism differentiating Germany from England and France are not struck by the absolute contrast existing between Muscovitism and western civilized rule as represented by Austria-Hungary and Germany; that they overlook the outstanding fact that while in the western area the conflict has nothing whatever to do with the principles embodied in the home policy of the belligerents, in the east, on the other hand, these principles will in truth be affected by the results of war, since a Russian victory, followed by a Russian conquest, would mean the retrogression of western institutions and the corresponding expansion of eastern ones over a large area and large numbers of men.

It is the consciousness of fighting in this war which has been forced upon us, against the direst calamity threatening our kind and on behalf of the most precious conquests of progress and civilization, which enhances our moral force so as to make it unconquerable. The hope which I expressed in my first letter, that Serbia's doom would soon be fulfilled, has been prostrated by the mistakes of an over-confident Commander in Chief; but that means postponement only and does not alter the prospects of war in their essentials.

Good progress is achieved in the campaign against Russia; a chapter of it may be brought to a happy close before long. The spirit of the country shows no symptom of weakening; it is really wonderful what a firm resolve pervades our whole people, though every man between twenty and forty-two stands in the field, and though the losses are frightful. Economically we hold out easily; the expenses of war are defrayed by inner loans, which give unexpected results; every bit of arable land is tilled as in time of peace, the old, the women and the half-grown youths doing the work of their absent supporters, neighbors assisting each other in a spirit of brotherhood truly admirable. In cases of urgent need we have the prisoners of war, whose number increased to nearly 300,000 (in Austria-Hungary alone) and to whom it is a real boon to find employment in the sort of work they are accustomed to.

The manufacturing interest, of course, suffers severe losses; but the number of the unemployed is rather less than usual, since a greater part of the "hands" is absorbed by the army. In a word, though the sufferings of war are keenly felt, they are less severe than had been expected, and there is not the smallest indication of a break-down. The area of Germany, Austria, and Hungary taken as a whole is self-supporting with regard to foodstuffs. The English scheme of starving us is quite as silly as it is abominable. England can, of course, inflict severe losses on our manufacturers by closing the seas against their imports and exports; but this is not a matter of life and death, such as the first reprisals of Germany, if successful, may prove to England.

Generally speaking, it seems likely that England will be caught in the net of her own intrigue. She did not scruple to enlist the services of Japan against her white enemies, but this act of treachery will be revenged upon herself. The latest proceedings of Japan against China can have one meaning only—the wholesale expulsion of the white man from Eastern Asia. The Japs do not care one straw who wins in Europe; they seized upon their own opportunity for their own pur-

poses. England only gets her deserts; but how do Americans feel about it? Can America be absolved from a certain amount of responsibility for what may soon prove imminent danger to herself? Has not her partiality for England given encouragement to methods of warfare unprecedented in the history of civilized nations and fruitful of evil consequences to neutral nations?

To us, in our continental position, all this means much less than it means to you. It does not endanger our prospects. We feel comparatively stronger every day. Our losses, though enormous, are only one-half of those of the Entente armies, according to the Geneva Red Cross Bureau's calculation. The astounding number of unwounded prisoners of war which Russia loses at every encounter, and even in spaces of time between two encounters, shows that the moral force of her army is slowly giving way, while the vigor of our troops is constantly increasing. After six months of severe fighting our military position is certainly stronger than the position of the Entente powers, though the latter represent a population of 250,000,000, (English colonies and Japan not included,) against the 140,000,000 of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey. Who can doubt on which side superior moral power fights? Who can doubt, therefore, what the ultimate result promises to be?

If it takes more time to bring matters to a decision—and a decision must be obtained at any price, if there is to follow a period of permanent peace—part, at least, of the responsibility for the horrors of the protracted war, for the slaughter of many hundred thousands more of human beings, rests on America. But for the American transports of guns and ammunition, the power of Russia would give way in a shorter time, considering her enormous losses in that respect and her inability to supplement them from her own workshops.

It is very edifying that American pacifists are exerting themselves against the current of militarism which appears to spread in their country; but wouldn't it be better still, more to the purpose and certainly practically more urgent, to insist

upon a truly neutral attitude of the great republic, to protest against her feeding the war by providing one belligerent side with its implements? Do American pacifists really fail to see that their country by such proceedings disables herself from being the peacemaker of the future? Do they think it immaterial from the standpoint of her moral power, as well as of her material interests, how central Europe, a mass of 120,000,000, think of her, feel about her?

I hope my readers will not find fault with me for using such plain language. My well-known enthusiastic regard for the great American commonwealth makes it unnecessary that I should protest against the charge of meaning disrespect or anything else whatever but a sincere desire to state with absolute sincerity how we feel about these matters, in what light they appear to us. I think America must know this, because it is part of the general situation she has to reckon with when shaping her policies. I fervently hope these policies will remain in concordance with the great principles on which the commonwealth is built and with the teaching embodied in that farewell address which is read once a year in Congress and in which the greatest American emphatically warns his countrymen from becoming entangled in the conflicts of European nations.

A few words more about the future of Europe may be said on this occasion. I have read with the keenest interest your own and Mr. Carnegie's statements concerning a future organization of Europe on the pattern of the United States. My personal views concerning this magnificent idea have been expressed in anticipation in my America lectures of the year 1911. Allow me to quote my own words:

Analogies are often misleading, the most obvious ones especially so. Nothing seems more obvious than to draw conclusions from the existing union of American States to a possible union of European nations; but no fancied analogy is to be applied with greater caution than this one. The American Union's origin was the common struggle of several English colonies, now States, for their emancipation; unity of purpose was the main

principle of their growth, union its natural result.

Europe, on the other hand, is, in her origin and in her present state, a compound of conflicting interests and struggling potentialities. Mutual antagonism remained the principle of growth embodied in the several national lives. The juridical formula of this system is the principle of national sovereignty in its most uncompromising interpretation and most limitless conception. As such it is the natural result of a historical growth mainly filled with antagonism; in the consciousness of (European) nations it lives as synonymous with national honor, as something above doubt and discussion.

Let me add to this the following remarks:

1. Any sort of union among the nations of Europe appears impossible if it is meant to include Russia. Russia represents eastern mentality, which implies an inadmissible spirit of aggression and of conquest. It seems to be a law of nature on the old Continent that eastern nations should wish to expand to the west as long as they are powerful. Not to mention the great migration of nations which gave birth to mediaeval organizations, you may follow this law in the history of the Tartars, of the Turks, and of Russia herself. The spirit of aggressiveness vanishes only when decay sets in, which is still far from being the case of Russia, or when a nation is gradually converted to Occidental mentality, which, I hope, will some day be her happy lot. But till then, and that may mean a century or two, any sort of union including Russia would mean a herd of sheep including a wolf.

2. What I hope then, for the present, as the most desirable result of the war, is a thorough understanding between the nations of the Western European Continent, construction of a powerful political block, corresponding to the area of western mentality, in close connection with America; such a block would discourage aggression from the east; it would urge Russia on the path of reform and home improvement. England would be welcome to join it, on condition of renouncing those pretensions to monopolizing the seas which are as constant a menace to peace as Russian aggressiveness is. So we should have, if not "the

United States of Europe," which at present lies beyond the boundary lines of possibilities, a strong peace union of the homogeneous western nations. Alas! this result can be reached only by destroying the present unnatural connections, which mean the continuance of war till a crushing decision is obtained.

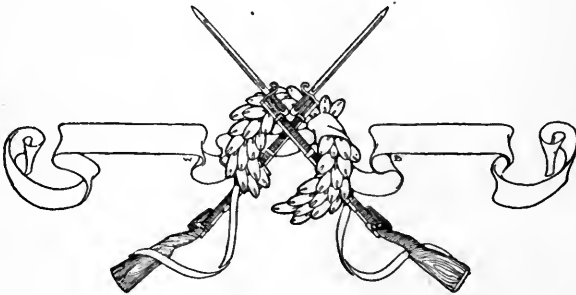
3. The American colonies of England did not think of union as of a peace scheme; they had been compelled into it by war, by the necessity of self-defense. It is only such an overpowering motive which has force enough to blot out petty rivalries and minor antagonisms. If union between States belonging to the same race and not divided either by history or by serious conflicting interests could be effected only under the pressure of a common peril, we must infer "a *minori ad majus*" that such a powerful incentive will be more necessary still to persuade into union nations of different races, each cherishing memories of mutual collisions and actually aware of not unimportant clashing interests.

The menace of aggression from the east has been brought home to us by the present war; gradually it will be understood even by those Occidentals who at present unhappily lend their support to that aggression. On this perception of the higher common interests of self-defense do I build the possibilities of a western coalition. But a time may

come when Russia will be compelled to join it and to complete thereby the union of the whole of Europe; it may come sooner than the conversion of Russia to western ideas could be effected by natural evolution; it may come through the yellow peril, the menace of which has been brought nearer to us by the accursed policy of England.

Let Japan organize the dormant forces of China, as it seems bent upon doing, and the same law of eastern aggressiveness which is at the bottom of the present war will push the yellow mass toward Europe. Russia, as comparatively western, will have to bear their first onset; for this she will require Occidental assistance, and in the turmoil of that direful conflict—or, let us hope, in order to avoid it—she will readily give up all designs against her western neighbors, and she may become really western by the necessities which impel her to lean on the west.

But this may or may not happen. What I see before me as a tangible possibility is the great western block. It is the only principle of reconstruction after war that contains a guarantee of a permanent peace; it is the one, therefore, which the pacifists of all nations should strive for, once they get rid of the passing mentality of conflict that now obscures the judgment of the best among us.



Neutral Spirit of the Swiss

An Interview With President Motta of the Swiss Confederation

[From The London Times, Jan. 30, 1915.]

BERNE, Jan. 20.

THE President of the Swiss Confederation is the symbol of a democracy so perfect that the man in the street is not quite sure who the President is. He knows that he is one of a council of seven, and that he is elected for one year, and that is all. In the Federal Palace, the Berne Westminster and Downing Street, the anonymity is almost as complete. Officers pass and repass in the corridors—one of the signs, like the waiting military motor cars at the door, of mobilization—but this does not change the spirit, simple and civilian, of the interior.

M. Motta, Chief of State for this year, is a man of early middle life. He is the best type of Swiss, a lawyer by profession, whose limpid French seems to express culture as well as candor. Nor could one doubt for a moment the sincerity of his speech. Speaking on the Swiss position in the war, M. Motta was anxious to remove the impression that it was colored, dominated by the existence of the German-speaking cantons, more numerous than the French. "Of course," he said, "we have our private sympathies, which incline us one way or the other, and there is the language tie—though here we are greatly attached to our Bernese patois—but I would have you believe the Swiss are essentially just and impartial, they look at the war objectively.

"We have good-will toward all the nations. Need I say that we respect and esteem England? Have you not found that you are well received? There is no antagonistic feeling against any one. Our neutrality is imposed upon us by our position, a neutrality that is threefold in its effects, for it is political, financial, and economic. Italy, France, Germany, Austria, are our neighbors; we send them

goods, and we receive supplies from them in return."

We then talked of the army, of that wonderful little army which, at this moment, is watching the snowy passes of the Alps. Two years ago it is said to have impressed the Kaiser on manoeuvres; perhaps for that reason he has refrained to pass that way. Outside, in the slippery streets, over which the red-capped children passed with shouts of glee, I had seen something of the preparations; the men, steel-like and stolid, marching by, the officers, stiff and martial-looking, saluting right and left under the quaint arcades of this charming city. Colored photographs of corps commanders adorned the windows and seemed to find a ready sale. These things pointed in the same direction. Switzerland, posted on her crests, was watching the issue of the terrific struggle in the plains.

"We must defend our neutrality," the President said, "our 600 years of freedom. There is not a single man in the country who thinks differently. I am an Italian-Swiss, one of the least numerous of our nationalities, but there is only one voice here as elsewhere—only one voice from Ticino to Geneva. That we shall defend our neutrality is proved by the great expenditure on our army; otherwise, it would be the height of folly."

The President spoke of army expenditure, of the simple army system, of the reorganization which had been carried out some years before. Switzerland was spending £20,000 a day, a large sum for a small country. Since the day when the general mobilization had been decreed—some classes have now been liberated—Switzerland had spent £4,500,000. It was a lot of money.

The army, of course, was a militia; some few officers were professional sol-

diers, others were drawn from a civil career and were doctors, lawyers, engineers, and merchants. In 1907 the country had consented to lengthen the periods of training in what are quaintly called the "recruits' schools" and "rehearsal schools." In the former category the men do sixty-five days' training a year, in the latter forty-five.

"I assure you," continued M. Motta, "whatever sympathy the German-Swiss may feel toward Germany, the French-Swiss toward France, or the Italian toward Italy, it is nothing like as warm and as intimate as that which each Swiss feels toward his fellow-Swiss."

This was the national note which dominated everything. At first there was a little difficulty in the councils of the nation. Some showed a tendency to lose their balance, but that phase had passed, and each day, I gathered, purely Swiss interests were coming uppermost.

"And the press, M. le President?"

M. Motta admitted that some writers

had been excessive in their language and had been lacking in good taste; but, on the whole, he thought the newspapers had impartially printed news from both sides, and he cited a list of leading organs—Switzerland is amazingly full of papers—which had been conspicuous for their moderation.

And then there was the question of contraband. Orders were very precise on the subject; the Cabinet had limitless power since the opening of the war; if there was any smuggling it was infinitesimal, and, as to foodstuffs, Switzerland regretted she could not import more for her own needs. The Government had established a monopoly and forbidden re-exportation, but supplies were not up to the normal. The route by the Rhine was closed.

Finally came the phrase, concluding the conversation: "Whoever violates our neutrality will force us to become the allies of his enemy." There could be nothing more categorical.

TO KING AND PEOPLE.

By WALTER SICHEL.

[From King Albert's Book.]

*All the great things have been done by the
little peoples.—DISRAELI.*

SIRE, King of men, disdain of the mean,
Belgium's inspirer, well thou stand'st
for all
She bodes to generations yet unseen,
Freedom and fealty—Kingship's coronal.

Nation of miracles, how swift you start
To super-stature of heroic deeds
So brave, so silent beats your bleeding heart
That ours, e'en in the flush of welcome,
bleeds.

No sound of wailing. Look, above, afar,
Throbs in the darkness with triumphant
ray

A little yet an all-commanding star,
The morning star that heralds forth the
day.

A Swiss View of Germany

By Maurice Millioud

M. Maurice Millioud, an eminent member of the Faculty of the University of Lausanne, Switzerland, has written an article of marked breadth and penetration in which he presents a quite novel view of the forces which, in combination, have brought Germany to its actual position. These forces are political, social, and economic; beneath and through them works the subtle impulsion of a national conception of right and might which the author sums up as the "ideology of caste." Want of space forbids the publication of the entire article. We give its most significant parts with such summary of those portions which it was necessary to omit as, we trust, will enable our readers to follow the general argument.

HUMANITARIANS the most deeply buried in dreams yield with stupefaction to the evidence of fact. European war was possible, since here it is, and even a world war, for all continents are represented in the mêlée. Millions of men on the one side or the other are ranged along battle fronts of from 500 to 1,000 kilometers. We are witnessing a displacement of human masses to which there is nothing comparable except the formidable convulsions of geologic ages.

The world then was in formation. Will a new Europe, a new society, a new humanity, take form from the prodigious shock by which our imagination is confounded?

We can at least seek to understand what we cannot hinder.

This war was not a matter of blind fate, but had been foreseen for a long time. What are the forces that have set the nations in movement? I do not seek to establish responsibility. Whosoever it may be, those who have let loose the conflict have behind them peoples of one mind. That, perhaps, is the most surprising feature in an epoch when economic, social, and moral interests are so interwoven from one end of the earth to the other that the conqueror himself must suffer cruelly from the ruin of the conquered.

The Governments have determined the day and the hour. They could not have done it in opposition to the manifest will of the nations. Public sentiment has seconded them. What is it then which rouses man from his repose, impels him to de-

sert his gains, his home, the security of a regular life, and sends him in eager search for bloody adventures?

This problem involves different solutions because it embraces a number of cases. Between the Russians, the French, the English, the Germans there is a similarity of will, but not, it seems, an analogy of sentiment. I shall undertake to analyze the case of Germany. It has peculiar interest on account of its importance, of its definiteness, of the comparisons to which it leads, and the reflections which it suggests. Numerous facts easy to verify and in part recent permit us to throw some light upon it and offer us a guarantee against hazardous conjectures.

Defining a caste as "a group of men bound to each other by solidarity of functions in society," such as the Brahmins of India and the feudal nobility, Prof. Millioud says that he will use the terms as equivalent or nearly equivalent to a "directing class." Quoting the article from Vorwaerts which led to the suspension of that Socialist organ and which "admits by implication that responsibility for the war falls on Germany," he proceeds to examine the origins of the influence of the war party and the interests it served.

Here we must have recourse to history. In Germany the dominant class is composed in part of an aristocracy by birth and of bourgeois capitalists, more or less of them ennobled. The interior policy of Germany since 1871 and even since 1866 is explained by the relations, sometimes kindly, sometimes hostile, of these two categories of persons, by the opposition

or the conjunction of these two influences, and not by a struggle of the dominant class against the socialistic mass. That struggle, which is in France and is becoming in England a fact of essential gravity, has been in Germany only a phenomenon of secondary importance. It has determined neither the profound evolution of the national life nor the chief decisions of the Government.

In Germany, as is known, the abolition of the ancien régime did not take place brusquely as in France. After the revolution and the French occupation, the noble caste recovered all its privileges. It has lost them little by little, but not yet entirely. Even the liquidation of the property of the feudal régime was not completed until toward 1850. Napoleon made some sad cuts in the little sovereignties, but from 1813 to 1815 the princely families did their utmost to recover their independence. The greater part were mediatized, but their tenacity offered a serious obstacle up to 1871 to the establishment of German unity.

That unity was accomplished in despite of them, by sword and fire, as Bismarck said, that is to say, by the wars of 1866 and 1870. Care was taken, however, not to abase them more than was strictly necessary, for it was intended to maintain the hierarchy. What was wanted was a monarchical unity, made from above down, and not a democratic unity brought about by popular impulsion.

On the other hand, the smaller nobles formed, after 1820, a vast association for the defense of their rights, the *Adelskette*. Moreover, they could not be sacrificed, in the first place, because they had rendered invaluable services in the wars of independence, they had arisen as one man, and they had ruined themselves in sacrifices for the national cause, they had organized the people and led it to victory, finally because they served to restrain the high nobility whose domination was feared. They sustained the throne against the princes, the higher nobility against the democracy, the lesser nobility against the higher, the two forming an intermediary class between the monarch and the nation. That was the

social conception which prevailed with those who were working to realize the unity of Germany, so that the nobility, lesser or higher, in default of its privileges retained its functions.

Treitschke, in his last lessons, about 1890, called it "a political class." For the bourgeois, he said, wealth, instruction, letters, arts. Their part is fine enough. The nobility is apt at governing. That is its special distinction. For a long time, in fact, the nobility has filled alone or almost alone the great administrative, governmental, and military posts.

Bismarck was the finished type, the representative par excellence of this class of men. He had their intellectual and moral qualities carried to the highest degree of superiority. But he underwent evolution after 1871, and his caste with him, under the pressure of general circumstances.

Bismarck was a Junker, a Prussian rustic, monarchist, particularist, agrarian and militarist. Each of his qualities is an attribute of a mentality of caste, a very curious one, not lacking in grandeur, but very narrow and not always adequate to the conduct of affairs.

Monarchist means anti-Parliamentarian. The fine scorn of rhetoric and even of public discussion, a conviction that democracy will not lead to anything beyond a display of mediocrity, that is one of the salient features of his mind. Patriotism conceived as an attachment to personal relations, as the service of one man, the subject, to another man, the King, and not the service of an anonymous person, the functionary, to an abstraction, the State, the republic, this was formerly designated by the word *faithful*, (*féal*), which has disappeared from our vocabulary because it is without meaning in our present moral state.

The Junker is particularist, at least he was. The political and administrative centralization which the Jacobins achieved in France inspires him with horror. For him it is disorder. He sees in it nothing but a dust heap of individuals crushed beneath a formula. Even today, when the German accuses France of anarchy, that is what he means. He fig-

ures to himself the nation as a vast hierarchy of liberties, an autonomy of States within the empire, of provinces within the State, of communes within the province, of proprietors within the commune. Equality is equality of rank, of worth, of wealth, of force, but impersonal equality before the law is for him an unnatural thing, an invention of the professors which at heart he despises.

He is agrarian and militarist, that is to say, conservative and enamored of force. In 1830 four-fifths of the population lived by agriculture and the landlord governed his peasants patriarchally. He kept the conservatist spirit of a rustic, a very lively sense of authority and the military instinct. He had scant liking for distant enterprises or adventures. He was at once religious, warlike, and realist, knowing how to nurse his ambitions and to confine his view to what was within reach.

Bismarck for a long time was the decided opponent of naval armaments and colonial policy, in short, of imperialism. Even his projects for social reform—insurance against sickness, against old age—which have been accepted as concessions to modern ideas, were due entirely to his monarchical and patriarchal conception of the State. He copied the ancient decrees of Colbert as to naval personnel. He would have gone as far as assurance against non-employment. In the dominion of the King, he said, no one should die of hunger.

The Junker made a force of Prussia; he made Prussia itself. It was due to him that she passed after 1815 from the form of a *Polizeistaat* to the form of *Kulturstaat*, the latter only an expansion of the former. In place of a watchful, regulating, and vexatious State she became an organized State, the instructor of youth, the protector of religion, the source of inspiration for agricultural reforms, and all great commercial and industrial enterprises. This State was not an emanation from the national will, but the creator of a nation, the living and moving self-incarnation of the Hegelian "idea," that is to say, the Divine thought.

Of all the German aristocracy the noble of Pomerania or Brandenburg, the Prus-

sian Junker, represented this social type most definitely. In the south the liberal tendencies—to be exact, the memories of the French Revolution—persisted far into the nineteenth century. But it is well known that German unity was accomplished by military force and against liberalism.

After 1871, and even after Sadowa, the problem of interior policy which presented itself was that of the "Prussianization" of Germany. At one time it seemed that Bismarck was on the point of succeeding in it. What was that national liberal party upon which he depended for so long? It was the old liberal party, with advanced tendencies tainted with democratic liberalism and even with cosmopolitanism, keeping up its relations with the intellectuals, the university men, who made so much noise with pen and voice about 1848 and later. They dreamed of the unity of Germany in the democratic liberty and moral hegemony of their nation, having become in Europe the sobered heir of the French Revolution.

Under the influence of Bismarck they sacrificed to their dream of unity, to their national dream, their liberal dream, and they secured for the Chancellor the support of the upper bourgeoisie.

It was indeed the Prussianization of Germany, but in that spirit and in that system contemporary German militarism would never have fructified. It was contrary to the characteristic tendencies of a monarchical State supported by a conservative caste, which was also particularist, military, and agricultural. A State of this kind tends to become a closed State.

What then happened? An event of capital importance which everybody knows, but of which we only now begin to see the consequences. It was the radical transformation of Germany from an agricultural to an industrial nation. In its origin this phenomenon dates from before the nineteenth century. By 1848 it had become perceptible. Since 1866, and especially since 1871, it has dominated the entire social evolution of the empire. Here, in fact, is the revolution.

It partakes of the character of a tragedy, it has overturned the conditions of life throughout the entire German territory.

At the close of the War of Independence, four out of five Germans lived on the land, two out of three were engaged in agriculture. By 1895 the agricultural population was only 35.7 per cent. That, supported by industry and commerce, kept continually increasing. In 1895 it was 50.6 per cent.

This progress of industry and trade indicates the rise of a new class of the population, that of the capitalists. It seemed at first that their arrival would result in a dispossession of the nobility. For example, under the ancien régime the bourgeois could not acquire the property of the nobles. Toward 1880, for Eastern Prussia only, 7,086 estates of 11,065 belonged to non-nobles. They could have been acquired only with money. Capital was supplanting birth. Today even, in Prussia, five members of the Ministry, a little more than one-third, are bourgeois not enjoying the particle von.

The new dominant class encroached upon the ancient in two ways, by depriving it of its clientele and by acquiring a considerable weight in the State. "The weight of a social class" is the totality of its means of action, which it possesses on account of its numbers, its personal influence, its wealth, and the importance of the interests which it represents. The clientele of the agrarian nobility was essentially the peasants, who have continually diminished in number, the attraction of industrial and commercial employments having caused a great migration to the interior, to the factories, and the cities.

For many years this phenomenon has been disclosed by statistics and pointed out by economists and sociologists, but no remedy has been found. Today, although emigration abroad has much moderated, Germany has not labor for its tillage. It is obliged to import farm hands and even cereals. It no longer produces foodstuffs sufficient for its own support.

Moreover, the peasant who remains

upon the soil is freed from the landlord, and agricultural production has become specialized—industrialized. There is the case, for instance, of that peasant woman who declared that she had not the time to wash her linen and who sent it to the steam laundry at Karlsruhe. Here is not merely an economic transformation, but a moral evolution. The agriculturist who no longer produces in order to consume but in order to sell, and who must live from the product of his sales, tries to produce as much as possible. He hires foreign labor to get from it all that he can. The impersonal relations of employer and employed replace the patriarchal traditions. Thus the land owner finds himself caught in the mechanism of the capitalistic system.

As to the "weight" of the new class, it increased prodigiously during the years following the war of 1870, thanks to the millions which the empire could invest in its industries and which allowed it to endow its commerce and its merchant marine, to complete the network of its roads, canals, and railways.

The law of concentration of capital was verified on this occasion in a striking manner. In the famous years 1871 to 1874, which the Germans call the *Gründejahre*, the foundation years, gigantic industrial and commercial enterprises took a spring which seemed irresistible. A Director of the Deutsche Bank, of the Dresdener Bank, the President of a company for transatlantic commerce, such as the Hamburg-American Line, or of the committee of great electric establishments, enjoyed an influence in the councils of the State far greater than that of a Baron, a Count, or a little mediatised Prince.

What was the aristocracy of birth going to do about it? Struggle desperately? It took that tack at first. Bismarck ranged himself in its support for some time. He was himself an agrarian. But he was not long in installing paper mills on his estates at Varzin. It is said that the Emperor himself possesses porcelain factories. A part of the nobility for a long time tried to adapt itself to the new

method of production. It took to it awkwardly and often ended in ruin.

Freytag has described this phenomenon at its beginnings in a romance which is a chef d'oeuvre. A part of the nobility yielded, fell into the hands of the financiers, the money lenders, the managers of agricultural enterprises, sold their lands, and took refuge in the great civil, administrative and military posts. The remainder resisted as well as they could. There was antagonism between their interests and those of the capitalists, between the religious and particularist tendencies on one hand and free thought and cosmopolitanism on the other. The agrarians demanded tariff duties on agricultural products to raise the price of their foodstuffs. The industrialists wanted a low cost of living in order to avoid the rise of wages and to compete with better advantage for foreign markets.

Bismarck was the target for vehement opposition when he inclined toward the party of the traders and the industrialists in his colonial and tariff policy. This evolution came about 1879. For a while the great Chancellor was looked upon almost as a traitor.

Nevertheless, his view was just. Balancing the forces on the one hand by those on the other, ceding protective duties first to one side and then to the other, offsetting the advantages which he offered to one side by the prerogatives which he accorded to the other, he finally succeeded in reconciling them.

From this reconciliation of the two dominant classes has resulted the extraordinary power of Germany. The bourgeois parties have from time to time grumbled over the military appropriations, but they have always voted them. And militarism, which is the support of the aristocracy, has been placed at the service of capitalistic ambition. By the prestige of force, awakening hopes here and inspiring fears there, more than once by the help of manoeuvres of intimidation, it has become an instrument of economic conquest.

Other combinations, other reciprocal interlacings, have taken place which have given an exceptional and unique

character to contemporary Germany. It is a case of social psychology of extreme interest. To describe it would require long detail. The combination of the aristocratic and military tendency with the industrial and plutocratic tendency, the tendency of the police spirit, the regularizing spirit of the Kulturstaat with the individual initiative of the capitalist *entrepreneur*, methodical habits of administration with the love of risk characteristic of the speculator, all this constitutes imperialism, German imperialism, distinct from every other, because to a definite object, economic conquest, it adds another, less precise, in which the moral satisfaction dear to aristocracy, the pleasure of dominating, the love of displaying force, the tendency to prove one's own superiority to one's self, play a large part.

Economic conquest has become a necessity for Germany. Transformed into an industrial State, it no longer produces its own food. Since 1885 its imports have exceeded its exports by 1,353,000,000 marks. Whence did Germany derive these 1,300,000,000 marks which were needed, good year and bad, to meet its balance of trade? It owes them to its maritime commerce and the revenue of its capital invested abroad. Its maritime commerce then must augment and must triumph over all competition. At every cost it must open for itself outlets for its industrial products in order to buy foodstuffs which it does not produce sufficiently. If not, famine.

Let us see now how the complicated play of all these social forces and the effect of this economic situation have been embodied in formulas, what has been its intellectual expression.

This is no idle question, for men have always claimed to be guided by ideas, and generally they are, but they rarely know where their ideas come from or in what they consist. Without intellectual expression imperialism would not have extended to all the classes of society. The passion of economic conquest did not prevail throughout the whole of Germany. The bourgeois in the Liberal provinces, the corps of officers, the corps of teach-

ers, the clergy were refractory to it. This direct form of imperialism does not seduce them. Not everybody can see his country and the universe through the eyes of an oligarch of high finance. A doctrine works with power when it appeals to instincts, when it awakens collective emotions, diverse enough in themselves, and joins them to each other with an appearance of logical deduction. It is not indispensable, but it is useful that it should borrow the language of the day. In the mediæval epoch this language was religious. Beginning with the seventeenth century it was metaphysical. In our own time it is a scientific language set off by Greek words.

If the German philosophies of the second half of the nineteenth century are considered, there are not many of them that pass beyond the limit of the school. They are honest, scholarly productions elaborated by men who have read much, of whom some, like Wundt, are eminent specialists, but who have not conquered either their subjects or their readers. One feels that they are not of their century.

It is not from them, it is not from Eucken, the pleasant popularizer, it is not from Windelbund or Ostwald that the cultivated public sought the direction for its thought. To satisfy the need of general ideas which was everywhere felt, associations were formed, churches with or without God, of which a very important one was the "Monistenbund," in which Haeckel exploited his materialism transformed into a sort of biological pantheism.

But it was outside of the associations and outside of the school that the flame of creative genius burned brightly. The man of the last generation was Nietzsche. That his thought has been perverted by his interpreters there is no doubt. They have taken this eagle who gazed unblinded at the sun and exhibited him to the young people in all sorts of philosophic rôles for the benefit of the industrial and military coalition. Nietzsche depicted in lines of fire the resurrection of heroism, his vision of the superman was that of an ardent soul, steeled by sufferings,

meditating a tragic conception of life with serenity, and in his solitary individualism surmounting the infirmity of man and his own by the insistent will to eternal ascension.

He was made the apostle of brute force, a sort of Messiah of the "struggle for life." Moreover, he was soon put one side and Gobineau was revived. He also, who if he did not have genius had wit, would have been surprised and hardly flattered perhaps by the rôle which they made him play. The dolichocephalic (long-skulled) blonde whom he celebrated was not exactly the one whom we are now judging by his works, but at least he proclaimed the superiority of the German race.

His doctrine was the centre around which were gathered a complete ensemble of dogmas and of very diverse theories, whose connected thread it is not easy to discover when it is searched for logically, but appears quite distinctly when not reason, but reasons, are demanded. The reasons are found in the need of justifying in theory the economic and military imperialism, born as we have seen from conditions of fact and from very practical motives.

I do not pretend that it was calculated, nor that the optimates made express requisition of the naturalists, economists, and historians and sociologists and moralists to provide an imperialistic philosophy for the use of adult and normal dolichocephalous blondes. But there certainly was a coincidence. It may have been due to the influence of what is called a *milieu ambiant*, that of the commercial and military party. The authors of the doctrine lived in a special atmosphere. Their intellect was there formed—or deformed—their work consisted in gathering facts, inventing reasonings, elaborating formulas, so as to subject natural science, history and morality to the service of that keen will for hegemony which was in Germany the common characteristic and was the connecting link between the ancient and the new directing class.

To convince one that this is so, it is enough to arrange the works of the pan-Germanists in a series passing from the simplest to the most complicated.

The dates are of no importance. We might put at one of the extremes the works of the Prussian General, von Bernhardt, and at the other the gigantic lucubration of a famous pan-German zealot, a neophyte, a convert, almost a deserter, Mr. Houston Stewart Chamberlain.

Prof. Millioud examines at some length and acutely the tendencies and teachings of von Bernhardt, now familiar to American readers, sums up the work of the philosophers of minor rank and turns to Mr. Chamberlain.

With Mr. Chamberlain the thesis of vital competition, the morality of force, the judgment of history against little nations, the civilizing mission imposed upon greater Germany by its very greatness, by its economic, scientific and artistic superiority, everything tends to the glorification of the German, to his duty to govern the whole world which he feels so imperatively and which he accepts with such a noble simplicity. His work is not easily summarized, not only because it counts 1,379 pages and two appendices, but because all is in everything, and everything in the universe is also in Mr. Chamberlain's book. And the German has made everything. Not indeed the world; that he has only remade and is about to remake. But he has a way of remaking so creative that one might say that without him the Creator Himself would be a bit embarrassed. He has gathered to himself alone the heritage of Greece and Rome as far as it was worth anything. From the year 1200 to the year 1800 he founded, ripened, and saved a new civilization several times over. The mother of our sciences and our arts, Italy, is Germanic; the great architecture of the Middle Ages is Germanic; the true interpretation of Christianity, the true conception of art, the true social economy, the love of nature, the sense of individuality, the exploration of the world and of the soul, the great re-awakenings of conscience, all the great flashes of thought are Germanic; everything is Germanic, except you and me, perhaps; so much the worse for me and so much the worse for you. After this book, the success of which has been pro-

digious, it would truly seem that there is nothing more to say. Germanic thought has appropriated the universe to itself. It only remained for the German sword to complete the work. It is drawn!

I have tried to describe the modifications, or rather the successive additions, by which the elementary themes disclosing economic, political, and military appetites in the directing class have been disguised as theories of biology, history, political economy, sociology, and morality. It would take another study or another article to show how science was perverted to such ends. The severity of methods, rigor in the determination of facts, precision in reasoning, prudence in generalization, serene impartiality and objectivity in verification, in a word the scientific spirit, cannot be bent to so many pleasant compromises without sacrificing a great part of its dignity and its title to respect.

This has been a singular and melancholy event for those of us who have been raised in respect for German science and in admiration for its methods, as well as for its discoveries. Certainly, from Liebig to Roentgen and to Behring, from Kant to Wundt, Germany has counted many distinguished pioneers. In the matter of fecund originality, however, and creative inspiration, Italy and France have always equaled, if not surpassed, her. She has had no Marconi, no Pasteur or Poincaré, no Carrel.

What we have received from her so long that it has become almost a matter of instinct is less dazzling flashes than an equal and constant light. And the savants, the university men who bring to us anthropological romances, history stuffed with legends and personal prejudices, sociology constructed in contempt of the facts!

In these later days we have seen all these joining under the guidance of their most illustrious members to address the civilized nations in an appeal in which by virtue of their quality as savants they undertook to pronounce upon facts which they don't understand, to deny those which they cannot help understanding, and solemnly to declare that it is not true that Germany has violated

the neutrality of the territory of Belgium. For proof of this, nothing but their word of honor. Do they take us for those young gentlemen who said to Monge, "Professor, give us your word of honor that this theorem is true and we will excuse you from the demonstration of it"?

Fully to explain the rôle of the intellectual savants and university men in the formation of the ideology of caste which prevails among the Germans it would be necessary to recite the history of instruction in Germany, not such as Davis and Paulson have written it, but such as it actually is under the influence of institutions and programmes—I mean the moral history of instruction.

The great Frederick was wont to cry, "I commence by taking; afterward I shall always have pedants enough to establish my rights." Pedants or not, the members of the teaching corps of every grade in Germany are a wheel of the State, their mission is to form not men, but Germans, to inculcate the national idea. Their views have penetrated even to the common people.

Germany receives a double education—that of the school and that of the barracks. The spirit of these two institutions is the same, and their influence,

which has been exercised since 1848 in opposition to humanitarian and internationalist ideas, has encountered no serious obstacles, for it went readily with certain old instincts which it was not difficult to reawaken and which general circumstances favored.

"*Latrocinia nullam habent infamiam*," said Caesar, speaking of the Germans. Pillage brings no shame. This desire of gain, this positive and realistic tendency is one of the motives which the brusque and prodigious economic expansion of Germany has promoted in the most efficient manner.

This total assimilation of a people of 70,000,000 of souls by an aristocratic, almost a feudal, directing class, a combination of plutocrats and militarists, is in reality a most curious phenomenon, more than curious, in a sense grandiose, and in any case full of suggestions and menaces.

Surrender of body and soul, confidence almost religious, enthusiastic faith, the directing class has conquered everything within in order to conquer everything without. Now it stakes everything upon the cast of the dice. I have not undertaken to decide whether it is just or not. The event will determine whether it is genius or madness.

THE LAND OF MAETERLINCK

By Alfred Sutro

[From King Albert's Book.]

I HAVE translated many books of Maeterlinck's; I have wandered with him among the canals of Bruges and the fragrant gardens of Ghent; I have seen the places where he dreamed of Pelléas and Mélisande, and the hives of the bees he loved. Through him I learned to know Belgium; today all the world knows. Her cities are laid waste now and her people scattered, but her people will return and rebuild the cities, and the enemy will be dust. The day will come when the war will be far distant, a thing of the past, remote, forgotten, but never, while men endure or heroism counts, will it be forgotten what the Belgians did for Liberty's sake and for the sake of Albert, their King.

America and Prohibition Russia

Two Mustard Seeds of Reform Carried From This Land to the Steppes

By Isabel F. Hapgood

WHEN Russia recently abolished the sale of liquor, first in the shops run as a Government monopoly, and, after a brief experience of the beneficent results, in the restaurants and clubs as well, an astonished and admiring world recognized the measure as one of the greatest events in the moral history of a nation. It takes rank with the reforms of Peter the Great. It almost casts into the shade the emancipation of the serfs.

There has always existed in Russia a strong party which severely disapproved of Peter precisely because he forced "Western" ideas upon them. Their idea has always been that Russia would have developed a far higher degree of genuine culture and far more precious spiritual qualities had she been left to the promptings of her own genius and its "healthy, natural" development. And there are, indubitably, persons scattered through the vast Russian Empire who entertain parallel opinions with regard to the total prohibition of liquor just effected, and with regard to the projected change in the calendar now assumed to be imminent. I trust that I shall not increase their numbers to dangerous proportions if I call attention to the fact that these reforms have also, like Peter the Great's ideas, been imported from the West—from the Far West, the United States. I am sure my fellow-countrymen will be gratified to learn the truth, and I cheerfully accept the risk, and assume that Russia will, in all probability, remain ignorant of my interference!

It is true that we do not have actual, effective prohibition anywhere here in America, and that we do not seem to be within measurable distance of such an achievement; that Russia has distanced us again in this, just as she distanced us by emancipating her serfs, without a

war, before we emancipated our slaves, with the aid of a war. But we have supplied the scriptural mustard seed in the case of prohibition in Russia, and have either furnished the seed for the change in the calendar, or, at any rate, have provided elements that have hastened its growth to a very remarkable degree.

Mustard seed No. 1 was carried over from the United States in the Autumn of 1887 and sown on the good ground of the late Count Tolstoy, and other noble men, whence—as results show—it spread abroad with a swiftness suggestive rather of the proverbial weed than of the fair flower its blossoming has shown it to be.

In the Autumn of 1886 Dr. Peter Semyonovitch Alexyeff of Moscow, accompanied by his wife, sailed for Canada and the United States for the purpose of inspecting the hospitals, prisons, and elementary schools; and they came for the Winter because some parts of Canada during that season possess a climate similar to that of Central Russia, while in other parts the climates are identical. In fact, Canada is the only country in the world where the climatic conditions are at all analogous. The construction of new hospitals, the adaptation of already existing buildings for hospital use, the internal arrangement, and the perfection of their internal machinery had long been matters of deep interest to Dr. Alexyeff.

Germany and France, with climates so different from that of Russia, could not furnish him with the information available in North America, where, in his opinion, the habits and conditions of existence—such important factors in matters connected with hospitals and invalids—also differ less from those of Russia than do the general surroundings in the countries of the Continent. After visiting the principal cities of Canada and the

United States from Quebec to Vancouver, and from Boston to Washington, (some of them more than once,) Dr. Alexyeff arrived at the conclusion that the hospitals of the United States were better built and much better administered than those of London, Paris, Berlin, and Vienna.

Naturally, no one could spend nine months in investigating hospitals and prisons in this country without coming in contact with the liquor problem. Moreover, Dr. Alexyeff was a wideawake man, who took an interest not only in all matters connected with his profession, but in very many outside of it. He was, also, a man of very lofty character. His wife once wrote me concerning him somewhat as follows: "He walks, habitually, on such moral heights, in such a rarefied spiritual atmosphere, that I, the daughter of an English clergyman, reared accordingly, and myself (as you know) deeply in sympathy with it, find difficulty in following him." Obviously, he was precisely the man to appreciate the temperance movement, and to carry it to its logical conclusion. In the preface to a volume, "About America," which he published in Moscow in 1888, he writes:

Neither the wonders of wild nature in the Rocky Mountains nor the menacing might and grandeur of Niagara produce such an impression on a Russian as the success of the fight with drunkenness—the temperance movement—and the successful development, in all classes of society, of morality and the strict application of practical morals.

He did not confine himself to this brief, general statement. He wrote in praise of temperance, of prohibition, for learned Russian societies. Then he wrote a book entitled "Concerning Drunkenness." The Censor's permit to publish is dated March 29, (April 10,) 1887. It was published by the management of the magazine, *Russkaya Mysl*, (Russian Thought,) which may indicate that it had first appeared in that monthly as a series of articles, though I have not been able to verify the fact. The book may have been published promptly, or at least the article from the medical magazine may have been published in the cheap form (costing

two or three cents) used by the semi-commercial, semi-philanthropic firm "Posrednik," which may be rendered "Middleman" or "Mediator," designed for the dissemination of good and useful reading among the masses.

At any rate, "Concerning Drunkenness" appeared at the price of one ruble (about fifty cents) in 1891, prefaced by a dissertation by Count Tolstoy, "Why Do People Stupefy Themselves?" specially written for this occasion, as Dr. Alexyeff told me. (It has been translated under the title of "Alcohol and Tobacco," London, and published without any indication that Dr. Alexyeff inspired it.)

In 1896 a second edition, revised and enlarged, was published, also in Moscow; and to this the author added a list of helpful publications and a summary bibliography, which included books issued in various foreign countries, ranging in number from 705 for Great Britain and Colonies, 142 for the United States, 247 for Germany, 124 for ten other countries combined, (up to 1885 in all these cases,) to ten for Russia. Of these ten, four are in Latin, four in German, one is in Swedish and one in Russian—the latter, evidently, an article republished from *The Medical News*. On the whole, a list practically non-existent, so far as Russia was concerned!

Dr. Alexyeff had discovered a field of endeavor as virgin as the unplowed steppe. Only scientists desperately hard up for an unusual topic for a strictly academic discussion and recklessly willing to risk incurring universal unpopularity would have dreamed of unearthing those volumes. He promptly aroused Count Tolstoy's interest in the subject of temperance, which in this case signified prohibition, since the Count in his preface to Dr. Alexyeff's book (dated July 10-22, 1890,) treated liquor on the same basis as tobacco, which he had totally abjured at least two years previously. With Tolstoy, to become convinced that a reform was desirable was, as all the world knows, to become an ardent propagandist of that reform. Thanks to the efforts of Dr. Alexyeff, seconded by those of Tolstoy, temperance began to attract attention in Russia,

temperance societies were formed, and have been steadily increasing ever since in numbers and activity.

Eventually Mr. Tchelisheff arrived on the scene with his splendid vital force and practical solutions of the financial and other problems (or suggestions for them) that arise from prohibition, (especially when a Government monopoly and revenue are concerned,) which he most strenuously advocated when Mayor of Samara, as representative in the Duma—everywhere, in fact, where he could obtain a hearing, willing or unwilling, up to the Emperor Nicholas himself. And the Emperor showed that he was equal to the magnificent opportunity, and joined hands with the former peasant in aiding his country.

In an interview published by THE TIMES a while ago Mr. Tchelisheff mentions that his attention was first drawn to the subject of the evils of drunkenness by a book which he saw a muzhik reading. Judging from the point at which he inserts that mention into his outline sketch of his career (previous to the great famine which he—erroneously—assigns to the “end of the '80s,” but which came in 1891) his interest was aroused precisely at the time when Dr. Alexyeff's first utterances may be assumed to have seen the light of print. At any rate, it is an admitted fact that Dr. Alexyeff carried to Russia and to Tolstoy from the United States the idea and inspiration which has borne such wonderful fruit in the abolition of the liquor traffic “forever,” as the Imperial ukase runs.

Mr. Tchelisheff is a noteworthy figure in history accordingly, but Dr. Alexyeff should not be forgotten. When I made his acquaintance at Count Tolstoy's, in Moscow, he had just requested (and obtained) a detail of service in Tchita, Trans-Baikal Province, Siberia, as physician to the political exiles there, thinking the region would repay study from many points of view, in his leisure hours. The preface to the first edition of his book “Concerning Drunkenness” is dated “July, 1899, Tchita,” and from Tchita I received my copy from him. In

that preface he states the scope of his book in a way which confirms my conviction that Mr. Tchelisheff was first stirred to interest, and in the end aroused to action, by the United States, via Dr. Alexyeff. He writes:

The battle which in all ages has been waged against drunkenness has been confined hitherto almost exclusively to the realms of medicine and ethics; the social part of the question is only just beginning to be worked out, and has hardly as yet won the rights of citizenship, and down to our own day there have been no serious legal measures adopted for the battle with drunkenness.

Therefore, he omits the legal aspects of the matter in his book and confines himself to an attempt at popularizing the information scattered in divers individual books, “borrowing everything which can lead to the ultimate goal—the extermination of the evil caused by the use of spirituous drinks.” He continues:

Public opinion has nowhere as yet, even in the lands where considerable success has attended the war on drunkenness, ripened sufficiently a desire to give, even incompletely, a summary of the information about that battle, and make my fellow-countrymen acquainted with a matter still little known in Russia, so I am prompted to write what follows.

The second edition of this book, with the surprising list of Russian treatises on drunkenness to which I have already alluded, is dated “June, 1895, Riga,” where he lived after his return from Siberia, as an official of the Government medical service, until his death in August, 1913. During the stay in Tchita of the Alexyeffs, the present Emperor (then the heir,) passed through it, on his way home (from the trip to India and Japan which came so near terminating fatally in the latter country) after having officially opened work upon the construction of the Trans-Siberian Railway, on the shores of the Pacific Ocean. A formal reception and ceremonies were organized in Tchita; and I allude to the matter because of a curious detail mentioned in a letter to me by Mrs. Alexyeff. Foreigners have very queer ideas, she said, as to the position and treatment of the political exiles in Siberia; some of the Tchita exiles served as heads of the committees for welcom-

ing the heir, and he shook hands with them and treated them exactly as he treated the Governor General of the Province.

Whether it was his admiration for the American temperance movement which influenced Dr. Alexyeff's views on everything American, I cannot say. But, assuredly, not many foreign visitors have pronounced upon our country such a panegyric as is contained in the preface to his "Across America." He writes:

Conscientious fulfillment of every duty, industry, energy, and moral purity are the typical qualities of the genuine American. It is difficult to form any idea of the wide development of philanthropy, the significance of religion, and the practical application to life of ethical principles, the application of moral obligations in business, the upright, God-fearing life of the Americans, unless one has lived among them. They have neither prostitution, foundling hospitals, nor hospitals for venereal diseases. A European is not accustomed to see empty prisons and hospitals in densely settled localities—to come upon cities where there is nothing for the police, the Judges, and the doctors to do he finds startling. They have attained the height where priests, pastors, preachers, and teachers are rarely obliged to contend with indifference. * * *

After a trip to America it would be difficult to return an atheist—you are more likely to come back in a religious frame of mind. * * * Idleness and luxury are not among the distinguishing characteristics of the descendants of the Puritans. * * * In the light, transparent atmosphere of the States, simplicity, the cheerful, alert spirit infects the foreigner, makes him a more frank, trustful, optimistic warrior for the truth, and causes him to forget what it means to be downcast in spirit, or what spleen and hypochondria are.

Until he died, in Siberia, in Russia, everywhere, Dr. Alexyeff worked for temperance. He was enthusiastic about it when I saw him and his wife in England, in 1907.

Mr. Tchelisheff having been aroused to interest, theoretically, by America, via Dr. Alexyeff, as is fairly proven, it was only natural that he should proceed to make the personal observations on the practical, social side of drunkenness which he mentions in his Times interview. He noticed, during the great famine of 1891, that it was the drunkards

who had squandered their grain and pawned their possessions to the keepers of the dramshops who robbed other men's granaries and houses, burned, rioted, and murdered; while the men who did not drink had plenty of food and grain to hold out. We are informed from Russia that even during its still brief reign prohibition has resulted in remarkable improvement in health, living conditions, and bank accounts.

Mr. Tchelisheff is, as I have said, a noteworthy figure in history. He would be a remarkable figure in any land; but for those who are not acquainted with Russia, the rise of a man born a peasant, educated solely by his own efforts on stray newspapers and books which fell in his way in his schoolless village, and absolutely lacking in money or influence, ("svyazi"—connections, is the Russian version of "pull,") to the position of multi-millionaire and co-worker with the Emperor, is amazing almost beyond belief. In reality, it is as simple as the rise of an American newsboy, of an Edison or a Carnegie to a position of power in the United States. Fate, circumstances, as well as their own personality are the factors in all these cases; and in every similar case.

Moreover, there is in Russia no eternally impassable barrier of caste, but there is a genuine democracy which is not easy to define, but is very easily felt. For instance, the title of "Prince," (to which, unlike that of "Count" or "Baron"—conferrable—one must be born, runs the rule, with exceptions for such national heroes as Suvaroff,) counts for nothing or approximately that, unless its owner possesses, in addition, the wealth, character, learning or other characteristics which would render him a man of mark without it.

There are other interesting instances of peasants who have risen high in Russia, and Mr. Tchelisheff is their worthy successor. The founder of the great silversmiths' firm of Ovtchinnikoff was a serf. His successors have made it their rule, "out of gratitude to God," to maintain and educate a certain number of poor boys, who, when their intellectual

and technical training is completed, are free to remain with the firm as valued artists or to go forth independently. When the Emperor Alexander II. celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of his accession to the throne, all the Sovereigns of Europe sent him magnificent presents. These are assembled in his library, at the Winter Palace, Petrograd; and in the centre—accorded that place by the Russians with equal good feeling, good taste, and justice—is a large group in solid silver, representing a huge mass of rock upon whose pinnacles stand figures representing the different parts of the empire—Little Russia, Siberia, and so forth. The inscription reads: "To the Tzar-Liberator from the Liberated Serf." It was made by the Ovtchinnikoffs and presented by another ex-serf, who had become a millionaire railway magnate.

Mustard Seed No. 2 from America to Russia falls into a somewhat different category. It more nearly resembles one of those grains of antique wheat found in a tomb and sprouting vigorously when finally planted in congenial, helpful soil. I trust that my comparison may not be regarded as disrespectful. One could not, willingly, be disrespectful to the calendar, any more than to the thermometer!

Russia, by adhering to the Julian Calendar and refusing to adopt the Gregorian, has now fallen thirteen days behind the rest of the world. It falls behind about a day for every century. There are several reasons why Russia has not, up to now, remedied the serious inconvenience caused by this conflict of dates. One is—the Gregorian Calendar is Roman Catholic, and named after a Pope. It is, also, inaccurate. Worst of all, the rectification might—almost infallibly would, under ordinary circumstances—cause trouble at the outset, especially in one incalculably important direction.

Russian scientists long ago worked out a new calendar far more accurate than the Gregorian for thousands of years, and when the change is made that calendar will be adopted. The fundamental difficulty lies in the fact that all the people whose saints' days must inevi-

tably be skipped for the first year in the process of rectification will inevitably feel that they are being robbed of their guardian angels, that they are "orphans"—a mournful word greatly beloved of the Russian masses under multiform circumstances, both material and spiritual—and orphaned in a peculiarly distressing and irrevocable way. They might even feel when their saints' days came around quite correctly the next year that some spurious adventurer—Angel of Darkness—was being foisted upon them.

Fanatics and professional mischief-makers would certainly seize with avidity upon such a godsend of a chance, unparalleled since the days of Peter the Great's father, when the Patriarch Nikon had the errors of the copyists in the Scriptures and church service books corrected. But the present war has fused all parties, united all hearts in patriotism, loyalty to, and confidence in their Emperor and created a fervid inclination amounting to enthusiasm to accept even the most drastic reforms he may make cheerfully, unquestionably, as for the good of the fatherland.

On the matter of the calendar reform America has for many years past been exerting a steadily increasing influence. During the past twenty years the steady flow of immigrants from Russia and other countries belonging to the Orthodox Catholic Church of the East, (Greco-Russian,) has increased to a great volume, and it seems destined to attain still greater proportions when the war is over. These people are obliged to work and keep holiday by the Gregorian calendar and to worship by the Julian. This entails hardships.

For example, a devout Russian who has been forced to remain idle on our Christmas and New Year's Days must sacrifice his pay—sometimes risk or lose his job—if he wishes to observe the feasts of his own church. A reform of the calendar would be hailed with joy by innumerable such immigrants, who have been over here long enough to consider calmly the practical aspects of a temporary dislocation of saints' days. The ecclesiastical authorities in this country

have frequently protested, in print, both here and in Russia, and I have been informed that the Holy Synod has been appealed to, more than once, to induce it to cast its influence into the balance with that of the scientists and the governmental authorities, who have been discussing the matter for years past, and hesitating over the probable consequences of action—a case of peasant joining hands with the rulers of Russia, once more like Mr. Tchelisheff and the Emperor Nicholas—or the people of the United States and the President—to secure a needed reform!

And these same peasant-immigrants in America have, without the shadow of a doubt, already written back to their relatives and friends in the old country—and

very frequently—about the difficulties of the antiquated Julian calendar, and these, in turn, can disseminate common sense about the change in a way which the Government, aided by the Holy Synod and the explanations of home-staying parish priests, unaided, could never effect. When the fitting time arrives, perhaps the Russian Government will avail itself of just this argument, among others—the welfare of friends in distant America. There has never been a propitious time in Russia to make that calendar reform since the reign of Peter the Great until now. And America may fairly be said to have brought from its dark hiding place the mustard seed which has been trying so long to germinate, and imparted to it a vivifying impulse.

THE MOTHER'S SONG.

By CECILIA REYNOLDS ROBERTSON.

HUSH, oh, my baby, your father's a
 soldier,
 He's off to the war, and we've nothing
 to eat.

And the glory is neither for you nor for me,
 With the cockleburrr crushing the wheat.

Little boy baby, look well on your mother;
 Some day you may ask why she bore you
 at all;

For the trenches are foul with the blood and
 the wallow,
 And the bayonet is sharp for your fall.

Rest, rosy limbs, and blue eyes and gold
 lashes—

Made in the mold of the Saviour, they say!
 Drink deep of my bosom, my starved, meagre
 bosom,
 That—keeps you alive for the fray.

Sleep, oh, my man child, and smile in your
 sleeping,

But the gun has been fashioned to lay in
 your hand,

And your life blood flows smooth in your
 fair little body

The better to water and plenish the land!

Pan-American Relations As Affected by the War

Consequences of the European Conflict on Future Commerce Between the United States and Latin America

By Huntington Wilson,

Formerly Assistant Secretary of State.

I.

A STUDY of the effects of the war upon our relations with the other republics of this hemisphere involves political, commercial, financial and strategic elements of far-reaching scope and much complexity. The situation presents an opportunity. It offers a lesson even more vital than the opportunity. The political considerations are most relevant to the lesson; and the final text of the lesson will be the result of the war. The economic opportunity is already upon us, definite and clear. It will not wait. It must be grasped without delay and may therefore be first discussed.

There is something repellent in counting our advantages under the shadow of so great a tragedy but we must try to be as practical as those who are fond of accusing us of materialism. Does any one think that the steam-roller of admirably organized and Government-fostered German competition would pause if we lay in the road; that if we received a check, Anglo-Saxon cousinship and fair play would always mitigate British competition; or that then not a single European merchant in South America would ever again use scorn and detraction against our goods, or encourage, through influence with the press, prejudice due to "Yankee peril" nonsense? In short, is it likely

that all our competitors would suddenly love us just because we were in trouble? No, things are not as they should be and meanwhile must be dealt with as they are.

There used to be apparently very little hope of our shaking the tree and gathering the golden fruit of foreign enterprise unless forced to it by the collapse, through dire hard times, of the wonderful home market which has made spoiled children of our manufacturers. Now comes this war. It forces upon us a wonderful, a unique opportunity to gain and hold our proper place in the finance, trade, and enterprise of Latin America. The richness of the field is often exaggerated, but its cultivation is certainly worth the effort of men of foresight.

What are we going to do about it? This is the question; for if American business men do not do their part the ultimate effect of the war upon our economic interests in this part of the world will be unimportant. We must not be like the young gold miners who were looking exclusively for large nuggets with handles. We must go at it seriously and scientifically and solidly, not superficially, casually, and opportunistically. We must begin with the earnest intention of continuing our efforts for all time.

An enthusiastic commercial spasm will be worth nothing. There have got to be real efforts, real hard work, the expenditure of money for future and not merely immediate profits, a cheerful readiness to discard old and cherished methods, a new adaptability, a new painstaking attention to details. There has got to be serious study of foreign countries and keen interest in our relations to them. Without all this, mailing catalogues, (usually in English,) banquets and speeches and organizations will take us nowhere.

American business men are bestirring themselves. They know that we need ships to carry our goods advantageously, and banks for the favorable financing of our trade. They should be able to compel our Government's support where needful, as in a ship subsidy or a limited guarantee of reasonable profit to American investment in ships. In connection with our efforts at Caribbean commerce, as another instance, they should be able to get a flexible sliding scale tariff provision passed by Congress, so that, in dealing with the countries whose coffee or other special products we buy, we could induce them to give us for our exports reciprocal advantages over our competitors. Indeed, a kind of Caribbean tariff union might well be feasible and desirable.

So long ago as last August the British Government sent all over the world for samples and specifications of German goods which their manufacturers might contrive to displace. We should take corresponding action in regard to the goods of our competitors. Our manufacturers should be reconciled to sending to find out what each market wants instead of asking a population to take or leave what we make. Our commercial campaign should include the effort to replace goods from one belligerent country formerly handled by local merchants from another belligerent country, such as British goods previously sold through the German houses which so abound in these countries.

Good men from small countries without political significance in world-politics already make their influence felt

as employes of foreign Governments and as merchants in foreign countries. The war may set free many more men and send them about the world to work for their own interests, for the country they most believe in, and perhaps ultimately for an adopted country. International commerce must have its courtiers, and the good will of all such men should also be reckoned with. They spread friendship or prejudice against us. Many of them are importers and will push our goods or some one else's according to the manner in which we deal with them.

American manufacturers are doubtless weary of being told that they pack badly, that they are niggardly about credits, that they do not send enough or sufficiently qualified representatives, that they are careless of details, and so on. Still, before mentioning some further particular steps that should be taken, it is necessary to emphasize the fact that these same old faults are, and until corrected must remain, the chief detriments to our foreign trade.

In some of the republics there is a real disposition to deal with us; in others there is a preference for Europe. Now, as to many goods, they must deal with us or go without, although I am informed that a German firm, for example, has got word to its clients in these countries that it is prepared to fill orders via Copenhagen. If we think that our competitors have gone entirely or permanently out of business we shall be ridiculously and sadly disappointed. We shall be on trial, and if our exporters make good they will find a conservative disposition to continue to buy from us.

In the effort it is important to remember that there is much to live down in criticism of methods of the past. One Latin-American gentleman, an enthusiast for American commerce, exclaimed to me in despair: "Son hombres capaces de poner una hacha Collins con vidrios para ventanas," which means: "they (the American exporters) are capable of packing a Collins hatchet with window glass." Others told me how leading firms always stamped their letters for domestic and not foreign postage. The office boy simply would not learn geography. No-

body minded paying the deficit, but through local red tape this seeming trifle sometimes caused two or even three weeks' delay in the delivery of important letters.

Certain of our strongest firms have been calmly ignoring shipping directions. What did they care if the packages had to cross the Andes on mule back, and if mules could only carry packages of a certain size and weight? What did they care if the duty remission for materials on some Government contract, or the customs classification of a shipment, depended on adherence to specific directions? I could multiply examples of the most amazing casualness and careless disregard, of bad packing, of ungenerous credit, which have enraged the importer.

A European merchant, many years established in a South American city, and knowing the community, has been selling pianos in this way: The manufacturer would quote him a price and deliver the piano, giving him long credit at an ordinary rate of interest. The merchant would finally sell the piano on the installment plan, receiving interest at a higher rate on the deferred payments, the merchant trusting the buyer, the manufacturer trusting the merchant, both thus making good profits, and the purchaser being accommodated. This man found the American manufacturer entirely unwilling to deal in this way.

European houses on the spot, whether independent or financed by large home houses, give credits for as long, sometimes, as a year. They would not continue to do so if they lost by doing it. Often this fits the customs of the local domestic trade. In one country the local retailer is expected to be paid within eighteen months. Naturally, our exporters' demand for "cash down on receipt of documents," even when the customer is well vouched for, does not appeal to him.

He prefers to get long credit from a European house, and pay interest for it, rather than to borrow from his bank at high interest or sink his own capital to

pay for American goods, long before he gets them, their price plus the profit of a commission house. Indeed, he is generally dissatisfied with the methods of American export trade as now conducted, which is almost exclusively through commission houses. These, it seems, might become more efficient through organization and more aggressive and scientific methods.

On the other hand, the export trade of certain of the big combinations is beginning to be pushed with commendable zeal and efficiency. Trade at large, to reach its greatest volume, must include the pushing of smaller lines of goods. These smaller lines, in the aggregate, would reach considerable sums, and it does not appear that there have hitherto existed efficient agencies for their marketing. To hold Latin-American trade we must equal our competitors in liberality of credits, in representation on the spot, and in other facilities.

There is no doubt that more American merchants resident in the trade centres would give valuable impetus to our commerce. Even our commission houses operating on the spot are so few that in handling many lines there is the greatest danger of their sacrificing the building up of a steady trade to the opportunities of unduly heavy profits now and then, and so damaging our general commercial interests. Then we must send many commercial travelers.

Just here, however, it cannot be too strongly emphasized that Americans sent to these countries to do business must above all be men of agreeable manners. In these countries many quite unworthy people have these: so a good man who lacks them is likely to be badly misjudged. They should have sympathetic personality and sufficient education, besides being men of sobriety and good character, and should be able to speak the language of the country.

All this will be expensive, but non-competing firms might join in sending men, or competing firms might, it is hoped, be guaranteed against the terrors of the Sherman law in order to join in sending a corps of representatives upon some basis of division of the

field or the profits. Combination is even more necessary abroad to put forth the nation's strength in world competition than it is for efficiency at home. These men would be students and salesmen, and perhaps future merchants who would settle in these countries and emulate the patriotic groups of resident foreigners who in so many places help to form an atmosphere favorable to their countries' interests.

They would work to replace with our goods those now shut off by the war, but also to introduce dozens of lines of American products which are now comparatively hard to find in these markets. A number of strong firms might join to establish commercial houses or selling agencies in trade centres of certain groups of countries. Commission houses might do the same if they carried samples and instructed their clients in packing, credits, &c., but in each case there should be American houses on the spot which would carry general lines and supply to the eye that visible evidence of the goods themselves which is such a valuable form of advertisement.

In the establishment of American houses in these countries, as in many other respects, much may be learned from the Germans. They bring out carefully selected young men. These, if efficient, have sure promotion. The partners retire before old age to make room for those who work up. The inefficient are dropped. It is a little like the principle of a good foreign service.

I think the most minute study should be given, first, to the nearer countries, say those north of the Equator, including the republics of the Caribbean. Each country must be separately studied. Primarily, there will be found a cry, sometimes desperate, for capital. Public works, concessionary and otherwise, have stopped for lack of funds from Europe. New developments in railroad building, mining, harbor works, plantations, are arrested. Where European credits have been customarily used to handle crops, there is distress, and no less so in cases in which such credit has previously been given by ostensibly

American houses operating really with European capital.

American capital may come to the rescue by advances upon good security through local banks. It can establish banks or buy controlling interests in existing banks, many of which pay their stockholders 15 per cent. or more. It can relieve the stagnation and make profitable investment by an active campaign for public and private contracts and for sound and fair concessions, not visionary or get-rich-too-quick schemes.

Supposably, the repairing of the destruction brought by the war will make European capital scarce for some years, but an effort will doubtless be made to retain for it its former preponderance in these countries; and so it is important that, whatever the war's effects upon our own money markets, use should be made of such an opportunity as does not come more than once.

To be sure, the scarcity of money in the United States makes this difficult, but the same worldwide money scarcity will secure an especially high rate of interest in Latin America, where even in normal times money can often be placed on excellent security in some of the countries, and at a rate very high indeed compared to that prevailing now in the United States. For safe investments with such a margin of profit, it is to be hoped that money, even if dear at home, will be forthcoming.

Undoubtedly the purchasing power of these republics has been hard hit by the cutting off of credits and markets by the war, as their Governments have been hard hit through the falling off of revenues from import duties. Some of the Governments will require foreign loans. Capital, I repeat—and I mean really American capital—is the urgent need. We are not asked to make them a present of capital to buy our goods with, but if we do not help finance them and buy their products they will have nothing with which to buy our goods.

The situation invites us to give capital and credit to take the place of the European supply which has failed. One need not fear that the returns will be uninvit-

ing, for Europe would hardly have been supplying credit and capital to Latin America as a mere matter of amiability. Thus our capital must regenerate Latin-American prosperity, while our bankers, merchants, and manufacturers are engaged in making solid, permanent arrangements, not opportunistic ones, to take possession of a great share in the present and still more in the growing future development and commerce of these countries. Capital, then, and credit are the first requisites.

The war has had the effect of making the Latin-American countries realize for once the economic importance to them of the United States. The products of some, like the tin of Bolivia and the nitrates of Chile, have been going almost entirely to Europe. Several republics suffer the more acutely in proportion to their previous failure to cultivate financial and commercial relations with the United States.

They now feel this and are compelled to a mood receptive to our advances. More, they are forced to seek new markets for their goods just as they are forced to buy some of ours. In this way there should come about new exports to the United States, and there should spring up there the corresponding new industries and habits of consumption, to the ultimate benefit of all the countries concerned.

Meanwhile, the United States is the only present economic hope of a number of the republics. It is to be hoped that our capitalists and business men will realize the responsibilities as well as the opportunities of profit in the rôle they are asked to play, and that their response to their new opportunities will be one of courage, thoroughness and intelligence, and one also of quiet patriotism.

II.

POLITICAL POTENTIALITIES.

Turning from the opportunity to the lesson, from the commercial and economic aspects of this question to those that are political in the large sense, one's imagination is appalled at the potentialities of

the yet unknown results of so vast an upheaval. Yet we must envisage some of these if we are to be prepared for their effect upon us. We must be ready for the impact of the resultant forces of these great dynamics. We must be ready everywhere, but nowhere more than in our relations with Latin America, in the zone of the Caribbean, and wherever the Monroe Doctrine as still interpreted gives us a varying degree of responsibility.

The war's first effect upon our Latin-American relations is to compel through commercial and financial rapprochement a larger measure of material interdependence, more contact, and, we may hope, a substitution of knowledge for the former reciprocity of ignorance. All this makes for better social and intellectual relations, good understanding and friendship, and so for political relations much more substantial in the case of many of the republics than the rather flimsy Pan-Americanism celebrated in eloquent speeches and futile international conferences.

There is little in Pan-Americanism of that kind. The "raza Latina" of eloquence is not itself homogeneous; still less so is the population of the whole hemisphere. And with Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Aires, and Santiago we have, of course, far less propinquity than we have with the capitals of Europe. But what we really can do is to build up, especially with the nearer republics, real ties of common interest and good neighborhood, and with the distant ones ties of commerce and esteem.

The war may tend to cure certain rather self-centred countries of affecting the morbid view that the people of the United States are lying awake nights contriving to devour them, when, in fact, it would be hard to find in a crowded street in the United States one in a thousand of the passersby who knew more than the name, at most, of one of those very few countries referred to.

Europe's preoccupation with the war temporarily deprives such a country and its few misguided prophets whose monomania is dread of that chimera, the

"Colossus of the North," of the pastime of nestling up to Europe in the hope of annoying us. It postpones, too, the hope of the morbid ones that we shall come to war with a powerful enemy. Now, perhaps, even these will appreciate the remark of a diplomatist of a certain weak country in contact with European powers, who once said: "If we only had the United States for a neighbor! What I can't understand is that your neighbors do not realize their good luck." Turning from these exceptional phenomena, the very fact of the war leaves the United States in a general position of greater political prestige.

Whatever the upshot of the European tragedy, its political and psychological consequences are likely to be great. If it result in new national divisions upon racial lines of more reality, who knows but that the awakened spirits of nationality will germinate fresh military ambitions? Or will the horrors of the war force political reforms and the search for assurance in more democratic institutions against any repetition of those horrors? And is popular government an assurance against useless war while men remain warlike even when not military?

Except from the successful countries or from those where disaster has brought such sobering change that men can return to work heartened with new hope, when the war is over there is likely to be a heavy emigration of disgusted people. Possibly even victory will be so dear that men will emigrate from a country half prostrate in its triumph. Many will come as the Puritans came, and as the bulk of our own excellent Germanic element came, and will cast in their lot with a new nation. We shall get a good share, but doubtless some will go to the republics of the far South, and some to the highlands of the tropics and through the canal to the West Coast. If so, this will tend gradually toward increased production and purchasing power, as well as toward a leavening of social, political, and economic conditions of life.

If the war were indecisive or left all the combatants more or less prostrated, peaceful immigration might give a big

impulse to the gradual growing up of powerful States in the temperate zone of the extreme South. The situation there, and the evolution of our own power, make it perhaps even now fair to consider the question of regarding as optional in any given case the assertion by us of the Monroe Doctrine much below the equator, let us say, beyond which it may possibly be doubtful whether we have nowadays much reason for special interest.

But, even so, our relations to South America and our obligations under the Monroe Doctrine, in spite of the blessed fortifications of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, leave us where it is tempting fate to be without a navy of the first magnitude, and a big merchant marine. We have seen what happened to Belgium and Luxemburg. We have seen how even some of the most enlightened nations can still make force their god. Nations learn slowly, and there are perhaps some new big ones coming on, like China.

If the war is a fight to a finish, and the Allies triumph, we can imagine Russia, with its teeming millions of people, occupied for a while in the Near East; Japan consolidating her position in the Far East, an increasingly powerful neighbor to us in the Philippines, the Hawaiian Islands, and the Pacific Ocean; France still a great power; and England as a world power of uncomfortably ubiquitous strength, able to challenge the Monroe Doctrine at will.

Or, let us suppose that Germany should triumph and that German emigration should swarm into the Caribbean countries, or into Brazil or some other country where there is already a large German colony—elated, triumphant Germans, not Germans disgusted by a disastrous war. Would Germany be likely to heed the Monroe Doctrine, or would it be only another "scrap of paper"?

In the present stage of civilization the safety of America should not be left dependent upon the forbearance of any power that may emerge dangerously strong from the war or that may other-

wise arise. The obligations and rights of our Latin-American relations, under the Monroe Doctrine and otherwise, like our security and our efficiency as a force for peace and good in the world, demand a big navy, a merchant marine, and the self-discipline and safeguard of adequate military preparedness. The

need of these and of a diplomacy of intelligent self-interest, continuity, and intense nationalism is the lesson brought home to us by the European war in its effects upon our Latin-American relations as well as upon our general position as a great power.

AN EASTER MESSAGE

By BEATRICE BARRY.

INTO what depths of misery thou art
hurled,
Belgium, thou second Saviour of the
World!
Thou who hast died
For all of Europe, lo, we bathe thy feet
So cruelly pierced, and find the service
sweet,
Thou crucified.

But though we mourn thy agony and loss,
And weep beneath the shadow of thy cross—
We know the day
That brings the resurrection and the life
Shall dawn for thee when war and all its
strife
Hath passed away.

Then, out of all her travail and her pain,
Belgium, though crushed to earth, shall rise
again;
And on the sod
Whence sprang a race so strong, so free
from guile,
Men shall behold, in just a little while,
The smile of God.

Land of the brave—soon, by God's grace, the
free—
Thy woe is transient; joy shall come to thee;
It cannot fail.
The darkest night gives way to rosy dawn,
And thou, perchance, shalt see on Easter
morn,
The Holy Grail.

An Interview on the War With Henry James

By Preston Lockwood

[FROM THE NEW YORK TIMES, MARCH 21, 1915.]

ONE of the compensations of the war, which we ought to take advantage of, is the chance given the general public to approach on the personal side some of the distinguished men who have not hitherto lived much in the glare of the footlights. Henry James has probably done this as little as any one; he has enjoyed for upward of forty years a reputation not confined to his own country, has published a long succession of novels, tales, and critical papers, and yet has apparently so delighted in reticence as well as in expression that he has passed his seventieth year without having responsibly "talked" for publication or figured for it otherwise than pen in hand.

Shortly after the outbreak of the war Mr. James found himself, to his professed great surprise, Chairman of the American Volunteer Motor Ambulance Corps, now at work in France, and today, at the end of three months of bringing himself to the point, has granted me, as a representative of THE NEW YORK TIMES, an interview. What this departure from the habit of a lifetime means to him he expressed at the outset:

"I can't put," Mr. James said, speaking with much consideration and asking that his punctuation as well as his words should be noted, "my devotion and sympathy for the cause of our corps more strongly than in permitting it thus to overcome my dread of the assault of the interviewer, whom I have deprecated, all these years, with all the force of my preference for saying myself and without superfluous aid, without interference in the guise of encouragement and cheer, anything I may think worth my saying. Nothing is worth my saying that I cannot help myself out with better, I hold,

than even the most suggestive young gentleman with a notebook can help me. It may be fatuous of me, but, believing myself possessed of some means of expression, I feel as if I were sadly giving it away when, with the use of it urgent, I don't gratefully employ it, but appeal instead to the art of somebody else."

It was impossible to be that "somebody else," or, in other words, the person privileged to talk with Mr. James, to sit in presence of his fine courtesy and earnestness, without understanding the sacrifice he was making, and making only because he had finally consented to believe that it would help the noble work of relief which a group of young Americans, mostly graduates of Harvard, Yale, and Princeton, are carrying on along their stretch of the fighting line in Northern France.

Mr. James frankly desired his remarks to bear only on the merits of the American Volunteer Motor Ambulance Corps. It enjoys today the fullest measure of his appreciation and attention; it appeals deeply to his benevolent instincts, and he gives it sympathy and support as one who has long believed, and believes more than ever, in spite of everything, at this international crisis, in the possible development of "closer communities and finer intimacies" between America and Great Britain, between the country of his birth and the country, as he puts it, of his "shameless frequentation."

There are many people who are eloquent about the war, who are authorities on the part played in it by the motor ambulance and who take an interest in the good relations of Great Britain and the United States; but there is nobody who can tell us, as Mr. James can, about style and the structure of sentences, and

all that appertains to the aspect and value of words. Now and then in what here follows he speaks familiarly of these things for the first time in his life, not by any means because he jumped at the chance, but because his native kindness, whether consciously or unconsciously, seemed so ready to humor the insisting inquirer.

"It is very difficult," he said, seeking to diminish the tension so often felt by a journalist, even at the moment of a highly appreciated occasion, "to break into graceful license after so long a life of decorum; therefore you must excuse me if my egotism doesn't run very free or my complacency find quite the right turns."

He had received me in the offices of the corps, businesslike rooms, modern for London, low-ceiled and sparsely furnished. It was not by any means the sort of setting in which as a reader of Henry James I had expected to run to earth the author of "The Golden Bowl," but the place is, nevertheless, today, in the tension of war time, one of the few approaches to a social resort outside his Chelsea home where he can be counted on. Even that delightful Old World retreat, Lamb House, Rye, now claims little of his time.

The interviewer spoke of the waterside Chelsea and Mr. James's long knowledge of it, but, sitting not overmuch at his ease and laying a friendly hand on the shoulder of his tormentor, he spoke, instead, of motor ambulances, making the point, in the interest of clearness, that the American Ambulance Corps of Neuilly, though an organization with which Richard Norton's corps is in the fullest sympathy, does not come within the scope of his remarks.

"I find myself Chairman of our Corps Committee for no great reason that I can discover save my being the oldest American resident here interested in its work; at the same time that if I render a scrap of help by putting on record my joy even in the rather ineffectual connection so far as 'doing' anything is concerned, I needn't say how welcome you are to my testimony. What I mainly seem to grasp, I should say, is that in regard to testifying at all un-

limitedly by the aid of the newspapers, I have to reckon with a certain awkwardness in our position. Here comes up, you see, the question of our reconciling a rather indispensable degree of reserve as to the detail of our activity with the general American demand for publicity at any price. There are ways in which the close presence of war challenges the whole claim for publicity; and I need hardly say that this general claim has been challenged, practically, by the present horrific complexity of things at the front, as neither the Allies themselves nor watching neutrals have ever seen it challenged before. The American public is, of course, little used to not being able to hear, and hear as an absolute right, about anything that the press may suggest that it ought to hear about; so that nothing may be said ever to happen anywhere that it doesn't count on having reported to it, hot and hot, as the phrase is, several times a day. We were the first American ambulance corps in the field, and we have a record of more than four months' continuous service with one of the French armies, but the rigor of the objection to our taking the world into our intimate confidence is not only shown by our still unbroken inability to report in lively installments, but receives also a sidelight from the fact that numerous like private corps maintained by donations on this side of the sea are working at the front without the least commemoration of their deeds—that is, without a word of journalistic notice.

"I hope that by the time these possibly too futile remarks of mine come to such light as may await them Mr. Norton's report of our general case may have been published, and nothing would give the committee greater pleasure than that some such controlled statement on our behalf, best proceeding from the scene of action itself, should occasionally appear. The ideal would, of course, be that exactly the right man, at exactly the right moment, should report exactly the right facts, in exactly the right manner, and when that happy consummation becomes possible we shall doubtless revel in funds."

Mr. James had expressed himself with such deliberation and hesitation that I was reminded of what I had heard of all the verbal alterations made by him in novels and tales long since published; to the point, we are perhaps incorrectly told of replacing a "she answered" by a "she indefinitely responded."

I should, indeed, mention that on my venturing to put to Mr. James a question or two about his theory of such changes he replied that no theory could be stated, at any rate in the off-hand manner that I seemed to invite, without childish injustice to the various considerations by which a writer is moved. These determinant reasons differ with the context and the relations of parts to parts and to the total sense in a way of which no a priori account can be given.

"I dare say I strike you," he went on, "as rather bewilderedly weighing my words; but I may perhaps explain my so doing very much as I the other day heard a more interesting fact explained. A distinguished English naval expert happened to say to me that the comparative non-production of airships in this country indicated, in addition to other causes, a possible limitation of the British genius in that direction, and then on my asking him why that class of craft shouldn't be within the compass of the greatest makers of sea-ships, replied, after brief reflection: 'Because the airship is essentially a bad ship, and we English can't make a bad ship well enough.' Can you pardon," Mr. James asked, "my making an application of this to the question of one's amenability or plasticity to the interview? The airship of the interview is for me a bad ship, and I can't make a bad ship well enough."

Catching Mr. James's words as they came was not very difficult; but there was that in the manner of his speech that cannot be put on paper, the delicate difference between the word recalled and the word allowed to stand, the earnestness of the massive face and alert eye, tempered by the genial "comment of the body," as R. L. Stevenson has it.

Henry James does not look his seventy years. He has a finely shaped head, and a face, at once strong and serene, which

the painter and the sculptor may well have liked to interpret. Indeed, in fine appreciation they have so wrought. Derwent Wood's admirable bust, purchased from last year's Royal Academy, shown by the Chantrey Fund, will be permanently placed in the Tate Gallery, and those who fortunately know Sargent's fine portrait, to be exhibited in the Sargent Room at the San Francisco Exhibition, will recall its having been slashed into last year by the militant suffragettes, though now happily restored to such effect that no trace of the outrage remains.

Mr. James has a mobile mouth, a straight nose, a forehead which has thrust back the hair from the top of his commanding head, although it is thick at the sides over the ears, and repeats in its soft gray the color of his kindly eyes. Before taking in these physical facts one receives an impression of benignity and amenity not often conveyed, even by the most distinguished. And, taking advantage of this amiability, I asked if certain words just used should be followed by a dash, and even boldly added: "Are you not famous, Mr. James, for the use of dashes?"

"Dash my fame!" he impatiently replied. "And remember, please, that dogmatizing about punctuation is exactly as foolish as dogmatizing about any other form of communication with the reader. All such forms depend on the kind of thing one is doing and the kind of effect one intends to produce. Dashes, it seems almost platitudinous to say, have their particular representative virtue, their quickening force, and, to put it roughly, strike both the familiar and the emphatic note, when those are the notes required, with a felicity beyond either the comma or the semicolon; though indeed a fine sense for the semicolon, like any sort of sense at all for the pluperfect tense and the subjunctive mood, on which the whole perspective in a sentence may depend, seems anything but common. Does nobody ever notice the calculated use by French writers of a short series of suggestive points in the current of their prose? I confess to a certain shame for my not employing frankly that shade of

indication, a finer shade still than the dash. * * * But what on earth are we talking about?" And the Chairman of the Corps Committee pulled himself up in deprecation of our frivolity, which I recognized by acknowledging that we might indeed hear more about the work done and doing at the front by Richard Norton and his energetic and devoted co-workers. Then I plunged recklessly to draw my victim.

"May not a large part of the spirit which animates these young men be a healthy love of adventure?" I asked.

The question seemed to open up such depths that Mr. James considered a moment and began:

"I, of course, don't personally know many of our active associates, who naturally waste very little time in London. But, since you ask me, I prefer to think of them as moved, first and foremost, not by the idea of the fun or the sport they may have, or of the good thing they may make of the job for themselves, but by that of the altogether exceptional chance opened to them of acting blessedly and savingly for others, though indeed if we come to that there is no such sport in the world as so acting when anything in the nature of risk or exposure is attached. The horrors, the miseries, the monstrosities they are in presence of are so great surely as not to leave much of any other attitude over when intelligent sympathy has done its best.

"Personally I feel so strongly on everything that the war has brought into question for the Anglo-Saxon peoples that humorous detachment or any other thinness or tepidity of mind on the subject affects me as vulgar impiety, not to say as rank blasphemy; our whole race tension became for me a sublimely conscious thing from the moment Germany flung at us all her explanation of her pounce upon Belgium for massacre and ravage in the form of the most insolent, 'Because I choose to, damn you all!' recorded in history.

"The pretension to smashing world rule by a single people, in virtue of a monopoly of every title, every gift and every right, ought perhaps to confound us more by its grotesqueness than to alarm us

by its energy; but never do cherished possessions, whether of the hand or of the spirit, become so dear to us as when overshadowed by vociferous aggression. How can one help seeing that such aggression, if hideously successful in Europe, would, with as little loss of time as possible, proceed to apply itself to the American side of the world, and how can one, therefore, not feel that the Allies are fighting to the death for the soul and the purpose and the future that are in us, for the defense of every ideal that has most guided our growth and that most assures our unity?

"Of course, since you ask me, my many years of exhibited attachment to the conditions of French and of English life, with whatever fond play of reflection and reaction may have been involved in it, make it inevitable that these countries should peculiarly appeal to me at the hour of their peril, their need and their heroism, and I am glad to declare that, though I had supposed I knew what that attachment was, I find I have any number of things more to learn about it. English life, wound up to the heroic pitch, is at present most immediately before me, and I can scarcely tell you what a privilege I feel it to share the inspiration and see further revealed the character of this decent and dauntless people.

"However, I am indeed as far as you may suppose from assuming that what you speak to me of as the 'political' bias is the only ground on which the work of our corps for the Allies should appeal to the American public. Political, I confess, has become for me in all this a loose and question-begging term, but if we must resign ourselves to it as explaining some people's indifference, let us use a much better one for inviting their confidence. It will do beautifully well if givers and workers and helpers are moved by intelligent human pity, and they are with us abundantly enough if they feel themselves simply roused by, and respond to, the most awful exhibition of physical and moral anguish the world has ever faced, and which it is the strange fate of our actual generations to see unrolled before them. We welcome any lapse of logic that may connect inward

vagueness with outward zeal, if it be the zeal of subscribers, presenters or drivers of cars, or both at once, stretcher-bearers, lifters, healers, consolers, handy Anglo-French interpreters, (these extremely precious,) smoothers of the way; in short, after whatever fashion. We ask of nobody any waste of moral or of theoretic energy, nor any conviction of any sort, but that the job is inspiring and the honest, educated man a match for it.

"If I seem to cast doubt on any very driving intelligence of the great issue as a source of sympathy with us, I think this is because I have been struck, whenever I have returned to my native land, by the indifference of Americans at large to the concerns and preoccupations of Europe. This indifference has again and again seemed to me quite beyond measure or description, though it may be in a degree suggested by the absence throughout the many-paged American newspaper of the least mention of a European circumstance unless some not-to-be-blinked war or revolution, or earthquake or other cataclysm has happened to apply the lash to curiosity. The most comprehensive journalistic formula that I have found myself, under that observation, reading into the general case is the principle that the first duty of the truly appealing sheet in a given community is to teach every individual reached by it—every man, woman and child—to count on appearing there, in their habit as they live, if they will only wait for their turn.

"However," he continued, "my point is simply my plea for patience with our enterprise even at the times when we can't send home sensational figures. 'They also serve who only stand and wait,' and the essence of our utility, as of that of any ambulance corps, is just to be there, on any and every contingency, including the blessed contingency of a temporary drop in the supply of the wounded turned out and taken on—since such comparative intermissions occur. Ask our friends, I beg you, to rid themselves of the image of our working on schedule time or on guarantee of a maximum delivery; we are dependent on the humors of battle, on incalculable rushes and

lapses, on violent outbreaks of energy which rage and pass and are expressly designed to bewilder. It is not for the poor wounded to oblige us by making us showy, but for us to let them count on our open arms and open lap as troubled children count on those of their mother. It is now to be said, moreover, that our opportunity of service threatens inordinately to grow; such things may any day begin to occur at the front as will make what we have up to now been able to do mere child's play, though some of our help has been rendered when casualties were occurring at the rate, say, of 5,000 in twenty minutes, which ought, on the whole, to satisfy us. In face of such enormous facts of destruction—"

Here Mr. James broke off as if these facts were, in their horror, too many and too much for him. But after another moment he explained his pause.

"One finds it in the midst of all this as hard to apply one's words as to endure one's thoughts. The war has used up words; they have weakened, they have deteriorated like motor car tires; they have, like millions of other things, been more overstrained and knocked about and voided of the happy semblance during the last six months than in all the long ages before, and we are now confronted with a depreciation of all our terms, or, otherwise speaking, with a loss of expression through increase of limpness, that may well make us wonder what ghosts will be left to walk."

This sounded rather desperate, yet the incorrigible interviewer, conscious of the wane of his only chance, ventured to glance at the possibility of a word or two on the subject of Mr. James's present literary intentions. But the kindly hand here again was raised, and the mild voice became impatient.

"Pardon my not touching on any such irrelevance. All I want is to invite the public, as unblushingly as possible, to take all the interest in us it can; which may be helped by knowing that our bankers are Messrs. Brown Brothers & Co., 59 Wall Street, New York City, and that checks should be made payable to the American Volunteer Motor Ambulance Corps."

A Talk With Belgium's Governor

By Edward Lyall Fox

[FROM THE NEW YORK TIMES, APRIL 11, 1915.]

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IT would have been a very grave mistake not to have invaded Belgium. It would have been an unforgivable military blunder. I justify the invading of Belgium on absolute military grounds. What other grounds are there worth while talking about when a nation is in a war for its existence?"

It is the ruler of German Belgium speaking. The stern, serious-faced Governor General von Bissing, whom they call "Iron Fist," the man who crushes out sedition. Returning, I had just come up from the front around Lille, and almost the only clothes I had were those on my back; and the mud of the trenches still clung to my boots and puttees in yellow cakes. They were not the most proper clothes in which to meet King Albert's successor, but in field gray I had to go.

The Governor General received me in a dainty Louis Quinze room done in rose and French gray, and filled incongruously with delicate chairs and heavy brocaded curtains, a background which instantly you felt precisely suited his Excellency. In the English newspapers, which, by the way, are not barred from Berlin cafés, I had read of his Excellency as the "Iron Fist," or the "Heavy Heel," and I rather expected to see a heavy, domineering man. Instead, a slender, stealthy man in the uniform of a General rose from behind a tapestry topped table, revealing, as he did, a slight stoop in his back, perhaps a trifle foppish. He held out a long-fingered hand.

General von Bissing spoke no English. Somehow I imagined him to be one of those old German patriots who did not learn the language simply because it was English. Through Lieut. Herrmann I asked the Governor General what Germany was doing toward the reconstruction of Belgium. I told him America,

when I had left, was under the impression that Belgium was a land utterly laid waste by the German armies. I frankly told him that in America the common belief was that the German military Government meant tyranny; what was Germany doing for Belgium?

"I think," replied Governor General von Bissing, "that we are doing everything that can be done under the circumstances. Those farm lands which you saw, coming up from Lille to Brussels, were planted by German soldiers and in the Spring they will be harvested by our soldiers. Belgium has not been devastated, and its condition has been grievously misstated, as you have seen. You must remember that the armies have passed back and forth across it—German, Belgian, English, and French—but I think you have seen that only in the paths of these armies has the countryside suffered. Where engagements were not fought or shots fired, Belgium is as it was.

"There has been no systematic devastation for the purpose of intimidating the people. You will learn this if you go all over Belgium. As for the cities, we are doing the best we can to encourage business. Of course, with things the way they are now, it is difficult. I can only ask you to go down one of the principal business streets here, the Rue de la Neuf, for instance, and price the articles that you find in the shops and compare them with the Berlin prices. The merchants of Brussels are not having to sacrifice their stock by cutting prices, and, equally important, there are people buying. I can unhesitatingly say that things are progressing favorably in Belgium."

The conversation turned upon Belgian and English relations before this war.

The Governor General mentioned documentary evidence found in the archives in Brussels, proving an understanding between these countries against Germany. He spoke briefly about the point that the subjects of King Albert had been betrayed into the hands of English financiers and then laconically said: "The people of Belgium are politically undisciplined children.

"They are the victims of subtle propaganda that generally takes the form of articles in French and neutral newspapers," and General von Bissing looked me straight in the eyes, as though to emphasize that by neutral he meant the newspapers of the United States. "I can understand the French doing this," he said, "because they always use the Belgians and do not care what happens to them. It is beyond my comprehension, though, how the Government of any neutral country permits the publication of newspaper articles that can have but one effect, and that is to encourage revolt in a captured people. A country likes to call itself humanitarian, and yet it persists in allowing the publication of articles that only excite an ignorant, undisciplined people and lead them to acts of violence that must be wiped out by force," and the Governor General's mouth closed with a click.

"Do you know that the people of Brussels, whenever a strong wind carries the booming of heavy guns miles in from the front, think that French and English are going to recapture the city? Any day that we can hear the guns faintly, we know that there is an undercurrent of nervous expectancy running through the whole city. It goes down alleys and avenues and fills the cafés. You can see Belgians standing together, whispering. Twice they actually set the date when King Albert would return.

"This excitement and unrest, and the feeling of the English coming in, is fostered and encouraged by the articles in French and neutral newspapers that are smuggled in. I do not anticipate any uprising among the Belgians, although the thoughtless among them have encouraged it. An uprising is not a topic of worry in our councils. It could do us

no harm. We would crush it out like that," and von Bissing snapped his thin fingers, "but if only for the sake of these misled and betrayed people, all seditious influences should cease."

I asked the Governor General the attitude of officials of the Belgian Government who were being used by the Germans in directing affairs.

"My predecessor, General von der Goltz," he replied, "informed me that the municipal officials in Brussels and most Belgian cities showed a good cooperative spirit from the start. The higher officials were divided, some refusing flatly to deal with the German administration. I do not blame these men, especially the railway officials, for I can see their viewpoint. In these days railway roads and troop trains were inseparable, and if those Belgian railway officials had helped us, they would have committed treason against their country. There was no need, though, for the Post Office officials to hold out, and only lately they have come around. Realizing, however, that without their department the country would be in chaos, the officials of the Department of Justice immediately co-operated with us. Today the Belgian Civil Courts try all ordinary misdemeanors and felonies. Belgian penal law still exists and is administered by Belgians. However, all other cases are tried by a military tribunal, the *Feld Gericht*."

I asked General von Bissing if there was much need for this military tribunal. I shall not forget his reply.

"We have a few serious cases," he said. "Occasionally there is a little sedition but for the most part it is only needle pricks. They are quiet now. They know why," and, slowly shaking his head, von Bissing, who is known as the sternest disciplinarian in the entire German Army, smiled.

We talked about the situation in America.

"The truth will come out," said von Bissing slowly. "Your country is renowned for fair play. You will be fair to Germany, I know. Your American Relief Commission is doing excellent work. It is in the highest degree nec-



H. M. MOHAMMED V.

Sultan of Turkey.

(Photo from P. S. Rogers)



H. M. VITTORIO EMANUELE III.
King of Italy.

essary. At first the German Army had to use the food they could get by foraging in Belgium, for the country does not begin to produce the food it needs for its own consumption, and there were no great reserves that our troops could use. But the German Army is not using any of the Belgian food now."

I asked the Governor General if the Germans had not been very glad that America was sending over food.

"It is most important," he said, "that America regularly sends provisions to Belgium. Your country should feel very proud of the good it has done here. I welcome the American Relief Committee; we are working in perfect harmony. De-

spite reports to the contrary, we never have had any misunderstanding. Through the American press, please thank your people for their kindness to Belgium.

"But," he continued impressively, referring back to the justification of Germany's occupation and speaking with quiet force, "if we had not sent our troops into Belgium, the English would have landed their entire expeditionary army at Antwerp, and cut our line of communication. How do I know that? Simply because England would have been guilty of the grossest blunder if she had not done that, and the man who is in charge of England's Army has never been known as a blunderer.

A CHARGE IN THE DARK

By O. C. A. CHILD.

OUT of the trenches lively, lads!
Steady, steady there, number two!
Step like your feet were tiger's pads—
Crawl when crawling's the thing to do!

Column left, through the sunken road!
Keep in touch as you move by feel!
Empty rifles—no need to load—
Night work's close work, stick to steel!

Wait for shadows and watch the clouds,
When it's moonshine, down you go!
Quiet, quiet, as men in shrouds,
Cats a-prowl in the dark go slow.

Curse you, there, did you have to fall?
Damn your feet and your blind-bat eyes!
Caught in the open, caught—that's all!
Searchlights! slaughter—we meant surprise!

Shrapnel fire a bit too low—
Gets us though on the ricochet!
Open order and in we go,
Steel, cold steel, and we'll make 'em pay.

God above, not there to win?
Left, while my men go on to die!
Take them in, Sergeant, take them in!
Go on, fellows, good luck—good-bye!

A New Poland

By Gustave Herve

Gustave Hervé, author of the article translated below, which appears in a recent number of his paper, *La Guerre Sociale*—suppressed, it is reported, by the French authorities—has been described as “the man who fights all France.” He is 44 years old, and has spent one-fourth of his life in prison, on account of Socialistic articles against the French flag and Government. He used to continue writing such articles from prison and thus get his sentences lengthened.

Hervé has always opposed everything savoring of militarism and conquest. From his article on Poland it will be seen that, although he says nothing anti-French or antagonistic to the Allies in general, he desires a Russian triumph over Germany not for his own sake, but as a preliminary to a reconstruction of the Polish Nation out of the lands wrested from Poland by Russia, Germany, and Austria.

IN spite of its vagueness, the Grand Duke Nicholas's proclamation justifies the most sanguine hopes. This has been recognized not only by all the Poles whom it has reached, those of Russian Poland, and the three million Polish refugees who live in America, but moreover, all the Allies have interpreted it as a genuine promise that Poland would be territorially and politically reconstructed.

What would it be right to include in a reconstructed Poland, if the great principle of nationality is to be respected?

First, such a Poland would naturally include all of the Russian Poland of to-day—by that I mean all the districts where Poles are in a large majority. This forms a preliminary nucleus of 12,000,000 inhabitants, among whom are about 2,000,000 Jews. This great proportion of Jews is accounted for by the fact that Poland is in the zone where Jews are allowed to live in Russia.

Our new Poland would not comprise the ancient Lithuania—the districts of Wilno, Kovno, and Grodno—although Lithuania formerly was part of Poland and still has about one million Polish inhabitants who form the aristocracy and bourgeoisie. Lithuania, which is really the region of the Niemen, is peopled by Letts, who have their own language, resembling neither Polish nor Russian, and they likewise hope to obtain some day a measure of autonomy in the Russian Empire, with the right to use their language in schools, churches, and civil proceedings. One thing is certain: they would

protest, and rightly, against actual incorporation into the new Poland.

The 125,000 square kilometers and 12,000,000 inhabitants of Russian Poland, lying around Warsaw, would constitute the nucleus of reconstructed Poland.

Must we add to this the 79,000 square kilometers and 8,000,000 inhabitants of Galicia, which was Austria's share in the spoils of old Poland? Certainly, so far as western Galicia around Cracow is concerned, for this is a wholly Polish region, the Poles there numbering 2,500,000.

As for eastern Galicia, of which the principal city is Lemberg, (Lvov in Polish,) the question is more delicate. Though Eastern Galicia has over 1,500,000 Poles and 600,000 Jews, most of the population is Ruthenian. Now these Ruthenians, who are natives, subjugated in former times by the conquering Poles, and who still own much of the big estates, are related to the “Little Russians,” the southerners of Russia, and speak a dialect which is to Russian what Provençal is to French.

Besides, whereas the Poles are Catholics, the Ruthenians are Greek Orthodox Christians like the Russians, but differ from the latter in that they are connected with the Roman Church, and are thus schismatics in the eyes of the Russian priests.

Should these Ruthenians be annexed to Russia along with the 1,500,000 Poles and 500,000 Jews, among whom they have lived for centuries, they would scarcely look upon this as acceptable unless they were certain of having under Russian

rule at least equal political liberty and respect for their dialect and religion as they have under Austrian rule.

Should they be incorporated with the rest of Polish Galicia into the new Poland? It is hardly probable that they desire this, having enjoyed under Austria a considerable measure of autonomy as regards their language and schools. Would not the best solution be to make of Eastern Galicia an autonomous province of the reconstructed Poland, guaranteeing to it its local privileges?

That leaves for consideration the portion of Poland now forming part of Prussia.

There can be no question as to what should be done with the districts of Posen and Thorn. These are the parts of Poland stolen by Prussia, which the Prussians, a century and a quarter after the theft, have not succeeded in Germanizing.

North of the Posen district is Western Prussia, whose principal city is Dantzic; that too is a Polish district, stolen in 1772. Since then Dantzic has been Germanized and there are numerous German officials and employes in the other towns of the region. All the rural districts and a part of the towns, however, have remained Polish in spite of attempts to Germanize them as brutal as those applied to Posnania. But, if united Poland should include Western Prussia, as she has the right to do—there being no rule against what is right—Eastern Prussia, including Königsberg, will be cut off from the rest of Germany.

Now, Eastern Prussia, with the exception of the southern part about the Masurian Lakes, which has remained Polish, has been German from early mediæval times. It is the home of the most reactionary junkers of all Prussia, a cradle of Prussian royalty and of the Hohenzollerns. Despite our hatred for these birds of prey, could we wish that

the new Poland should absorb these 2,000,000 genuine Germans?

If the region of Königsberg remains Prussian and the Masurian Lakes region is added to Poland, why not leave to Germany the strip of land along the coast, including Dantzic, in order that Eastern Prussia may thus be joined to Germany at one end?

Another question: There is in Prussian Upper Silesia a district, that of Oppeln, rich in iron ore, which was severed in the Middle Ages from Poland, but which has remained mostly Polish and which adjoins Poland. If the majority of Polish residents there demand it, would it not be well to join it once more to Poland, which would become, by this addition, contiguous to the Czechs of Bohemia?

To sum up:

Without laying hands on the German district of Königsberg, united Poland, by absorbing all the territory at present held by Prussia, in which the majority of the inhabitants are Poles, will take from the latter 70,000 square kilometers and 5,700,000 inhabitants. With these, the new Poland would have 24,000,000 inhabitants, including Eastern Galicia.

If Russia gave to this Poland in lieu of actual independence the most liberal autonomy and reconstructed a Polish kingdom under the suzerainty of the Czar—a Poland with its Diet, language, schools and army—would not the present war seem to us a genuine war of liberation and Nicholas II. a sort of Czar-liberator?

And if resuscitated Poland, taught by misfortune, compassionate toward the persecuted and proscribed because she herself has been persecuted and proscribed, should try to cure herself of her anti-Semitism, which has saddened her best friends in France, would not you say that she indeed deserved to be resuscitated from among the dead?

“With the Honors of War”

By Wythe Williams

[FROM THE NEW YORK TIMES, April, 1915.]

IT was just at the dawn of a March morning when I got off a train at Gerbéviller, the little “Martyr City” that hides its desolation as it hid its existence in the foothills of the Vosges.

There was a dense fog. At 6 A. M. fog usually covers the valleys of the Meurthe and Moselle. From the station I could see only a building across the road. A gendarme demanded my credentials. I handed him the *laisser-passer* from the Quartier Général of the “First French Army,” which controls all coming and going, all activity in that region. The gendarme demanded to know the hour when I proposed to leave. I told him. He said it would be necessary to have the permit “viséd for departure” at the headquarters of the gendarmerie. He pointed to the hazy outlines of another building just distinguishable through the fog.

This was proof that the town contained buildings—not just a building. The place was not entirely destroyed, as I had supposed. I went down the main street from the station, the fog enveloping me. I had letters to the town officials, but it was too early in the morning to present them. I would first get my own impressions of the wreck and the ruin. But I could see nothing on either hand as I stumbled along in the mud. So I commented to myself that this was not as bad as some places I had seen. I thought of the substantial station and the buildings across the road—untouched by war. I compared Gerbéviller with places where there is not even a station—where not one simple house remains as the result of “the day when the Germans came.”

The road was winding and steep, dipping down to the swift little stream that twists a turbulent passage through the town. The day was coming fast but the

fog remained white and impenetrable. After a few minutes I began to see dark shapes on either side of the road. Tall, thin, irregular shapes, some high, some low, but with outlines all softened, toned down by the banks of white vapor.

I started across the road to investigate and fell into a pile of jagged masonry on the sidewalk. Through the nearness of the fog I could see tumbled piles of bricks. The shapes still remained—spectres that seemed to move in the light wind from the valley. An odor that was not of the freshness of the morning assailed me. I climbed across the walk. No wall of buildings barred my path, but I mounted higher on the piles of brick and stones. A heavy black shape was now at my left hand. I looked up and in the shadow there was no fog. I could see a crumbled swaying side wall of a house that was. The odor I noticed was that caused by fire. Sticking from the wall I could see the charred wood joists that once supported the floor of the second story. Higher, the lifting fog permitted me to see the waving boughs of a tree that hung over the house that was, outlined against a clear sky. At my feet, sticking out of the pile of bricks and stones, was the twisted iron fragments that was once the frame of a child's bed. I climbed out into the sunshine.

I was standing in the midst of a desolation and a silence that was profound. There was nothing there that lived, except a few fire-blackened trees that stuck up here and there in the shelter of broken walls. Now I understood the meaning of the spectral shapes. They were nothing but the broken walls of the other houses that were. They were all that remained of nine-tenths of Gerbéviller.

I wandered along to where the street

turned abruptly. There the ground pitched more sharply to the little river. There stood an entire half of a house unscathed by fire; it was one of those unexplainable freaks that often occur in great catastrophes. Even the window glass was intact. Smoke was coming from the chimney. I went to the opposite side and there stood an old woman looking out toward the river, brooding over the ruin stretching below her.

"You are lucky," I said. "You still have your home."

She threw out her hands and turned a toothless countenance toward me. I judged her to be well over seventy. It wasn't her home, she explained. Her home was "là-bas"—pointing vaguely in the distance. She had lived there fifty years—now it was burned. Her son's house for which he had saved thirty years to be able to call it his own, was also gone; but then her son was dead, so what did it matter? Yes, he was shot on the day the Germans came. He was ill, but they killed him. Oh, yes, she saw him killed. When the Germans went away she came to this house and built a fire in the stove. It was very cold.

And why were the houses burned? No; it was not the result of bombardment. Gerbéviller was not bombarded until after the houses were burned. They were burned by the Germans systematically. They went from house to house with their torches and oil and pitch. They did not explain why they burned the houses, but it was because they were angry.

The old woman paused a moment, and a faint flicker of a smile showed in the wrinkles about her eyes. I asked her to continue her story.

"You said because they were angry," I prompted. The smile broadened. Oh, yes, they were very angry, she explained. They did not even make the excuse that the villagers fired upon them. They were just angry through and through. And it was all because of those seventy-five French chasseurs who held the bridge. Some one called to her from the house. She hobbled to the door. "Anyone can tell you about the seventy-five chasseurs," she said, disappearing within.

I went on down the road and stood upon

the bridge over the swift little river. It was a narrow little bridge only wide enough for one wagon to pass. Two roads from the town converged there, the one over which I had passed and another which formed a letter "V" at the juncture with the bridge. Across the river only one road led away from the bridge and it ran straight up a hill, when it turned suddenly into the broad national highway to Lunéville about five miles away.

One house remained standing almost at the entrance to the bridge, at the end nearest the town. Its roof was gone, and its walls bore the marks of hundreds of bullets, but it was inhabited by a little old man of fifty, who came out to talk with me. He was the village carpenter. His house was burned, so he had taken refuge in the little house at the bridge. During the time the Germans were there he had been a prisoner, but they forgot him the morning the French army arrived. Everybody was in such a hurry, he explained.

I asked him about the seventy-five chasseurs at the bridge. Ah, yes, we were then standing on the site of their barricade. He would tell me about it, for he had seen it all from his house half way up the hill.

The chasseurs were first posted across the river on the road to Lunéville, and when the Germans approached, early in the morning, they fell back to the bridge, which they had barricaded the night before. It was the only way into Gerbéviller, so the chasseurs determined to fight. They had torn up the street and thrown great earthworks across one end of the bridge. Additional barricades were thrown up on the two converging streets, part way up the hill, behind which they had mitrailleuses which could sweep the road at the other end of the bridge.

About a half mile to the south a narrow footbridge crossed the river, only wide enough for one man. It was a little rustic affair that ran through the grounds of the Château de Gerbéviller that faced the river only a few hundred yards below the main bridge. It was a very ancient château, built in the twelfth century and restored in the seventeenth

century. It was a royal château of the Bourbons. In it once lived the great François de Montmorency, Duc de Luxembourg and Marshal of France. Now it belonged to the Marquise de Lamberty, a cousin of the King of Spain.

I interrupted, for I wanted to hear about the chasseurs. I gave the little old man a cigarette. He seized it eagerly—so eagerly that I also handed him a cigar. He just sort of fondled that cigar for a moment and then placed it in an inside pocket. It was a very cheap and very bad French cigar, for I was in a part of the country that has never heard of Havanas, but to the little old man it was something précieux. "I will keep it for Sunday," he said.

I then got him back to the seventy-five chasseurs. It was just eight o'clock in the morning—a beautiful sunshiny morning—when the German column appeared around the bend in the road which we could see across the bridge, and which joined the highway from Lunéville. There were twelve thousand in that first column. One hundred and fifty thousand more came later. A band was playing "Deutschland über alles" and the men were singing. The closely packed front ranks of infantry broke into the goose step as they came in sight of the town. It was a wonderful sight; the sun glistened on their helmets; they marched as though on parade right down almost to the opposite end of the bridge.

Then came the command to halt. For a moment there was a complete silence. The Germans, only a couple of hundred yards from the barricade, seemed slowly to consider the situation. The Captain of the chasseurs, from a shelter behind the very little house that is still standing—and where his men up the two roads could see him—softly waved his hand.

Crack-crack-crack—crack-crack-crack-crack—crack-crack-crack! The bullets from the mitrailleuses whistled across the bridge into the front ranks of the "Deutschland über alles" singers, while the men behind the bridge barricade began a deadly rifle fire.

Have you ever heard a mitrailleuse? It is just like a telegraph instrument, with

its insistant clickety click-click-click, only it is a hundred times as loud. Indeed I have been told by French officers that it has sometimes been used as a telegraph instrument, so accurately can its operator reel out its hundred and sixty shots a minute.

On that morning at the Gerbéviller barricade, however, it went faster than the telegraph. These men on the converging roads just shifted their range slightly and poured bullets into the next ranks of infantry and so on back along the line, until Germans were dropping by the dozen at the sides of the little straight road. Then the column broke ranks wildly and fled back into the shelter of the road from Lunéville.

A half hour later a detachment of cavalry suddenly rounded the corner and charged straight for the barricade. The seventy-five were ready for them. Some of them got half way across the bridge and then tumbled into the river. Not one got back around the corner of the road to Lunéville.

There was another half hour of quiet, and then from the Lunéville road a battery of artillery got into action. Their range was bad, so far as any achievement against the seventy-five was concerned, so they turned their attention to the château, which they could easily see from their position across the river. The first shell struck the majestic tower of the building and shattered it. The next smashed the roof, the third hit the chapel—and so continued the bombardment until flames broke out to complete the destruction.

Of course the Germans could not know that the château was empty, that its owner was in Paris and both her sons fighting in the French Army. But they had secured the military advantage of demolishing one of the finest country houses in France, with its priceless tapestries, ancient marbles and heirlooms of the Bourbons. A howl of German glee was heard by the seventy-five chasseurs crouching behind their barricades. So pleased were the invaders with their achievement, that next they bravely swung out a battery into the road lead-

ing to the bridge, intending to shell the barricades. The Captain of chasseurs again waved his hand. Every man of the battery was killed before the guns were in position. It took an entire company of infantry—half of them being killed in the action—to haul those guns back into the Lunéville road, thus to clear the way for another advance.

From then on until 1 o'clock in the afternoon there were three more infantry attacks, all failing as lamentably as the first. The seventy-five were holding off the 12,000. At the last attack they let the Germans advance to the entrance of the bridge. They invited them with taunts to "avancez." Then they poured in their deadly fire, and as the Germans broke and fled they permitted themselves a cheer. Up to this time not one chasseur was killed. Only four were wounded.

Shortly after 1 o'clock the German artillery wasted a few more shells on the ruined château and the chasseurs could see a detachment crawling along the river bank in the direction of the narrow footbridge that crossed through the château park a half mile below. The Captain of the chasseurs sent one man with a mitrailleuse to hold the bridge. He posted himself in the shelter of a large tree at one end. In a few minutes about fifty Germans appeared. They advanced cautiously on the bridge. The chasseur let them get half way over before he raked them with his fire. The water below ran red with blood.

The Germans retreated for help and made another attack an hour later with the same result. By 4 o'clock, when the lone chasseur's ammunition was exhausted, it is estimated that he had killed 175 Germans, who made five desperate rushes to take the position, which would have enabled them to make a flank attack on the seventy-four still holding the main bridge. When his ammunition was gone—which occurred at the same time as the ammunition at the main bridge was exhausted—this chasseur with the others succeeded in effecting a retreat to a main body of cavalry. If he still lives—this modern Horatius at the bridge

—he remains an unnamed hero in the ranks of the French Army, unhonored except in the hearts of those few of his countrymen who know.

During the late hours of the afternoon aeroplanes flew over the chasseurs' position, thus discovering to the Germans how really weak were the defenses of the town, how few its defenders. Besides, the ammunition was gone. But for eight hours—from 8 in the morning until 4 in the afternoon—the seventy-five had held the 12,000. General Joffre has said in one of his reports that the defense of the bridge at Gerbéviller had an important bearing on the battle of the Marne, which was just beginning, for it gave Castelnau's Army of the East time to dig its trenches a few miles back of Gerbéviller before the Germans got through.

Had that body of 12,000 succeeded earlier the 150,000 Germans that advanced the next day might have been able to fall on the French right flank during the most critical and decisive battle of the war. The total casualties of the chasseurs were three killed, three captured, and six wounded.

The little old man and I had walked to the entrance of the château park before he finished his story. It was still too early for breakfast. I thanked him and told him to return to his work in the little house by the bridge. I wanted to explore the château at leisure.

I entered the place—what was left of it. Most of the walls were standing. Walls built in the twelfth century do not break easily, even with modern artillery. But the modern roof and seventeenth century inner walls were all demolished. Not a single article of furniture or decoration remained. But the destruction showed some of the same freaks—similar to that little house left untouched by fire on the summit of the hill.

For instance, the Bourbon coat of arms above the grand staircase was untouched, while the staircase itself was just splintered bits of marble. On another fragment of a wall there still hung a magnificent stag's antlers. Strewed about in the corners I saw fragments of vases

that had been priceless. Even the remnants were valuable. In the ruined music room I found a piece of fresh, clean music, (an Alsatian waltz,) lying on the mantelpiece. I went out to the front of the building, where the great park sweeps down to the edge of the river. An old gardener in one of the side paths saw me. We immediately established cordial relations with a cigarette.

He told me how, after the chasseurs retreated beyond the town, the Germans—reduced over a thousand of their original number by the activities of the day—swept over the barricades of the bridge and into the town. Yes, the old woman I had talked with was right about it. They were very angry. They were ferociously angry at being held eight hours at that bridge by a force so ridiculously small.

The first civilians they met they killed, and then they began to fire the houses. One young man, half witted, came out of one of the houses near the bridge. They hanged him in the garden behind the house. Then they called his mother to see. A mob came piling into the château headed by four officers. All the furniture and valuables that were not destroyed they piled into a wagon and sent back to Lunéville. Of the gardener who was telling me the story they demanded the keys of the wine cellars. No; they did not injure him. They just held him by the arms while several dozen of the soldiers spat in his face.

While the drunken crew were reeling about the place, one of them accidentally stumbled upon the secret underground passage leading to the famous grottoes. These grottoes and the underground connection from the château were built in the fifteenth century. They are a half mile away, situated only half above ground, the entrance looking out on a smooth lawn that extends to the edge of the river. Several giant trees, the trunks of which are covered with vines, semi-shelter the entrance, which is also obscured by climbing ivy. The interior was

one of the treasures of France. The vaulted ceilings were done in wonderful mosaic. The walls decorated with marbles and rare sea shells. In every nook were marble pedestals and antique statuary, while the fountain in the centre, supplied from an underground stream, was of porphyry inlaid with mosaic.

The Germans looked upon it with appreciative eyes and cultured minds. But it did not please them. They were still very angry. Its destruction was a necessity of war. It could not be destroyed by artillery because it was half underground and screened by the giant trees. But it could be destroyed by picks and axes. A squad of soldiers was detailed to the job. They did it thoroughly. The gardener took me there to see. Not a scrap of the mosaic remained. The fountain was smashed to bits. A headless Venus and a smashed and battered Adonis were lying prone upon the ground.

The visitors to the château and environs afterward joined their comrades in firing the town. Night had come. Also across the bridge waited the hundred and fifty thousand reinforcements come from Lunéville. The five hundred of the two thousand inhabitants who remained were herded to the upper end of the town near the station. That portion was not to be destroyed because the German General would make his headquarters there.

The inhabitants were to be given a treat. They were to witness the entrance of the hundred and fifty thousand—the power and might of Germany was to be exhibited to them. So while the flames leaped high from the burning city, reddening the sky for miles, while old men prayed, while women wept, while little children whimpered, the sound of martial music was heard down the street near the bridge. The infantry packed in close formation, the red light from the fire shining on their helmets, were doing the goose step up the main street to the station—the great German army had entered the city of Gerbéviller with the honors of war.

General Foch, the Man of Ypres

An Account of France's New Master of War

[FROM THE NEW YORK TIMES, APRIL, 1915.]

FIND out the weak point of your enemy and deliver your blow there," said the Commander of the Twentieth French Army Corps at Nancy at a staff banquet in 1913.

"But suppose, General," said an artillery officer, "that the enemy has no weak point?"

"If the enemy has no weak point," returned the commander, with a gleam of the eye and an aggressive tilt of the chin, "make one."

The commander was Foch—Ferdinand Foch—who has suddenly flashed before the world as the greatest leader in the French Army after Joffre, and who in that remark at Nancy gave the index to the basic quality of his character as a General. General Foch is today in command of the northern armies of France, besides being the chief Lieutenant and confidant of Joffre. Joffre conceives; Foch, master tactician, executes. He finds the weak point; if there is no weak point, he creates or seeks to create one.

When King George of England was at the front in France recently he conferred the Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath—the highest military distinction in the form of an order within the gift of the British Crown—on two Frenchmen. Joffre was one. The other was Foch.

"Foch? Foch? Who is Foch?" asked the British public, perplexed, when the newspapers printed the news of the granting of this signal honor.

"Foch is the General who was at the head of the French military mission which followed our army manoeuvres three years ago," replied a few men who happened to have been intimately acquainted with those manoeuvres.

"But what has that to do with the Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath?" asked John Bull. And the manoeuvre experts not being able to reply, the Eng-

lish newspapers demanded from their correspondents in France an answer to the query, "Who is Foch? Why the Grand Cross?"

And the main features of the answers to that query were these:

Foch is the "greatest strategist in Europe and the humblest," in the words of Joffre.

Foch is the hero of the Marne, the man who perceived on Sept. 9 that there must be a gap between the Prussian Guard and the Saxon Army, and who gathered enough artillery to crush the guard in the St. Gond marshes and forced both the Prussians and the Saxons, now separated, to retreat.

Foch is the man of Ypres, the commander who was in general control of the successful fight made by the French and the British, aided by the Belgians, to prevent the Germans from breaking through to Calais.

Foch, in short, is one of the military geniuses of the war, so record observers at the front. He is a General who has something of the Napoleonic in his composition; the dramatic in war is for him—secrecy and suddenness, gigantic and daring movements; fiery, yet coldly calculated attacks; vast strategic conceptions carried out by swift, unflinching tactics. Foch has a tendency to the impetuous, but he is impetuous scientifically. He has, however, taken all in all, much more of the dash and nervousness and warmth of the Southern Latin than has Joffre—cool, cautious, taciturn Joffre. Yet both men are from the south of France. They were born within a few miles of one another, within three months of one another, Foch being born on Oct. 2, 1851, and Joffre on Jan. 12, 1852.

Most writers who have dealt with Foch agree on this as one of his paramount

characteristics—the Napoleonic mode of military thought. When Foch was director of the *Ecole de Guerre*, where he had much to do with shaping the military views of many of the men who are now commanding units of the French Armies, he was considered to be possessed of almost an obsession on the subject of Napoleon. He studied Napoleon's campaigns, and restudied them. He went back much further, however, in his choice of a master, and gave intense application to the campaigns of Caesar. Napoleon and Caesar—these were the minds from which the mind of the Marne and Ypres has learned some of its lessons of success.

Here Foch invites comparison with another of the dominant figures of the war—General French. For French is described by his biographer as “a worshipper of Napoleon,” regarding him as the world's greatest strategist, and in following out and studying Napoleon's campaigns French personally covered and studied much of the ground in Belgium over which he has been fighting. French is a year younger than Foch. They are old friends, as are French and Joffre, and Joffre and Foch.

The inclination of Foch to something of the Napoleonic is shown beyond the realm of strategy and tactics. Foch is credited with knowing the French soldier, his heart, his mind, his capabilities, and the method of getting the most out of those capabilities, in a way reminiscent of the winner of Jena. And Foch knows not only the privates, but the officers. When he went to the front he visited each commander; the Colonels he called by name; the corps commanders, without exception, had attended his lectures at the *Ecole de Guerre*.

As for the men, Foch makes it his business to get into personal contact with them, as Napoleon used to do. Foch does not hobnob with them, there is no joking or familiarity, but he goes into the trenches and the occupied villages and looks the men over informally, inspects food or equipment, makes a useful comment or two, drops a phrase that is worth repeating, and leaves behind him en-

thusiasm and respect. The *Paris Figaro* says that he has the gift of setting souls afire, of arousing that élan in the French fighter which made that fighter perform military miracles when the “sun of Austerlitz” was high. It has been declared by a French writer that Foch knows the human element in the French Army better than any other man living.

With all his knowledge of men, his power of inspiring them, Foch is quiet, retiring, non-communicative, with no taste for meeting people in social intercourse. His life has been monotonous—work and work and work. He has the reputation of being a driver; he used to be particularly severe on shirkers in the war college, and such, no matter what their influence, had no chance of getting a diploma leading to an attractive staff position when Foch was Director. When he was in command at Nancy and elsewhere he used to work his staffs hard, and they had to share much of the monotony of work which has been chiefly Foch's life. He did not go in for society, merely making the formal calls required by the etiquette of garrison towns on the chief garrison hostesses, and giving dinners two or three times a year to his staff.

Foch, indeed, with his quiet ways and his hard work and his studying of Napoleon and Caesar, was characterized by some of the officers of the army as a pedant, a theorist, and these held that Foch had small chance of doing anything important in such a practical realm as that of real war.

Because of his Directorship of the *Ecole de Guerre* he was known to many officers, but as far as France at large was concerned his name was scarcely known at all last August. Yet officers knew him in other lands besides his own. His two great books, “*Principles of War*” and “*Conduct of War*,” have been translated into English, German, and Italian, and are highly regarded by military men. He has been ranked by the *Militär-Wochenblatt*, organ of the German General Staff, as one of the few strategists of first class ability among the Allies.

Foch is a slim man, with a great deal of nervous energy in his actions, being

so quick and graceful in movement, indeed, that a recent English observer declares he carries himself more like a man of 40 than one of 64. His gray blue eyes are particularly to be noticed, so keen are they. His speech is quick, precise, logical.

So little has Foch been known to the French public that it has been stated time and again that he is an Alsatian. He is not, but comes of a Basque family which has lived for many generations in the territory which is now the Department of the Hautes-Pyrénées, directly on the border of Spain. Foch was born in the town of Tarbes in that department. Joffre was born in the Department Pyrénées-Orientales, on the Spanish border to the east. Foch's father, Napoleon Foch, was a Bonapartist and Secretary of the Prefecture at Tarbes under Napoleon III. One of his two brothers, a lawyer, is also called Napoleon. The other is a Jesuit priest. Foch and these brothers attended the local college, and then turned to their professions.

In 1870 Foch served as a subaltern against the Germans, as did Joffre. After the war Foch began to win recognition as a man of brains, and at 26 he was given a commission as artillery Captain. Later he became Professor of Tactics in the Ecole de Guerre, with the title of Commandant, where he remained for five years, and then returned to regimental work. It was when Foch reached the grade of Brigadier General that he went back to the War College, this time as Director, one of the most confidential positions in the War Department. From this post he went to the command of the Thirteenth Division, thence to the command of the Eighth Corps at Bourges, and thence to the command of the Twentieth Corps at Nancy.

At the time that Foch was appointed Director of the Ecole de Guerre, Clemenceau was Premier, and upon the latter fell the task of choosing an officer for the important Directorship. There was keen competition for the position, many influential Generals desiring the appointment, and in consequence much wire-pulling went on. The story goes

that Clemenceau, a man of action, became impatient of the intrigues for the post, and determined to make his own choice unhampered.

According to the story, Clemenceau, after a conference one day upon routine business with Foch, asked the latter to dine. The Ecole de Guerre was not mentioned during the meal, the men chatting upon general topics. But as the coffee was being brought on, the Premier turned suddenly to the General and said, brusquely:

"By the way, I've a good bit of news for you. You're nominated Director of the Ecole de Guerre."

"Director of the Ecole de Guerre! But I'm not a candidate for the post."

"That is possible. But you're appointed all the same, and I know you will do excellent work in the position."

Foch thanked the Premier, but he still had some doubts, and added:

"I fear you don't know all my family connections. "I have a brother who is a Jesuit."

"Jesuit be d——!" the Premier is reported to have roared in reply. "Oh, I beg your pardon, Mr. Director! You are the Director of the Ecole de Guerre. All the Jesuits in creation won't alter that—it is a fait accompli."

Among the confidential bits of work worthy of note that Foch has done for the War Department is the report he made upon the larger guns of the French field artillery, which have done such execution in the present war. For many weeks Foch went around the great Creusot gun works in the blouse of a workman, testing, watching, experimenting, analyzing.

Foch was one of the high officers in France who was not in the least surprised by the war and who had personally been holding himself in readiness for it for years. He felt, and often said, that a great war was inevitable; so much used he to dwell upon the certainty of war that some persons regarded him as an alarmist when he kept declaring that French officers should take every step within their power to get themselves and the troops ready for active service

at an instant's notice. He also held that France as a nation should prepare to the utmost of her power for the assured conflict.

In a recent issue of *The London Times* there was a description of Foch by a *Times* correspondent who had been at Foch's headquarters in the north of France. The correspondent's remarks are prefaced by the statement that in a late dispatch General French mentions General Foch as one of those whose help he has "once more gratefully to acknowledge." The correspondent writes in part:

What Ernest Lavisse has done for civilian New France in his direction of the *Ecole Normale* General Foch has done in a large measure for the officers of New France by his teaching of strategy and tactics at the *Ecole de Guerre*. He left his mark upon the whole teaching of general tactics.

I had the honor of being received recently by General Foch at his headquarters in the north of France—a house built for very different purposes many years ago, when Flemish civil architecture was in its flower. The quiet atmosphere of Flemish ease and burgo-master comfort has completely vanished. The building hums with activity, as does the whole town. A fleet of motor cars is ready for instant action. Officers and orderlies hurry constantly to and fro. There is an occasional British uniform, a naval airman's armored car, and above all the noise of this bustle, though lower in tone, the sound of guns in the distance from Ypres.

The director of all this activity is General Foch. There in the north he is putting his theories of war to the test with as much success as he did at the outbreak of hostilities in Lorraine and later in the centre during the battle of the Marne. Although born with the brain of a mathematician, General Foch's ideas upon war are by no means purely scientific. He refuses, indeed, to regard war, and more especially modern war, as an exact science. The developments of science have, indeed, but increased the mental and moral effort required of each participant, and it is only in the passions aroused in each man by the conflict of conception of life that the combatant finds the strength of will to withstand the horrors of modern warfare.

General Foch is a philosopher as well as a fighter. He is one of the rare philosophers who have proved the accuracy of their ideas in the fire of battle. A typical instance of this is given by "Miles" in a recent number of the *Correspondant*. During the battle of the Marne the Germans made repeated efforts to cut through the centre where General Foch commanded between Sézanne and Mailly. On three consecutive days General Foch was forced to retire. Every morning he resumed the offensive, with the result that his

obstinacy won the day. He was able to profit by a false step by the enemy to take him in the flank and defeat him.

General Foch's whole life and teaching were proved true in those days. He has resolved the art of war into three fundamental ideas—preparation, the formation of a mass, and the multiplication of this mass in its use. In order to derive the full benefit of the mass created it is necessary to have freedom of action, and that is only obtained by intellectual discipline. General Foch has written:

"Discipline for a leader does not mean the execution of orders received in so far as they seem suitable, just reasonable, or even possible. It means that you have entirely grasped the ideas of the leader who has given the order and that you take every possible means of satisfying him. Discipline does not mean silence, abstention, only doing what appears to you possible without compromising yourself; it is not the practice of the art of avoiding responsibilities. On the contrary, it is action in the sense of orders received."

Fifteen years ago at the *Ecole de Guerre* General Foch was fond of quoting Joseph de Maistre's remark, "A battle lost is a battle which one believes to have lost, for battles are not lost materially," and of adding, "Battles are therefore lost morally, and it is therefore morally that they are won." The aphorism can be extended by this one: "A battle won is a battle in which one will not admit one's self vanquished." As "Miles" remarks, "He did as he had said."

Ernest Dimnet in *The London Saturday Review* has this to say in part about Foch and his two widely known books:

During his two terms of service at the *Ecole de Guerre* he produced two considerable works, "*Principes de la Guerre*" and "*De la Conduite de la Guerre*," which give a high idea of their author's character and talent. There is nothing in them that ought to scare away the average reader. Their style has the geometrical lucidity which is the polytechnician's birthright, but in spite of the deliberate impersonality generally attached to that style of writing, there emanates from it a curious quality which gradually shows us the author as a living person.

We have the impression of a vast mental capacity turned to the lifelong study of a fascinating subject and acquiring in it the dignity of attitude and the naturalness which mastery inevitably produces. War has been the constant meditation of this powerful brain. In "*La Conduite de la Guerre*" this meditation is the minute historical examination of the battles of the First Empire and 1870. "Nothing can replace the experience of war," writes the author, "except the history of war," and it is clear that he understands the word "history" as all those who go to the past for a lesson in greatness understand it.

"Les Principes de la Guerre" is more immediately technical, yet it strikes one as being less a speculation than a visualizing of what modern war was sure to be. If the reader did not feel that he lacks the background which only the contemplation of a million times repeated of concrete details can create, he would be tempted to marvel at the

extraordinary simplicity of these views. But a good judge who was very near the General until a wound removed him for a while from the—to him—fascinating scene tells me that this simplicity and directness—which marked the action of Foch at the battle of the Marne as they formerly marked his teaching—are the perfection to which only a few can aspire.

THE UNREMEMBERED DEAD

By ELLA A. FANNING.

"For those who die in war, and have none to pray for them."—Litany.

WE lay a wreath of laurel on the sward,
Where rest our loved ones in a deep
repose
Unvexed by dreams of any earthly care,
And, checking not our tears, we breathe a
prayer,
Grateful for even the comfort which is ours—
That we may kneel and sob our sorrow there,
And place the deathless leaf, the rarest
flowers.

Though Winter's cruel fingers brown the sod,
It's dearer far than all the world beside!
Forms live again—we gaze in love and pride
On youthful faces prest close to our own.
Eyes smile to ours; we hear each tender tone,
Grief's smart is softened—less the sense of
loss.
This grave we have, at least; we're not
alone!

And they must know of our unchanging love—
Our tender thought—our memory—our
prayers!
And in our constancy, ah! each one shares
To whom death comes on distant battle-
fields,
When life's last breath not even the solace
yields—
"There's one who'll mourn for me—whose
tears will flow!"—
Not even a grave is theirs, unnamed, un-
wept!
God rest their souls—the dead we do not
know!

Canada and Britain's War Union

By Edward W. Thomson, F. R. S. L., F. R. S. C.

[From THE NEW YORK TIMES, April, 1915.]

CANADA'S political relation to Great Britain, and, indeed, to all other countries, has been essentially altered by Canada's quite voluntary engagement in the war. Were feudal terms not largely inapplicable, one might aver that the vassal has become the suzerain's ally, political equality connoted.

But, indeed, Canadians were never vassals. They have ever been Britons, whatever their individual origins, retaining the liberties of their political birthright. While in a certain tutelage to their own monarchs' immediate Ministries, they have continually, slowly, consciously, expanded their freedom from such tutelage, substituting for it self-government or rule by their own representatives, without forsaking but rather enhancing their allegiance to the common Crown. This has long been the symbol of their self-government, even as it is to old country kinsmen: the symbol of rule by themselves.

The alteration manifested by Canada's active, voluntary engagement in the European war is the change from Canadians holding, as they formerly did, that Great Britain was bound to defend Canada, while Canadians were not bound to defend Great Britain outside Canada. The "dependency" has not been now dragged in; it acted as an independency; it recognized its participation with Great Britain in a common danger; it proceeded quite voluntarily, quite independently, to recruit, organize, dispatch, and maintain large forces for the common cause. Canada's course has become that of a partner in respect of acceptance of risks and of contribution to expenses.

This partner has no formally specified share in gains, or in authority, or in future policy of the concern. Canada has no obvious, distinct, admitted way or voice

as to the conduct of war or making of peace. She appears, with the other self-governing Dominions of the Crown, as an ally having no vote in settlements, none of the prerogatives of an ally. Hence some observers in Great Britain, in Canada, in other realms of the Crown contend that the old, expressed relations between Great Britain, Canada, and the other Dominions must inevitably be extensively changed formally as well as actually in consequence of the war.

Some say imperial federation cannot but ensue. Others argue that formal independence must arrive if such federation come not speedily. Others contend for an Empire League of sister States. Nobody ventures to mention what was often talked publicly by Canadians from thirty to fifty years ago, and later by Goldwin Smith, viz., Canada's entrance to the United States as a new tier of sovereign States. The idea of severance from Great Britain has vanished. Discussion of the other alternatives is not inactive, but it is forced. It engages the quidnuncs. They are talkers who must say something for the delight of hearing themselves; or they are writers who live under the exigency of needing to get "something different" daily into print. They are mostly either "Jingoes" or Centralizationists, as contra to Nationalists or Decentralizationists, long-standing opponents.

Each set perceives their notions liable to be profoundly affected by Canada's fighting in Europe. Each affects belief that their own political designs cannot but be thereby served; each is afflicted with qualms of doubt. They alike appreciate the factors that make for their opponent's cause. Both know the strength of popular attachment to Great Britain; both know the traditional and inbred loathing of the industrious masses for

the horrible bloodshed and insensate waste of treasure in war. Both sets balance inwardly the chances that sentiments seemingly irreconcilable and about equally respectable may, after the war, urge Canadians either to draw politically closer to their world-scattered kin, or to cut ligaments that might pull them again and again, time without end, into the immemorial European shambles.

But is the Canadian public excitedly interested in the discussion? Not at all. Spokesmen and penmen of the two contentious factions are victimized by their own perfervid imaginations. The electorate, the masses, are not so swayed. The Canadian people, essentially British no matter what their origins, are mainly, like all English-speaking democracies, of straight, primitive, uncomplicated emotions, and of essentially conservative mind. They "plug" along. The hour and the day hold their attention. It is given to the necessary private works of the moment, as to the necessary public conduct of the time.

They did not, as a public, spin themselves any reasons or excuses for their hearty approval of Canada's engagement in the war. Her or their contributions of men and money to its fields of slaughter and waste appeared and appear to them natural, proper, inevitable. They applauded seriously the country's being "put in for it" by agreement of the two sets of party politicians, and without any direct consultation of the electorate in this, the most important departure Canada ever made, because prompt action seemed the only way, and time was lacking for debate about what seemed the next thing that had to be done. In fact, the Canadian people, regarded collectively, felt and acted in this case with as much ingenuousness as did those Tyrolese mountaineers, bred, according to Heine, to know nothing of politics save that they had an Emperor who wore a white coat and red breeches.

When the patriots climbed up to them, and told them with oratory that they now had a Prince who wore a blue coat and white breeches, they grasped their rifles, and kissed wife and children, and went down the mountain and offered their lives in defense

of the white coat and the dear old red breeches.

But did they forsake their relish of and devotion to their customary, legendary Tyrolese liberties? No more will the Canadian masses, by reason of their hearty participation in the war, incline to yield jot or tittle of their usual, long-struggled-for, gradually acquired, valuable and valued British self-governing rights. Can the Jingoos or Centralizationists scare them backward? Or the Decentralizationists or Separatists hurry them forward? Won't they just continue to "plug along" as their forefathers did in the old country and in the new, gaining a bit more freedom to do well or ill at their own collective choice—that is, if the war result "as usual" in British security, according to confident British expectation.

Such is the Canadian political situation. It has been essentially similar any time within living memory. The people approve in politics what they feel, instinctively, to be the profitable or the decent and reasonable necessary next thing to do. Which signifies that those controversialists are probably wrong who conceive that a result of the war, if it be a win for the Allies, will cause any great formal change in Canada's political relation to Great Britain.

The truly valuable change in such relations is already secured; it cannot but become more notably established by future discussion; it is and will be a change by reason of greatly increased influence on Great Britain by Canada and the other Dominions. And it appears highly probable that such inevitable change in influence or weight of the new countries is sufficient for all sentiments concerned, and for all useful purposes on behalf of which formal changes are advocated by doctrinaires and idealists.

The British peoples have acquired by long practice in very various politics a way of making existing arrangements "do" with some slight patching. They are instinctively seized of the truth of Edmund Burke's maxim, "Innovation is not improvement." They have "muddled along" into precisely the institutions that suit any exigency, their sanest political

philosophers recognizing that the exigency must always be most amenable to the most flexible system.

It is because the existing arrangements between London and the several Dominion capitals don't suit logicians that they do suit experienced statesmen pretty well. Because these institutions can be patched as occasion may require, they are retained for patching on occasion. Because the loose, go-as-you-please organization of the so-called "empire" has revealed almost incredible unity of sentiment and purpose, practiced statesmen regard it as a prodigious success. They are mighty shy of affiliating with any of the well-meaning doctrinaires who have been explaining any time within the last century that the system is essentially incoherent and absurd and urgently needs profound change with doctrinaire improvements.

Sir Robert Borden, for instance. Some days ago he most amiably gave me a little private talk on these matters, of course on the tacit understanding that he was not to be "interviewed" as for close reporting of his informal sentences. He was, by the way, apparently in robust health, as if, like Mr. Asquith, of a temperament to flourish under the heaviest responsibilities ever laid on a Prime Minister in his own country. No statesman could be of aspect and utterance less hurried, nor more pleasant, lucid, cautious, disposed to give a friendly caller large and accurate information briefly, while disclosing nothing at variance with or unfindable in his published speeches. Of some of them he repeated apposite slices; to others he referred for further enlightenment as to his views on imperial federation. Really he was neither secretive nor newly informative. The Premier of Canada at any time is governed, much as I have endeavored to show how the electors are, by that natural, instinctive course of the general loyal Canadian mind, which constitutes "the situation" and controls Governmental proceedings on behalf of the public.

Well meaning persons who allege Sir Robert to have either favored or disfavored imperial federation have been inac-

curate. Precisely what imperial federation may be nobody knows, for the simple and sufficient reason that nobody has ever sketched or elaborated a scheme in that regard which appeared or appears desirable as a change from the all-compelling situation. What has never been adopted as desirable cannot be termed practicable in statesmen's language. To declare an untried scheme impracticable might be an error of rashness.

The idea of federating the empire has long attracted Sir Robert, with many other admirable Canadians and Britons, since it connotes or involves the concept of British Union for all worthy and necessary purposes, including maintenance of local autonomy or self-government, surely a most praiseworthy design. Discussion of that idea is unlikely to be harmful; it may be useful; something may come of it that may seem desirable and practicable to substantially all interests and people concerned. A consummation devoutly to be wished, but not to be rushed! One point, frequently specified in Sir Robert's public speeches, was stated as follows in a recent report, pamphleted for distribution by his own side:

It is impossible to believe that the existing status, so far as it concerns the control of foreign policy and extra-imperial relations, can remain as it is today. All are conscious of the complexity of the problem thus presented; and no one need despair of a satisfactory solution, and no one can doubt the profound influence which the tremendous events of the past few months and of those in the immediate future must exercise upon one of the most interesting and far-reaching questions ever presented for the consideration of statesmen.

There Sir Robert was recommending no particular solution. A little earlier in the same speech he illustrated the deep sense of all experienced British statesmen that there never is or can be in the British system any final solution of any grave problem, the vital essence of the system being flux and change to suit ever-changing circumstance.

In so far as this empire may be said to possess a Constitution, it is of modern growth and is still in the stage of development. One can hardly conceive that it will ever distinctly emerge from that state or attain a status in



YUAN SHIH-KAI

President of the Chinese Republic.

(Photo by Rio V. De Sieur.)



PRINCE VON BUELOW
German Ambassador to Italy.

which constitutional development is no longer to be anticipated. Indeed, the genius of the British people and all our past history lead us to believe the contrary. The steps in advance have been usually gradual and always practical; and they have been taken on instinct rather than upon any carefully considered theory.

Which was admonition at once of the Centralizationists and their opponents, the Nationalists.

Whatever alteration of existing British inter-arrangements may come after the war will be done on instinct in view of circumstances that cannot now be foreseen. Wherefore clamorers for this or that, their favorite scheme, are now inopportunist. Hence they are neglected by the public as unimpressive, futile wasters of breath or ink. Indeed Canada, Great Britain, the whole race of mankind are now swept on the crest of a huge wave of Fate. When it casts them ashore, recedes, leaves men to consider what may best be done for the future, then will have come the time to rearrange political fabrics, if need be. Then Sir Robert Borden will probably continue in his often clearly specified opinion that Canada, if remaining liable as now to be drawn into Great Britain's more perilous wars—a liability which must ever urge Canada to strong participation in order that the peril may be the sooner ended—ought to have a share in controlling Great Britain's foreign policy. Which sharing Mr. Asquith declared last year impracticable, in that sense inadmissible.

Westminster must retain freedom to move, act, strike quickly. Her course toward Germany had to be decided last August within a few hours. Obviously her freedom, her power for promptitude would be hindered in proportion to need for such consultation with and approval by councilors of many distant countries as is presupposed by advocates of imperial federation. Why establish control by cumbersome, superfluous machinery when the war has made it clear as the sun at high noon that the essential desideratum, British Union, exists now? All the notable communities of the King's realms have demonstrated that they are in the mind, the condition of a voluntary empire. What more

can be desired save by such as desire old country domination of all the concerned countries, and who really long for a formal and subservient Empire?

Sir Richard Jebb, a deep student of the Empire problem, declared clearly last November the meaning of that general voluntary British war union which is a wonder of mankind, and in the course to teach a profound, general political lesson. He wrote:

That the war will in any event change the external relations is evident. But why, if we win, should it change the political relations between the parts, except to the extent of encouraging us to conserve and develop the existing system which has given so signal an example of effective imperial unity in time of need? Continually talking of imperial unity, we fail to recognize it when we have got it. There is never going to be a moment when one might say "Yesterday we were not united; today the Grand Act (of Imperial Federation understood) has been signed; henceforth we are united."

The cult of the Grand Act is a snare and a delusion. Whatever may happen hereafter—even the Grand Act itself—posterity is likely to look back upon August, 1914, as the moment when the British Empire reached the zenith of its unity. Let us remember that the existing system is not stationary, though its principle (voluntary union) may be final. It has been developing steadily since 1902.

The Australian fleet unit, the first of the Dominion navies, which enables each to exert upon foreign policy the full weight of its importance in the empire, was not begun until 1910. The corollary, that any Dominion Minister appointed to reside in London should have free and constant access to the British Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary, was only conceded in January, 1912, and has not yet been taken advantage of, even by Australia.

But the development is all true to principle. What principle? Voluntary co-operation, as opposed to central compulsion. In war, as in peace, each of the Britannic nations is free to do or not to do. But we have invoked naval and military co-ordination, with results which the Australian Navy has already exemplified (on the Emden, &c.)

Has this system of the free Commonwealth, as distinguished from the German principle of a centralized empire organized primarily for war, broken down under the supreme test, as so many of our prophets predicted? On the contrary, it has alone saved South Africa to the empire, besides eliciting unrestricted military aid from each part. Why change it for something diametrically opposed to its spirit, substituting compulsion for liberty, provinces for nation-States?

Sir Richard Jebb's sentence, specifying

the nature of the Australian influence on foreign policy, seems apt reply to Sir Robert Borden's oft-repeated specification that a share in control of foreign policy should accrue to the Dominions by reason of their participation in or liability to war. This liability really compels them to engage with all their strength, lest they comfort an enemy by abstention, or by confining their armaments to self-defense, which might and would be read as disapproval of Britain's course, if the war were one of magnitude endangering her. A system more powerfully requiring Great Britain to take heed that her quarrel be just, lest she be not thrice armed by approving children, can scarcely be imagined.

On this matter I have had the pleasure and benefit, during the last twelve years, of talking with Sir Wilfrid Laurier often. In the quoted Jebb view he agreed closely when I saw him a few days ago. He remarked, with special regard to this article for THE NEW YORK TIMES, that his point of insistence at the Imperial Conferences of 1902, 1907, 1911, and on all proper occasions, has been that local autonomy—that is, complete self-government for each of the Dominions—is not only consistent with British unity but necessary thereto as promoting and conserving that unity.

When Mr. Asquith's denial of the practicability of giving the Dominions a direct share in control of Great Britain's foreign policy is considered, the Jebb-Laurier view would appear one to which Sir Robert Borden, cautious statesman, must be led by recognition that potent influence on foreign policy cannot but come to Dominions energetically providing at once for their own defense and for their power to aid Great Britain all along the line.

As to imperial federation, Sir Wilfrid remarked that he has ever been openly attracted by that aspiration toward permanent British union, on which advocacy of the vague project has ever been bot-tomed. He is, as he said to me, and as all his long series of political actions have manifested, British in heart and way of political thinking, as indeed sub-

stantially all his French-Canadian compatriots are. British liberality, not to say liberalism, has attached them to the British system as firmly as any community originating from the United Kingdom. It was a French-Canadian statesman who asserted, some fifty years ago, when many British-Canadians seemed tending toward union with the United States, "The last shot fired in Canada for British connection will be from a French-Canadian." That was before the civil war abolished slavery.

But, even as the Britishism of Old Country liberals is strongly tintured by devotion to ideals which Americans are wont to regard as theirs—ideals making for settled peace, industry, the uplift of the "common people," fair room and reward for those abilities which conspicuously serve the general welfare—so Sir Wilfrid and his compatriots acknowledge their Britishism to be acutely conscious of political kinship with the American people. The French-Canadian yearning, like that of many Canadians of British origin, is rather for English-speaking union—a union of at least thorough understanding and common designs with the American people—than for the narrower exclusive British union sought by Canadian imperial federationists.

Sir Wilfrid said, in effect, (I do not profess to report his very words,) that federation of those British communities widely separated by geography, but alike in race, language, laws, principles, has always attracted him as a project of excellent intentions. It is at worst a noble dream. That dream has become less impracticable than it was formerly, he thinks, by reason of the essential diminution of the world, diminution of distances and of time by latter-day inventions.

Against the idea of general representation in a central Parliament at London, Sir Wilfrid pointed out that Edmund Burke objected "opposit natura"—nature forbade it. The wisest of political philosophers could not foresee the telegraph, wireless, steam, airships. These have made a useful central imperial Parliament at least conceivable. Could it be more useful than the advisory

council, or Imperial Conference which has become quadrennial, and might possibly become annual? That is matter for discussion. Sir Wilfrid said that such is the political genius of the British race that he would be rash who alleged any design impracticable toward which the race may tend so generally as to put it under discussion for arrangement of details. Conservation of local self-government, prime essential to agreement for union on common purposes, might prove reconcilable with federated defense.

But there is, to Sir Wilfrid's way of thinking, one large objection against now attempting imperial federation. Its agitators contemplate a scheme immense, yet not sufficiently inclusive. They do not contemplate English-speaking solidarity. They purpose leaving out the majority of English-speakers—the American people. In this they do not follow Cecil Rhodes, a chief propagandist of their main design. It is true that the idea of getting Americans to participate in any formal union with all the rest of their brethren by race and tongue seems now impractical. But time works wonders. Mr. Gladstone foresaw the United States a people of six hundred comfortable millions, living in union before the end of the next century. The hegemony of the English-speaking nations seems likely to be within attainment by that one of them which appears destined to become far the most powerful of all in numbers, in wealth, and in security of environment. Time may show to our successors in this world some effective method of establishing agreements amounting to that solidarity for English-speaking action which has been acclaimed as existent for English-speaking thinking by a mind so eminently reasonable as that of Lord Haldane.

It would be hasty, thinks Sir Wilfrid, and it might be injurious for the British countries to move toward any sort of formal union ostensibly tending to set them collectively apart from the United States. Give great beneficent ideas time to develop. Britons can well afford to take their time, since the war

has shown existent among them an almost perfect union of sentiment and purpose. And this, apparently, with the blessed effect of enhancing general American good-will to Britons. From so much good understanding more may ensue, Sir Wilfrid concluded.

Such Canadians as hold Edmund Burke to have been a spokesman of consummate political wisdom are apt to regard the busy stir of doctrinaires, who scream for closer political junction of the British peoples, even as Burke regarded the hurry of some of the same kidney in his time. Resolute to bind the thirteen colonies forever to England, they proceeded to offend, outrage, and drive those colonies to independence. Be it remembered that these colonies had contributed so loyally, so liberally to England's armaments and wars that grateful London Parliaments had insisted on voting back to them the subsidies they had granted, holding the contributions too generous. To later proposals of foolish henchmen of George III., proposals that the colonies, since they had revealed themselves as strong and rich, should be dragged into some formal political subordination by which, as by latter-day Imperial Federation, they might be involuntarily mustered and taxed for imperial purposes, Burke said:

Our hold on the colonies is the close affection which grows from common names, from kindred blood, from similar privileges, and equal protection. These are the ties which, though light as air, are strong as links of iron. Let the colonies always keep the idea of their civil rights associated with your Government; they will cling and grapple to you, and no force under heaven will be of power to tear them from their allegiance. * * *

As long as you have the wisdom to keep the sovereign authority of this country as the sanctuary of liberty, the sacred temple consecrated to our common faith, wherever the chosen race and sons of England worship freedom, they will turn their faces toward you. The more they multiply, the more friends you will have. The more ardently they love liberty, the more perfect will be their obedience. Slavery they can have anywhere. It is a weed that grows on every soil. They may have it from Spain; they may have it from Prussia; but until you become lost to all feeling of your true interest and your natural dignity, freedom they can have from none but you.

This is the commodity of price, of which you have the monopoly. * * * Do not entertain so weak an imagination as that your registers and your bonds, your affidavits and your sufferances, * * * your letters of office and your instructions and your suspending clauses are the things that hold together the great contexture of this mysterious whole. These things do not make your Government. Dead instruments, passive tools as they are, it is the spirit of the English communion that gives all their life and efficacy to them. It is the spirit of the English Constitution which, infused through the mighty mass, pervades, feeds, unites, invigorates, vivifies every part of the empire, even to the minutest member.

And the doctrinaires of Centralization, vociferating their fad of Imperial Federation, would have that Constitution, in the moment of its supreme triumph for unity, cast away! Cast away for a new and written one by which Great Britain

and all her children alike would chain themselves together! Well may practical statesmen view the doctrinaires with some disdain, not unmindful of Burke's immortal scorn of such formalists:

"A sort of people who think that nothing exists but what is gross and material, and who, therefore, far from being qualified to be directors of the great movement of empire, are not fit to turn a wheel in the machine. To men truly initiated and rightly taught, those ruling and master principles which, in the opinion of such men as I have mentioned, have no substantial existence, are in truth everything and all in all. Magnanimity in politics is not seldom the truest wisdom; and a great empire and little minds go ill together."

ENGLAND.

By JOHN E. DOLSON.

BIRTH land of statesmen, bards, heroes,
and sages;
Mother of nations—the homes of the
free;

Builder of work that will last through the
ages,
Hope for Humanity centres in thee.

Now that thy bugles their clear calls are
shrilling,

Now that thy battle voice echoes world-
wide,

O'er the long reaches of sea rush the willing
Sons of thy children to fight by thy side.

Eager to aid thee with treasure and tissue,

Other leal millions will come to thy call.
Civilization is staked on the issue—

Woe to Mankind if thy lion should fall!

Fall he will never, till English force slacken

In the great soul of thy dominant race,

Now, as of old, do the Destinies beckon

Thee to be highest in power and place.

Conflicts now raging will pass into story,

Nations may sink in defeat or disgrace;

Long be thy future resplendent with glory,

Long be thy triumphs the pride of our race!

American Aid of France

By Eugene Brieux

[From THE NEW YORK TIMES, April, 1915.]

M. Eugène Brieux, the celebrated French poet and playwright, who is in this country as the official representative of the French Academy—the "Forty Immortals"—has written a remarkable tribute to American aid of France during the present war. The address, which is herewith presented, was read by M. Brieux at the residence of Mrs. John Henry Hammond of New York City recently before a gathering of two hundred men and women who have been interested in the work of the American Ambulance Hospital in Paris.

MISS MARIE VAN VORST, who nursed the wounded at the American Ambulance in Paris, will speak to you of it as an eyewitness. From her you will receive direct news of your splendid work of humanity. While she was caring for wounded French, English, and German I was attached to another hospital at Chartres. It happens, therefore, that I have never seen the American Military Hospital created by you, but I am not in ignorance concerning it any more than any other Parisian, any more, indeed, than the majority of the French people.

I know that the American Ambulance is the most remarkable hospital that the world has seen. I know that you, since the beginning of the war, have brought the aid of medical science to wounded men and that you have given not only money, but an institution, all ready, complete and of the most modern type, and, even more, that you have sent there your best surgeons and a small army of orderlies and nurses.

I know that at first one could not find a place; that there was available only a building in course of construction, intended to be the Pasteur School at Neuilly. This building was far from completion; it lacked doors and there were no stairs. I know that in three weeks your generosity, your energy, and your quick intelligence has made of this uncertain shell a modern military hospital, with white walls, electric light, baths, rooms for administering anaesthetics, operating rooms, sterilizing plants, apparatus for X-rays, and a dental

clinic. I know that automobiles, admirably adapted to the service, carried the wounded. And yet I do not know all. I know only by instinct of the devotion of your young girls, of your women, and of your young men, belonging often to prominent families, who served as stretcher bearers and orderlies.

I am not ignorant of the fact that they count by the hundreds those who have been cured at the American Ambulance at Neuilly, nor of the further fact that the rate of mortality is extremely low, although they have sent you those most gravely injured. I know that it is all free; that there are no charges made for the expenses of administration; that for the service rendered by your people there is no claim, and that every cent of every dollar subscribed goes entirely and directly to the care of the wounded. I know also that the expenses at the hospital are \$4,000 a day, and that ever since the beginning your charity has met this demand.

Such splendid effort has not been ignored or misunderstood. The President of the French Republic has cabled to President Wilson his appreciation and his gratitude; General Fevier, Inspector General of Hospitals of the French Army, has publicly expressed his admiration; the English physicians and public men have shared their sentiments.

As to the people of Paris, as to the French nation, they have been touched to the depths of their being. And yet in France we have found all this quite natural. I shall tell you why. We have so high a regard for you that when you

do anything well no one is surprised. I believe that if a wounded soldier arriving at your hospital exclaimed, "This is wonderful!" his comrade who had been ahead of him would answer in a tone of admonition: "That surprises you? You do not know then that it is done by the Americans, by the people from the United States?" In this refusal to be astonished in the face of remarkable achievements, when they come from you, there is a tribute, a praise of high quality which your feelings and your patriotism will know how to appreciate.

I have said that all that comes from you which is good and great seems natural to us, and I have given you a reason; but there is another. In France we are accustomed to consider the Republic of the United States as an affectionate, distant sister. When one receives a gift from a stranger one is astonished and cries out his thanks, but when the gift comes from a brother or from some one who, on similar occasions, has never failed, the thanks are not so outspoken but more profound. One says: "Ah, it is you, my brother. I suffer. I expected you. I knew that you would come, for I should have gone to you had you needed me. I thank you."

And, indeed, we are closely bound together, you and we. Without doubt, common interest and an absence of possible competition helps to that end, but there is something more which unites us—it is our kindred sentiments. It is this kinship which has created our attraction for each other and which has cemented it; it is our common ground of affections, of hatreds, of hopes; our ideals rest upon the same high plane. To mention but one point, one of you has said: "The United States and France are the only two nations which have fought for an ideal." And it is that which separates us, you and us, from a certain other nation, and which has served to bring us two close together.

We love you and we are grateful for what you are doing for us. When the day came for my departure from France to represent here the French Academy I asked of Mr. Poincaré, who had visited

the American Ambulance at Neuilly, if duty did not forbid me to go. "No," he said to me. "Go to the United States. Carry greetings to the great nation of America." And he gave to me, for your President, the letter with which you are familiar, where he expressed the admiration and the sympathy that he has for you.

I have been traveling North and South in the Eastern part of the United States. I have had many opportunities to admire your power and the extent of your efforts. Today, in thinking of the American Ambulance Hospital in Paris, I admire your persistence in labor. You have established this hospital. That was good. But it costs a thousand dollars a day, and yet you keep on with the work. That is doubly good. Indeed, one can understand that you have not been willing, after having created this model hospital, that some day through lack of support its doors should close and the wounded you have taken in be turned over to others; certainly those first subscribers undertook a sort of moral obligation to themselves not to permit the work to fail. But, none the less, it is admirable that it should be so. To give once is something, but it is little if one compares the value of the first gift to those which follow.

The first charity is easily understood. Suddenly war is at hand. Its horrors can be imagined and every one feels that he can in some measure lessen them, and he opens his purse. Then time passes, the war continues, and one becomes accustomed to the thoughts that were at first unbearable—it is so far away and so long. Others in this way were checked after their first impulse.

But you, you have thought that, if it is good to establish a hospital, that alone was not enough, and that each day would bring new wounded to replace those who, cured, took up their guns again and returned to the field of battle. And since at the American Ambulance the wounded are cured quickly, the very excellence of your organization, the science of your surgeons, and the greatness of your sacrifices all bring upon you other and new sacrifices to be made.

But the word "sacrifice" is badly chosen. You do not make sacrifices, for you are strong and you are good. When you decide upon some new generous act you have only to appeal to your national pride, which will never allow an American undertaking to fail. You have the knowledge of the good that you are doing, and that, for you, is sufficient. You know that, thanks to your generosity, suffering is relieved, and you know that, thanks to the science of your surgeons, this relief is not merely momentary, but that the wounded man who would have remained a cripple if he had been less ably cared for, will be, thanks to you, completely cured, and that, instead of dragging out a miserable existence, he will be able to live a normal life and support a family which will bless

you. Such men will owe it all to the persistence of your generosity.

I return always to that point, and it is essential. To give once is a common impulse, common to nearly all the world. It means freeing one's self from the suffering which good souls feel when they see others suffer. But to give again after having given is a proof of reflection, of an understanding of the meaning of life; it is to work intelligently; it is to insure the value of the first effort; it means the possession of goodness which is lasting and far-seeing. That is a rare virtue. You have it. And that is why I express a three-fold thanks, for the past, for the present, and for the future—thanks that come from the bottom of the heart of a Frenchman.

A FAREWELL.

By EDNA MEAD.

LOOK, Love! I lay my wistful hands in
 thine
 A little while before you seek the dark,
 Untraversed ways of War and its Reward,
 I cannot bear to lift my gaze and mark
 The gloried light of hopeful, high emprise
 That, like a bird already poised for flight,
 Has waked within your eyes.
 For me no proud illusions point the road,
 No fancied flowers strew the paths of strife:
 War only wears a horrid, hydra face,
 Mocking at strength and courage, youth and
 life.
 If you were going forth to cross your sword
 In fair and open, man-to-man affray,
 One might be even reconciled and say,
 "This is not murder; only passion bent
 On pouring out its poison"—one could pray
 That the day's end might see the madness
 done
 And saner souls rise with the morrow's sun.
 But this incarnate hell that yawns before
 Your bright, brave soul keyed to the fighter's
 clench—
 This purgatory that men call the "trench"—
 This modern "Black Hole" of a modern
 war!
 Yea, Love! yet naught I say can save you, so
 I lay my heart in yours and let you go.

Stories of French Courage

By Edwin L. Shuman

[FROM THE NEW YORK TIMES, APRIL, 1915.]

HERE has just appeared in Paris a book called "La Guerre Vue d'Une Ambulance," which brings the war closer to the eye and heart than anything else I have read. It is written by Abbé Felix Klein, Chaplain of the American Ambulance Hospital at Neuilly, a suburb of Paris, and has the added merit of describing the noble work which American money and American Red Cross nurses are doing there for the French wounded. The abbé, by the way, has twice visited the United States in recent years, has many warm friends here, and has written several enthusiastic books about the "Land of the Strenuous Life."

When the war broke out this large-hearted priest and busy author dropped all his literary and other plans to minister to the wounded soldiers brought to the war hospital established by Americans in the fine new building of the Lycée Pasteur, which was to have received its first medical students a few weeks later. There were 250 beds at first, and later 500, with more than a hundred American automobiles carrying the wounded to it, often direct from the front.

Through all these months Abbé Klein has labored day and night among these sufferers, cheering some to recovery, easing the dying moments of others with spiritual solace, and, hardest of all, breaking the news of bereavement to parents.

From day to day, through those terrible weeks of fighting on the Aisne and the Marne, with Paris itself in danger, the good abbé wrote brief records of his hopes and fears regarding his wounded friends, and set down in living words the more heroic or touching phases of their simple stories. Let me translate a few of them for the reader.

Take, for instance, the case of Charles Marée, a blue-eyed, red-bearded hero of thirty years, an only son who had taken the place of his invalid father at the head of their factory, and who had responded to the first call to arms. During his months of suffering his parents were held in territory occupied by the enemy and could not be reached. The abbé goes on to tell his story:

Let us not be deceived by the calm smile on his face. For six weeks Charles Marée has been undergoing an almost continual martyrdom, his pelvis fractured, with all the consequences one divines, weakened by hemorrhage, his back broken, capable only of moving his head and arms. * * * He is one of our most fervent Christians: I bring him the communion twice a week, and he never complains of suffering. He is also one of our bravest soldiers; he has received the military medal, and when I asked him how it came about he told me the following in a firm tone and with his hand in mine, for we are great friends:

"It was given to me the 8th of October. I had to fulfill a mission that was a little difficult. It was at Mazingarbe, between Béthune and Lens, and 9 o'clock in the evening. Two of the enemy's armored auto-machine guns had just been discovered approaching our lines. I was ordered to go and meet them with a Pugeot of twenty-five or thirty horse power—I was automobilist in the Thirtieth Dragoons.

"I left by the little road from Vermelles on which the two hostile machines were reported to be approaching. After twenty minutes I stopped, put out my lights, and waited. A quarter of an hour of profound silence followed, and then I caught the sound of the first mitrailleuse. With one splash of the wheel I threw my machine across the middle of the road. That of the enemy struck us squarely in the centre. The moment the shock was past I rose from my seat with my revolver and killed the chauffeur and the mechanic.

"But almost immediately the second machine gun arrived. The two men on it comprehended what had happened. While one of them stopped the machine, the other aimed at me under his seat and fired a revolver ball that pierced both thighs; then they turned their machine and retreated. My companion, happily, was not hurt, so he

could take me to Vermelles, where the ambulance service was. The same evening they gave me the military medal, for which I had already been proposed three times."

After three months of suffering, borne without complaint, this man died without having been able to get a word to his parents. The abbé had become deeply attached to him, and the whole hospital corps felt the loss of his courageous presence.

Some of the horror of war is in these pages, as where the author says:

The doctors worked till 3 o'clock this morning. They had to amputate arms and legs affected with gangrene. The operating room was a sea of blood.

Some of the pathos of war is here, and even a little of its humor, but most of all its courage. Both of the latter are mingled in the case of an English soldier who was brought in wounded from the field of Soissons.

"I fought until such a day, when I was wounded."

"And since then?"

"Since then I have traveled."

An English infantry officer, a six-footer, brought to the hospital with his head bandaged in red rather than white, showed the abbé his cap and the bullet hole in it.

"A narrow escape," said the abbé in English, and then learned that the escape was narrower than the wounded forehead indicated. Another bullet, without touching the officer, had pierced the sole of his shoe under his foot, and a third had perforated his coat between the body and the arm without breaking the skin.

The author's attitude toward the Germans, always free from bitterness, is sufficiently indicated in such a paragraph as this:

This afternoon I gave absolution and extreme unction to an Irishman, who has not regained consciousness since he was brought here. He had in his portfolio a letter addressed to his mother. The nurse is going to add a word to say that he received the last sacraments. A Christian hope will soften the frightful news. Emperors of Austria and Germany, if you were present when the death is announced in that poor Irish home, and in thousands, hundreds of thousands of others, in England, in France, in Russia, in Servia, in Belgium, in your own countries, in all Europe, and even in Africa and Asia!
* * * May God enlighten your consciences!

The French wounded in the hospital at Neuilly—during the period when the German right wing was being beaten back from Paris—frequently accused the German regulars of wanton cruelty, but testified to the humanity of the reservists. The author relates several episodes illustrating both points. Here are two:

"The regulars are no good," said a brave peasant reservist. "They struck me with the butts of their rifles on my wound. They broke and threw away all that I had. The reserves arrive, and it is different; they take care of me. My comrade, wounded in the breast, was dying of thirst; he actually died of it a little while afterward. I dragged myself up to go and seek water for him; the young fellows aimed their guns at me. I was obliged to make a half-turn and lie down again."

Another, who also begins by praising the German field officers, saw soldiers of the active army stripping perfectly nude one of our men who had a perforated lung, and whom they had made prisoner after his wound: "When they saw that they would have to abandon him, they took away everything from him, even his shirt, and it was done in pure wickedness, since they carried nothing away."

One of the most amazing escapes is that of a soldier from Bordeaux, told partly in his own racy idiom, and fully vouched for by the author. After relating how he left the railway at Nan-teuil and traversed a hamlet pillaged by the Germans he continues:

We form ourselves into a skirmish line. The shells come. The dirt flies: holes to bury an ox? One can see them coming: zzz—boom! There is time to get out of the way.

Arrived at the edge of the woods, we separate as scouts. We are ordered to advance. But, mind you, they already have our range. The artillery makes things hum. My bugler, near me, is killed instantly; he has not said a word, poor boy! I am wounded in the leg. It is about two o'clock. As I cannot drag myself further, a comrade, before leaving, hides me under three sheaves of straw with my head under my knapsack. The shells have peppered it full of holes, that poor sack. Without it—ten yards away a comrade, who had his leg broken and a piece of shell in his arm, received seven or eight more wounds.

I stayed there all day. In the evening the soldiers of the 101st took me into the woods, where there were several French wounded and a German Captain, wounded the evening before. He was suffering too, poor wretch. About midnight the French soldiers came to seek those who were transportable. They left only my comrade, myself and the German Captain. There were other wounded further

along, and we heard their cries. It was dreary.

These wounded men passed two whole days there without help. On the third day the Germans arrived and the narrator gave himself up for lost. But the German Captain, with whom the Frenchmen had divided their food and drink, begged that they be cared for. Ultimately they were taken to the German camp and their wounds attended to. But in a few minutes the camp became the centre of a violent attack, and again it looked as if the last day of the wounded prisoners had come.

Suddenly the Germans ran away and left everything. An hour later, when the firing ceased, they returned, carried away the wounded of both nationalities on stretchers, crowded about twenty-five of them into one wagon (the narrator's broken leg was not stretched out, and he suffered,) and all the way the wagon gave forth the odor of death. All day they rode without a bite to eat. At 1 o'clock at night they reached the village of Cuvergnon, where their wounds were well attended to. The following day the Germans departed without saying a word, but the villagers cared for the wounded, both friends and enemies, and in time the American automobiles carried them to Neuilly.

It is a paradise [added the wounded man.] Now we are saved. But what things I have seen! I have seen an officer with his brain hanging here, over his eye. And black corpses, and bloated horses! The saddest time is the night. One hears cries: "Help!" There are some who call their mothers. No one answers.

All these recitals of soldiers are stamped with the red badge of courage. A priest serving as an Adjutant was superintending the digging of trenches close to the firing line on the Aisne. He had to expose himself for a space of three feet in going from one trench to another. In that instant a Mauser bullet struck him under the left eye, traversed the nostril, the top of the palate, the cheek bone and came out under the right ear. He felt the bullet only where it came out, but soon he fell, covered with blood and believed he was wounded to death. Then his courage returned,

and he crawled into the trench. Comrades carried him to the ambulance at Ambleny, with bullets and "saucepans" raining about them from every direction. In time he was transferred to the American Hospital at Neuilly. "I'm only a little disfigured and condemned to liquids," he told his friend the abbé. "In a few weeks I shall be cured and will return to the front."

Abbé Klein tells the curious story of a Zouave and his faithful dog. In one of the zigzag corridors connecting the trenches near Arras the man was terribly wounded by a shell that killed all his companions and left him three-quarters buried in the earth. With only the dead around him, he "felt himself going to discouragement," to use the author's mild phrase, when his dog, which had never left him since the beginning of the war, arrived and began showing every sign of distress and affection. The wounded man told the author:

It is not true that he dug me out, but he roused my courage. I commenced to free my arms, my head, the rest of my body. Seeing this, he began scratching with all his might around me, and then caressed me, licking my wounds. The lower part of my right leg was torn off, the left wounded in the calf, a piece of shell in the back, two fingers cut off, and the right arm burned. I dragged myself bleeding to the trench, where I waited an hour for the litter carriers. They brought me to the ambulance post at Roclincourt, where my foot was taken off, shoe and all; it hung only by a tendon. From there I was carried on a stretcher to Anzin, then in a carriage to another ambulance post, where they carved me some more. * * * My dog was present at the first operation. An hour after my departure he escaped and came to me at Anzin.

But when the Zouave was sent to Neuilly the two friends had to separate. At the railway station he begged to take his dog along, and told his story; but the field officer, touched though he was, could not take it upon himself to send a dog on a military train. The distress of both man and beast was so evident that more than one nurse had tears in her eyes as the train pulled out.

They tried to pet the dog, dubbed him Tue-Boches, offered him dog delicacies of all sorts, but in vain. He refused all food and remained for two days "sad

to death." Then some one went to the American Hospital, told how the dog had saved the Zouave, and the upshot of it was that the faithful animal, duly combed and passed through the disinfecting room, was admitted to the hospital and recovered his master and his appetite. But at last accounts his master was still very weak, and "in the short visit which the dog is allowed to make each day, he knows perfectly, after a tender and discreet good morning, how to hold himself very wisely at the foot of the bed, his eyes fixed upon his patient."

Thanks to modern science, the cases of tetanus are few in this war, but there are many deaths from gangrene, because, with no truce for the removal of the wounded, so many lie for days before receiving medical aid. Abbé Klein tells of one Breton boy, as gentle a soul as his sister—"my little Breton," he always calls him, affectionately—and comments again and again upon the boy's patient courage amid sufferings that could have but one end. The infection spread in spite of all that science could do, and even amputation could not save him. At last he ceased to live, "like a poor little bird," as his French attendant, herself a mother with three boys in the army, said with tears.

Saddest of all are the bereaved wives and mothers. The reader will find many of them in the good Chaplain's book, and they will bring the war closer than anything else. Sometimes they stand mute under the blow, looking on the dead face without a sound, and then dropping unconscious to the floor. Sometimes they cry wild things to heaven. The Chaplain's work in either case is not easy, and some of his most touching pages depict such scenes.

There was a boy of twenty years, who was slowly but surely dying of gangrene. Let the abbé tell the end of the story:

At 9 o'clock the parents arrive. Frightened at first by the change, they are reassured to see that he is suffering so little, and soon leave him, as they think, to rest. When they return at 10, suddenly called, their child is dead. Their grief is terrible. The father still masters himself, but the mother utters cries. They are led to the chapel, while some one comes to look for me. The poor woman,

who was wandering about stamping and wringing her hands; rushes to me and cries, no, it is not possible that her son is dead, a child like that, so healthy, so beautiful, so lovable; she wishes me to reassure her, to say it is as she says. Before my silence and the tears that come to my eyes her groans redouble, and nothing can calm her: "But what will become of us? We had only him."

Nothing quiets her. My words of Christian hope have no more effect than what the father tries to say to her. For a moment she listens to my account of the poor boy's words of faith, of the communion yesterday, of his prayer this morning. But soon she falls back into her distraction, and I suggest to the husband that he try to occupy her mind, to make a diversion of some kind; the more so, I add, as I must leave to attend a burial. She hears this word: "I don't want him to be taken from me. You are not going to bury him at once!" I explain softly that no one is thinking of such a thing; that on the contrary I am going to take her to those who will let her see her boy. We go then to the office, and I hurry away to commence the funeral of another.

I learn on my return that they have seen their son, such as death has made him, and that on hearing the cries of the mother, three other women, already agitated by the visit to their own wounded and by the funeral preparations, have fallen in a faint.

One day last Fall President Poincaré, accompanied by M. Viviani and General Gallieni, was received at the American Hospital by Mr. Herrick, the American Ambassador, and by the members of the Hospital Committee. Abbé Klein has words of praise not only for Mr. Herrick, but also for his predecessor, Mr. Bacon, and for his successor, Mr. Sharp. His admiration for the devoted American women who are serving as nurses in the hospital is expressed frequently in his pages. He says the labors of the American nurses and those of the French nurses complement each other admirably. Of the founding and maintenance of the hospital at Neuilly, he says:

The resources are provided wholly by the charity of Americans. From the beginning of the war the administrative council of their Paris hospital took the initiative in the movement. The American colony in France, almost unaided, gave the half-million francs that was subscribed the first month. New York and other cities of the United States followed their lead, and, in spite of the financial crisis that grips there as elsewhere, one may be sure that the funds will not be wanting. America has its Red Cross, which, justly enough, aids the wounded of all nations; but, among the belligerents, it has chosen to dis-

tinguish the compatriots of Lafayette and Rochambeau; our field hospital is the witness of their faithful gratitude. France will not forget.

Later the abbé recorded in his diary that the 500 beds would soon be filled, but added that the generous activity of the Americans would not end there. They would establish branch hospitals. Large sums had been placed at the disposal of the committee to found an "ambulance" in Belgium and another in France as near the front as prudence permitted. Toward the end of January he recorded the gift of \$200,000 from

Mrs. Harry Payne Whitney, and its use by the committee to establish an affiliated hospital at the College of Juilly, in the Department of Seine-et-Marne. He added that still other branches were about to be founded with American funds.

Abbé Klein writes out of a full and sincere heart, whether as a priest, a patriot, or a man who loves his fellowmen; and, without seeking it, he writes as a master of phrase. His new book probably will soon be translated and published in the United States.

A TROOPER'S SOLILOQUY

By O. C. A. CHILD

TIS very peaceful by our place the now!
Aye, Mary's home from school—the
little toad—

And Jeck is likely bringing in the cow,
Away from pasture, down the hillside road.

Now Nancy, I'll be bound, is brewing tea!
She's humming at her work the way she
will,

And, happen so, she maybe thinks of me
And wishes she'd another cup to fill.

'Tis very queer to sit here on this nag
And swing this bit o' blade within my
hand—

To keep my eye upon that German flag
And wonder will they run or will they
stand;

To watch their Uhlans forming up below,
And feel a queersome way that's like to
fear;

To hope to God that I won't make a show,
And that my throat is not too dry to cheer;

To close my eyes a breath and say "God
bless

And keep all safe at home, and aid us win,"
Then straighten as the bugle sounds "Right,
Dress * * *"

Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah! We're going
in!

American Unfriendliness

By Maximilian Harden

[FROM THE NEW YORK TIMES, April, 1915.]

Maximilian Harden, author of the article of which the following is a translation, is the widely known German journalist and publicist who has been termed "the German George Bernard Shaw." The article was published in the second February number of *Die Zukunft*.

JAPAN and the United States are being wooed. Ever since the Western powers' hope of speedy decisive blows on the part of Russia have shriveled up, they would like to lure the Japanese Army, two to four hundred thousand men, to the Continent. What was scoffed at as a whim of Pinchon and Clemenceau now is unveiled as a yearning of those at the head of the Governments.

The sentimental wish to see Germany's collapse completed by the activities of the allied European powers now ventures only shyly into the light of day. The ultimate wearing down of the German Army assures us of victory; but a speedy termination of the war under which the whole hemisphere suffers would be preferable. The Trans-Siberian Railway could bring the Japanese to Poland and East Prussia. The greatness of the expenditures therefor cannot frighten him who knows what tremendous sums each week of the war costs the Allies. Where it is a question of our life, of the existence of all free lands, every consideration must vanish. Public opinion desires an agreement with the Government of the Mikado.

These sentences I found in the Temps. England will not apply the brakes. Mr. Winston Churchill, to be sure, lauds the care-free fortune of his fatherland, which even after Trafalgar, he says, did not command the seas as freely as today; but in his inmost heart even this "savior of Calais" does not cheat himself concerning the fact that it is a matter of life and death. In order not to succumb in such a conflict, England will sacrifice its prosperous comfort and the lordly pride of the white man just as willingly as it would, if necessary, Gibraltar and Egypt,

(which might be within the reach of German armies in the Spring.)

Will Japan follow the luring cry? Any price will be paid for it. What is Indo-China to the Frenchmen, whose immense colonial empire is exploited by strangers, if thereby they can purchase the bliss of no longer being "the victims of 1870"? And the yellow race that co-operated on Europe's soil in the most momentous decision of all history would live in splendor such as had never before been seen, and could keep China, the confused, reeling republic, for at least a generation in its guardianship.

The land of the Stars and Stripes is only being asked to give its neutrality the color of good-will. It is, for the time being, unlikely that the United States would stand beside our opponents with army and navy, as has been urgently counseled by Mr. Roosevelt, (who received the honorary doctor's title in Berlin and as a private citizen reviewed a brigade drill at the Kaiser's side.) Nevertheless, experience warns us to be prepared for every change of weather, from the distant West, as well as the distant East, (and to guard ourselves alike against abuse and against flattery.)

The sentiment of the Americans is unfriendly to us. In spite of Princes' travels, Fritz monuments, exchanges of professors, Kiel Week, and cable compliments? Yes, in spite of all that. We can't change it. And should avoid impetuous wooing.

The missionaries of the Foreign Office brought along with them in trunks and bundles across the sea the prettiest eagerness; but in many cases they selected useless and in some cases even injurious methods. Lectures, pamphlets, defensive

writings—the number of the defenders and the abundance of their implements and talk only nursed suspicion. Whatever could be done for the explanation of the German conduct was done by Germania's active children, who know the country and the people.

The American business man never likes to climb mountains of paper. He has grown up in a different emotional zone, accustomed to a different standard of values than the Middle European. To feel his way into foreign points of view, finally to become, in ordinary daily relations, a psychologist, that will be one of the chief duties of the German of tomorrow. He may no longer demand that the stranger shall be like him; no longer denounce essential differences of temperament as a sin. The North American, among whose ancestors are Britons and Spaniards, Celts and Dutchmen, South Frenchmen and Low Germans, does not easily understand the Englishman, despite the common language; calls him surly, stiff, cold; charges him with selfishness and presumption, and has never, as a glance backward will show, shirked battle with him for great issues. For the most part, to be sure, it remains the scolding of relatives, who wish to tug at and tousel each other, not to murder each other.

Only before the comrade of Japan did the brow of Jonathan wrinkle more deeply. But every Briton swore that his knisman would bar the yellow man's way to Hawaii, California, and the Philippines, and put him in the fields of Asia only as a terror to the Russians or a scarecrow to the Germans. A doubt remained, nevertheless; and we missed the chance of a strong insurance against Japanese encroachment. Stroked caressingly yesterday and boxed cars today:

Over there the dollar alone rules, and all diplomacy is a pestilential swamp; decency is an infrequent guest, with scorn grinning ever over its shoulder; the entrepreneur is a rogue, the official a purchasable puppet, the lady a cold-cream-covered lady-peacock.

The stubborn idealism, the cheerful ability of the American, his joy in giving, his achievements in and for art, science, culture—all that was scarcely

noticed. Such a caricature could not be erased by compliments.

Before Mr. Roosevelt bared his set of stallion's teeth (Hengstgebiss) to the Berliners, he had spoken cheerfully to Admirals Dewey and Beresford concerning the possibilities of a war of the Star-Spangled Banner against Germany. And gentler fellow-countrymen of the billboard man said:

You're amazing. Yourselves devilishly greedy for profits, yet you scoff at us because we go chasing after business. You fetch heaps of money across the sea, and then turn up your sublimely snuffing noses as if it stinks.

To reach an understanding would have been difficult even in times of peace. The American is unwilling to be either stiff or subservient. He does not wish to be accounted of less value as a merchant than the officer or official; wishes to do what he likes and to call the President an ox outright if he pleases. Leave him as he is; and do not continually hurt the empire and its swarms of emigrant children by the attempt to force strangers into the shell of your will and your opinion.

Is it not possible that the American is analyzing the origin of the war in his own way? That he looks upon Belgium's fate with other eyes than the German? That he groans over "the army as an end in itself" and over "militarism"? That he does not understand us any quicker than the German Michel understands him? And that he puffs furiously when, after a long period of drought, the war, a European one, now spoils his trade?

Only for months at the worst, Sam; then it will spring up again in splendor such as has never been seen before. No matter how the dice fall for us, the chief winnings are going to you. The cost of the war (expense without increment, devastation, loss of business) amounts to a hundred thousand million marks or more for old Europa; she will be loaded down with loans and taxes. Even to the gaze of the victor, customers will sink away that were yesterday capable of buying and paying. Extraordinary risks cannot be undertaken for many a year

on our soil. But everybody will drift over to you—Ministers of Finance, artists, inventors, and those who scent profits. You will merely have to free yourselves from dross (and from the trust thought that cannot be stifled) and to weed out the tares of demagogy; then you will be the effective lords of the world and will travel to Europe like a great Nürnberg that teaches people subsequently to feel how once upon a time it felt to operate in the Narrows.

The scope of your planning and of your accomplishment, the very rank luxuriance of your life, will be marveled at as a fairy wonder. We, victors and conquered and neutrals, will alike be confined by duty to austere simplicity of living. Your complaint is unfounded; only gird yourselves for a wee short time in patience. Whether the business deals which you grab in the wartime smell good or bad, we shall not now publicly investigate. If law and custom permit them, what do you care for alien heart-ache? If the statutes of international law prohibit them, the Governments must

insure the effectiveness thereof. Scolding does not help. Until the battle has been fought out to the finish, until the book of its genesis has been exalted above every doubt, your opinion weighs as heavy as a little chicken's feather to us. Let writer and talker rave till they are exhausted—not a syllable yet in defense.

We do not feel hurt, (haven't spare time for it;) indeed, we are glad that you gave ten millions each month for Belgium, that you intend to help care for Poland, that you are opening the savings banks of your children. But, seriously, we beg you not to howl if American ships are damaged by the attack of German submarines. England wishes to shut off our imports of foodstuffs and raw materials, and we wish to shut off England's. You do not attempt to land on our coast; keep away also from that of Britain. You were warned early. What is now to take place is commanded by merciless necessity; must be.

And let no woeful cries, no threats, crowd into Germany's ears.

ENDOWED WITH A NOBLE FIRE OF BLOOD

By A. Kouprine

[From King Albert's Book.]

NOT applause, not admiration, but the deep, eternal gratitude of the whole civilized world is now due to the self-denying Belgian people and their noble young sovereign. They first threw themselves before the savage beast, foaming with pride, maddened with blood. They thought not of their own safety, nor of the prosperity of their houses, nor of the fate of the high culture of their country, nor of the vast numbers and cruelty of the enemy. They have saved not only their fatherland, but all Europe—the cradle of intellect, taste, science, creative art, and beauty—they have saved from the fury of the barbarians trampling, in their insolence, the best roses in the holy garden of God. Compared with their modest heroism the deed of Leonidas and his Spartans, who fought in the Pass of Thermopylae, falls into the shade. And the hearts of all the noble and the good beat in accord with their great hearts. * * *

No, never shall die or lose its power a people endowed with such a noble fire of blood, with such feelings that inspire it to confront bereavement, sorrow, sickness, wounds; to march as friends, hand in hand, adored King and simple cottager, man and woman, poor and rich, weak and strong, aristocrat and laborer. Salutation and humblest reverence to them!

Chronology of the War

Showing Progress of Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events from Feb. 28, 1915, Up To and Including March 31, 1915

[Continued from the March Number]

CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

- March 1—Two German army corps are defeated in struggle for Przasnysz; Germans bombard Ossowetz.
- March 2—Russians win Dukla Pass; 10,000 Germans taken prisoner at Przasnysz; Russians reinforced on both flanks in Poland; Austrians meet reverse near Stanislau; Austrians make progress in the Carpathians; Russians shell Czernowitz.
- March 3—Russians press forward from the Niemen and the Dniester; Austro-German army driven back in Galicia; Germans demolish two Ossowetz forts.
- March 4—Russians are pressing four armies through the mountain passes into Hungary; they have checked a new Bukowina drive on the part of the Austrians.
- March 5—Russians are taking the offensive from the Baltic Sea to the Rumanian frontier; German armies in the north have been split into isolated columns; Russians report the recapture of Stanislau and Czernowitz; snow is retarding the invasion of Hungary.
- March 6—Russian centre takes up attack; Russians are gaining in North Poland; Austrians give ground in East Galicia.
- March 7—Germans start another drive in region of Pillica River; Austrians retreat in Bukowina.
- March 8—Russians silence two batteries of German siege artillery at Ossowetz; Austrians gain ground in the Carpathians and Galicia; it is reported that German troops in Northern Poland and Galicia are exhausted.
- March 9—Germans are raising the siege of Ossowetz and are retreating in Northern Poland; Russians claim that the Austrian offensive in Eastern Galicia is a complete failure.
- March 10—Germans attempt to break through Russian line in Northern Poland; General Eichorn's army, retreating from the Niemen, is being harried by Russian cavalry and has been pierced at one point; Austrians have successes in the Carpathians and Western Galicia.
- March 11—One million men are engaged in a series of battles in Northern Poland, the front being eighty miles long.
- March 12—In the Carpathians the Russians capture the villages of Lupkow and Smolnik and the surrounding heights.
- March 13—Russians check German offensive against Przasnysz; fighting in progress along Orzyc River; Austrians repulse Russian attack near Cisna in the Carpathians.
- March 14—Russians check German advance in Mlawa region.
- March 15—Russians capture the chief eastern defense of Przemysl, three miles from the heart of the defense system, Austrian troops which held the position leaving many guns in the snow; the siege ring is now drawn tighter; battle is on in Bukowina; there is fighting among the ice fields of the Carpathians.
- March 16—Russians take vigorous offensive and drive back army that was marching on Przasnysz; 100,000 men have been buried in a triangle a few miles in area between Warsaw and Skierniewice; Germans are making use of fireworks at night to locate Russian guns; Austrian Archduke Frederick suggests to Emperor Francis Joseph the abandonment of the campaign against Serbia, all troops to be diverted to the Carpathians.
- March 17—Przemysl is in peril; Russians have recrossed the German frontier in two places; there is fighting on a 600-mile front; it is reported that the Austrian Army in East Galicia has been flanked; a battle is being fought in the snow for the possession of Tarnowice.
- March 18—Germans threaten severe reprisals on Russians for devastation in East Prussia; German offensive in much of Poland is reported to be broken.
- March 19—Memel, German port on the Baltic, is occupied by the Russians; Tilsit is menaced; Von Hindenburg starts a new offensive in Central Poland; the Germans have lost heavily along the Pillica; Austrians claim that they have halted the Russian advance in the Carpathians.
- March 20—Russians win battle in streets of Memel; battle line extends to Rumanian border; sortie by Przemysl garrison is driven back; statistics published in Petrograd show that 95 towns and 4,500 villages in Russian Poland have been devastated as result of German invasion; damage estimated at \$500,000,000.

- March 21—Austrians renew operations against Serbia and are defeated in artillery duel near Belgrade; Russians are advancing on Tilsit; another Przemysl sortie is repelled.
- March 22—After a siege which began on Sept. 2, the longest siege in modern history, the great Galician fortress of Przemysl is surrendered to the Russians, who capture 9 Austrian Generals, 300 officers, and 125,000 men, according to Russian statements; the strategic value of Przemysl is considered great, as it guarded the way to Cracow and to important Carpathian passes; Germans retake Memel; Russians are preparing for vigorous offensive in the Carpathians; Austrians are shelling the Montenegrin front.
- March 23—Demonstrations are held in Russia over fall of Przemysl; Germans say that the capture of the place cannot influence general situation.
- March 24—Battle is being fought in the Carpathians; Russians march on Hungary and pursue strong column that had been seeking to relieve Przemysl; Germans withdraw big guns from Ossowetz.
- March 25—Russians carry Austrian position on crest of Beskid Mountains in Lupkow Pass region and win victory in Bukowina; fighting in Southern Poland is resumed.
- March 26—It is reported that the Austro-German armies in the Carpathians are withdrawing into Hungary; Germans retreat in the north.
- March 27—Violent fighting in the Carpathians; Austrians make gains in Bukowina.
- March 28—Russians break into Hungary and carry on offensive operations against Uszok and Lupkow Passes.
- March 29—Austrians make gains at several points; Russians say that the Memel dash was a mere raid.
- March 30—Russians storm crests in the Carpathians; Austrians are in a big drive across Bukowina; 160,000 Germans are reported as being rushed to Austria.
- March 31—Russians are making their way down the southern slopes of the Carpathians into Hungary; German army corps reported trapped and cut to pieces in Northern Poland; Pola is preparing for a siege.
- CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE.**
- March 2—Germans are pouring reinforcements into Belgium; British gain ground near La Bassée.
- March 4—Hard fighting in the Vosges; Germans spray burning oil and chemicals upon French advancing in Malancourt woods.
- March 5—Germans checked at Rheims; report of Sir John French says situation is unchanged in Belgium; Germans are holding reserves in Alsace.
- March 9—Floods hamper campaign in Alsace; it is reported that Germans are shelling factories in France which they cannot capture.
- March 10—Germans declare that the French have failed in the Champagne district and have lost 45,000 men.
- March 11—After several days of severe fighting the British capture Neuve Chapelle, the German loss being estimated by British at 18,000; the British also have lost heavily, particularly in officers; British believe they will now be able to threaten seriously the German position at La Bassée; French War Office says operations in Champagne have aided Russians by preventing Germans from reinforcing eastern armies.
- March 12—British are pressing on toward Lille; they gain near Armentières, occupy Epinette, and advance toward La Bassée; Germans are entrenched in Aubers; the new drive is expected by Allies to prevent Germans in the west from sending reinforcements to the east.
- March 13—Sir John French reports further gains in Neuve Chapelle region.
- March 14—French occupy Vauquois, the key to a wide area of the Argonne; they capture trenches and occupy Embermenil; Belgians gain on the Yser; British repel German attack on Neuve Chapelle; it is announced that the French recently won a victory at Reichackerkopf in Alsace.
- March 15—French capture trenches north of Arras; Germans drive back British south of Ypres; Germans meet reverse at Neuve Chapelle; it is announced that the French recently won a victory at Combrès; French and British are preparing for a general offensive; the first installment is given out from French official sources of a historical review of the war, from the French viewpoint, covering the first six months.
- March 16—Belgians cross the Yser; they drive Germans from trenches south of Nieuport; British retake St. Eloi; barbed wire fence, ten feet high, encompasses entire zone of German military operations in Alsace; British still hold Neuve Chapelle after several spirited attempts to retake it.
- March 17—Westende bombarded; Belgians carry two positions in Yser region.
- March 18—Belgian Army continues to advance on the Yser; French continue to hold the heights near Notre Dame de Lorette despite repeated shelling of their position; Germans are fortifying towns in Alsace.
- March 19—Belgians and Germans are fighting a battle in the underground passages of a monastery in front of Ramscappelle; official British report tells of new German repulse at St. Eloi.
- March 21—Germans take a hill in the Vosges.
- March 24—New battle begins along the Yser.

- March 26—Belgians make progress on road from Dixmude to Ypres.
- March 27—French capture summit of Hartmanns-Weilerkopf Mountain.
- March 29—French are pressing the Germans hard at various points in Champagne; as an offset, the Germans renew activity against Rheims with lively bombardments; sapping and mining operations are stated to be the only means of gaining ground in the Argonne.

TURKISH AND EGYPTIAN CAMPAIGN.

- March 1—Turkish forces mass on Asiatic side of the Dardanelles under Essad Pasha, defender of Janina; Russians have completed the expulsion of Turks from Transcaucasus region and dominate the Black Sea.
- March 3—Russians, after three days' battle, stop reinforcements for Turks in the Caucasus.
- March 5—Turks abandon for the time the campaign against Egypt and recall troops.
- March 7—British drive Turks back from the Persian Gulf, with considerable losses on both sides; it is reported that the Germans killed 300 Turks in a conflict between these allies after the Egyptian retreat.
- March 9—Germans report that British were routed recently in Southern Mesopotamia.
- March 12—General d'Amaade, commander of the French forces in Morocco, has been put in command of a force which is to aid the allied fleets in operations against Constantinople.
- March 13—Turks are driven back in Armenia and Northwestern Persia.
- March 16—Russians rout Turks in Armenia and threaten Turks in the Caucasus.
- March 18—Turkish soldiers kill several civilians in the Urumiah district of Persia; Turks are massing large forces near Constantinople and on Asiatic side of the Dardanelles.
- March 19—Russians occupy Archawa.
- March 20—Turks reported to be four days' march from Suez Canal.
- March 23—Turkish force operating against town of Suez is routed.

CAMPAIGN IN FAR EAST.

- March 12—It is reported from Peking that nine Germans, among them the German Military Attaché at Peking, who is leading the party, escaped from Tsing-tao when it fell, and have made their way 1,000 miles into Manchuria, where they are trying to blow up tunnels along the Trans-Siberian railway; Russian troops are pursuing them.

CAMPAIGN IN AFRICA.

- March 21—Official announcement is made that General Botha, Commander in Chief

of the Army of the Union of South Africa, has captured 200 Germans and two field guns at Swakopmund, German Southwest Africa.

NAVAL RECORD—GENERAL.

- March 1—Norwegian steamer reports ramming a submarine off English coast.
- March 2—Bulgaria protests to Austria, Russia, and Serbia against mines in the Danube; diligent inquiry in England fails to produce any evidence supporting report that British superdreadnought Audacious, wrecked by mine or torpedo on Oct. 27, is about to be restored to the fighting line.
- March 3—Allied fleet silences three inner forts on the Asiatic side of the Dardanelles; Berlin report says British cruiser Zephyr was damaged.
- March 4—Attack on Dardanelles continues; French ships bombard Bulair forts and destroy Kavak Bridge; Field Marshal von der Goltz has asked for German artillery officers to aid in defending Dardanelles, but it is reported that Germans cannot spare any; German submarine U-8 is sunk by destroyers of the Dover flotilla; German submarine chases hospital ship St. Andrew.
- March 5—Allies report that six, possibly seven, German submarines have been sunk since beginning of the war; two Captains of British merchant ships claim prize for sinking German submarines; British Admiralty informs shipping interests that a new mine field has been laid in the North Sea; Germans report a French ammunition ship sunk at Ostend; Japanese report that the schooner Aysha, manned by part of the crew of the Emden, is still roving the Indian Ocean; there is despair in Constantinople as Dardanelles bombardment continues; Russian Black Sea fleet is steaming toward the Bosphorus; allied fleet is bombarding Smyrna.
- March 6—British ships Queen Elizabeth and Prince George attack strong Dardanelles forts, they blow up one and damage two; allied landing party suffers loss; Asia Minor ports are being shelled; one-third of the Dardanelles reported clear of Turkish mines; concentration of Turkish fleet reported; Germans state that a submarine, reported by the Captain of British merchantman Thordis to have been sunk by his vessel, escaped; German Embassy at Washington expresses regret over torpedo attack on British hospital ship Asturias in February, stating that the attack, which did no harm, was due to mistake.
- March 7—Queen Elizabeth and other ships continue bombardment of Dardanelles forts.

- March 8—Allied fleet forces its way further into Dardanelles, British ships opening direct fire on main Turkish positions; more forts are silenced; most of the Allies' ships are hit, but little damage is done; effective fire at 21,000 yards against batteries on the Asiatic side; seaplanes are being much used for locating concealed guns; it is reported from Petrograd that when the allied fleets began the forcing of the Dardanelles a Russian ship was invited to head the column, and did so; ports on the Black Sea are destroyed by Russians; British Admiralty announces that prisoners from U-8 will be segregated under special restrictions, and they may be put on trial after the war because of German submarine methods; British collier Bengrove sunk in Bristol Channel by torpedo or mine.
- March 9—German submarines sink three British merchantmen, thirty-seven men going down with one ship; Military Governor of Smyrna says that British have bombarded undefended villages; another British superdreadnought joins allied fleet at Dardanelles; French transports are on way with troops; Turks lose coal supply by Russian bombardment of Zunguldiak; report from Berlin that German submarine U-16 has sunk five merchantmen; British Admiralty states that German submarines, from Jan. 21 to March 3, sank fifteen British steamships out of a total of 8,734 vessels above 300 tons arriving at or departing from British ports in that period; more mines planted near Denmark.
- March 10—German auxiliary cruiser Prince Eitel Friedrich anchors at Newport News for repairs and supplies; she brings passengers and crews of eleven merchant ships sunk by her in a cruise of 30,000 miles, including crew of American sailing ship William P. Frye, bound from Seattle to Queenstown with wheat, sunk on Jan. 28, despite protests of the Frye's Captain; more Dardanelles forts are reduced; batteries on Eren-Keui Heights silenced; British sink German submarine U-12; British collier Beethoven sunk.
- March 11—President Wilson states that there will be "a most searching inquiry" into the sinking of the William P. Frye by the Prinz Eitel Friedrich, "and whatever action is taken will be based on the result of that inquiry"; Commander Thierichens of the Eitel defends sinking of the Frye, claiming her cargo was contraband; British warships are ordered to the entrance to the Capes of the Chesapeake to prevent escape of the Eitel; Eitel goes into drydock for repairs; more Dardanelles forts are damaged; mine sweeping is being conducted by the Allies at night; allied fleet before Smyrna gives Turkish commander twenty-four hours to surrender, otherwise bombardment will go on; it is reported from The Hague that twelve German submarines are missing; Germans talk of reprisals if British do not treat submarine crews as prisoners of war.
- March 12—Dardanus batteries on the Dardanelles are silenced; Germans are fortifying Constantinople; Allies' Consuls demand establishment of a neutral zone at Smyrna; British auxiliary cruiser Bayano sunk off coast of Scotland, probably by a submarine, with loss of 200; it is learned that British bark Conway Castle was sunk on Feb. 27 off the Chilean coast by the German cruiser Dresden; it is learned that French steamer Guadeloupe has been sunk off Brazil by the German auxiliary cruiser Kronprinz Wilhelm; it is reported from Berlin that Germans have sunk 111 merchant steamships, with tonnage of 400,000, since war began; British cotton ship Indian Prince is reported sunk.
- March 13—England has lost 90 merchant ships and 47 fishing vessels, sunk or captured, since the war began; Vice Admiral Carden is stated to have predicted the forcing of the Dardanelles by Easter; fog delays Allies' operations in Dardanelles; five British warships wait for Eitel off Virginia Capes.
- March 14—Three British cruisers sink German cruiser Dresden near Juan Fernandez Island; no damage to British ships; French steamer Auguste Conseil sunk by German submarine; German submarine U-29 is reported to have sunk five British merchantmen in the last few days; citizen of Leipzig offers reward to crew of submarine that sinks a British transport.
- March 15—It is reported from Rio Janeiro that Kronprinz Wilhelm has sunk thirteen ships since she began her attack on Allies' commerce.
- March 16—Officers of the Dresden at Valparaiso say their ship was sunk in neutral waters; British say she was sunk ten miles off shore; German liner Macedonia, interned at Las Palmas, Canary Islands, slips out of port; British cruiser Amethyst is reported to have made a dash to the further end of the Dardanelles and back; a mine sweeper of the Allies is blown up; Vice Admiral Carden, "incapacitated by illness," in words of British Admiralty, is succeeded in chief command in the Dardanelles by Vice Admiral De Robeck; Germany protests to England against promised harsh treatment of submarine crews; British and French warships again appear off coast of Belgium.
- March 17—It is reported from Denmark that the German cruiser Karlsruhe has been sunk; it is reported from Spain that the Macedonia has been captured by a British cruiser; two British steamers are sunk and one is damaged by German sub-

marines; German steamer *Sierra Cor-doba*, which aided the *Dresden*, is detained by Peruvian authorities until end of the war; British lose three mine sweepers and one sailing vessel in the Dardanelles.

March 18—British battleships *Irresistible* and *Ocean* and French battleship *Bouvet* are sunk by floating mines in the Dardanelles while bombarding forts; 600 men lost with the *Bouvet*, but almost all of the British escape; British battle-cruiser *Inflexible* and French battleship *Gaulois* are badly damaged by shells from the forts; most of the forts suffer severely from the fleet fire; French submarine is sunk in the Dardanelles; there is a lull in bombardment of Dardanelles and of Smyrna; German submarine sinks British steamer *Glenartney* in English Channel; Copenhagen report says a German sea Captain states that the *Karlsruhe* was sunk in December.

March 19—Negotiations are being carried on, with American Embassy at Constantinople as intermediary, to try to avert shelling of Pera when allied fleet forces the Dardanelles; British steamers *Hyndford* and *Bluejacket* torpedoed in English Channel.

March 20—One French and two British battleships are on their way to Dardanelles to take place of vessels sunk; new attack is planned by Allies, with Russia co-operating; Turks say that the ships sunk on March 18 were torpedoed; Chilean seamen say *Dresden* was sunk in Chilean waters; Smyrna garrison is reinforced; dummy war fleet, composed of disguised merchantment, is reported to be ready in England for use in strategy against the Germans.

March 21—German submarine sinks British collier *Calrntorr* off Beachy Head.

March 22—British steamer *Concord* is torpedoed by a German submarine, but is stated not to have been sunk.

March 23—Dutch steamer is fired on by a German trawler; Turks send reinforcements to Dardanelles forts.

March 24—German vessels shell Russian positions near Memel; allied fleet resumes bombardment of Dardanelles forts; Allies land troops on Gallipoli Peninsula to help in a general attack on the forts which is planned on arrival of more British and French ships; many Europeans are leaving Constantinople.

March 27—U. S. battleship *Alabama* is ordered to proceed to Norfolk at once to guard American neutrality should Prinz Eitel Friedrich leave port.

March 28—British African liner *Falaba* is torpedoed and sunk by German submarine in St. George's Channel; she carried 160 passengers and crew of 90, of which total 140 were saved; many were killed by the torpedo explosion; British steamer *Aguila* is sunk by German submarine U-28 off Pembroke-shire coast; she carried three passengers and crew of forty-two, all pas-

sengers and twenty-three of crew being lost; Russian Black Sea fleet attacks Bosphorus forts; Dardanelles forts again bombarded; German Government, in official statement, says that *Dresden* was sunk in neutral Chilean waters.

March 29—Dutch steamer *Amstel* is blown up by a mine; Russians renew Bosphorus attack; allied fleet shells Dardanelles forts at long range; reinforced Russian fleet is showing activity in the Baltic; German Baltic fleet is out.

March 31—London reports that three fleets and three armies will combine in attack on Dardanelles forts; the forts are again bombarded; British steamers *Flaminian* and *Crown of Castile* are sunk by German submarines; Prinz Eitel Friedrich coals under guard of American sailors and soldiers; Germans shell Libau.

NAVAL RECORD—EMBARGO AND WAR ZONE.

March 1—Premier Asquith announces in the House of Commons the purpose of England and France to cut Germany off from all trade with the rest of the world; "the British and French Governments will, therefore, hold themselves free to detain and take into port ships carrying goods of presumed enemy destination, ownership, or origin"; officials in Washington think this attitude of the Allies disregards American rights.

March 3—Germany alters relief ship rules; vessels may pass through the English Channel unmolested, but because of mines Germany cannot grant safe conduct for relief ships to and from England.

March 4—Secretary Bryan makes public the text of German reply to American note, suggesting modifications of war zone decree; Germany expresses willingness to make modifications if England will allow foodstuffs and raw materials to go to German civilians, and if England will make other modifications in her sea policy; German reply is forwarded to Ambassador Page to be submitted to the British Foreign Office for information of English Government; American State Department makes public part of a recent dispatch from Ambassador Gerard stating that German Government refuses to accept responsibility for routes followed by neutral steamers outside German waters; Henry van Dyke, American Minister at The Hague, advises the State Department that Germany is anxious to give every possible support to the work of American Relief Commission for Belgium, and will facilitate the passage of ships as much as possible.

March 5—Holland-America Line steamer *Noorderdijk*, bound for New York, returns to Rotterdam badly disabled, it being reported that she was torpedoed in English Channel.

- March 6—Passenger service from Holland to England is to be extended.
- March 8—Germany includes in the war zone the waters surrounding the Orkney and Shetland Islands, but navigation on both sides of the Faroe Islands is not endangered.
- March 9—It is announced at Washington that identical notes of inquiry have been sent to the British and French Governments asking for particulars as to how embargo on shipments to and from Germany is to be enforced.
- March 13—Submarine blows up Swedish steamer Hanna, flying her own flag, off east coast of England; six of crew lost.
- March 15—Text made public of British Order in Council cutting off trade to and from Germany; British Government, replying to American note, refuses to permit foodstuffs to enter Germany for civilian population as suggested; British Government also replies to American note of inquiry as to particulars of embargo, Sir Edward Grey saying that object of Allies is, "succinctly stated, to establish a blockade to prevent vessels from carrying goods for or coming from Germany."
- March 17—Secretary Bryan makes public full text of six recent notes exchanged between the United States and the Allies and Germany regarding the embargo and the war zone; Allies contend German war methods compel the new means of reprisal.
- March 18—Denmark, Norway and Sweden make an identical representation to the Allies against the embargo decree on trade to and from Germany.
- March 20—Holland protests to Allies against embargo.
- March 21—German submarine U-28 seizes Dutch steamers Batavier V. and Zaanstroom and their cargoes.
- March 22—Holland asks explanation from Germany of seizure of Batavier V. and Zaanstroom.
- March 25—Submarine U-28 sinks Dutch steamer Medea.
- March 26—Dutch press is aroused over the sinking of the Medea; Ministry holds extraordinary council.
- March 27—Germany tells Holland that investigation into seizure of the Batavier V. and Zaanstroom has not been concluded.
- March 7—French official statement shows that French airmen during the war have made 10,000 aerial reconnaissances, consuming 18,000 hours in the air, and have traveled more than 1,116,000 miles; Zeppelin reported captured by allied airmen near Bethune.
- March 9—British seaplanes drop bombs on Ostend; Lieut. von Hidelen, who dropped bombs on Paris in September, is at Toulon as a prisoner of war.
- March 12—German airmen bombard Oso-wetz.
- March 14—Strassburg is threatened by a fire started by French airmen's bomb; allied aeroplanes said to have wrecked Zeppelin near Tirlumont.
- March 17—German airman unsuccessfully aims five bombs at British coasting steamer Blonde in the North Sea.
- March 18—Bombs from Zeppelin kill seven in Calais.
- March 20—German airmen drop bombs near Deal, but all fall into the sea; one bomb narrowly misses American bark Manga Reva.
- March 21—Two Zeppelins drop bombs on Paris, but damage is slight; eight persons are injured; Zeppelin drops bombs on Calais, with slight damage, and is driven off by guns.
- March 22—Rotterdam reports that German aviators are aiming bombs indiscriminately at ships in the North Sea, one Taube dropping five bombs near a Belgian relief ship; airmen of Allies drop bombs on Mulheim, injuring three German soldiers.
- March 23—German aeroplane aims seven bombs at British steamer Pandion, all missing; Paris Temps says that authorities plan hereafter to fight Zeppelins by aeroplanes over Paris, something which had hitherto been avoided because of danger to Parisians.
- March 24—British airmen, in dash on Antwerp shipyards, destroy one German submarine and damage another; German aviators aim bombs and arrows at British freighter Teal, doing little damage.
- March 26—French drop bombs on Metz, killing three soldiers; little damage to property.
- March 27—German aviators drop bombs on Calais and Dunkirk; little damage.
- March 28—German aviator drops bombs on Calais; little damage.
- March 29—Germans state that during recent raid on Strassburg, bombs dropped by allied aviators killed two children and wounded seven others and one woman.
- March 30—Copenhagen reports that two Zeppelins have been badly damaged by a storm while manoeuvring for a raid on England; Turkish seaplane drops bombs on British warship outside Dardanelles.

AERIAL RECORD.

- March 2—It is learned that in a recent air raid German aviators killed two women and a child at La Panne, a bathing town on Belgian coast.
- March 3—German aviator bombards Warsaw.
- March 4—French bombard German powder magazine at Rottweil.
- March 5—Zeppelin raid over Calais fails; Pegoud receives French military medal for his services.

March 31—Thirty German soldiers are killed and sixty wounded near Thourout, Belgium, by bombs dropped by airmen of Allies; fifteen German aeroplanes drop 100 bombs at Ostrolenka, Russia; German aeroplane aims bomb at Dutch trawler in North Sea, but misses her.

AUSTRIA.

March 1—Two Czech regiments revolt.
 March 2—It is learned that the troops executed 200 civilians in Stanislau.
 March 17—Conviction is stated to prevail in Vienna that war with Italy is inevitable in the near future; many Austrians are declared to be indignant that Germany is trying to force the nation to cede territory to Italy.
 March 18—Russian prisoners and Gallician refugees are working on defensive fortifications in the Trentino, which are being prepared in event of war with Italy; heavy guns are being mounted in the mountain passes; fleet is again concentrated at Pola; Austria and Serbia agree to exchange interned men under 18 or over 50, and also women.
 March 22—Men up to 52 are now being trained for active service; men formerly rejected as unfit are being called to the colors.
 March 24—Five hundred thousand troops are massed in Southern Tyrol and the Trentino; many villages near the Italian frontier have been evacuated and many houses destroyed by dynamite, so as to afford better range for the big guns.
 March 26—Army contract frauds are discovered in Hungary; rich manufacturers jailed.

BELGIUM.

March 2—Gen. von Bissing, German Governor General, says the tax recently ordered imposed on Belgians who do not return to their homes was suggested by Belgians themselves.
 March 8—Belgian Press Bureau announces that King Albert now has an army of 140,000 men, a larger force than that which began the war.
 March 9—As a result of new royal decrees calling refugee youths to the colors the number of recruits is increasing daily; a few days ago King Albert presented a number of recruits to two veteran regiments in a speech; Belgian officials are arrested by Germans on charge that they induced Belgian customs officials to go through Holland to join Belgian Army.
 March 17—Government issues protest against the German allegation that documents found in Brussels show that Belgium and England had a secret understanding before the war of such a nature as to constitute a violation of Belgium's neutrality; the Government declares that conversations which took place between Belgian

and British military officers in 1906 and 1912 had reference only to the situation that would be created if Belgium's neutrality had already been violated by a third party; it is declared that the documents found by Germans, "provided no part of them is either garbled or suppressed," will prove the innocent nature of negotiations between Belgium and England.

March 18—Firm of Henri Leten is fined \$5,000 for violating order of German Governor General prohibiting payments to creditors in England.
 March 20—One million pigs owned by Germans are billeted on the civilian population of Belgium, the Belgians being required to feed and care for the animals.
 March 21—Germans are relaxing iron regulations to some extent in attempt to get the normal life of Belgium moving again.
 March 23—Seventeen Belgian men are shot in Ghent barracks after having been found guilty by German court-martial of espionage in the interests of the Allies.
 March 28—Belgian Legation at Washington issues official response to statement made by Herr von Jagow, the Imperial German Secretary of State, that "Belgium was dragged into the war by England"; response says that it was Germany, not England, that drew the nation into war.

BULGARIA.

March 6—Mobilization is now completed of three divisions of troops near Tirnova.
 March 12—Heavy artillery is being transported to Janthe, near the Greek frontier.
 March 20—Three Bulgarian soldiers are killed and several Greek soldiers are wounded in a fight which followed an attempted movement by strong Bulgarian force into the region of Demir-Hissar, formerly Turkish territory, now Greek.
 March 26—Opposition leaders are demanding an interview with the King with a view of bringing about a change of policy favoring the Anglo-Franco-Russian alliance; Field Marshal von der Goltz is in Sofia.
 March 30—Bulgaria is holding up shipments of German artillery and large quantities of ammunition destined for Constantinople.

CANADA.

March 5—Three transports arrive in England with 4,000 Canadian troops.
 March 14—Second contingent is now in camp in England; it is expected that these troops will soon go to the front.
 March 26—Publication of first account by Official Canadian Recorder with troops in the field of contingent's experiences; he states that there have been but few casualties so far; the infantry was held in reserve in the Neuve Chapelle fight, but the artillery was engaged.

March 27—There is made public in Ottawa the address delivered by General Alderson, commanding the Canadian Division, just before the men first entered the trenches; he warns against taking needless risks and tells the men he expects them to win, when they meet the Germans with the bayonet, because of their physique.

ENGLAND.

March 2—Order in Council promulgated providing for prize money for crews of British ships which capture or destroy enemy vessels to be distributed among officers and men at rate calculated at \$25 for each person aboard the enemy vessel at beginning of engagement; British spy system has been so perfected that it is said in some respects to excel the German; Embassy in Washington denies that women or children are interned in civilian camps.

March 4—Government appeals to aviators of British nationality in United States and Canada to join the Royal Flying Corps.

March 8—Shipowner offers \$2,000 apiece to next four merchant ships which sink German submarines.

March 9—House of Commons authorizes Government to take over control of engineering trade of country in order to increase output of war munitions.

March 14—John E. Redmond, leader of the Irish Nationalist Party, declares in speech that Ireland is now firmly united in England's cause, and that 250,000 Irishmen are fighting for Britain.

March 15—Kitchener discusses the war situation in House of Lords, he expresses anxiety over supply of war materials and blames labor unions and dram shops in part for the slow output; he praises the Canadian and Indian troops and the French Army; passport rules for persons going to France are made more stringent.

March 16—Heavy losses among officers cause anxiety; T. P. O'Connor says Irish are with the Allies; stringent passport rules are extended to persons going into Holland.

March 19—In six days 511 officers have been lost in killed, wounded, and missing; newspapers hint at conscription.

March 20—Officers lost since beginning of the war, in killed, wounded, and missing, now total 5,476, of which 1,783 have been killed.

March 23—It is reported that a second German spy was shot in the Tower of London on March 5, that a third spy is under sentence, and that a fourth man, a suspect, is under arrest.

March 24—Earl Percy is acting as Official Observer with the expeditionary force; warships are ordered not to get supplies from neutral nations in Western Hemisphere.

March 26—Field Marshal French says that "the protraction of the war depends entirely upon the supply of men and munitions," and if this supply is unsatisfactory the war will be prolonged; German newspapers charge British atrocities at Neuve Chapelle; Colonial Premiers may meet for consultation before terms of peace are arranged.

March 27—Storm of protest is aroused by suggestions of Dr. Lyttelton, Headmaster of Eton, that concessions should be made to Germany.

March 28—Premier Asquith is attacked by the Unionist press for alleged lack of vigor in direction of the war.

March 30—Three of the nine prison ships on which prisoners have been kept are vacated, and it is planned to empty the others by the end of April, prisoners being cared for on shore.

March 31—King George announces that he is ready to give up use of liquor in the royal household as an example to the working classes, it being stated that slowness of output of munitions of war is partly due to drink; Lord Derby announces that Liverpool dock workers are to be organized into a battalion, enlisted under military law, as a means of preventing delays in making war supplies.

FRANCE.

March 1—Official note issued in Paris states that there are 2,080,000 Germans and Austrians on the Russian and Serbian front, and 1,800,000 Germans on the French and Belgian front.

March 5—War Minister introduces bill in Chamber of Deputies giving authorization to call to the colors the recruits of 1915 and to start training those of 1916.

March 6—French Press Bureau estimates the total German losses since the beginning of the war, in killed, wounded, sick, and prisoners, at 3,000,000.

March 10—Foreign Office issues report on treatment of French civilian prisoners by the Germans, charging many instances of cruelty.

March 11—Eight thousand German and Austrian houses have been sequestered to date; bill introduced into Chamber of Deputies provides for burning of soldiers' bodies as a precaution against possible epidemic of disease; Mi-Carême festivities omitted because of the war.

March 12—Fine of \$100,000, to be paid before March 20, is imposed on inhabitants of Lille, in hands of the Germans, because of a demonstration over a group of French prisoners of war brought into the city.

March 14—Copenhagen report states that there has been a revolt in Lille.

March 25—War Ministry denies General von Bernhardi's charge that France and England had an arrangement for violation of the neutrality of Belgium.

March 28—A cannon is mentioned in the orders of the day for gallantry in action; General Joffre decorates thirty men for gallantry in action in the Champagne district.

March 31—Intense indignation is expressed by the French press over sinking of British passenger steamer Falaba by German submarine.

GERMANY.

March 5—Interned French civilians are sent to Switzerland for exchange for German civilians held by the French.

March 6—Government asks the United States to care for German diplomatic interests in Constantinople if Allies occupy the Turkish capital; two British prisoners of war are punished for refusing to obey their own officers.

March 7—Copenhagen reports that men up to 55 have been called out; it is stated that there are now 781,000 war prisoners interned in Germany.

March 8—British charge that German dum-dum bullets were found after a recent battle in Egypt.

March 10—Reichstag is informed that the budget is \$3,250,000,000—four times greater than any estimates ever before presented; a further war credit is asked of \$2,500,000,000, to insure financing the war until the late Autumn; Landsturm classes of 1869-1873 are summoned to the colors in the Rhine provinces.

March 15—Prussian losses to date (excluding Bavarian, Württemberg, Saxon, and naval losses) are 1,050,029 in killed, wounded, and missing.

March 16—German committee is planning to send Americans to the United States as propagandists to lay German case before the American people; 20,000 high school boys have volunteered for service.

March 18—Copenhagen reports that Emperor William and General von Falkenhayn, Chief of the German General Staff, arrived today at the German Army Headquarters near Lille to participate in a council of war; Chief President of the Province of East Prussia states that 80,000 houses have been entirely destroyed by the Russians and that 300,000 refugees have fled from the province; German War Minister states that for every German killed by the Russians three houses will be burned by the Germans.

March 19—Bishop of Cologne asks children to give up toys and offerings, and suggests that they do without new clothes at Christmas.

March 22—German War Minister Kaden urges teachers and parents to instill hatred of England.

March 23—English War Minister and children allowed to leave.

March 30—It is reported that Emperor William is holding an important war council in Berlin with military chiefs.

March 31—Much enthusiasm over sinking of British passenger steamer Falaba; official statistics of second war loan show that \$2,265,000,000 was subscribed, of which \$17,750,000 came from 452,113 persons in sums of \$50 or less; local option is permitted by German Federal Council.

GREECE.

March 3—Crown Council meets at the palace in Athens under Presidency of the King; among the eminent statesmen present are five ex-Premiers; deliberations deal with question whether Greece should take part in the war; further conferences of the Council are planned, and Parliament has been summoned to meet after the deliberations are finished.

March 4—Crown Council meets again.

March 10—M. Ghounaris completes formation of a new Cabinet; Ministerial statement declares that the observance of neutrality is imperative on Greece if she is to protect her national interests.

March 14—M. Venizelos, former Premier, says that Greece will soon be forced by course of events to abandon neutrality and join with Allies in operations against Constantinople and Smyrna; by so doing, he says, the Government can quadruple the area of Greece.

March 17—M. Venizelos is quoted by an Italian newspaper correspondent as saying that the Allies have twice asked Greece since the outbreak of the war to help Serbia, but attitude of Bulgaria prevented Greece from doing so; Venizelos resigned, according to this correspondent, because Crown Council overruled his plan to send 50,000 men to aid Allies.

HOLLAND.

March 2—Semi-official circles deny persistent reports that country is to enter the war; American Minister van Dyke says that he sees no signs of any change in the attitude of Holland.

ITALY.

March 2—Much Italian comment caused by introduction in Chamber of Deputies of bills against espionage, contraband, and publication in newspapers of news of military movements; Italy is hiring hulks of ships for grain storage.

March 3—General Zupelli, Minister of War, speaks in Chamber of Deputies in favor of a bill authorizing a recall to the colors of reserve officers; Government asks Chamber for authorization to take control of every industry connected with the defense of the country, including wireless telegraphy and aviation.

- March 8—Premier Salandra hints at war at inauguration of new military harbor at Gaeta.
- March 10—Garibaldians in the French Foreign Legion are allowed by French Government to return to Italy in response to call of certain categories of reservists by Italian Government.
- March 11—Military preparations are being pushed with much vigor.
- March 12—Soldiers near Austro-Italian frontier are drilling daily; new cannon is being tested; fleet is in readiness under Duke of the Abruzzi; Prince von Buelow is reported to have failed in his efforts to satisfy Italian demands for Austrian territory as the price of continued neutrality; it is said that Italy was asked to be satisfied with the Trentino, while nothing was said as to Trieste.
- March 14—Rome reports that Emperor Francis Joseph, despite urgent solicitations of Emperor William, refuses to sanction any cession of territory to Italy and insists that von Buelow's negotiations with the Italian Government be stopped; Premier Salandra's personal organ, the *Giornale d'Italia*, says Italy must obtain territorial expansion; National League meets at Milan and demands, through intervention in the war, the liberation of all Italians from Austrian rule.
- March 15—Exchange of telegraphic money orders with Austria is suspended; the traveling Post Offices on trains bound for the Austrian frontier are also stopped; it is denied that Austria has refused to cede any territory whatever, but that what she is willing to cede is far too little from the Italian viewpoint.
- March 16—Report from Rome states that an authoritative outline of the territorial demands of Italy shows that she wishes a sweep of territory to the north and east which would extend her boundary around northern end of the Adriatic as far south as Fiume on the eastern coast; this would include Austrian naval base at Pola and the provinces of Trent and Trieste; von Buelow is said to have assured Italian Government that concessions will be made.
- March 18—Germans are leaving the Riviera.
- March 20—Identification cards for use in active service are distributed among soldiers.
- March 21—King signs the decree promulgating a national defense law, which will become operative tomorrow; the law gives the Government various powers necessary for efficient war preparations; Parliament adjourns until the middle of May, leaving military preparations in hands of the Government.
- March 22—Austrians and Germans are advised by their Consuls to leave Italy as quickly as possible.
- March 23—Crowds in streets of Venice clamor for war; Government orders seizure of twenty-nine freight cars with material destined for Krupp gun works in Germany.
- March 26—All is ready for general mobilization; seven complete classes are already under the colors; Austrian and German families are leaving.
- March 27—Italian Consul at Buenos Aires calls a meeting of agents of Italian steamship lines and warns them to be in readiness for possible transportation of 60,000 reservists.
- March 28—Report from Berne that Emperor William in person has persuaded Emperor Francis Joseph to cede the territory to Italy which the latter desires; it is also said that negotiations are being conducted with Rome directly and solely by Berlin.

PERSIA.

- March 18—India Office of British Government says that documents have reached London showing that German Consular officers and business men have been engaged in intrigues with the object of facilitating a Turkish invasion of Persia.
- March 20—Persian Government calls upon Russia to evacuate the Province of Azerbaijan, Northwest Persia.
- March 25—Kurds and Turks are massacring Christians at Urumiah, Northwestern Persia; situation of American Presbyterian Mission there is described as desperate; Dr. Harry P. Packard, doctor of the American missionary station, risks his life to unfurl American flag and save Persian Christians at Geogtopa; 15,000 Christians are under protection of American Mission and 2,000 under protection of French Mission at Urumiah; it is learned that at Gulpashan, the last of 103 villages to be taken after resistance, the Kurds shot the male citizens in groups of five, while the younger women were taken as slaves; 20,000 Persian Christians are dead or missing, while 12,000 are refugees in the Caucasus; disease is raging among the refugees.
- March 26—Turks force their way into the compound of the American Mission at Urumiah, seize some Assyrian Christian refugees and kill them; Turks beat and insult American missionaries; American and British Consuls at Tabriz, near Urumiah, have joined in appeal to General commanding Russian forces at Tabriz to go to relief of American Mission at Urumiah, which is described as practically besieged by Turks and Kurds; United States State Department is active and asks Ambassador Morgenthau at Constantinople to urge the Turkish Government to send protection; Persian War Relief Committee cables funds to American Consul at Tabriz for relief at Urumiah.

Australasia, \$900,000; clothing which has been distributed is estimated to have been worth an additional \$1,000,000; it is announced that Queen Alexandra, as President of the English Red Cross Society, has written an autograph note to Mrs. Whitelaw Reid in London expressing

gratitude for the aid given by the American Red Cross.
 March 30—The cash collected by the Belgian Relief Fund, New York, now totals \$1,004,000, said to be the largest amount ever raised in the United States for relief of distress in a foreign country.

THE DAY

By HENRY CHAPPELL.

[The author of this poem is Mr. Henry Chappell, a railway porter at Bath, England. Mr. Chappell is known to his comrades as the "Bath Railway Poet."]

YOU boasted the Day, and you toasted
 the Day,
 And now the Day has come.
 Blasphemer, braggart and coward all,
 Little you reck of the numbing ball,
 The blasting shell, or the "white arm's"
 fall,
 As they speed poor humans home.

You spied for the Day, you lied for the Day,
 And woke the Day's red spleen,
 Monster, who asked God's aid Divine,
 Then strewed His seas with the ghastly mine;
 Not all the waters of all the Rhine
 Can wash thy foul hands clean.

You dreamed for the Day, you schemed for
 the Day;
 Watch how the Day will go.
 Slayer of age and youth and prime
 (Defenseless slain for never a crime)
 Thou art steeped in blood as a hog in slime,
 False friend and cowardly foe.

You have sown for the Day, you have grown
 for the Day;
 Yours is the Harvest red.
 Can you hear the groans and the awful cries?
 Can you see the heap of slain that lies,
 And sightless turned to the flame-split skies
 The glassy eyes of the dead?

You have wronged for the Day, you have
 longed for the Day
 That lit the awful flame.
 'Tis nothing to you that hill and plain
 Yield sheaves of dead men amid the grain;
 That widows mourn for their loved ones slain,
 And mothers curse thy name.

But after the Day there's a price to pay
 For the sleepers under the sod,
 And Him you have mocked for many a day—
 Listen, and hear what He has to say:
 "Vengeance is mine, I will repay."
 What can you say to God?

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H. M. QUEEN ELIZABETH
Queen of the Belgians. Though Born a Bavarian
Duchess, She Has Equaled Her Husband in
Devotion to Belgium

(Photo from Bain News Service.)



KRONPRINZ WILHELM AND HIS FAMILY

The Kronprinzessin Cecilie and the Little Princes Wilhelm
Ludwig Ferdinand, Hubertus, and Friedrich

(Photo © American Press Assn.)

The New York Times

CURRENT HISTORY

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

THE EUROPEAN WAR

JUNE, 1915

THE LUSITANIA CASE

President Wilson's Speeches and Note to Germany

History of a Series of Attacks on American Lives in the German War Zone

President Wilson's note to Germany, written consequent on the torpedoing by a German submarine on May 7, 1915, of the British passenger steamship *Lusitania*, off Kinsale Head, Ireland, by which over 100 American citizens lost their lives, is dated six days later, showing that time for careful deliberation was duly taken. The President's Secretary, Joseph P. Tumulty, on May 8 made this statement:

"Of course, the President feels the distress and the gravity of the situation to the utmost, and is considering very earnestly, but very calmly, the right course of action to pursue. He knows that the people of the country wish and expect him to act with deliberation as well as with firmness."

Although signed by Mr. Bryan, as Secretary of State, the note was written originally by the President in shorthand—a favorite method of Mr. Wilson in making memoranda—and transcribed by him on his own typewriter. The document was then presented to the members of the President's Cabinet, a draft of it was sent to Counselor Lansing of the State Department, and, after a few minor changes, it was transmitted by cable to Ambassador Gerard in Berlin.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

WASHINGTON, May 13, 1915.

The Secretary of State to the American Ambassador at Berlin:

Please call on the Minister of Foreign Affairs and after reading to him this communication leave with him a copy.

In view of recent acts of the German authorities in violation of American rights on the high seas, which culminated in the torpedoing and sinking of the British steamship *Lusitania* on May 7, 1915, by which over 100 American citizens lost their lives, it is clearly wise and desirable

that the Government of the United States and the Imperial German Government should come to a clear and full understanding as to the grave situation which has resulted.

The sinking of the British passenger steamer *Falaba* by a German submarine on March 28, through which Leon C. Thrasher, an American citizen, was drowned; the attack on April 28 on the American vessel *Cushing* by a German aeroplane; the torpedoing on May 1 of the American vessel *Gulflight* by a German submarine, as a result of which two or more American citizens met their death; and, finally, the torpedoing and sinking of the steamship *Lusitania*, constitute a series of events which the Government of the United States has observed with growing concern, distress, and amazement.

Recalling the humane and enlightened attitude hitherto assumed by the Imperial German Government in matters of international right, and particularly with regard to the freedom of the seas; having learned to recognize the German views and the German influence in the field of international obligation as always engaged upon the side of justice and humanity; and having understood the instructions of the Imperial German Government to its naval commanders to be upon the same plane of humane action prescribed by the naval codes of other nations, the Government of the United States was loath to believe—it cannot now bring itself to believe—that these acts, so absolutely contrary to the rules, the practices, and the spirit of modern warfare, could have the countenance or sanction of that great Government. It feels it to be its duty, therefore, to address the Imperial German Government concerning them with the utmost frankness and in the earnest hope that it is not mistaken in expecting action on the part of the Imperial German Government, which will correct the unfortunate impressions which have been created, and vindicate once more the position of that Government with regard to the sacred freedom of the seas.

The Government of the United States has been apprised that the Imperial German Government considered themselves to be obliged by the extraordinary circumstances of the present war and the measures adopted by their adversaries in seeking to cut Germany off from all commerce, to adopt methods of retaliation which go much beyond the ordinary methods of warfare at sea, in the proclamation of a war zone from which they have warned neutral ships to keep away. This Government has already taken occasion to inform the Imperial German Government that it cannot admit the adoption of such measures or such a warning of danger to operate as in any degree an abbreviation of the rights of American shipmasters or of American citizens bound on lawful errands as passengers on merchant ships of belligerent nationality, and that it must hold the Imperial German Government to a strict accountability for any infringement of those rights, intentional or incidental. It does not understand the Imperial German Government to question

those rights. It assumes, on the contrary, that the Imperial Government accept, as of course, the rule that the lives of noncombatants, whether they be of neutral citizenship or citizens of one of the nations at war, cannot lawfully or rightfully be put in jeopardy by the capture or destruction of an unarmed merchantman, and recognize also, as all other nations do, the obligation to take the usual precaution of visit and search to ascertain whether a suspected merchantman is in fact of belligerent nationality or is in fact carrying contraband of war under a neutral flag.

The Government of the United States, therefore, desires to call the attention of the Imperial German Government with the utmost earnestness to the fact that the objection to their present method of attack against the trade of their enemies lies in the practical impossibility of employing submarines in the destruction of commerce without disregarding those rules of fairness, reason, justice, and humanity which all modern opinion regards as imperative. It is practically impossible for the officers of a submarine to visit a merchantman at sea and examine her papers and cargo. It is practically impossible for them to make a prize of her; and, if they cannot put a prize crew on board of her, they cannot sink her without leaving her crew and all on board of her to the mercy of the sea in her small boats. These facts it is understood the Imperial German Government frankly admit. We are informed that in the instances of which we have spoken time enough for even that poor measure of safety was not given, and in at least two of the cases cited not so much as a warning was received. Manifestly, submarines cannot be used against merchantmen, as the last few weeks have shown, without an inevitable violation of many sacred principles of justice and humanity.

American citizens act within their indisputable rights in taking their ships and in traveling wherever their legitimate business calls them upon the high seas, and exercise those rights in what should be the well-justified confidence that their lives will not be endangered by acts done in clear violation of universally acknowledged international obligations, and certainly in the confidence that their own Government will sustain them in the exercise of their rights.

There was recently published in the newspapers of the United States, I regret to inform the Imperial German Government, a formal warning, purporting to come from the Imperial German Embassy at Washington, addressed to the people of the United States, and stating, in effect, that any citizen of the United States who exercised his right of free travel upon the seas would do so at his peril if his journey should take him within the zone of waters within which the Imperial German Navy was using submarines against the commerce of Great Britain and France, notwithstanding the respectful but very earnest protest of his Government, the Government of the United States. I do not refer to this for the purpose of calling the attention of the Imperial German

Government at this time to the surprising irregularity of a communication from the Imperial German Embassy at Washington addressed to the people of the United States through the newspapers, but only for the purpose of pointing out that no warning that an unlawful and inhuman act will be committed can possibly be accepted as an excuse or palliation for that act or as an abatement of the responsibility for its commission.

Long acquainted as this Government has been with the character of the Imperial Government, and with the high principles of equity by which they have in the past been actuated and guided, the Government of the United States cannot believe that the commanders of the vessels which committed these acts of lawlessness did so except under a misapprehension of the orders issued by the Imperial German naval authorities. It takes it for granted that, at least within the practical possibilities of every such case, the commanders even of submarines were expected to do nothing that would involve the lives of noncombatants or the safety of neutral ships, even at the cost of failing of their object of capture or destruction. It confidently expects, therefore, that the Imperial German Government will disavow the acts of which the Government of the United States complains; that they will make reparation so far as reparation is possible for injuries which are without measure, and that they will take immediate steps to prevent the recurrence of anything so obviously subversive of the principles of warfare for which the Imperial German Government have in the past so wisely and so firmly contended.

The Government and people of the United States look to the Imperial German Government for just, prompt, and enlightened action in this vital matter with the greater confidence, because the United States and Germany are bound together not only by special ties of friendship, but also by the explicit stipulations of the Treaty of 1828, between the United States and the Kingdom of Prussia.

Expressions of regret and offers of reparation in case of the destruction of neutral ships sunk by mistake, while they may satisfy international obligations, if no loss of life results, cannot justify or excuse a practice the natural and necessary effect of which is to subject neutral nations and neutral persons to new and immeasurable risks.

The Imperial German Government will not expect the Government of the United States to omit any word or any act necessary to the performance of its sacred duty of maintaining the rights of the United States and its citizens and of safeguarding their free exercise and enjoyment.

BRYAN.

THE WARNING AND THE CONSEQUENCE—

THE GERMAN WARNING.

[On Saturday, May 1, the day that the Lusitania left New York on her last voyage, the following advertisement bearing the authentication of the German Embassy at Washington appeared in the chief newspapers of the United States, placed next the advertisement of the Cunard Line:

NOTICE!

TRAVELLERS intending to embark on the Atlantic voyage are reminded that a state of war exists between Germany and her allies and Great Britain and her allies; that the zone of war includes the waters adjacent to the British Isles; that, in accordance with formal notice given by the Imperial German Government, vessels flying the flag of Great Britain, or of any of her allies, are liable to destruction in those waters and that travellers sailing in the war zone on ships of Great Britain or her allies do so at their own risk.

IMPERIAL GERMAN EMBASSY

WASHINGTON, D. C., APRIL 22, 1915.

Despite this warning, relying on President Wilson's note to Germany of Feb. 10, 1915, which declared that the United States would "hold the Imperial Government of Germany to a strict accountability" for such an act within the submarine zone; relying, also, on the speed of the ship, and hardly conceiving that the threat would be carried out, over two

thousand men, women, and children embarked. The total toll of the dead was 1,150, of whom 114 were known to be American citizens.

The German Embassy's warning advertisement was repeated on May 8, the day following the loss of the Lusitania. On May 12 the German Embassy notified the newspapers to discontinue publication of the advertisement, which had been scheduled to appear for the third time on the following Saturday.]

GERMAN OFFICIAL REPORT.

[By The Associated Press.]

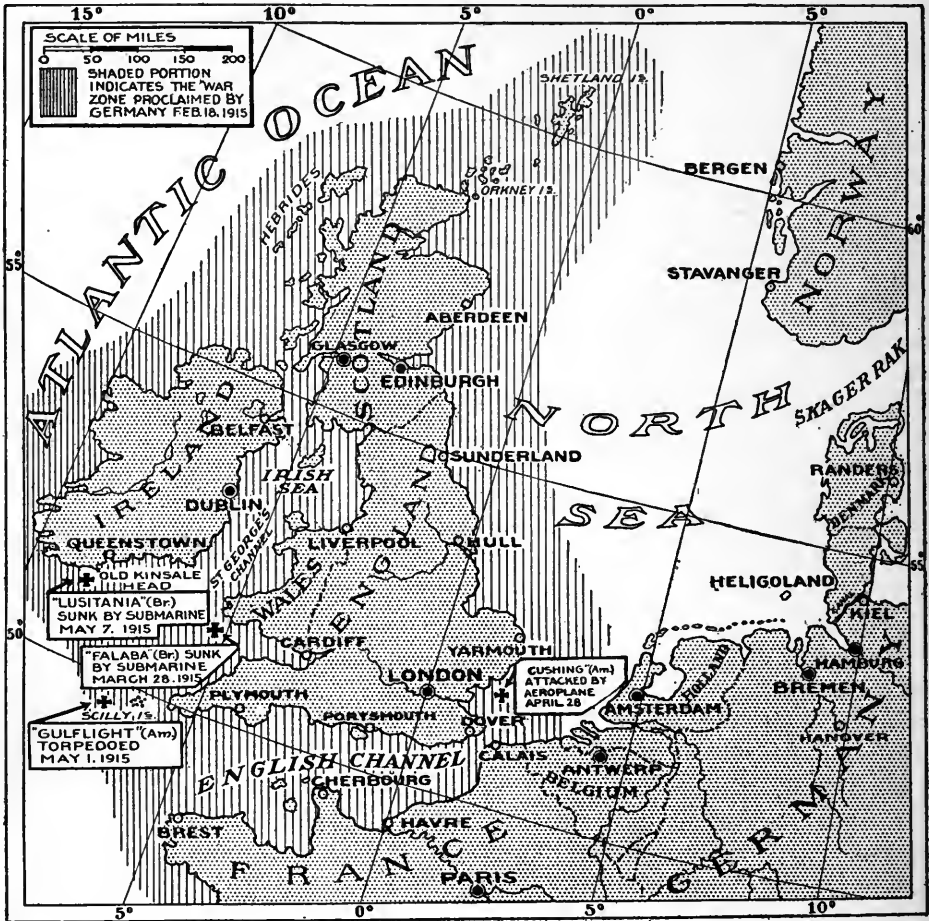
BERLIN, May 14, (via Amsterdam to London, May 15.)—From the report received from the submarine which sank the Cunard Line steamer Lusitania last Friday the following official version of the incident is published by the Admiralty Staff over the signature of Admiral Behncke:

The submarine sighted the steamer, which showed no flag, May 7 at 2:20 o'clock, Central European time, afternoon, on the southeast coast of Ireland, in fine, clear weather.

At 3:10 o'clock one torpedo was fired at the Lusitania, which hit her starboard side below the Captain's bridge. The detonation of the torpedo was followed immediately by a further explosion of extremely strong effect. The ship quickly listed to starboard and began to sink.

The second explosion must be traced back to the ignition of quantities of ammunition inside the ship.

It appears from this report that the submarine sighted the Lusitania at 1:20 o'clock, London time, and fired the torpedo at 2:10 o'clock, London time. The Lusitania, according to all reports, was traveling at the rate of eighteen knots an hour. As fifty minutes elapsed between the sighting and the torpedoing, the Lusitania when first seen from the submarine must have



Map Showing Locations of Ships Attacked in Submarine War Zone with American Citizens Aboard.

been distant nearly fifteen knots, or about seventeen land miles. The *Lusitania* must have been recognized at the first appearance of the tops of her funnels above the horizon. To the Captain on the bridge of the *Lusitania* the submarine would have been at that time invisible, being below the horizon.

BRITISH CORONER'S VERDICT.

[By The Associated Press.]

KINSALE, Ireland, May 10.—The verdict, rendered here today by the coroner's jury, which investigated five deaths resulting from the torpedoing of the *Lusitania*, is as follows:

We find that the deceased met death

from prolonged immersion and exhaustion in the sea eight miles south-south-east of Old Head of Kinsale, Friday, May 7, 1915, owing to the sinking of the *Lusitania* by torpedoes fired by a German submarine.

We find that the appalling crime was committed contrary to international law and the conventions of all civilized nations.

We also charge the officers of said submarine and the Emperor and the Government of Germany, under whose orders they acted, with the crime of wholesale murder before the tribunal of the civilized world.

We desire to express sincere condolences and sympathy with the relatives of the deceased, the Cunard Company, and the United States, many of whose citizens perished in this murderous attack on an unarmed liner.

GERMAN NOTE OF REGRET.

BERLIN, (via London,) May 10.—The following dispatch has been sent by the German Foreign Office to the German Embassy at Washington:

Please communicate the following to the State Department: The German Government desires to express its deepest sympathy at the loss of lives on board the Lusitania. The responsibility rests, however, with the British Government, which, through its plan of starving the civilian population of Germany, has forced Germany to resort to retaliatory measures.

In spite of the German offer to stop the submarine war in case the starvation plan was given up, British merchant vessels are being generally armed with guns and have repeatedly tried to ram submarines, so that a previous search was impossible.

They cannot, therefore, be treated as ordinary merchant vessels. A recent declaration made to the British Parliament by the Parliamentary Secretary in answer to a question by Lord Charles Beresford said that at the present practically all British merchant vessels were armed and provided with hand grenades.

Besides, it has been openly admitted by the English press that the Lusitania on previous voyages repeatedly carried large quantities of war material. On the present voyage the Lusitania carried 5,400 cases of ammunition, while the rest of her cargo also consisted chiefly of contraband.

If England, after repeated official and unofficial warnings, considered herself able to declare that that boat ran no risk and thus light-heartedly assumed responsibility for the human life on board a steamer which, owing to its armament and cargo, was liable to destruction, the German Government, in spite of its heartfelt sympathy for the loss of Amer-

ican lives, cannot but regret that Americans felt more inclined to trust to English promises rather than to pay attention to the warnings from the German side.

FOREIGN OFFICE.

ENGLAND ANSWERS GERMANY.*

[By The Associated Press.]

LONDON, Wednesday, May 12.—Inquiry in official circles elicited last night the following statement, representing the official British view of Germany's justification for torpedoing the Lusitania which Berlin transmitted to the State Department at Washington:

The German Government states that responsibility for the loss of the Lusitania rests with the British Government, which through their plan of starving the civil population of Germany has forced Germany to resort to retaliatory measures. The reply to this is as follows:

As far back as last December Admiral von Tirpitz, (the German Marine Minister,) in an interview, foreshadowed a submarine blockade of Great Britain, and a merchant ship and a

*In Germany's reply to the American protest against certain features of the "war zone" order, which was received in Washington on Feb. 14, occurred this expression:

If the United States * * * should succeed at the last moment in removing the grounds which make that procedure [submarine warfare on merchant vessels] an obligatory duty for Germany * * * and thereby make possible for Germany legitimate importation of the necessities of life and industrial raw material, then the German Government * * * would gladly draw conclusions from the new situation.

In the German note to the American Government, justifying the sinking of the Lusitania, presented above, appears this clause:

In spite of the German offer to stop the submarine war in case the starvation plan was given up * * *

These two expressions are referred to in the British official statement, published herewith, in these words:

It was not understood from the reply of the German Government [of Feb. 14] that they were prepared to abandon the principle of sinking British vessels by submarine.

Whether this may be regarded as an opening for the renewal of the German offer in explicit terms, with the implication that England might accept it, is not explained.

hospital ship were torpedoed Jan. 30 and Feb. 1, respectively.

The German Government on Feb. 4 declared their intention of instituting a general submarine blockade of Great Britain and Ireland, with the avowed purpose of cutting off supplies for these islands. This blockade was put into effect Feb. 18.

As already stated, merchant vessels had, as a matter of fact, been sunk by a German submarine at the end of January. Before Feb. 4 no vessel carrying food supplies for Germany had been held up by his Majesty's Government, except on the ground that there was reason to believe the foodstuffs were intended for use of the armed forces of the enemy or the enemy Government.

His Majesty's Government had, however, informed the State Department on Jan. 29 that they felt bound to place in a prize court the foodstuffs of the steamer *Wilhelmina*, which was going to a German port, in view of the Government control of foodstuffs in Germany, as being destined for the enemy Government, and, therefore, liable to capture.

The decision of his Majesty's Government to carry out the measures laid down by the Order in Council was due to the action of the German Government in insisting on their submarine blockade.

This, added to other infractions of international law by Germany, led to British reprisals, which differ from the German action in that his Majesty's Government scrupulously respect the lives of noncombatants traveling in merchant vessels, and do not even enforce the recognized penalty of confiscation for a breach of the blockade, whereas the German policy is to sink enemy or neutral vessels at sight, with total disregard for the lives of noncombatants and the property of neutrals.

The Germans state that, in spite of their offer to stop their submarine war in case the starvation plan was given up, Great Britain has taken even more stringent blockade measures. The answer to this is as follows:

It was not understood from the reply of the German Government that they

were prepared to abandon the principle of sinking British vessels by submarine.

They have refused to abandon the use of mines for offensive purposes on the high seas on any condition. They have committed various other infractions of international law, such as strewing the high seas and trade routes with mines, and British and neutral vessels will continue to run danger from this course, whether Germany abandons her submarine blockade or not.

It should be noted that since the employment of submarines, contrary to international law, the Germans also have been guilty of the use of asphyxiating gas. They have even proceeded to the poisoning of water in South Africa.

The Germans represent British merchant vessels generally as armed with guns and say that they repeatedly ram submarines. The answer to this is as follows:

It is not to be wondered at that merchant vessels, knowing they are liable to be sunk without warning and without any chance being given those on board to save their lives, should take measures for self-defense.

With regard to the *Lusitania*: The vessel was not armed on her last voyage, and had not been armed during the whole war.

The Germans attempt to justify the sinking of the *Lusitania* by the fact that she had arms and ammunition on board. The presence of contraband on board a neutral vessel does render her liable to capture, but certainly not to destruction, with the loss of a large portion of her crew and passengers. Every enemy vessel is a fair prize, but there is no legal provision, not to speak of the principles of humanity, which would justify what can only be described as murder because a vessel carries contraband.

The Germans maintain that after repeated official and unofficial warnings his Majesty's Government were responsible for the loss of life, as they considered themselves able to declare that the boat ran no risk, and thus "lightheartedly assume the responsibility for the human lives on board a steamer which, owing to its armament and cargo,

is liable to destruction." The reply thereto is:

First—His Majesty's Government never declared the boat ran no risk.

Second—The fact that the Germans issued their warning shows that the crime was premeditated. They had no more right to murder passengers after warning them than before.

Third—In spite of their attempts to put the blame on Great Britain, it will tax the ingenuity even of the Germans to explain away the fact that it was a German torpedo, fired by a German seaman from a German submarine, that sank the vessel and caused over 1,000 deaths.

CAPTAIN TURNER TESTIFIES.

[By The Associated Press.]

KINSALE, Ireland, May 10.—The inquest which began here Saturday over five victims of the Lusitania was concluded today. A vital feature of the hearing was the testimony of Captain W. T. Turner of the lost steamship. Coroner Horga questioned him:

"You were aware threats had been made that the ship would be torpedoed?"

"We were," the Captain replied.

"Was she armed?"

"No, Sir."

"What precautions did you take?"

"We had all the boats swung when we came within the danger zone, between the passing of Fastnet and the time of the accident."

The Coroner asked him whether he had received a message concerning the sinking of a ship off Kinsale by a submarine. Captain Turner replied that he had not.

"Did you receive any special instructions as to the voyage?"

"Yes, Sir."

"Are you at liberty to tell us what they were?"

"No, Sir."

"Did you carry them out?"

"Yes, to the best of my ability."

"Tell us in your own words what happened after passing Fastnet."

"The weather was clear," Captain Turner answered. "We were going at a speed of eighteen knots. I was on the

port side and heard Second Officer Heford call out:

"Here's a torpedo."

"I ran to the other side and saw clearly the wake of a torpedo. Smoke and steam came up between the last two funnels. There was a slight shock. Immediately after the first explosion there was another report, but that may possibly have been internal.

"I at once gave the order to lower the boats down to the rails, and I directed that women and children should get into them. I also had all the bulkheads closed.

"Between the time of passing Fastnet, about 11 o'clock, and of the torpedoing I saw no sign whatever of any submarines. There was some haze along the Irish coast, and when we were near Fastnet I slowed down to fifteen knots. I was in wireless communication with shore all the way across."

Captain Turner was asked whether he had received any messages in regard to the presence of submarines off the Irish coast. He replied in the affirmative. Questioned regarding the nature of the message, he replied:

"I respectfully refer you to the Admiralty for an answer."

"I also gave orders to stop the ship," Captain Turner continued, "but we could not stop. We found that the engines were out of commission. It was not safe to lower boats until the speed was off the vessel. As a matter of fact, there was a perceptible headway on her up to the time she went down.

"When she was struck she listed to starboard. I stood on the bridge when she sank, and the Lusitania went down under me. She floated about eighteen minutes after the torpedo struck her. My watch stopped at 2:36. I was picked up from among the wreckage and afterward was brought aboard a trawler.

"No warship was convoying us. I saw no warship, and none was reported to me as having been seen. At the time I was picked up I noticed bodies floating on the surface, but saw no living persons."

"Eighteen knots was not the normal speed of the Lusitania, was it?"

"At ordinary times," answered Captain Turner, "she could make 25 knots, but in war times her speed was reduced to 21 knots. My reason for going 18 knots was that I wanted to arrive at Liverpool bar without stopping, and within two or three hours of high water."

"Was there a lookout kept for submarines, having regard to previous warnings?"

"Yes, we had double lookouts."

"Were you going a zigzag course at the moment the torpedoing took place?"

"No. It was bright weather, and land was clearly visible."

"Was it possible for a submarine to approach without being seen?"

"Oh, yes; quite possible."

"Something has been said regarding the impossibility of launching the boats on the port side?"

"Yes," said Captain Turner, "owing to the listing of the ship."

"How many boats were launched safely?"

"I cannot say."

"Were any launched safely?"

"Yes, and one or two on the port side."

"Were your orders promptly carried out?"

"Yes."

"Was there any panic on board?"

"No, there was no panic at all. It was all most calm."

"How many persons were on board?"

"There were 1,500 passengers and about 600 crew."

By the foreman of the jury—In the face of the warnings at New York that the Lusitania would be torpedoed, did you make any application to the Admiralty for an escort?

"No, I left that to them. It is their business, not mine. I simply had to carry out my orders to go, and I would do it again."

Captain Turner uttered the last words of this reply with great emphasis.

By the Coroner—I am very glad to hear you say so, Captain.

By a jurymen—Did you get a wireless to steer your vessel in a northern direction?

"No," replied Captain Turner.

"Was the course of the vessel altered after the torpedoes struck her?"

"I headed straight for land, but it was useless. Previous to this the watertight bulkheads were closed. I suppose the explosion forced them open. I don't know the exact extent to which the Lusitania was damaged."

"There must have been serious damage done to the watertight bulkheads?"

"There certainly was, without doubt."

"Were the passengers supplied with lifebelts?"

"Yes."

"Were any special orders given that morning that lifebelts be put on?"

"No."

"Was any warning given before you were torpedoed?"

"None whatever. It was suddenly done and finished."

"If there had been a patrol boat about might it have been of assistance?"

"It might, but it is one of those things one never knows."

With regard to the threats against his ship Captain Turner said he saw nothing except what appeared in the New York papers the day before the Lusitania sailed. He had never heard the passengers talking about the threats, he said.

"Was a warning given to the lower decks after the ship had been struck?" Captain Turner was asked.

"All the passengers must have heard the explosion," Captain Turner replied.

Captain Turner, in answer to another question, said he received no report from the lookout before the torpedo struck the Lusitania.

Ship's Bugler Livermore testified that the watertight compartments were closed, but that the explosion and the force of the water must have burst them open. He said that all the officers were at their posts and that earlier arrivals of the rescue craft would not have saved the situation.

After physicians had testified that the victims had met death through prolonged immersion and exhaustion the Coroner summed up the case.

He said that the first torpedo fired by the German submarine did serious damage to the Lusitania, but that, not satis-

"Tusitania's" First Cabin List

May 11, 1915

LIST OF SALOON PASSENGERS

BY THE QUADRUPLE-SCREW TURBINE

R.M.S. "Tusitania"

CAPTAIN

W. T. TURNER, R.N.R.

STAFF CAPTAIN

J. C. ANDERSON

CHIEF ENGINEER—A. GUYER
 DECK CHIEF—J. F. McLEMMOTT
 ASSISTANT DECK CHIEF—J. DANNY
 CHIEF STEWARD—J. JOHNSON

From New York to Liverpool, May 1st 1915.

- Mr. Henry Adams England.
- Mr. Adams England.
- Mr. A. H. Adams London, Eng.
- Mr. William M. Adams Montreal, Can.
- ★ Lady Allan
- ★ and maid (Leamy Davies)
- ★ Miss Anna Allan Montreal, Can.
- ★ Miss Owen Allan
- ★ and maid (Leamy Walker)
- ★ Mr. N. N. Allen New York, N. Y.
- ★ Mr. Juan de Ayala Liverpool, Eng. (Special Guest for Cuba at Liverpool)
- ★ Mr. James Baker England, New York, N. Y.
- ★ Miss Margaret C. Baker Toronto, Ont.
- ★ Mr. Allan Barnes London, Eng.
- ★ Mr. C. W. B. Bartlett London, Eng.
- ★ Mrs. Bartlett New York, N. Y.
- ★ Mr. J. J. Battersby Stockport, Eng.
- ★ Mr. Oliver Bernard Boston, Mass.
- ★ Mr. Charles P. Bernard New York, N. Y.
- ★ Mr. Albert C. Bitlake Los Angeles, Cal.
- ★ Mrs. Bitlake Los Angeles, Cal.
- ★ Mr. Harry B. Baldwin New York, N. Y.
- ★ Mrs. Baldwin
- ★ Mrs. Leonidas Bistis Greece
- ★ Mr. James J. Black Liverpool, Eng.
- ★ Mr. Thomas Bloomfield New York, N. Y.
- ★ Mr. James Bohan Toronto, Canada.
- ★ Mr. Harold Boulton III Chicago, Ill.
- ★ Mr. Charles W. Bowring New York, N. Y.
- ★ Miss Dorothy Braithwaite Montreal, Can.
- ★ Miss Josephine Brandell Boston, Mass.
- ★ Mr. C. T. Brodick Bridgeport, Conn.
- ★ Mrs. Mary C. Brown New York, N. Y.
- ★ Mr. H. A. Bruno Montclair, N. J.
- ★ Mrs. Bruno
- ★ Mrs. J. S. Burnside and maid (Wentz Waite)
- ★ Miss Ivis Burnside Toronto, Ont.
- ★ Mr. A. J. Bvington London, Eng.
- ★ Mr. Michael G. Burnie New York, N. Y.
- ★ Mr. Peter Bossell England.
- ★ Mr. William H. Brown Buffalo, N. Y.
- ★ Mr. Hy C. Burgess Booked on Board
- ★ Mr. Robert W. Cairns Booked on Board
- ★ Mr. Conway S. Campbell-Johnston Los Angeles, Cal.
- ★ Mrs. Campbell-Johnston Los Angeles, Cal.
- ★ Mr. Alexander Campbell Montreal, Can.
- ★ Mr. David L. Chabot Toronto, Canada.
- ★ Mrs. W. Chapman Toronto, Canada.
- ★ Mr. John H. Charles Toronto, Canada.
- ★ Mrs. Dowry Charles London, Eng.
- ★ Mr. A. R. Clarke Toronto, Canada.
- ★ Mr. W. Broderick Cloete San Antonio, Tex.
- ★ Mr. H. G. Colebrook New York, N. Y.
- ★ Mr. R. C. Clarke Toronto, Canada.
- ★ Mr. George R. Copping Toronto, Canada.
- ★ Mrs. Copping Toronto, Canada.
- ★ Mrs. William Crichton Philadelphia, Pa.
- ★ Mrs. Paul Crompton Philadelphia, Pa.
- ★ Master Peter Crompton (16 years) Philadelphia, Pa.
- ★ Master Steven Crompton Philadelphia, Pa.
- ★ Master John David Crompton (16 years) Philadelphia, Pa.
- ★ Master Paul Rosendy Crompton (16 years) Philadelphia, Pa.
- ★ Miss Alberta Crompton (16 years) Philadelphia, Pa.
- ★ Miss Catherine Crompton (16 years) Philadelphia, Pa.
- ★ Mr. Robert W. Crooks Toronto, Canada.
- ★ Mr. A. B. Cross Ft. Maloy, Sts.
- ★ Mr. Harold M. Daly Ottawa, Ont.
- ★ Mr. Robert E. Deamberger New York, N. Y.
- ★ Mr. A. Deuge Belgium
- ★ Mr. C. A. Dingwall London, Eng.
- ★ Miss C. Dougal Guelph, Ont.
- ★ Mr. Audley Drake Detroit, Mich.
- ★ Mr. Alan Dredge British Honduras
- ★ Mrs. Dredge British Honduras
- ★ Mr. James Dunsmuir Toronto, Canada.
- ★ Mr. W. A. Emoud Quebec, Can.
- ★ Mr. John Fenwick Switzerland
- ★ Dr. Howard Fisher New York, N. Y.
- ★ Mr. Justin M. Forman New York, N. Y.
- ★ Mr. Chan. F. Fowles New York, N. Y.
- ★ Mrs. Fowles New York, N. Y.
- ★ Mr. Richard R. Freeman Jr. Boston, Mass.
- ★ Mr. J. Friestenstein London, Eng.
- ★ Mr. Edwin W. Friend Ct. Falls, N. Y.
- ★ Mr. Charles Frohman New York, N. Y.
- ★ and valet (Mrs. Statist)

- ★ Mr. Fred. J. Gaultlett New York, N. Y.
- ★ Mr. Mathew Gibson Glasgow, Scot.
- ★ Mr. George A. Gilpin England.
- ★ Edgar Gory London, Eng.
- ★ Mr. Oscar F. Grab New York, N. Y.
- ★ Mr. Montagu T. Grant Chicago, Ill.
- ★ Mrs. Grant New York, N. Y.
- ★ Mr. Frederick S. Hammond Toronto, Canada.
- ★ Mrs. P. S. Hammond Toronto, Canada.
- ★ Mr. O. H. Hammond New York, N. Y.
- ★ Mr. C. H. Hammond New York, N. Y.
- ★ Mr. C. C. Hardwick New York, N. Y.
- ★ Mr. John H. Harper New York, N. Y.
- ★ Mr. Dwight C. Harris New York, N. Y.
- ★ Mr. P. W. Hawkins Winnipeg, Man.
- ★ Miss Katherine Hickson New York, N. Y.
- ★ Mr. Charles T. Hill Philadelphia, Pa.
- ★ Mr. William S. Hodges Philadelphia, Pa.
- ★ Mrs. Hodges Philadelphia, Pa.
- ★ Master W. S. Hodges Jr. Philadelphia, Pa.
- ★ Master De W. Hodges Montreal, Can.
- ★ Master W. R. G. Holt Toronto, Canada.
- ★ Mr. Thomas Home Toronto, Canada.
- ★ Mr. Albert L. Hopkins New York, N. Y.
- ★ Dr. J. T. Houghton Saratoga Springs, N. Y.
- ★ Mr. Elbert Hubbard E. Aurora, N. Y.
- ★ Mrs. Hubbard E. Aurora, N. Y.
- ★ Miss P. Hutchison England.
- ★ Mr. C. T. Jeffery Chicago, Ill.
- ★ Mr. Francis B. Jenkins New York, N. Y.
- ★ Mrs. Rosa Johnson Honolulu, Hawaii
- ★ Miss Margaret D. Jones Toronto, Canada.
- ★ Mr. W. Keeble Toronto, Canada.
- ★ Mrs. Keeble Toronto, Canada.
- ★ Mr. Francis C. Kellitt Tuckahoe, N. Y.
- ★ Mr. Maillard Kempton New York, N. Y.
- ★ Dr. Owen Kenan New York, N. Y.
- ★ Mrs. C. Hickson Kennedy New York, N. Y.
- ★ Mr. Harry J. Keeser Philadelphia, Pa.
- ★ Mrs. Keeser New York, N. Y.
- ★ Mr. Geo. A. Kessler Worcester, Mass.
- ★ Mr. Theo. B. Kirk New York, N. Y.
- ★ Mr. Charles Klein London, Eng.
- ★ Mr. C. Harwood Knight Baltimore, Md.
- ★ Miss Elsie H. Knicker Baltimore, Md.
- ★ Mr. S. M. Knox Philadelphia, Pa.
- ★ Sir Hugh Lane England.
- ★ Mrs. H. B. Lavetter London, Eng.
- ★ Mr. P. Lavetter London, Eng.
- ★ Mrs. Charles E. Lauriat Ft. St. John, N. S. W.
- ★ Mr. C. A. Leary Sydney, Aus.
- ★ Mrs. Leary Sydney, Aus.
- ★ and maid (Mary E. Hurley)
- ★ Mr. James Leary New York, N. Y.
- ★ Mr. Evan A. Leigh Liverpool, Eng.
- ★ Mrs. Isaac Lehmann New York, N. Y.
- ★ Miss Dilane Lehmann Booked on Board
- ★ Mr. Martin Lehmann Booked on Board
- ★ Mrs. Joseph Levinson New York, N. Y.
- ★ Mr. Gerald A. Lettis New York, N. Y.
- ★ Mr. F. Guy Lewis England.
- ★ Mrs. Fosham Lobb New York, N. Y.
- ★ Mr. R. K. Lockhart Toronto, Canada.
- ★ Mr. Allen D. Loney New York, N. Y.
- ★ Mrs. Loney New York, N. Y.
- ★ and maid (Eris Boustetter)
- ★ Miss Virginia Loney New York, N. Y.
- ★ Mrs. A. C. Luck Worcester, Mass.
- ★ Master Eldridge C. Luck Worcester, Mass.
- ★ Master Keoneth T. Luck Worcester, Mass.
- ★ Mr. John W. McConnell Manchester, Eng.
- ★ Mr. William McLean Glasgow, Scot.
- ★ Mr. F. E. MacLennan Toronto, Canada.
- ★ Mr. Louis Mc Murray Toronto, Canada.
- ★ Mr. Fred. A. McNurty Toronto, Canada.
- ★ Mrs. Henry D. Macdonna Cardiff, Wales.
- ★ Lady Mackworth Cardiff, Wales.
- ★ Mr. Stewart S. Masoo Boston, Mass.
- ★ Mrs. Mason Boston, Mass.
- ★ Mr. Arthur T. Mathewa Montreal, Can.
- ★ Rev. Basil W. Masturia Oxford, Eng.
- ★ Mr. George Maurice London, Eng.
- ★ Mr. Maurice B. Medbury New York, N. Y.
- ★ Capt. J. B. Miller Washington, D. C.
- ★ Mr. Charles V. Mills New York, N. Y.
- ★ Mr. James D. Mitchell England.
- ★ Mr. R. T. Moodie Toronto, Canada.
- ★ Mrs. M. S. Morell Toronto, Canada.
- ★ Mr. K. J. Morrison Toronto, Canada.
- ★ Mr. C. G. Moxley England.
- ★ Mrs. C. Munro Liverpool, Eng.
- ★ Mr. Herman A. Myers New York, N. Y.
- ★ Mr. Joseph L. Myers New York, N. Y.
- ★ Mr. P. G. Naumann England.
- ★ Mr. Gustaf Adolf Nyblom Canada.
- ★ Mr. P. Orr-Lewis Montreal, Can.
- ★ and manservant (see Statist)
- ★ Mrs. A. O. Osborne Hamilton Ont.
- ★ Mrs. T. O. Osborne Glasgow, Scot.
- ★ Mrs. F. Padley Liverpool, Eng.
- ★ Mr. Frederico C. Padilla Liverpool, Eng.
- ★ Mr. J. H. Page New York, N. Y.
- ★ Mr. M. N. Pappadopoulos Greece
- ★ Mrs. Pappadopoulos Greece
- ★ Mr. Frank Partridge New York, N. Y.
- ★ Mr. Charles E. Payater Liverpool, Eng.
- ★ Miss Irene Payater Toronto, Can.
- ★ Mr. F. A. Peardoo New York, N. Y.
- ★ Dr. P. S. Pearson New York, N. Y.
- ★ Mr. Pearson New York, N. Y.
- ★ Major F. Warren Pearl New York, N. Y.
- ★ Mrs. Pearl New York, N. Y.
- ★ infant
- ★ and maid (Orta Larsson)

- ★ Miss Amy W. W. Pearl New York, N. Y.
- ★ Miss Susan W. Pearl New York, N. Y.
- ★ and maid (Miss Lines)
- ★ Master Stuart Duncan (8 years) New York, N. Y.
- ★ Mr. Edwin Perkins Buffalo, N. Y.
- ★ Mr. Frederick J. Perry Buffalo, N. Y.
- ★ Mr. Albert Norris Perry Buffalo, N. Y.
- ★ Mr. Wallace B. Phillips Buffalo, N. Y.
- ★ Mr. Robinson Ferry Hamilton Ont.
- ★ Mr. William J. Pierpoint Liverpool, Eng.
- ★ Mr. Charles A. Plamondon Chicago, Ill.
- ★ Mr. Henry Pollard Washington, D. C.
- ★ Miss Theodote Foye and maid (Leamy Robinson) Farmington Ct.
- ★ Mr. Eugene H. Posen New York, N. Y.
- ★ Mr. George A. Powell Toronto, Ont.
- ★ Mr. Norman A. Rastliff England.
- ★ Mr. Robert R. Reup New York, N. Y.
- ★ Mr. A. L. Rhyt-Evans Cardiff, Wales.
- ★ Mr. Chas. E. Robinson Philadelphia, Pa.
- ★ Mrs. Robinson Philadelphia, Pa.
- ★ Mr. Frank A. Rogers Toronto, Canada.
- ★ Mrs. Rogers Toronto, Canada.
- ★ Mr. Percy W. Rogers Toronto, Canada.
- ★ Mr. Theo. W. Rumble Toronto, Canada.
- ★ G. Sterling Ryerson Toronto Canada
- ★ Miss Laura Ryerson Baltimore, Md.
- ★ Mr. Leo M. Schwabacher New York, N. Y.
- ★ Mrs. Rosa J. Schwartz New York, N. Y.
- ★ Mr. Max M. Schwartz New York, N. Y.
- ★ Mr. A. J. Scott Manila, P. I.
- ★ Mr. Percy W. Seccombe New York, N. Y.
- ★ Miss Elizabeth Seccombe Cincinnati, Ohio.
- ★ Mr. Victor E. Shields Cincinnati, Ohio.
- ★ Mrs. R. D. Shiener New York, N. Y.
- ★ Mr. Jacobus Sigurd Sweden
- ★ Mr. Thomas Sibley Temple, Texas
- ★ Mr. Thomas Sibley New York, N. Y.
- ★ Mrs. Jessie Tait Smith Bracelville, O.
- ★ Mr. Henry B. Sonober Baltimore, Md.
- ★ Com. J. Foster Slackhouse Montreal, Can.
- ★ Mrs. George W. Stephens and maid (Eris Oberlin) Montreal, Can.
- ★ Master John H. C. Stephens and nurse (Cecilia Mittera) Montreal, Can.
- ★ Mr. Duncan Stewart New York, N. Y.
- ★ Mr. Herbert S. Stone London, Eng.
- ★ Mr. Martin van Straeter Hamilton Ont.
- ★ Mrs. Julius Straps Glasgow, Scot.
- ★ Mr. Alex. Stuart Montreal, Can.
- ★ Mr. Charles F. Sturdy Montreal, Can.
- ★ New York, N. Y.
- ★ Mr. R. L. Taylor Philadelphia, Pa.
- ★ Mr. F. B. Tesson Philadelphia, Pa.
- ★ Mrs. Tesson Philadelphia, Pa.
- ★ Mr. A. D. Thomas Cardiff, Wales.
- ★ Mr. E. Blish Thompson Seymour, Indiana
- ★ Mrs. Thompson Seymour, Indiana
- ★ Mr. George T. Urberghien Gainesville, Texas
- ★ Mr. R. J. Umms London, Eng.
- ★ Mr. F. E. O. Tootal Toronto, Canada
- ★ Mrs. Ernest Tootal Toronto, Canada
- ★ Mr. Isaac F. Trumbull Lansing, Mich.
- ★ Mr. Scott Turner Melbourne, Australia
- ★ Mr. C. H. Turton New York, N. Y.
- ★ Mr. Alfred G. Vandenberg and valet (Ronald Dyer) London, Eng.
- ★ Mr. W. A. F. Vassar London, Eng.
- ★ Mr. G. L. F. Vernon Honolulu, Hawaii.
- ★ Mrs. A. T. Wakefield New York, N. Y.
- ★ Mr. David Walker Montreal, Can.
- ★ Mrs. Wallace Watson England.
- ★ Mrs. Anthony Watson Lake Forest, Ill.
- ★ Mr. Walter Watson Liverpool, Eng.
- ★ Mr. Thomas H. Williams New York, N. Y.
- ★ Mr. Charles F. Williamson New York, N. Y.
- ★ Mr. Winter New York, N. Y.
- ★ Mrs. A. S. Witherbee Master A.S. Witherbee Jr. (19 years) New York, N. Y.
- ★ Mr. Loshrop Withington New York, N. Y.
- ★ Mr. Walter Wright Scotland
- ★ Mr. Arthur John Wood England.
- ★ Mr. Robt. C. Wright Cleveland, Ohio.
- ★ Mr. J. Young Hamilton Ont.
- ★ Mrs. Philip J. Yong Antwerp, Belgium

Total number of Saloon Passengers 293

Survivors marked ★
 Identified Dead marked ●

[This list, as corrected to May 22, 1915—the final revision—is a facsimile of the broadside issued by the Cunard Company. It will be noted that all of Paul Crompton's family perished, including him self, his wife, and six children.]

fied with this, the Germans had discharged another torpedo. The second torpedo, he said, must have been more deadly, because it went right through the ship, hastening the work of destruction.

The characteristic courage of the Irish and British people was manifested at the time of this terrible disaster, the Coroner continued, and there was no panic. He charged that the responsibility "lay on

the German Government and the whole people of Germany, who collaborated in the terrible crime.

"I propose to ask the jury," he continued, "to return the only verdict possible for a self-respecting jury, that the men in charge of the German submarine were guilty of willful murder."

The jury then retired and prepared their verdict.

Descriptions by Survivors

SUBMARINE CREW OBSERVED.

[By The Associated Press.]

LONDON, May 10.—The Fishguard correspondent of The Daily News quotes the Rev. Mr. Guvier of the Church of England's Canadian Railway Mission, a Lusitania survivor, as saying that when the ship sank a submarine rose to the surface and came within 300 yards of the scene.

"The crew stood stolidly on the deck," he said, "and surveyed their handiwork. I could distinguish the German flag, but, it was impossible to see the number of the submarine, which disappeared after a few minutes."

ERNEST COWPER'S ACCOUNT.

QUEENSTOWN, Saturday, May 8, 3:18 A. M.—A sharp lookout for submarines was kept aboard the Lusitania as she approached the Irish coast, according to Ernest Cowper, a Toronto newspaper man, who was among the survivors landed at Queenstown.

He said that after the ship was torpedoed there was no panic among the crew, but that they went about the work of getting passengers into the boats in a prompt and efficient manner.

"As we neared the coast of Ireland," said Mr. Cowper, "we all joined in the lookout, for a possible attack by a submarine was the sole topic of conversation.

"I was chatting with a friend at the rail about 2 o'clock, when suddenly I caught a glimpse of the conning tower of a submarine about a thousand yards distant. I immediately called my friend's attention to it. Immediately we both

saw the track of a torpedo, followed almost instantly by an explosion. Portions of splintered hull were sent flying into the air, and then another torpedo struck. The ship began to list to starboard.

"The crew at once proceeded to get the passengers into boats in an orderly, prompt, and efficient manner. Miss Helen Smith appealed to me to save her. I placed her in a boat and saw her safely away. I got into one of the last boats to leave.

"Some of the boats could not be launched, as the vessel was sinking. There was a large number of women and children in the second cabin. Forty of the children were less than a year old."

From interviews with passengers it appears that when the torpedoes burst they sent forth suffocating fumes, which had their effect on the passengers, causing some of them to lose consciousness.

Two stokers, Byrne and Hussey of Liverpool, gave a few details. They said the submarine gave no notice and fired two torpedoes, one hitting No. 1 stoke hole and the second the engine room. The first torpedo was discharged at 2 o'clock. In twenty-five minutes the great liner disappeared.

The Cunard Line agent states that the total number of persons aboard the Lusitania was 2,160.

MR. KESSLER'S DESCRIPTION.

[Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.]

LONDON, Monday, May 10.—Survivors of the Lusitania arriving in London yesterday from Queenstown told

some of their tragic experiences to THE NEW YORK TIMES correspondent.

They forcibly expressed the opinion that the Lusitania was badly handled in being run into waters where it was known submarines were waiting. Although not for a moment attempting to shift the blame from the "murderous Germans" for the sinking of a ship full of innocent passengers, they insisted that the officers of the steamship, knowing that submarines were lurking off the Irish coast, ought to have taken a different path to avoid all danger. * * *

George A. Kessler of New York, in an interview, gave the following description of the Lusitania sinking and of preliminary incidents aboard:

"On Wednesday I saw the crew taking tarpaulins from the boats, and I went up to the Purser and said:

"It's all right drilling your crew, but why don't you drill your passengers?"

"The Purser said he thought it was a good idea, and added, 'Why not tell Captain Turner, Sir?'

"The next day I had a conversation with the Captain, and to him suggested that the passengers should receive tickets, each with a number denoting the number of the boat he should make for in case anything untoward happened. I added that this detail would minimize difficulties in the event of trouble.

"The Captain replied that this suggestion was made after the disaster to the Titanic. The Cunard people had thought it over and considered it impracticable. He added that, of course, he could not act on the advice given, because he should first have the authority of the Board of Trade.

"I talked with the Captain generally about the torpedo scare, which neither of us regarded as of any moment. The Captain (you understand, of course, that we were smoking and chatting) explained his plans to me. He said that they were then slowing down, (in fact, we were going only about eighteen knots,) and that the ship would be slowed down until they got somewhere further on the voyage, and then they would go at all speed and get over the war zone.

"I asked him what the war zone was, and he said 500 miles from Liverpool.

"According to the next day's run, ending about two hours before the mishap occurred, we were about 380 or 390 miles from Liverpool. So we were in the war zone, and we were going only at a speed of eighteen knots at the critical moment.

"For the two days previous, as well as I remember, the mileage was 506 and 501, and on Thursday the mileage was 488. On Friday I was playing bridge when the pool was put up on the day's run and I heard twenty numbers go from 480 to 499. I thought it would be a grand speculation to buy the lowest number, as we were going so slow. I did buy it, and paid \$100. The amount in the pool was between \$300 and \$350, and when the pool was declared, I was the winner.

"The steward offered to hand over the money if I would go to his cabin, but I said that he could pay me later.

"Shortly after the steward had left me I was on the upper deck and looking out to sea. I saw all at once the wash of a torpedo, indicated by a snake-like churn of the surface of the water. It may have been about thirty feet away. And then came a thud."

Mr. Kessler told of the general rush for the deck and the second explosion. Then he continued:

"Mr. Berth and his wife, from New York, first-class passengers, were the last ones I spoke to. I should say that all the passengers in the dining saloon had come up on deck. The upper deck was crowded, and, of course, the passengers were wondering what was the matter, few really believing what it proved to be. Still they began to lower boats, and then things began to happen very quickly.

"Mr. Berth was trying to persuade his wife to get into a boat. She said she would not do so without him. He said, 'Oh, come along, my darling; I will be all right,' and I added to his persuasions.

"I saw him help her into the boat with the ropes of the davits. I fell into the

same boat, and we were slipped down into the water over the side of the liner, which was bulging out, the list being the other way. The boat struck the water, and after some seconds (it may have been a minute) I looked up and cried out, 'My God, the Lusitania is gone!'

"We saw the entire bulk, which had been almost upright just a few seconds before, suddenly lurch over away from us. Then she seemed to stand upright in the water, and the next instant the keel of the vessel caught the keel of the boat in which we were floating, and we were thrown into the water. There were only about thirty people in the boat, and I should say that all were stokers or third-class passengers. There may have been one or two first class; I cannot recall who they were.

"When the boat was overturned I sank fifteen or twenty feet. I thought I was gone. However, I had my life-belt around me, and managed to rise again to the surface. There I floated for possibly ten or fifteen minutes, when I saw and made a grab at a collapsible lifeboat at which other passengers were also grabbing. We managed to get it shipshape and clamber in. There were eight or nine in the boat, all stokers except one or two third-class passengers.

"It was partly filled with water and in the scramble which occurred the boat was overturned, and once more we were pitched into the water. This occurred, I should say, eight times, the boat usually righting itself. Before we were picked up by the Bluebell six of the party of eight or nine were lying drowned in the bilge water which was in the bottom."

When asked what he thought the effect of the sinking would be on the United States, Mr. Kessler answered:

"My God! what can America do? Nothing will bring back these people to life.

"It was cold-blooded, deliberate murder, and nothing else—the greatest murder the world has ever known. How will going to war mend that?"

To the question whether the loss of the liner could have been avoided, Mr. Kessler said slowly:

"That is a very serious question, and I hesitate to give an opinion on matters which are purely technical.

"Still, it seems to me as a landsman, and one who has crossed the ocean a great many times, that the safety of the Lusitania lay in speed. We were in the war zone by 140 or 150 miles, and every moment that we dawdled at fifteen or eighteen knots was an increase of our risk of being torpedoed.

"Again, (and of course I merely make the comment,) I cannot understand why there were no destroyers or patrol boats about, as we certainly had been led to expect there would be when we reached the war zone.

"The ship was torpedoed at 2:05 P. M. My watch stopped at 2:30. It was 5 o'clock when I was picked up by the Bluebell, and it was 10 o'clock before we were landed in Queenstown."

CHARLES FROHMAN'S DEATH.

[Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.]

LONDON, May 10.—A highly interesting story was told tonight by Rita Jolivet, the actress, who stood calmly chatting with Charles Frohman and Alfred G. Vanderbilt during the last tense moments before the Lusitania sank. The three of them, together with G. L. S. Vernon, Miss Jolivet's brother-in-law, and Mr. Scott, who had come all the way from Japan to enlist, joined hands and stood waiting to face death together. Miss Jolivet said:

We stood talking about the Germans and the rumor which had gained currency that a man, obviously of German origin, had been arrested for tampering with the wireless. The story was that the man had been discovered at 1 o'clock in the morning a day or two before doing something to the wireless apparatus and had been immediately imprisoned. I did not see the man arrested, so I am not sure about the story's truth, but there were good grounds for believing it.

We determined not to enter the boats, and just a minute or two before the end Mr. Frohman said with a smile: "Why fear death? It is the most beautiful adventure that life gives us."

Mr. Scott fetched three lifebelts, one

for Mr. Vanderbilt, one for Mr. Frohman, and one for my brother-in-law. He said he was not going to wear one himself, and my brother-in-law also refused to put his on. I hear that Mr. Vanderbilt gave his to a lady, Mrs. Scott. I helped to put a lifebelt on Mr. Frohman. My brother-in-law took hold of my hand and I grasped the hand of Mr. Frohman, who, as you know, was lame. Mr. Scott took hold of his other hand, and Mr. Vanderbilt joined the row, too. We had made up our minds to die together.

Then Mr. Frohman, in a perfectly calm voice, said: "They've done for us; we had better get out." He knew that his beautiful adventure was about to begin. He had hardly spoken when, with a tremendous roar, a great wave swept along the deck and we were all divided in a moment. I have not seen any of those brave men alive since. Mr. Frohman, Mr. Vanderbilt, and my brother-in-law were drowned. When Mr. Frohman's body was recovered there was the most beautiful and peaceful smile upon his lips.

VANDERBILT'S HEROIC END.

[Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.]

LONDON, May 9.—Two survivors of the *Lusitania* disaster have given testimony that Alfred G. Vanderbilt died heroically; that he went to death to save the life of a woman.

Thomas Slidell, a friend of Mr. Vanderbilt, who lives at the Knickerbocker Club in New York, and was traveling with him, told of the sacrifice first. Then tonight Norman Ratcliffe, who lives in Gillingham, Kent, and was returning from Japan, offered verification. Mr. Ratcliffe was rescued, after clinging to a box in the sea for three hours. With him was a steward of the *Lusitania*. He said:

This steward told me he had seen Mr. Vanderbilt on the *Lusitania*'s deck, shortly after the ship was struck, with a lifebelt about his body. When the ship gave every indication that it would sink within a few minutes, the steward said, Mr. Vanderbilt took off his lifebelt and gave it to a woman who passed him on the

deck, trembling with fear of the fate she expected to meet. The steward said Mr. Vanderbilt turned back, as though to look for another belt, and he saw him no more.

Telling of his last moments on the ship and his last sight of Mr. Vanderbilt, Mr. Slidell said:

I saw Alfred G. Vanderbilt only a few minutes before I left the ship. He was standing with a lifebelt in his hand. A woman came up to him, and I saw him place the belt around the woman. He had none for himself, and I know that he could not swim.

Only the day before we had been talking of a day and a dawn some years ago when we went down the bay at New York in his yacht and waited to welcome and dip our flag to the *Lusitania* on her maiden voyage. We saw the first and last of her. Vanderbilt, who had given largely to the Red Cross, was returning to England in order to offer a fleet of wagons and himself as driver to the Red Cross Society, for he said he felt every day that he was not doing enough.

KLEIN AND HUBBARD LOST.

Oliver O. Bernard, scenic artist of Covent Garden, said:

Only one or two of the shining marks which disasters at sea seem invariably to involve have lived to tell the *Lusitania*'s tale. Vanderbilt, the sportsman, is gone. Genial Charles Klein, the playwright, is gone. That erratic American literary genius, Elbert Hubbard, is gone, and with him a wife to whom he seemed particularly devoted. And Charles Frohman is gone.

Frohman's was the only body I could recognize in the Queenstown mortuary, and perhaps it will interest his many friends in London and New York to know that the famous manager's face in death gives uncommonly convincing evidence that he died without a struggle. It wears a serenely peaceful look.

Frohman must have found it more difficult for him to take his place in a lifeboat than any other man on the ship. He was quite lame, and hobbled about on deck laboriously with a heavy cane. He

seldom came to the general dining saloon, either out of sensitiveness or because of distress caused by his leg.

I last saw Alfred G. Vanderbilt standing at the port entrance to the grand saloon. He stood there the personification of sportsmanlike coolness. In his right hand was grasped what looked to me like a large purple leather jewel case. It may have belonged to Lady Mackworth, as

Mr. Vanderbilt had been much in company of the Thomas party during the trip, and evidently had volunteered to do Lady Mackworth the service of saving her gems for her. Mr. Vanderbilt was absolutely unperturbed. In my eyes, he was the figure of a gentleman waiting unconcernedly for a train. He had on a dark striped suit, and was without cap or other head covering.

Germany Justifies the Deed

[It should be borne in mind that the subjoined official and semi-official outgivings on behalf of Germany, announcing the destruction of the Lusitania, justifying it, striving to implicate the British Government, and to some extent modifying the original war zone proclamation of Feb. 18, 1915, were published prior to the receipt by the German Imperial Government of President Wilson's note of May 13. British official rejoinders and a statement by the Collector of the Port of New York are included under this head.—Editor.]

GERMAN OFFICIAL REPORT.

BERLIN, May 8, (via wireless to London, Sunday, May 9.)—The following official communication was issued tonight:

The Cunard liner Lusitania was yesterday torpedoed by a German submarine and sank.

The Lusitania was naturally armed with guns, as were recently most of the English mercantile steamers. Moreover, as is well known here, she had large quantities of war material in her cargo.

Her owners, therefore, knew to what danger the passengers were exposed. They alone bear all the responsibility for what has happened.

Germany, on her part, left nothing undone to repeatedly and strongly warn them. The Imperial Ambassador in Washington even went so far as to make a public warning, so as to draw attention to this danger. The English press sneered at the warning and relied on the protection of the British fleet to safeguard Atlantic traffic.

BRITAIN'S DENIAL.

LONDON, May 8.—The British Government today made the following announcement:

The statement appearing in some

newspapers that the Lusitania was armed is wholly false.

COLLECTOR MALONE'S DENIAL.

In THE NEW YORK TIMES of May 9, 1915, the following report appeared:

Dudley Field Malone, Collector of the Port, gave an official denial yesterday to the German charge that the Lusitania had guns mounted when she left this port on Saturday, May 1. He said:

"This report is not correct. The Lusitania was inspected before sailing, as is customary.

"No guns were found, mounted or unmounted, and the vessel sailed without any armament. No merchant ship would be allowed to arm in this port and leave the harbor."

This statement was given out by the Collector yesterday morning at his home, 270 Riverside Drive.

Herman Winter, Assistant Manager of the Cunard Line, 22 State Street, who was on the Lusitania for three hours before she sailed for Liverpool, denied the report that she ever carried any guns.

"It is true," Mr. Winter said, "that she had aboard 4,200 cases of cartridges, but they were cartridges for small arms, packed in separate cases, and could not



SIR ROBERT BORDEN, K. C. M. G.
Prime Minister of Canada



H. R. H. FIELD MARSHAL THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT
Uncle of George V. and Governor General of Canada
(Photo from P. S. Rogers.)

have injured the vessel by exploding. They certainly do not come under the classification of ammunition. The United States authorities would not permit us to carry ammunition, classified as such by the military authorities, on a passenger liner. For years we have been sending small-arms cartridges abroad on the Lusitania.

"The Lusitania had 1,250 steel shrapnel cases, but they were empty. There was no explosive of any sort aboard. As to the report that the Lusitania had guns aboard, I cannot assert too strongly that it is positively untrue. There were no guns whatever aboard. The Lusitania was an unarmed passenger steamer. Furthermore, she never has been armed, and never carried an unmounted gun or rifle out of port in times of war or peace."

"Then you unqualifiedly declare that the Lusitania was not armed against submarines?" he was asked.

"The ship," Mr. Winter replied, "was as defenseless against undersea and underhanded attack as a Hoboken ferryboat in the North River would be against one of the United States battleships."

Captain D. J. Roberts, Marine Superintendent of the Cunard Line, said yesterday that he was prepared to testify under oath in any court and from his personal knowledge that the Lusitania did not carry any guns when she sailed from New York at 12:28 P. M. on May 1 for Liverpool.

"It is my invariable custom to go through the passenger ships every day they are in port," he said, "and I made my last inspection of the Lusitania on sailing day at 7 A. M. There were no guns or plates or mountings where guns could be fitted on the Lusitania, nor have there been since she has been in the service. The ship has never carried troops or been chartered by the British Government for any purpose whatsoever.

"In order that there should be no mistake about the ensigns flown by British merchant vessels, the Admiralty ordered after war had been declared that only the red ensign, a square red flag with the union jack in the corner, should be shown at the stern of a merchantman, and the white St. George's ensign by all

war vessels, whether armored or unarmored. These are the only two flags that are hoisted on British ships today, with the exception of the company's house flag, when they are entering port or passing at sea, and the mail flag on the foremast, which every steamship flies coming in to denote that she has mails on board.

"Before the war both the Lusitania and the Mauretania flew the blue ensign of the Royal Naval Reserve, which any British merchant vessel is allowed to do if her commander and officers and two-thirds of the crew belong to the reserve."

NEUTRALS IN THE WAR ZONE.

[German Foreign Office Note.]

[Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.]

WASHINGTON, May 11.—Secretary Bryan received from Ambassador Gerard at Berlin today the text of an official declaration by the German Government of its policy with respect to American and other neutral ships meeting German submarines in the naval war zone around the British Isles and in the North Sea. This declaration was handed to Mr. Gerard by the German Foreign Office, which explained that it was being issued as a "circular statement" in regard to "mistaken attacks by German submarines on commerce vessels of neutral nations."

First—The Imperial German Government has naturally no intention of causing to be attacked by submarines or aircraft such neutral ships of commerce in the zone of naval warfare, more definitely described in the notice of the German Admiralty staff of Feb. 4 last, as have been guilty of no hostile act. On the contrary, the most definite instructions have repeatedly been issued to German war vessels to avoid attacks on such ships under all circumstances. Even when such ships have contraband of war on board they are dealt with by submarines solely according to the rules of international law applying to prize warfare.

Second—Should a neutral ship nevertheless come to harm through German submarines or aircraft on account of an unfortunate (X) [mistake?] in the

above-mentioned zone of naval warfare, the German Government will unreservedly recognize its responsibility therefor. In such a case it will express its regrets and afford damages without first instituting a prize court action.

Third—It is the custom of the German Government as soon as the sinking of a neutral ship in the above-mentioned zone of naval warfare is ascribed to German war vessels to institute an immediate investigation into the cause. If grounds appear thereby to be given for association of such a hypothesis the German Navy places itself in communication with the interested neutral Government so that the latter may also institute an investigation. If the German Government is thereby convinced that the ship has been destroyed by Germany's war vessels, it will not delay in carrying out the provisions of Paragraph 2 above. In case the German Government, contrary to the viewpoint of the neutral Government, is not convinced by the result of the investigation, the German Government has already on several occasions declared itself ready to allow the question to be decided by an international investigation commission, according to Chapter 3 of The Hague Convention of Oct. 18, 1907, for the peaceful solution of international disputes.

This circular is understood to have been rather reassuring to high officials of the United States Government, although it does not cover the attitude of the German Government toward the treatment to be accorded to Americans and other neutral noncombatants, men, women, and children, on board vessels flying the flag of England, France, or Russia. The absence of any allusion to the principle involved in the Lusitania case is believed here to mean that the statement was prepared and was ready for promulgation before the destruction of the Lusitania on Friday. Several days usually have been required for messages to come to Washington from Ambassador Gerard, by roundabout cable relay route, and it is believed that this dispatch is no exception in this respect.

DR. DERNBURG'S DEFENSE.

The sinking of the Lusitania as a man-of-war was justified by Dr. Bernhard Dernburg, late German Colonial Secretary and recognized as quasi-official spokesman of the German Imperial Government in the United States, in a statement issued in Cleveland, Ohio, on May 8, 1915. The statement reads:

Great Britain declared the North Sea a war zone in the Winter. No protest was made by the United States or any neutral. Great Britain held up all neutral ships carrying non-contraband goods, detaining them, buying or confiscating their cargoes.

Great Britain constantly changed the contraband lists, so no foodstuffs of any kind have actually reached Germany since the war began. International law says foodstuffs destined for the civil population must pass. It does not recognize any right to starve out a whole people.

As a consequence, and in retaliation, Germany declared the waters around England a war zone, and started a submarine warfare. It became known in February that British ships were flying the American flag as a protection.

Great Britain replied by officially declaring its purpose to starve 120,000,000 Germans and Austrians. The United States very thoughtfully tried to mediate, proposing that foodstuffs should be passed and submarine warfare be stopped.

Germany agreed; England turned the proposal down. Then, in order to protect American passengers, they were warned by public advertisement of the danger of sailing under the flag of a belligerent.

Vessels carrying contraband of war are liable to destruction unless they can be taken to a port of the country that captures them. The right of search need not be exercised if it is certain such ships carry contraband.

Oil is contraband, like war ammunition and all metals. The master of the Gulf-light (an American oil tank steamer sunk recently) swore before customs officials to his cargo of oil for France.

The master of the Lusitania similarly swore to his manifest of cargo of metals and ammunition. Both the Gulflight and the Lusitania carried contraband when attacked, it is obvious.

The Lusitania's manifest showed she carried for Liverpool 260,000 pounds of brass; 60,000 pounds of copper; 189 cases of military goods; 1,271 cases of ammunition, and for London, 4,200 cases of cartridges.

Vessels of that kind can be seized and be destroyed under The Hague rules without any respect to a war zone. The Lusitania was a British auxiliary cruiser, a man-of-war. On the same day she sailed the Cameronia, another Cunarder, was commandeered in New York Harbor for military service.

The fact is that the Lusitania was a British war vessel under orders of the Admiralty to carry a cargo of contraband of war. The passengers had had full warning, first by the German note to England in February, second by advertisement.

Germany wants to do anything reasonable so as not to make the United States or its citizens suffer in any way. But she cannot do so unless Americans will take necessary precautions to protect themselves from dangers of which they are cognizant.

What Germany has done, she has done by way of retaliation after her offer through President Wilson, regarding submarine warfare, was turned down and after Britain declared the war was directed toward the 120,000,000 innocent noncombatants, women and children.

Americans can do their own thinking when the facts are laid before them. I have really no authority to speak. But

my mission in the United States is to inform your people of the German attitude. The German Ambassador, Count von Bernstorff, can speak only in official phrases. I talk straight out, bluntly.

Dr. Dernburg put much stress on the fact that the Cunard Line officials did not warn American passengers that the ship carried a large store of ammunition and other contraband of war. He continued:

Did they issue a warning? I would like an answer. If that warning was not given, American passengers were being used as a cloak for England's war shipments.

It is not reasonable that such a vessel could not be sunk because there were American passengers on board. They had been warned by Germany of the danger.

England could hire one American to travel to and fro on each of her ships, carry on shipments of arms, and place her men-of-war anywhere, if American passengers can be used as shields.

Asked whether he expected action by the United States because of the Lusitania's sinking, Dr. Dernburg said:

That is a question I cannot discuss. I can only say that any ship flying the American flag and not carrying contraband of war is and will be as safe as a cradle. But any other ship, not so exempt, is as unsafe as a volcano—or as was the Lusitania.

When he was told that the Transylvania, another Cunard liner, sailed from New York on May 7, to cover the same route as the Lusitania, Dr. Dernburg said:

I can only say that the German warnings will reappear henceforth by advertisement. That is significant.

German Press Opinion

Contrasting with the attitude of the German-American press since the issuance of President Wilson's note of May 13 to the German Imperial Government, the comment of the press in Germany has been in accordance with the German official statements put forth prior to the

receipt of the American note. Under date of May 9, 1915, the following dispatch by The Associated Press was received from Berlin:

Commenting on the destruction of the Lusitania, the Berliner Tageblatt says:

With deep emotion we learn of the destruction of the *Lusitania*, in which countless men lost their lives. We lament with sincere hearts their hard fate, but we know we are completely devoid of blame.

We may be sure that through the English telegrams communicated to the world indignation will again be raised against Germany, but we must hope that calm reflection will later pronounce the verdict of condemnation against the British Admiralty.

The many who are now sorrowing may raise complaint against Winston Spencer Churchill, First Lord of the British Admiralty, who, by conscienceless instructions which must bring him the curse of mankind, conjured up this cruel warfare. * * *

The *Lusitania* was a warship on the list of English auxiliary cruisers and carried armament of twelve strongly mounted guns. She was more strongly mounted with guns than any German armored cruiser. As an auxiliary cruiser she must have been prepared for attack.

Count von Reventlow, the naval expert, says, in the Tages Zeitung:

The American Government probably will make the case the basis for diplomatic action, but it could have prevented the loss of American lives by appropriate instructions. It is the American Government's fault, therefore, if it did not take Germany's war zone declarations seriously enough.

The writer declares, further, that Germany had full and trustworthy information that the Lusitania carried a cargo of war material, as she had on previous trips.

The Lokal Anzeiger also assumes that the steamship was carrying munitions of war, and maintains that this and "the fact that she was a fully armed cruiser completely justifies her destruction under the laws of warfare."

The Kreuz Zeitung, after referring to the warning issued by Ambassador von Bernstorff, adds:

If citizens of neutral States were lost with the sunken ship they must bear the full blame.

Some papers further testify the sinking

of the steamer because on a previous occasion she had resorted to the expedient of flying the American flag. Germania, the clerical organ, deprecates probable attempts by Germany's antagonists to make moral capital against her out of the sinking of the Lusitania and the loss of life. The paper says:

We can look forward to such efforts with a clear conscience, for we have proceeded correctly. We can only answer to those who place their sympathies above justice, that war is war.

An editorial article in the Frankfurter Zeitung was quoted in an Amsterdam dispatch to The London Times of May 10, as follows:

The *Lusitania* has been sent to the bottom. That is the announcement which must arouse measureless horror among many thousands.

A giant ship of the British merchant fleet, a vessel of over 31,000 tons, one of the most famous of the fast steamers of the British-American passenger service, a ship full of people, who had little or nothing to do with the war, has been attacked and sunk by a German torpedo. This is the announcement which in a few words indicates a mighty catastrophe to a ship with 2,000 people aboard.

We always feel that it is tragic and all too hard when war inflicts wounds on those who do not carry its weapons.

We lament similarly the fate of the unfortunate villages and towns where war rages and the innocent victims of bombs who, far behind the trenches, and often without our being able to estimate the meaning of this murder, are snatched from the ranks of the unarmed.

Much more terrible is the fate of those who on the high sea, many hundreds in number, suddenly see death before their eyes.

A German war vessel has sunk the ship. It has done its duty.

For the German Navy the sinking of the *Lusitania* means an extraordinary success. Its destruction demolished the last fable with which the people of England consoled themselves; on which hostile shipping relied when it dared to defy the German warnings.

We do not need to seek grounds to justify the destruction of a British ship. She belonged to the enemy and brought us harm. She has fallen to our shots.

The enemy and the whole world were warned that he who ventured to trust himself within her staked his life.

The London Daily Mail of May 16 quotes from Der Tag the following article by Herr von Rath, who is described as a favorite spokesman in the Wilhelmstrasse:

President Wilson is very much troubled by the drowning of so many American citizens, and we Germans sincerely share his feelings, but we see in the Lusitania affair one of the many cruel necessities which the struggle for existence brings with it.

If, as English reports try to make us believe, Mr. Wilson is now meditating revenge, we will not disturb him in this occupation, but would only hope that his demands will be addressed to the right and not the wrong quarters.

The right address is England. On the German side, everything was done to warn American travelers from the impending peril, while British irresponsibility and arrogance nullified the effect of the German admonition.

Mr. Wilson is certainly in a precarious position. After showing himself so weak in the face of the long and ruthless British provocations, he has to play the strong man with Germany: Otherwise he will lose what prestige he has left, and he knows that in the background the pretender to the throne, Mr. Roosevelt, is lurking.

But what are the gallant shouters in the United States thinking about? Should the United States send troops to take part in the fighting in Flanders? The gigantic losses of their Canadian neighbors should not exactly encourage them, from a military standpoint. Moreover, the United States are so weak that they have never even been able to impose their will on Mexico or to do anything to the still more unpleasant Japanese than to clench their fists in their pockets.

Should their superdreadnoughts cross

the Atlantic Ocean? England has not even useful work for her own ironclads in this war. What would American warships do?

How about our Germanic brethren in the United States—the half million German and Austro-Hungarian reservists who are not permitted to take part in the defense of their home lands? Will they stand with folded arms and see their fatherlands attacked?

What the United States has already done to support our enemies is, apart from interference with private property, the worst which she could do to us. We have nothing more to expect or to fear. Therefore, the threats of our erstwhile friend Roosevelt leave us quite cold.

Let the United States also preserve up from warmed-up humanitarian platitudes, for her craven submission to England's will is promoting an outrageous scheme to deliver Germany's women and children to death by starvation.

A wireless dispatch from Berlin to Sayville, L. I., on May 16 reported this outgiving by the Overseas News Agency:

The whole German press, particularly the Cologne Gazette, the Frankfort Gazette, and the Berliner Tageblatt, deeply regret the loss of American lives caused by the sinking of the Lusitania.

The Tages Zeitung and other newspapers state that the responsibility rests with the British Government, which, attempting to starve the peaceful civilian population of a big country, forced Germany in self-defense to declare British waters a war zone; with shipowners, who allowed passengers to embark on an armed steamer carrying war material, and neglected German warnings against entering the war zone, and, finally, with the English press.

Heartfelt sympathy is expressed by the German press and public for the victims of the catastrophe and their relatives.

From The Hague, via London, on May 19 a special cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES reported that, acting apparently under official instructions, several leading German newspapers had on that day joined in a fierce attack on the United

States, making a concerted demand that Germany refuse to yield to the American protest.

Practically all these newspapers repeat the same arguments, declaring that neutrals entering the war zone do so at their own risk, and that the Americans aboard the Lusitania "were shielding contraband goods with their persons." The Berliner Tageblatt said:

The demand of the Washington Government must be rejected. Indeed, the whole note hardly merits serious consideration. Its "firm tone" is only a cloak to hide America's consciousness of her own culpability. If American citizens, in spite of the warnings of the German Admiralty, intrusted themselves on the Lusitania, the blame for the consequences falls on themselves and their Government.

Can the United States affirm that there were no munitions aboard? If not, it has not the shadow of a right to protest.

GERMAN-AMERICAN PRESS COMMENTS.

Under the heading "The President's Note," Herman Ridder, editor of the New Yorker Staats-Zeitung, one of the leading German-American newspapers, said in that publication on May 15:

The attitude assumed by the President, in the note delivered yesterday to the German Government, toward the infringement of our rights on the seas is diplomatically correct and must compel the support of the entire American people.

We have suffered grievously at the hands of more than one of the belligerent nations, but for the moment we are dealing only with Germany. The note recites a series of events which the Government of the United States could not silently pass by, and demands reparation for American lives lost and American property already destroyed and a guarantee that the rights of the United States and its citizens shall be observed in the future. All this the German Government may well grant, frankly and unreservedly and without loss of

honor or prestige. It would be incomprehensible if it did not do so.

The note admits, as most diplomatic documents do, of two interpretations. They will be applied to it variously, as the reader is inclined to pessimism or to optimism. It is a document in which lies the choice of war or peace evenly balanced. I prefer to read into it all the optimism which can be derived from the knowledge that two nations, historically like-minded and bound to one another by strong ties of friendship, seldom go to war over matters which can be settled without resort to the arbitrament of arms. There is no question outstanding today between the United States and Germany which cannot be settled through diplomatic channels. I am inclined all the more to this optimism by the temperament and character of the President of the United for the time being.

I see in the note great possibilities for good. The undersea activities of the German Navy in their effect upon the rights of the United States and its citizens form, properly, the burden of its argument. We are addressing Germany, and it is only over her submarine policy that our interests have clashed with hers. The note takes cognizance, however, of the inter-relation of Germany's submarine policy and the British policy of "starving out Germany." The President has opened an avenue to the full discussion of the rights and obligations of submarines in naval warfare, and when Germany has stated her case it is not only not impossible but it is highly probable that he will be asked to suggest a *modus vivendi* by which the objectionable features of both these policies may be removed.

The situation is basically triangular and it is difficult to see how the settlement of our difficulties with Germany can escape involving at the same time the rectification of Great Britain's methods of dealing with the trade between neutral countries and her adversaries. It is but a step from the position of mediator in a question of this sort to that of mediator in the larger questions which make for war or peace. I

believe that the note contains the hopeful sign that these things may come to pass.

The possibilities are there and the President, I am confident, will overlook no possibility of advancing the cause of an early return of peace to Europe nor leave any unturned stone to free this country of the dangers and inconveniences which have become the concomitants of the European struggle. Out of the troubled waters of our present relations with Germany may thus come a great and, we may hope, a lasting good. Should this happily be the case, the wisdom of the President will have been confirmed and the thankfulness of the nation secured to him. On the other hand, should his pacific hand be forced by those who wax fat and wealthy on strife and the end should be disaster untold to the country, he will still have the consolation of having fought a good battle and of knowing that he was worsted only by the irresistible force of demagogy in this country or abroad.

The subject with which the note deals is one of the same paramount importance to Germany as it is to this country, and we must wait in patience for Germany's reply; and I, for one, shall wait in the confidence that when it is received it will be found to offer a basis for a friendly solution of the questions which exist between Germany and the United States and, not unlikely, for those further steps which I have intimated.

Under the caption "A Word of Earnest Advice," the evening edition of the New Yorker Staats-Zeitung on May 14 issued the following warning to Germans and German-Americans:

The times are grave—even very grave. * * * A conflict between America and the old Fatherland is threatening. Such a conflict must rend the heart of every German-American who has acquired the rights of citizenship here, who has founded a new career for himself and brought up his children.

It is probably unnecessary to give any advice to the American citizens among our readers in regard to their conduct in this grave time. A series of years must

pass before an immigrant can obtain his citizenship papers; nobody is forced to become a citizen. Of the man who has voluntarily become a citizen of the United States we may therefore expect that he knows the conditions here obtaining, the institutions of the country of his adoption, as well as his rights and duties. But there are thousands upon thousands of our readers who are not citizens, and to them a serious word of advice shall now be addressed. In the grave time of the conflict let efforts be made to avoid every personal conflict. It is not necessarily cowardly to deny one's descent, but it is not necessary, either, to make demonstrations.

Where there is life there is hope. The hope still is entertained that the conflict will be eliminated, that the bond of friendship between Germany and America will not be torn. Through thoughtless Hotspurs, who allow themselves to be carried away by excitement and do not dam up the flood of their eloquence, much mischief can be done. Keeping away from the public places where the excited groups congregate and discuss the burning questions of the day must be urgently recommended. It was for many a sport to participate in these discussions, and with more or less skill, but always energetically to champion the German cause.

The American is in general very liberal in regard to expression of opinion. He likes to hear also the "other side," but it must not be forgotten that in times of conflict the "other side" may be regarded as the "enemy side." What has heretofore sounded harmless may now be interpreted as a criticism made against the United States. But the American as a rule repels a criticism made by strangers against the affairs of his own country. Through heated discussions and unwise demonstrations nothing is at present to be achieved but much can be spoiled.

Grave times!

Calmness is now the first duty of citizenship—for all non-citizens.

But whoever is a citizen—he would be doing well in any event to stay away

from the streets and squares where the noisy ones congregate.

There are very many Germans whose motto here, too, is: "We Germans fear God and nothing else in the world." But whoever bellows that into the ears of hundreds of persons of hostile mind in the public market place is either a fool or—weary of life.

In submarine warfare the Germans may be superior to the British, but in undermining the latter are superior to the former. They have now succeeded in undermining the friendship between Uncle Sam and the Deutsche Michel. Let us hope that the fuse can be extinguished before the explosion follows.

Charles Neumeyer, editor of The Louisville (Ky.) Anzeiger, in a dispatch on May 14 to THE NEW YORK TIMES, said of President Wilson's note:

The American note to Berlin evidences the desire of the President to hold Germany to strict accountability for the loss of American lives in the Lusitania disaster. This proceeding on the part of the American Government is eminently just and proper. If the President had failed to hold Germany to strict accountability he would have failed of his official duty. The President's forceful action cannot be but of salutary effect in this country also. It gives the American people the assurance that the Government at Washington is prepared and ready for the protection of American citizens wherever they may chance to be.

There was a time when the Government did not resort to very vigorous measures in this respect. American citizens while traveling abroad were frequently subject to insult and violence, and the authorities at Washington seemingly paid little heed to complaints. The result was that the American citizen abroad was not held in that respect which emanates from the knowledge that his home Government is prepared to go to the length of its ability, if necessary, to accord him protection.

One or two of the demands formulated against Germany do not meet with our approval. The President demands a ces-

sation of German submarine warfare on merchant vessels, but while the interruption of the starvation plan adopted by England against the civil population is urged upon the latter it will continue. The starvation plan is primarily being waged against the weak and helpless, and is, therefore, responsible. It is also in violation of the spirit if not the letter of international law. If the President can force a demand for the cessation of the submarine warfare, he ought also to have the right to demand the lifting of the starvation blockade. The tragedy was chiefly due to either stupidity or design on the part of the British Admiralty in failing to afford proper protection to the ship. While we do not agree with the President on some points in his note, we repose the fullest confidence in his patriotism, as well as his deliberate judgment as giving assurance that, whatever the outcome, the case of the American people rests in trustworthy hands.

The people should by their action spare him unnecessary embarrassment and rely for a satisfactory solution of the grave questions confronting us on his patriotism and honesty.

A dispatch on May 14 to THE NEW YORK TIMES from Max Burgheim, editor of the Freie Presse of Cincinnati, Ohio, reads:

The part of the note referring to the Lusitania catastrophe had better been directed to London. England, not Germany, is responsible for the destruction of the Lusitania. England, through the violation of the rights of nations and the brutal threat to starve 70,000,000 Germans, has forced Germany to a policy against English commerce of which the Lusitania was a victim. Germany declared to our President her willingness to stop submarine warfare if England would allow the importation of food for the German civil population. England contemptuously cast aside the President's mediation.

It has not yet been proved that submarine warfare is not in keeping with international law. Distinguished authorities on international law have declared that Germany was not only justified but

bound to adopt this method in the hour of need, because it is the only effective defense against England's warfare. Germany cannot cease this warfare unless she wishes to surrender with tied hands

to a ruthless enemy. All we can justly ask of Germany is that neutral ships be not attacked, and that damages be paid in case of loss through mistakes. Germany has already agreed to this.

Falaba, Cushing, Gulflight

CASE OF THE FALABA.

A Washington dispatch to THE NEW YORK TIMES on March 31, 1915, reported that the records of the State Department's Passport Bureau show that a passport was issued on June 1, 1911, to Leon Chester Thrasher, a passenger aboard the British African steamship Falaba, which was torpedoed by a German submarine in the "zone of naval warfare" on March 28. The American citizenship of Thrasher, who was drowned, has been established.

[Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.]

LONDON, Wednesday, March 31.—An American citizen, Leon Chester Thrasher, an engineer, was among the victims of the German submarine that sank the British steamer Falaba in St. George's Channel last Sunday with a loss of 111 lives. Mr. Thrasher's name is included in the official list of the missing. For the last year he had been employed on the Gold Coast, British West Africa, and it is presumed he was returning to his post when he met his death at the hands of the German sea raiders.

The Daily Mail says Mr. Thrasher was bound for Secondee, West Africa. Reference to the form which has to be filled out to satisfy the Board of Trade and customs requirements by every passenger embarking at a British port before tickets will be issued shows that Mr. Thrasher was a citizen of the United States. Here are the particulars:

Name, Leon Chester Thrasher; age, last birthday, 31; single; sex, male; profession, engineer; country of residence for last twelve months, Gold Coast Colony, West Africa; country of intended residence for next twelve months, the same; country of which citizen or subject, United States of America; present ad-

dress, 29 Cartwright Gardens, St. Pancras, W. C.

When Mr. Thrasher went on board the Falaba he produced an American passport.

The British Official Press Bureau on April 8 issued the following report on the destruction of the Falaba:

It is not true that sufficient time was given the passengers and the crew of this vessel to escape. The German submarine closed in on the Falaba, ascertained her name, signaled her to stop, and gave those on board five minutes to take to the boats. It would have been nothing short of a miracle if all the passengers and crew of a big liner had been able to take to their boats within the time allotted.

While some of the boats were still on their davits the submarine fired a torpedo at short range. This action made it absolutely certain that there must be great loss of life and it must have been committed knowingly with the intention of producing that result.

The conduct of all on board the Falaba appears to have been excellent. There was no avoidable delay in getting out the boats. To accuse the Falaba's crew of negligence under the circumstances could not easily be paralleled.

THE GERMAN DEFENSE.

[By The Associated Press.]

BERLIN, April 13, (via Amsterdam to London, April 14.)—A semi-official account of the sinking of the British steamer Falaba by a German submarine on March 28 was made public here today. It follows:

On receiving the signal "Stop, or I fire," the Falaba steamed off and sent up rocket signals to summon help, and

was only brought to a standstill after a chase of a quarter of an hour.

Despite the danger of an attack from the steamer or from other vessels hurrying up, the submarine did not immediately fire, but signaled that the steamer must be abandoned within ten minutes. The men of the Falaba quickly entered the boats, although the launching took place in an unseamanlike manner. They failed to give assistance, which was possible, to passengers struggling in the water.

From the time of the order to leave the ship until the torpedo was discharged not ten but twenty-three minutes elapsed, prior to which occurred the chase of the steamer, during which period time might have been used to get the boats ready.

The torpedo was fired only when the approach of suspicious-looking vessels, from which an attack was to be expected, compelled the commander of the submarine to take quick action. When the torpedo was discharged nobody was seen on board the ship except the Captain, who bravely stuck to his post.

Afterward some persons became visible who were busy about a boat.

Of the crew of the submarine, the only ones on deck were those serving the cannon or those necessary for signaling. It was impossible for them to engage in rescue work, because the submarine could not take on passengers.

Every word is superfluous in defending our men against malignant accusations. At the judicial proceedings in England no witness dared raise accusations. It is untrue that at any time the submarine displayed the English flag. The submarine throughout the affair showed as much consideration for the Falaba as was compatible with safety.

COMMANDER SCHMITZ'S STORY.

[From The New York Times, May 6, 1915.]

J. J. Ryan, the American cotton broker who went to Germany on March 30 and sold 28,000 bales of cotton he had shipped to Bremen and Hamburg, returned yesterday on the Cunard liner Carpathia very well satisfied with the results of his trip. He said:

While I was in Bremen I met Com-

mander Schmitz of the German submarine U-28, which sank the British African liner Falaba off the English coast on March 28. He told me that he regretted having been compelled to torpedo the vessel, as she had passengers on board. In explanation, he said:

"I warned the Captain of the Falaba to dismantle his wireless apparatus and gave him ten minutes in which to do it and get his passengers off. Instead of acting upon my demand he continued to send messages out to torpedo destroyers, that were less than twenty miles away, to come as quickly as possible to his assistance.

"At the expiration of the ten minutes I gave him a second warning about dismantling his wireless apparatus and waited twenty minutes, and then I torpedoed the ship, as the destroyers were getting close up and I knew they would go to the rescue of the passengers and crew."

I mentioned the fact to the commander that it had been reported by some of the survivors of the liner that while the men and women were struggling for their lives in the icy water his crew were standing on the deck of the submarine laughing. He looked very gravely at me and replied, "That is not true, and is most cruelly unjust to my men. They were crying, not laughing, when the boats were capsized and threw the people into the water."

CASE OF THE CUSHING.

[Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.]

WASHINGTON, May 1.—Secretary Bryan today received from American Minister Henry van Dyke at The Hague a report on the attack by German aviators on the American steamship Cushing, and said tonight that this report would be immediately cabled to Ambassador Gerard at Berlin for his information. Ambassador Gerard will bring the matter to the attention of the German Government. The report from Minister van Dyke was very brief, and read as follows:

The American Consul at Rotterdam reports that the American steamship Cushing, Captain Herland, with petro-

leum from New York to Rotterdam, flying the American flag, was attacked by German aeroplanes near the North Hinder Lightship, afternoon April 29. Three bombs dropped, one struck ship, causing damage, but no life lost.

The report of Captain Lars Larsen Herland, master of the American tank steamer Cushing, made upon his arrival in Philadelphia, Penn., on May 19, 1915, is as follows:

The airmen swept in narrow circles over the tanker, trying to get directly over the funnel, with the idea, apparently, of dropping a bomb into it and wrecking the engine room.

When attacked the Cushing was about twenty-five miles from Antwerp and eight miles from the North Hinder Lightship. It was near 7 o'clock in the evening, but the sun had barely touched the horizon, and there was ample light for the pilot of the biplane to see the words, "Cushing, New York, United States of America," painted on each side of the vessel in letters eight feet high, and to note the Stars and Stripes at the mast-head and the taffrail.

When the airship was first noted it was several thousand feet in the air, but dropped as it approached the ship, and soon was only about 500 feet up. Suddenly it swooped down to about 300 feet above the Cushing. Then there was a tremendous explosion, and a wave flooded the stern deck. A second bomb missed the port quarter by a foot or so, and sent another wave over the lower deck.

The biplane swung up into the wind, hung motionless for a second or so, then came the third bomb, which just grazed the starboard rail and shot into the sea.

The airship hung around for a few minutes, then headed toward the Dutch coast. She was flying a white flag, with a black cross in the centre, the pennant of the German air fleet.

CASE OF THE GULFLIGHT.

Official confirmation of the attack on May 1, 1915, by a German submarine on the American oil tank steamer Gulflight off the Scilly Islands came to the State Department at Washington on May 3 in

dispatches from Joseph G. Stephens, the United States Consul at Plymouth, England. Two members of the crew were drowned, the Captain died of heart failure, and thirty-four members of the crew were saved. Following is the sworn statement of Ralph E. Smith, late chief officer and now master of the Gulflight, received from Ambassador Page and published by the State Department at Washington on May 11:

I am Ralph E. Smith, now master of the steamship Gulflight. At the commencement of the voyage I was chief officer. The ship left port at Port Arthur on the 10th day of April, 1915, about 4 P. M., laden with a tank cargo of gasoline and wooden barrels of lubricating oil. The voyage was uneventful.

When about half way across the Atlantic the wireless operator told me there was a British cruiser in our vicinity and that he had heard messages from this ship the whole time since leaving Port Arthur, but she made no direct communication with or to our ship. From the sound of the wireless messages given cut by the British ship, she seemed to maintain the same distance from us until about three days before we reached the mouth of the English Channel.

On the first day of May, about 11 o'clock in the forenoon, we spoke two British patrol vessels named Iago and Filey. We were then about twenty-two miles west of the Bishop Lighthouse. The patrol vessels asked where we were bound. After informing them we were bound for Rouen, they ordered us to follow them to the Bishop. The Filey took up a position a half mile distant on our port bow, the Iago off our starboard quarter close to us. We steered as directed, and at about 12:22, the second officer being on watch, sighted a submarine on our port bow—slightly on the port bow—steaming at right angles to our course. The submarine was in sight for about five minutes, when she submerged about right ahead of us. I saw her, but could not distinguish or see any flag flying on her.

The Gulflight was then steering about true east, steaming about eight miles an

hour, flying a large American ensign, six feet by ten feet. The wind was about south, about eight miles an hour in force. I personally observed our flag was standing out well to the breeze.

Immediately after seeing the submarine I went aft and notified the crew and came back and went on the bridge and heard the Captain make the remark that that must be a British submarine, as the patrol boats took no notice of it.

About 12:50 an explosion took place in the Gulflight on the bluff of the starboard bow, sending vast quantities of water high in the air, coming down on the bridge and shutting everything off from our view. After the water cleared away our ship had sunk by the head so that the sea was washing over the foredeck, and the ship appeared to be sinking.

Immediately after I went aft to see to the boats. On my way I saw one man overboard on the starboard side. The water at that time was black with oil. The boats were lowered and the crew got into them without delay or damage. After ascertaining there was no one left on board the ship I got in my boat and we were picked up by the patrol vessel Iago and were advised by her crew to leave the scene. We proceeded toward St. Mary's, but the dense fog which then came on prevented us getting into the harbor that night.

About 2:30 in the morning following

I saw Captain Gunter, master of the Gulflight, who had been sleeping in the room of the skipper of the Iago, standing in the room with a queer look in his face. I asked him what his trouble was, and he made no reply. Then he reached for the side of the berth with his hands, but did not take hold. I went in the room, but he fell before I reached him.

He was taken on deck, as the cabin was small and hot. After reaching the deck he seemed to revive and said: "I am cold." After that he had apparently two fainting attacks and then expired in a third one—this being about 3:40.

We arrived at St. Mary's, Scilly, about 10 o'clock on the morning of May 2. The Gulflight was towed to Crow Sound, Scilly, on May 2 by British patrol vessels, and Commander Oliver, senior naval officer of the Port of Scilly, sent for some one to come on board the Gulflight, and I went, and the ship was anchored about 6 P. M.

I again left the ship that evening—she being then in charge of the Admiralty. I visited the ship on Monday. I went out again on Tuesday, but it was too rough to get on board. To the best of my knowledge there was no examination of the vessel made by divers until Wednesday about 3 P. M., when members from the American Embassy were present. The divers at this time made an external examination only of the ship's bottom and left the ship with me at 5:40 P. M.

Aim of Submarine Warfare

[From The London Times, April 30, 1915.]

Dr. Flamm, Professor of Ship Construction at the Technical High School at Charlottenburg, publishes in the *Vossische Zeitung* an extraordinary article on the impending destruction of the British Empire by German submarines. Whatever Professor Flamm's professional opinion may be worth, he is evidently attacking his task with a passionate hatred of England that leaves nothing to be desired.

Professor Flamm begins by explaining how England has been protected for centuries by her insularity. He writes:

This country, whose dishonorable Government produced this terrible world war by the most contemptible means, and solely in selfish greed of gain, has always been able to enjoy the fruits of its unscrupulousness because it was reckoned as unassailable. But everything is subject to change, and that applies today to the security of England's position. Thank God, the time has now come when pre-

cisely its complete encirclement by the sea has become the greatest danger for the existence of the British Nation.

The writer explains that England cannot be self-supporting, and, strangely enough, admits that recognition of this fact justifies British naval policy. He proceeds:

The time, however, has passed in which even the strongest squadron of battleships or cruisers can protect England's frontiers and secure imports from oversea. Technical progress, in the shape of submarines, has put into the hands of all England's enemies the means at last to sever the vital nerve of the much-hated enemy, and to pull him down from his position of ruler of the world, which he has occupied for centuries with ever-increasing ruthlessness and selfishness. What science has once begun she continues, and for every shipbuilder in the whole world there is now no sphere which offers a stronger stimulus to progressive activity than the sphere of the submarines. Here an endless amount of work is being, and will be, done, because the reward which beckons on the horizon is an extraordinarily high one, a reward containing the most ideal blessings for humanity—the destruction of English world supremacy, the liberation of the seas. This exalted and noble aim has today come within reach, and it is German intellect and German work that have paved the way.

It will be noted that Professor Flamm, as other contemporary German writers, believes that submarines, like Shakespeare, are a German invention. He is also, notwithstanding the experience of two and a half months, confident that the German "submarine blockade" will both be successful and become popular with neutrals. Building upon the German myth that Captain Weddigen's submarine, U-29, was destroyed while saving life, Professor Flamm "expects" that the neutrals will stop all traffic with England, "in view of the cowardly and cunning method of fighting of the English."

Professor Flamm then discusses Germany's prospects, as follows:

Anybody who wants to fight England must not attempt it by striving to bring against England larger and more numerous battleships and cruisers. That would be not only unwise but also very costly. He must try another method, which makes England's great sea power completely illusory, and gives it practically no opportunity for activity. This method is the

cutting-off of imports by submarine fleets.

Let it not be said that the attainment of this end requires a very great deal of material. England, as can easily be seen from the map, possesses a fairly limited number of river mouths and ports for rapid development of her great oversea trade. Beginning in the northeast, those on the east coast are mainly the Firth of Forth, the mouths of the Tyne and Humber, and then the Thames; in the south, Portsmouth, Southampton, and Plymouth, with some neighboring harbors; in the west, the Bristol Channel, the Mersey, the Solway, and the Clyde. These are the entries that have to be blocked in order to cut off imports in a way that will produce the full impression. For this purpose 150 of the submarines of today fully suffice, so that the goal is within reach. Moreover, the development of this arm will enormously increase its value, and so, come what may, England must reckon with the fact that her world supremacy cannot much longer exist, and that the strongest navy can make no difference. When once the invisible necktie is round John Bull's neck, his breathing will soon cease, and the task of successfully putting this necktie on him is solely a question of technical progress and of time, which now moves so fast.

Professor Flamm ends with a passage about German submarine bases. It would be more intelligible if he had made up his mind whether Germany is going to take Calais or whether, according to another popular German theory, England is going to annex the north coast of France. He writes:

"The eyes of France also will one day be opened when, having been sufficiently weakened, she is compelled to leave the north coast of France, including Calais, to her friend of today. Precisely this coast which England has seized may be expected now to remain in English possession, for the purpose of better and surer control of the Channel, for there can be no doubt that this control renders, and will render, difficult for the German submarines effective activity in the Irish Sea—an activity which will become all the easier as soon as Calais has been freed of the enemy, or is even in German possession.

"Thus before very long a world fate should befall England. The trees do not grow up to heaven. England, through her criminal Government, has stretched the bow too tight, and so it will snap."

THREE SPEECHES BY PRESIDENT WILSON

In New York at the annual luncheon of The Associated Press on April 20, 1915; at Philadelphia in Convention Hall on May 10, in an address to 4,000 newly naturalized citizens, and again at New York in his speech on the navy, May 17, delivered at the luncheon given for the President by the Mayor's Committee formed for the naval review, Mr. Wilson set forth the principles on which he would meet the crises of the European war as they affect the United States. The texts of the three speeches appear below.

I.

"AMERICA FIRST."

[*President Wilson's address on April 20, 1915, to the members of The Associated Press at their annual luncheon in New York:*]

I am deeply gratified by the generous reception you have accorded me. It makes me look back with a touch of regret to former occasions when I have stood in this place and enjoyed a greater liberty than is granted me today. There have been times when I stood in this spot and said what I really thought, and I pray God that those days of indulgence may be accorded me again. But I have come here today, of course, somewhat restrained by a sense of responsibility that I cannot escape.

For I take The Associated Press very seriously. I know the enormous part that you play in the affairs not only of this country, but the world. You deal in the raw material of opinion and, if my convictions have any validity, opinion ultimately governs the world.

It is, therefore, of very serious things that I think as I face this body of men. I do not think of you, however, as members of The Associated Press. I do not think of you as men of different parties or of different racial derivations or of different religious denominations, I want to talk to you as to my fellow-citizens of the United States. For there are serious things which as fellow-citizens we ought to consider.

The times behind us, gentlemen, have been difficult enough, the times before us are likely to be more difficult because, whatever may be said about the present condition of the world's affairs, it is clear

that they are drawing rapidly to a climax, and at the climax the test will come, not only of the nations engaged in the present colossal struggle, it will come for them of course, but the test will come to us particularly.

Do you realize that, roughly speaking, we are the only great nation at present disengaged? I am not speaking, of course, with disparagement of the greater of those nations in Europe which are not parties to the present war, but I am thinking of their close neighborhood to it. I am thinking how their lives much more than ours touch the very heart and stuff of the business; whereas, we have rolling between us and those bitter days across the water three thousand miles of cool and silent ocean.

Our atmosphere is not yet charged with those disturbing elements which must be felt and must permeate every nation of Europe. Therefore, is it not likely that the nations of the world will some day turn to us for the cooler assessment of the elements engaged?

I am not now thinking so preposterous a thought as that we should sit in judgment upon them. No nation is fit to sit in judgment upon any other nation, but that we shall some day have to assist in reconstructing the processes of peace. Our resources are untouched; we are more and more becoming by the force of circumstances the mediating nation of the world in respect to its finances. We must make up our minds what are the best things to do and what are the best ways to do them.

We must put our money, our energy, our enthusiasm, our sympathy into these things; and we must have our judgments

prepared and our spirits chastened against the coming of that day. So that I am not speaking in a selfish spirit when I say that our whole duty for the present, at any rate, is summed up in this motto, "America first." Let us think of America before we think of Europe, in order that America may be fit to be Europe's friend when the day of tested friendship comes. The test of friendship is not now sympathy with the one side or the other, but getting ready to help both sides when the struggle is over.

The basis of neutrality, gentlemen, is not indifference; it is not self-interest. The basis of neutrality is sympathy for mankind. It is fairness, it is good-will at bottom. It is impartiality of spirit and of judgment. I wish that all of our fellow-citizens could realize that.

There is in some quarters a disposition to create distempers in this body politic. Men are even uttering slanders against the United States as if to excite her. Men are saying that if we should go to war upon either side there will be a divided America—an abominable libel of ignorance. America is not all of it vocal just now. It is vocal in spots.

But I for one have a complete and abiding faith in that great silent body of Americans who are not standing up and shouting and expressing their opinions just now, but are waiting to find out and support the duty of America. I am just as sure of their solidity and of their loyalty and of their unanimity, if we act justly, as I am that the history of this country has at every crisis and turning point illustrated this great lesson.

We are the mediating nation of the world. I do not mean that we undertake not to mind our own business and to mediate where other people are quarreling. I mean the word in a broader sense. We are compounded of the nations of the world. We mediate their blood, we mediate their traditions, we mediate their sentiments, their tastes, their passions; we are ourselves compounded of those things.

We are, therefore, able to understand all nations; we are able to understand them in the compound, not separately, as partisans, but unitedly, as knowing and

comprehending and embodying them all. It is in that sense that I mean that America is a mediating nation. The opinion of America, the action of America, is ready to turn and free to turn in any direction.

Did you ever reflect upon how almost all other nations, almost every other nation, has through long centuries been headed in one direction? That is not true of the United States. The United States has no racial momentum. It has no history back of it which makes it run all its energies and all its ambitions in one particular direction; and America is particularly free in this, that she has no hampering ambitions as a world power.

If we have been obliged by circumstances, or have considered ourselves to be obliged by circumstances, in the past to take territory which we otherwise would not have thought of taking, I believe I am right in saying that we have considered it our duty to administer that territory, not for ourselves, but for the people living in it, and to put this burden upon our consciences not to think that this thing is ours for our use, but to regard ourselves as trustees of the great business for those to whom it does really belong, trustees ready to hand over the cosmic trust at any time when the business seems to make that possible and feasible. That is what I mean by saying we have no hampering ambitions.

We do not want anything that does not belong to us. Isn't a nation in that position free to serve other nations, and isn't a nation like that ready to form some part of the assessing opinion of the world?

My interest in the neutrality of the United States is not the petty desire to keep out of trouble. To judge by my experience I have never been able to keep out of trouble. I have never looked for it, but I have always found it. I do not want to walk around trouble. If any man wants a scrap—that is, an interesting scrap and worth while—I am his man. I warn him that he is not going to draw me into the scrap for his advertisement, but if he is looking for trouble—that is, the trouble of men in general—and I can help a little, why, then, I am in for it. But I am interested in neutrality because there

is something so much greater to do than fight, because there is something, there is a distinction waiting for this nation that no nation has ever yet got. That is the distinction of absolute self-control and self-mastery.

Whom do you admire most among your friends? The irritable man? The man out of whom you can get a "rise" without trying? The man who will fight at the drop of the hat, whether he knows what the hat is dropped for or not?

Don't you admire and don't you fear, if you have to contest with him, the self-mastered man who watches you with calm eye and comes in only when you have carried the thing so far that you must be disposed of? That is the man you respect. That is the man who you know has at bottom a much more fundamental and terrible courage than the irritable, fighting man.

Now, I covet for America this splendid courage of reserve moral force, and I wanted to point out to you gentlemen simply this: There is news and news. There is what is called news from Turtle Bay, that turns out to be falsehood, at any rate in what it is said to signify, and which if you could get the nation to believe it true might disturb our equilibrium and our self-possession. We ought not to deal in stuff of that kind. We ought not to permit things of that sort to use up the electrical energy of the wires, because its energy is malign, its energy is not of the truth, its energy is of mischief.

It is possible to sift truth. I have known some things to go out on the wires as true when there was only one man or one group of men who could have told the originators of the report whether it was true or not, and they were not asked whether it was true or not for fear it might not be true. That sort of report ought not to go out over the wires.

There is generally, if not always, somebody who knows whether that thing is so or not, and in these days above all other days we ought to take particular pains to resort to the one small group of men or to the one man, if there be but one, who knows whether those things are true or not.

The world ought to know the truth, but

the world ought not at this period of unstable equilibrium to be disturbed by rumor, ought not to be disturbed by imaginative combinations of circumstances, or, rather, by circumstances stated in combination which do not belong in combination. For we are holding—not I, but you and gentlemen engaged like you—the balances in your hand. This unstable equilibrium rests upon scales that are in your hands. For the food of opinion, as I began by saying, is the news of the day. I have known many a man go off at a tangent on information that was not reliable. Indeed, that describes the majority of men. The world is held stable by the man who waits for the next day to find out whether the report was true or not.

We cannot afford, therefore, to let the rumors of irresponsible persons and origins get into the atmosphere of the United States. We are trustees for what I venture to say is the greatest heritage that any nation ever had, the love of justice and righteousness and human liberty. For fundamentally those are the things to which America is addicted and to which she is devoted.

There are groups of selfish men in the United States, there are coteries where sinister things are purposed, but the great heart of the American people is just as sound and true as it ever was. And it is a single heart; it is the heart of America. It is not a heart made up of sections selected out of other countries.

So that what I try to remind myself of every day when I am almost overcome by perplexities, what I try to remember, is what the people at home are thinking about. I try to put myself in the place of the man who does not know all the things that I know and ask myself what he would like the policy of this country to be. Not the talkative man, not the partisan man, not the man that remembers first that he is a Republican or Democrat, or that his parents were Germans or English, but who remembers first that the whole destiny of modern affairs centres largely upon his being an American first of all.

If I permitted myself to be a partisan in this present struggle I would be un-



THE LATE ARCHDUKE FERDINAND
Whose Assassination at Serajevo Precipitated the European War



H. M. NICHOLAS I.
King of Montenegro, the Smallest of the Allied Powers
(Photo © American Press Assn.)

worthy to represent you. If I permitted myself to forget the people who are not partisans I would be unworthy to represent you. I am not saying that I am worthy to represent you, but I do claim this degree of worthiness—that before everything else I love America.

II.

“HUMANITY FIRST.”

[*President Wilson's speech in Convention Hall, Philadelphia, Penn., May 10, 1915, before 4,000 newly naturalized citizens:*]

It warms my heart that you should give me such a reception, but it is not of myself that I wish to think tonight, but of those who have just become citizens of the United States. This is the only country in the world which experiences this constant and repeated rebirth. Other countries depend upon the multiplication of their own native people. This country is constantly drinking strength out of new sources by the voluntary association with it of great bodies of strong men and forward-looking women. And so by the gift of the free will of independent people it is constantly being renewed from generation to generation by the same process by which it was originally created. It is as if humanity had determined to see to it that this great nation, founded for the benefit of humanity, should not lack for the allegiance of the people of the world.

You have just taken an oath of allegiance to the United States. Of allegiance to whom? Of allegiance to no one, unless it be God. Certainly not of allegiance to those who temporarily represent this great Government. You have taken an oath of allegiance to a great ideal, to a great body of principles, to a great hope of the human race. You have said, “We are going to America,” not only to earn a living, not only to seek the things which it was more difficult to obtain where you were born, but to help forward the great enterprises of the human spirit—to let men know that everywhere in the world there are men who will cross strange oceans and go where a speech is spoken which is alien

to them, knowing that, whatever the speech, there is but one longing and utterance of the human heart, and that is for liberty and justice.

And while you bring all countries with you, you come with a purpose of leaving all other countries behind you—bringing what is best of their spirit, but not looking over your shoulders and seeking to perpetuate what you intended to leave in them. I certainly would not be one even to suggest that a man cease to love the home of his birth and the nation of his origin—these things are very sacred and ought not to be put out of our hearts—but it is one thing to love the place where you were born and it is another thing to dedicate yourself to the place to which you go. You cannot dedicate yourself to America unless you become in every respect and with every purpose of your will thorough Americans. You cannot become thorough Americans if you think of yourselves in groups. American does not consist of groups. A man who thinks himself as belonging to a particular national group in America has not yet become an American, and the man who goes among you to trade upon your nationality is no worthy son to live under the Stars and Stripes.

My urgent advice to you would be not only always to think first of America, but always, also, to think first of humanity. You do not love humanity if you seek to divide humanity into jealous camps. Humanity can be welded together only by love, by sympathy, by justice, not by jealousy and hatred. I am sorry for the man who seeks to make personal capital out of the passions of his fellowmen. He has lost the touch and ideal of America, for America was created to unite mankind by those passions which lift and not by the passions which separate and debase.

We came to America, either ourselves or in persons of our ancestors, to better the ideals of men, to make them see finer things than they had seen before, to get rid of things that divide, and to make sure of the things that unite. It was but a historical accident no doubt that this great country was called the “United States,”

and yet I am very thankful that it has the word "united" in its title; and the man who seeks to divide man from man, group from group, interest from interest, in the United States is striking at its very heart.

It is a very interesting circumstance to me, in thinking of those of you who have just sworn allegiance to this great Government, that you were drawn across the ocean by some beckoning finger of hope, by some belief, by some vision of a new kind of justice, by some expectation of a better kind of life.

No doubt you have been disappointed in some of us; some of us are very disappointing. No doubt you have found that justice in the United States goes only with a pure heart and a right purpose, as it does everywhere else in the world. No doubt what you found here didn't seem touched for you, after all, with the complete beauty of the ideal which you had conceived beforehand.

But remember this, if we had grown at all poor in the ideal, you brought some of it with you. A man does not go out to seek the thing that is not in him. A man does not hope for the thing that he does not believe in, and if some of us have forgotten what America believed in, you, at any rate, imported in your own hearts a renewal of the belief. That is the reason that I, for one, make you welcome.

If I have in any degree forgotten what America was intended for, I will thank God if you will remind me.

I was born in America. You dreamed dreams of what America was to be, and I hope you brought the dreams with you. No man that does not see visions will ever realize any high hope or undertake any high enterprise.

Just because you brought dreams with you, America is more likely to realize the dreams such as you brought. You are enriching us if you came expecting us to be better than we are.

See, my friends, what that means. It means that Americans must have a consciousness different from the consciousness of every other nation in the world. I am not saying this with even the slight-

est thought of criticism of other nations. You know how it is with a family. A family gets centred on itself if it is not careful and is less interested in the neighbors than it is in its own members.

So a nation that is not constantly renewed out of new sources is apt to have the narrowness and prejudice of a family. Whereas, America must have this consciousness, that on all sides it touches elbows and touches hearts with all the nations of mankind.

The example of America must be a special example. The example of America must be the example not merely of peace because it will not fight, but of peace because peace is the healing and elevating influence of the world and strife is not.

There is such a thing as a man being too proud to fight. There is such a thing as a nation being so right that it does not need to convince others by force that it is right.

So, if you come into this great nation as you have come, voluntarily seeking something that we have to give, all that we have to give is this: We cannot exempt you from work. No man is exempt from work anywhere in the world. I sometimes think he is fortunate if he has to work only with his hands and not with his head. It is very easy to do what other people give you to do, but it is very difficult to give other people things to do. We cannot exempt you from work; we cannot exempt you from the strife and the heart-breaking burden of the struggle of the day—that is common to mankind everywhere. We cannot exempt you from the loads that you must carry; we can only make them light by the spirit in which they are carried. That is the spirit of hope, it is the spirit of liberty, it is the spirit of justice.

When I was asked, therefore, by the Mayor and the committee that accompanied him to come up from Washington to meet this great company of newly admitted citizens I could not decline the invitation. I ought not to be away from Washington, and yet I feel that it has renewed my spirit as an American.

In Washington men tell you so many things every day that are not so, and I like to come and stand in the presence of a great body of my fellow-citizens, whether they have been my fellow-citizens a long time or a short time, and drink, as it were, out of the common fountains with them and go back feeling that you have so generously given me the sense of your support and of the living vitality in your hearts, of its great ideals which made America the hope of the world.

III.

AMERICA FOR HUMANITY.

[*President Wilson's address to the Mayor's Committee in New York, May 17, 1915, on the occasion of the naval parade and review in the Hudson:*]

Mr. Mayor, Mr. Secretary, Admiral Fletcher, and Gentlemen of the Fleet: This is not an occasion upon which it seems to me that it would be wise for me to make many remarks, but I would deprive myself of a great gratification if I did not express my pleasure in being here, my gratitude for the splendid reception which has been accorded me as the representative of the nation, and my profound interest in the navy of the United States. That is an interest with which I was apparently born, for it began when I was a youngster and has ripened with my knowledge of the affairs and policies of the United States.

I think it is a natural, instinctive judgment of the people of the United States that they express their power appropriately in an efficient navy, and their interest is partly, I believe, because that navy somehow is expected to express their character, not within our own borders, where that character is understood, but outside our borders, where it is hoped we may occasionally touch others with some slight vision of what America stands for.

But before I speak of the navy of the United States I want to take advantage of the first public opportunity I have had to speak of the Secretary of the Navy, to express my confidence and my admiration, and to say that he has my unqualified support, for I have counseled with

him in intimate fashion. I know how sincerely he has it at heart that everything that the navy does and handles should be done and handled as the people of the United States wish them handled—because efficiency is something more than organization. Efficiency runs into every well-considered detail of personnel and method. Efficiency runs to the extent of lifting the ideals of a service above every personal interest. So that when I speak my support of the Secretary of the Navy I am merely speaking my support of what I know every true lover of the navy to desire and to purpose, for the navy of the United States is a body specially trusted with the ideal of America.

I like to image in my thought this ideal. These quiet ships lying in the river have no suggestion of bluster about them—no intimation of aggression. They are commanded by men thoughtful of the duty of citizens as well as the duty of officers—men acquainted with the traditions of the great service to which they belong—men who know by touch with the people of the United States what sort of purposes they ought to entertain and what sort of discretion they ought to exercise, in order to use those engines of force as engines to promote the interests of humanity.

For the interesting and inspiring thing about America, gentlemen, is that she asks nothing for herself except what she has a right to ask for humanity itself. We want no nation's property; we wish to question no nation's honor; we wish to stand selfishly in the way of the development of no nation; we want nothing that we cannot get by our own legitimate enterprise and by the inspiration of our own example, and, standing for these things, it is not pretention on our part to say that we are privileged to stand for what every nation would wish to stand for, and speak for those things which all humanity must desire.

When I think of the flag that those ships carry, the only touch of color about them, the only thing that moves as if it had a settled spirit in it, in their solid structure, it seems to me I see alternate strips of parchment upon which are

written the rights of liberty and justice and strips of blood spilt to vindicate those rights, and then, in the corner, a prediction of the blue serene into which every nation may swim which stands for these great things.

The mission of America is the only thing that a sailor or soldier should think about; he has nothing to do with the formulation of her policy; he is to support her policy, whatever it is—but he is to support her policy in the spirit of herself, and the strength of our policy is that we, who for the time being administer the affairs of this nation, do not originate her spirit; we attempt to embody it; we attempt to realize it in action; we are dominated by it, we do not dictate it.

And so with every man in arms who serves the nation—he stands and waits to do the thing which the nation desires. America sometimes seems perhaps to forget her programs, or, rather, I would say that sometimes those who represent her seem to forget her programs, but the people never forget them. It is as startling as it is touching to see how whenever you touch a principle you touch the hearts of the people of the United States. They listen to your debates of policy, they determine which party they will prefer to power, they choose and prefer as ordinary men; but their real affection, their real force, their real irre-

sistible momentum, is for the ideas which men embody.

I never go on the streets of a great city without feeling that somehow I do not confer elsewhere than on the streets with the great spirit of the people themselves, going about their business, attending to the things which concern them, and yet carrying a treasure at their hearts all the while, ready to be stirred not only as individuals, but as members of a great union of hearts that constitutes a patriotic people.

And so this sight in the river touches me merely as a symbol of that, and it quickens the pulse of every man who realizes these things to have anything to do with them. When a crisis occurs in this country, gentlemen, it is as if you put your hand on the pulse of a dynamo, it is as if the things which you were in connection with were spiritually bred. You had nothing to do with them except, if you listen truly, to speak the things that you hear. These things now brood over the river, this spirit now moves with the men who represent the nation in the navy, these things will move upon the waters in the manoeuvres; no threat lifted against any man, against any nation, against any interest, but just a great, solemn evidence that the force of America is the force of moral principle, that there is not anything else that she loves and that there is not anything else for which she will contend.

Two Ex-Presidents' Views

MR. ROOSEVELT SPEAKS.

[Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.]

SYRACUSE, N. Y., May 7.—*Ex-President Roosevelt, after learning details of the sinking of the Lusitania, made this statement late tonight:*

This represents not merely piracy, but piracy on a vaster scale of murder than old-time pirates ever practiced. This is the warfare which destroyed Louvain and Dinant and hundreds of men, women, and children in Belgium. It is a warfare against innocent men, women, and children traveling on the ocean, and our own

fellow-countrymen and countrywomen, who are among the sufferers

It seems inconceivable that we can refrain from taking action in this matter, for we owe it not only to humanity, but to our own national self-respect

On May 9 a Syracuse dispatch to THE NEW YORK TIMES conveyed this statement from Mr. Roosevelt:

On the night of the day that the disaster occurred I called the attention of our people to the fact that the sinking of the Lusitania was not only an act of simple piracy, but that it represented

piracy accompanied by murder on a vaster scale than any old-time pirate had ever practiced before being hanged for his misdeeds.

I called attention to the fact that this was merely the application on the high seas, and at our expense, of the principles which when applied on land had produced the innumerable hideous tragedies that have occurred in Belgium and in Northern France.

I said that not only our duty to humanity at large but our duty to preserve our own national self-respect demanded instant action on our part and forbade all delay.

I can do little more than reiterate what I, then said.

When the German decree establishing the war zone was issued, and of course plainly threatened exactly the type of tragedy which has occurred, our Government notified Germany that in the event of any such wrongdoing at the expense of our citizens we would hold the German Government to "a strict accountability."

The use of this phrase, "strict accountability," of course, must mean, and can only mean, that action will be taken by us without an hour's unnecessary delay. It was eminently proper to use the exact phrase that was used, and, having used it, our own self-respect demands that we forthwith abide by it.

On May 11, following the report of President Wilson's speech at Philadelphia, Mr. Roosevelt stated the course which he considered that this country should adopt, reported as follows in a Syracuse dispatch to THE NEW YORK TIMES:

Colonel Roosevelt announced today what action, in his opinion, this country should take toward Germany because of the sinking of the Lusitania. Colonel Roosevelt earnestly said that the time for deliberation was past and that within twenty-four hours this country could, and should, take effective action by declaring that all commerce with Germany forthwith be forbidden and that all commerce of every kind permitted and encouraged

with France, England, and "the rest of the civilized world."

Colonel Roosevelt said that for America to take this step would not mean war, as the firm assertion of our rights could not be so construed, but he added that we would do well to remember that there were things worse than war.

The Colonel has been reading President Wilson's speech carefully, and what seemed to impress him more than anything else was this passage from it:

"There is such a thing as a man being too proud to fight. There is such a thing as a nation being so right that it does not need to convince others by force that it is right."

Asked if he cared to make any comment upon the speech of the President, Mr. Roosevelt said:

"I think that China is entitled to draw all the comfort she can from this statement, and it would be well for the United States to ponder seriously what the effect upon China has been of managing her foreign affairs during the last fifteen years on the theory thus enunciated.

"If the United States is satisfied with occupying some time in the future the precise international position that China now occupies, then the United States can afford to act on this theory. But it cannot act on this theory if it desires to retain or regain the position won for it by the men who fought under Washington and by the men who, in the days of Abraham Lincoln, wore the blue under Grant and the gray under Lee.

"I very earnestly hope that we will act promptly. The proper time for deliberation was prior to sending the message that our Government would hold Germany to a strict accountability if it did the things it has now actually done. The 150 babies drowned on the Lusitania, the hundreds of women drowned with them, scores of these women and children being Americans, and the American ship, the Gulflight, which was torpedoed, offer an eloquent commentary on the actual working of the theory that force is not necessary to assert, and that a policy of blood and iron

can with efficacy be met by a policy of milk and water.

"I see it stated in the press dispatches from Washington that Germany now offers to stop the practice on the high seas, committed in violation of the neutral rights that she is pledged to observe, if we will abandon further neutral rights, which by her treaty she has solemnly pledged herself to see that we exercise without molestation. Such a proposal is not even entitled to an answer. The manufacturing and shipment of arms and ammunition to any belligerent is moral or immoral according to the use to which the arms and munitions are to be put. If they are to be used to prevent the redress of the hideous wrongs inflicted on Belgium, then it is immoral to ship them. If they are to be used for the redress of those wrongs and the restoration of Belgium to her deeply wronged and unoffending people, then it is eminently moral to send them.

"Without twenty-four hours' delay this country could, and should, take effective action by declaring that in view of Germany's murderous offenses against the rights of neutrals, all commerce with Germany shall be forthwith forbidden, and all commerce of every kind permitted and encouraged with France, England, and the rest of the civilized world. This would not be a declaration of war. It would merely prevent munitions of war being sent to a power which by its conduct has shown willingness to use munitions to slaughter American men and women and children. I do not believe the assertion of our rights means war, but we will do well to remember there are things worse than war.

"Let us, as a nation, understand that peace is worthy only when it is the handmaiden of international righteousness and of national self-respect."

MR. TAFT SPEAKS.

[By The Associated Press.]

MILWAUKEE, May 8.—"The news of the sinking of the Lusitania as it comes this morning is most distressing," said former President Taft on his arrival from Madison today. "It presents

a situation of the most difficult character, properly awakening great national concern.

"I do not wish to embarrass the President of the Administration by a discussion of the subject at this stage of the information, except to express confidence that the President will follow a wise and patriotic course."

That it is possible for the United States to hold Germany "strictly accountable" for the destruction of American lives on the Lusitania without resort to war is Mr. Taft's opinion, reported in the following dispatch from Philadelphia to THE NEW YORK TIMES on May 11:

"We must bear in mind that if we have a war it is the people, the men and women, fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, who must pay with lives and money the cost of it, and therefore they should not be hurried into the sacrifices until it is made clear that they wish it and know what they are doing when they wish it."

This was the keynote of a speech by ex-President Taft at the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Union League's occupancy of the historic home which it occupies in this city.

"Is war the only method of making a nation accountable? Let us look into our own history. England connived at the fitting out of armed vessels to prey on our commerce, to attack our navy, and to kill our sailors. We protested, and what did we do then? We held her strictly accountable in the Geneva Conference. Was not our honor as much preserved by this method as it would have been had we declared war?"

"I agree that the inhumanity of the circumstances in the case now presses us on, but in the heat of even just indignation is this the best time to act, when action involves such momentous consequences and means untold loss of life and treasure? There are things worse than war, but delay, due to calm deliberation, cannot change the situation or minimize the effect of what we finally conclude to do.

"With the present condition of the

war in Europe, our action, if it is to be extreme, will not lose efficiency by giving time to the people, whose war it will be, to know what they are facing.

"A demand for war that cannot sur-

vive the passion of the first days of public indignation and will not endure the test of delay and deliberation by all the people is not one that should be yielded to."

President Wilson's Note

By Ex-President William H. Taft.

At the dinner of Methodist laymen in New York on May 14, 1915, following the publication of President Wilson's note to Germany, ex-President Taft said:

"Admirable in tone, moderate in the judicial spirit that runs through the entire communication, dignified in the level that the writer takes with respect to international obligations, accurate in its statement of international law, he puts the case of the United States in a way that may well call for our earnest concurrence and confirmation.

Another View

By Beatrice Barry.

"When the torch is near the powder"—when a boat, f'r instance, sinks,
And the "hyphens" raise a loud hurrah and blow themselves to drinks;
When 'bout a hundred neutral lives are snuffed out like a torch,
An' "hyphens" read the news an' smoke, a-settin' on the porch—
Well, it's then the native's kind o' apt to see a little red,
An' it's hardly fair to criticise the burning things he sed.
For since the eagle's not a bird that thrives within a cage,
One kind o' hears with sympathy his screams of baffled rage.

There's something sort o' horrible, that catches at the breath,
To visualize some two score babes most foully done to death;
To see their fright, their struggles—to watch their lips turn blue—
There ain't no use denyin', it will raise the deuce with you.
O yes, God bless the President—he's an awful row to hoe,
An' God grant, too, that peace with honor hand in hand may go,
But let's not call men "rotters," 'cause, while we are standing pat,
They lose their calm serenity, an' can't see things like that!

In the Submarine War Zone

[By The Associated Press.]

LIVERPOOL, May 16.—The passengers on board the American Line steamer Philadelphia, which arrived here today from New York, the steamer docking at 1 P. M., experienced during the voyage much anxiety. On Friday afternoon, out in the Atlantic off the west coast of Ireland, a cruiser appeared and approached the liner. The chief topic of conversation during the voyage had been about the German submarine activities, and the sight of the warship caused some alarm. The cruiser approached near enough to the steamer to exchange signals with her.

A number of passengers spent last night on deck in their chairs with life-belts beside them in case of danger. The boats of the Philadelphia were ready for use. The steamer kept a course much further out from the Irish coast than the Lusitania was traversing when she was torpedoed.

The port officials subjected the passengers of the Philadelphia to a careful examination to discover if there were any spies on board, but nobody was detained. By reason of this precaution it was more than an hour after the steamer arrived before her passengers began to debark.

American Shipments of Arms

By Count von Bernstorff, German Ambassador at Washington

Count von Bernstorff, the German Ambassador, made public on April 11, 1915, a memorandum addressed to the United States Government on April 4, complaining of its attitude toward the shipment of war munitions to the Allies and the non-shipment of foodstuffs to Germany. After picturing the foreign policy of the United States Government as one of futility, Count von Bernstorff's memorandum says it must be "assumed that the United States Government has accepted England's violations of international law." Its full text appears below, followed by that of the American State Department's reply.

THE different British Orders in Council have altered the universally recognized rules of international law in such a one-sided manner that they arbitrarily suppress the trade of neutral countries with Germany. Already, prior to the last Order in Council, the shipment of conditional contraband, especially foodstuffs, to Germany, was practically impossible. In fact, prior to the protest which the American Government made in London on Dec. 28, 1914, not a single shipment of such goods for Germany has been effected from the United States.

Also, after the lodging of the protest, and as far as is known to the German Embassy, only one such shipment has been attempted by an American skipper. Ship and cargo were immediately seized by the British, and are still detained at a British port. As a pretext for this unwarranted action the British Government referred to a decree of the German Federal Council concerning the wheat trade, although this decree only covered wheat and flour and no other foodstuffs, although imported foodstuffs were especially exempt from this decree, and although the German Government had given all necessary guarantees to the United States Government, and had even proposed a special organization in order to secure these foodstuffs for the exclusive consumption of the civilian population.

The seizure of an American ship under these circumstances was in contradiction with the recognized principles of international law. Nevertheless the United States Government has not yet

obtained the release of the ship, nor has it after eight months of war succeeded in safeguarding the legitimate American trade with Germany. Such a delay, especially when the supply of foodstuffs is concerned, seems equivalent to complete failure. It is therefore to be assumed that the United States Government has accepted England's violations of international law.

Furthermore has to be considered the attitude of the Government of the United States concerning the question of the exportation of war material. The Imperial Embassy hopes to agree with the Government of the United States in assuming that, with regard to the question of neutrality, there is not only the formal side to be considered, but also the spirit in which neutrality is enforced.

Conditions in the present war are different from those in any former wars. For this reason it is not justified to point at the fact that perhaps in former wars Germany furnished belligerents with war material, because in those former cases the question was not whether any war material was to be furnished to the belligerents, but merely which one of the competing countries would furnish it. In the present war, with the exception of the United States, all the countries capable of a noteworthy production of war material are either at war themselves or completing their armaments, and have accordingly prohibited the exportation of war material. Therefore the United States of America is the only country in a position to export war material. This fact ought to give a new meaning to the

idea of neutrality, independent of the formal law.

Instead of that, and in contradiction with the real spirit of neutrality, an enormous new industry of war materials of every kind is being built up in the United States, inasmuch as not only the existing plants are kept busy and enlarged, but also new ones are continually founded.

The international agreements for the protection of the right of neutrals originate in the necessity of protecting the existing industries of the neutral countries. They were never intended to encourage the creation of entirely new industries in neutral States, as, for instance, the new war industry in the United States, which supplies only one party of the belligerents.

In reality the American industry is supplying only Germany's enemies. A fact which is in no way modified by the purely theoretical willingness to furnish Germany as well, if it were possible.

If the American people desire to observe true neutrality, they will find

means to stop the exclusive exportation of arms to one side, or at least to use this export trade as a means to uphold the legitimate trade with Germany, especially the trade in foodstuffs. This spirit of neutrality should appear the more justified to the United States as it has been maintained toward Mexico.

According to the declaration of a Congressman, made in the House Committee for Foreign Relations Dec. 30, 1914, President Wilson is quoted as having said on Feb. 4, 1914, when the embargo on arms for Mexico was lifted:

"We should stand for genuine neutrality, considering the surrounding facts of the case." He then held in that case, because Carranza had no ports, while Huerta had them and was able to import these materials, that "it was our duty as a nation to treat them (Carranza and Huerta) upon an equality if we wished to observe the true spirit of neutrality as compared with a mere paper neutrality."

This conception of "the true spirit of neutrality," if applied to the present case, would lead to an embargo on arms.

The American Reply

The following note, which contains a vigorous rebuke to the German Ambassador for the freedom of his remarks on the course taken by the United States toward the belligerent powers, was made public at Washington on April 21, 1915. It was then reported that the note was finally drafted by President Wilson himself and written by him on his own typewriter at the White House, although it is signed by Mr. Bryan as Secretary of State:

I have given thoughtful consideration to your Excellency's note of the 4th of April, 1915, inclosing a memorandum of the same date, in which your Excellency discusses the action of this Government with regard to trade between the United States and Germany, and the attitude of this Government with regard to the exportation of arms from the United States to the nations now at war with Germany.

I must admit that I am somewhat at a loss how to interpret your Excellency's treatment of these matters. There are many circumstances connected with these important subjects to which I would have expected your Excellency to advert, but of which you make no mention, and there are other circumstances to which you do refer which I would have supposed to be hardly appropriate for discussion between the Government of the United States and the Government of Germany.

I shall take the liberty, therefore, of regarding your Excellency's references to the course, pursued by the Government of the United States, with regard to interferences with trade from this country such as the Government of Great Britain have attempted, as intended merely to illustrate more fully the situation to which you desire to call our at-

tion, and not as an invitation to discuss that course.

Your Excellency's long experience in international affairs will have suggested to you that these relations of the two Governments with one another cannot wisely be made a subject of discussion with a third Government, which cannot be fully informed as to the facts, and which cannot be fully cognizant of the reasons for the course pursued.

I believe, however, that I am justified in assuming that what you desire to call forth is a frank statement of the position of this Government in regard to its obligations as a neutral power.

The general attitude and course of policy of this Government in the maintenance of its neutrality I am particularly anxious that your Excellency should see in their true light. I had hoped that this Government's position in these respects had been made abundantly clear, but I am, of course, perfectly willing to state it again.

This seems to me the more necessary and desirable because, I regret to say, the language, which your Excellency employs in your memorandum, is susceptible of being construed as impugning the good faith of the United States in the performance of its duties as a neutral.

I take it for granted that no such implication was intended, but it is so evident that your Excellency is laboring under certain false impressions that I cannot be too explicit in setting forth the facts as they are, when fully reviewed and comprehended.

In the first place, this Government has at no time and in no manner yielded any one of its rights as a neutral to any one of the present belligerents.

It has acknowledged, as a matter of course, the right of visit and search and the right to apply the rules of contraband of war to articles of commerce. It has, indeed, insisted upon the use of visit and search as an absolutely necessary safeguard against mistaking neutral vessels for vessels owned by any enemy and against mistaking legal cargoes for illegal. It has admitted also the right of blockade if actually exercised and effectively maintained.

These are merely the well-known limitations which war places upon neutral commerce on the high seas. But nothing beyond these has it conceded.

I call your Excellency's attention to this, notwithstanding it is already known to all the world as a consequence of the publication of our correspondence in regard to these matters with several of the belligerent nations, because I cannot assume that you have official cognizance of it.

In the second place, this Government attempted to secure from the German and British Governments mutual concessions with regard to the measures those Governments respectively adopted for the interruption of trade on the high seas. This it did, not of right, but merely as exercising the privileges of a sincere friend of both parties and as indicating its impartial good-will.

The attempt was unsuccessful, but I regret that your Excellency did not deem it worthy of mention in modification of the impressions you expressed. We had hoped that this act on our part had shown our spirit in these times of distressing war, as our diplomatic correspondence had shown our steadfast refusal to acknowledge the right of any belligerent to alter the accepted rules of war at sea in so far as they affect the rights and interests of neutrals.

In the third place, I note with sincere regret that in discussing the sale and exportation of arms by citizens of the United States to the enemies of Germany, your Excellency seems to be under the impression that it was within the choice of the Government of the United States, notwithstanding its professed neutrality and its diligent efforts to maintain it in other particulars, to inhibit this trade, and that its failure to do so manifested an unfair attitude toward Germany.

This Government holds, as I believe your Excellency is aware and as it is constrained to hold in view of the present indisputable doctrines of accepted international law, that any change in its own laws of neutrality during the progress of a war, which would affect

unequally the relations of the United States with the nations at war, would be an unjustifiable departure from the principle of strict neutrality, by which it has consistently sought to direct its actions, and I respectfully submit that none of the circumstances, urged in your Excellency's memorandum, alters the principle involved.

The placing of an embargo on the trade in arms at the present time would constitute such a change and be a direct violation of the neutrality of the United States. It will, I feel assured, be clear to your Excellency that holding this view and considering itself in honor bound by it, it is out of the question for this Government to consider such a course.

I hope that your Excellency will realize the spirit in which I am drafting this reply. The friendship between the peo-

ple of the United States and the people of Germany is so warm and of such long standing, the ties which bind them to one another in amity are so many and so strong, that this Government feels under a special compulsion to speak with perfect frankness; when any occasion arises which seems likely to create any misunderstanding, however slight or temporary, between those who represent the Governments of the two countries.

It will be a matter of gratification to me if I have removed from your Excellency's mind any misapprehension you may have been under regarding either the policy or the spirit and purposes of the Government of the United States.

Its neutrality is founded upon the firm basis of conscience and good-will.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

W. J. BRYAN.

Munitions From Neutrals

[Colloquy in the House of Commons, May 4, 1915.]

Sir E. Grey, in reply to Sir A. Markham, (L., Mansfield,) said: The United States Government have not at any time during the present war supplied any war material of any kind to his Majesty's Government, and I do not suppose that they have supplied any of the belligerents. It has always been a recognized legitimate practice, and wholly consistent with international law, for manufacturers in a neutral country to sell munitions of war to belligerents. They were supplied in this way from Germany to Russia during the Russo-Japanese war, and from Germany to Great Britain during the Boer war, and are no doubt being supplied in the same way from manufacturers in neutral countries to belligerents now.

Mr. MacNeill (N., South Donegal)—Has not the rule always been, before The Hague Conferences at all, that subjects of neutral nations are allowed to supply munitions of war at their own risk?

Sir E. Grey—It is wholly consistent with international law that that practice should go forward, and if there be any question of departure from neutrality I think it will be, not in permitting that practice, but in interfering with it. [Cheers.]

Germany and the Lusitania

By Charles W. Eliot

President Emeritus of Harvard University.

That the sinking of the Lusitania was an act which outraged not only the existing conventions of the civilized world but the moral feelings of present civilized society is the view put forth in his letter to THE NEW YORK TIMES, appearing May 15, 1915, by one of the most distinguished commentators on the war. Dr. Eliot counsels that America's part is to resist such a no-faith policy while keeping its neutral status.

Cambridge, Mass., May 13, 1915.

To the Editor of The New York Times:

THE sinking of a great merchant vessel, carrying 2,500 noncombatant men, women, and children, without giving them any chance to save their lives, was in violation of long-standing conventions among civilized nations, concerning the conduct of naval warfare. The pre-existing conventions gave to a German vessel of war the right to destroy the Lusitania and her cargo, if it were impossible to carry her into port as a prize; but not to drown her passengers and crew. The pre-existing conventions or agreements were, however, entered into by the civilized nations when captures at sea were made by war vessels competent to take a prize into some port, or to take off the passengers and crew of the captured vessel.

The German Government now alleges that submarines are today the only vessels it can employ effectively for attack on British commerce in the declared war zone about the British Isles, since the rest of the German Navy cannot keep the seas in face of the superior British Navy. Germany further alleges that the present British blockade of German ports is conducted in a new way—that is, by vessels which patrol the German coast at a greater distance from the actual harbors than was formerly the international practice; and hence, that Germany is justified in conducting her attack on British commerce in a novel way also. In short, Germany argues that her military necessities compel her to sink enemy commercial vessels without regard to the lives of passengers and

crews, in spite of the fact that she was party to international agreements that no such act should be committed.

The lesson which the sinking of the Lusitania teaches is, therefore, this: Germany thinks it right to disregard on grounds of military necessity existing international conventions with regard to naval warfare, precisely as she disregarded the agreed-upon neutrality of Belgium on the ground of military necessity. As in the case of Belgium she had decided many years beforehand to violate the international neutrality agreement, and had made all her plans for reaching Paris in a few weeks by passing through Belgium, so on the sea she had decided months ago that the necessity of interfering as much as possible with British commerce and industries warrants her total disregard of the existing rules of naval warfare, and has deliberately contrived the sinking of merchant vessels without regard to the lives of the people on board.

Again, when Germany thought it necessary on her quick march toward Paris not only to crush the Belgian Army but to terrify the noncombatant population of Belgium into complete submission by bombarding and burning cities, towns, and villages, by plundering and shooting noncombatants, by imposing heavy fines and ransoms, and by holding noncombatants as hostages for the peaceable behavior of all Belgian citizens, she disregarded all the conventions made by the civilized nations within seventy years for mitigating the horrors of war, and justified her action on the ground that it was a military necessity, since in no other way could she immediately se-

cure the safety of her communications as she rushed on Paris. The civilized world had supposed that each nation would make war only on the public forces and resources of its antagonist; but last August Germany made ferocious war on noncombatants and private property.

The sinking of the *Lusitania* is another demonstration that the present German Government will not abide by any international contracts, treaties, or agreements, if they, at a given moment, would interfere with any military or naval course of action which the Government deems necessary.

These demonstrated policies and purposes of the German Empire raise the fundamental question—how is the civilization of the white race to be carried forward? How are the real welfare of that race and the happiness of the individuals that compose it to be hereafter furthered? Since the revolutions in England, America, and France, it has been supposed that civilization was to be advanced by international agreements or treaties, by the co-operation of the civilized nations in the gradual improvement of these agreements, and by the increasing practical effect given to them by nations acting in co-operation; but now comes the German Empire with its military force, immense in numbers and efficient beyond all former experience through the intelligent use for destructive purposes of the new powers attained by applied science, saying not only in words, but in terrible acts: "We shall not abide by any international contracts or agreements into which we may have previously entered, if at the passing moment they interfere or conflict with the most advantageous immediate use of our military and naval force." If this doctrine shall now prevail in Europe, the foundations of modern civilization and of all friendly and beneficial commerce the world over will be undermined.

The sinking of the *Lusitania*, therefore, makes perfectly clear the nature of the problem with which the three Allies in Europe are now struggling. They are resisting with all the weapons of war a nation which declares that its

promises are good only till it is, in its own judgment, under the military necessity of breaking them.

The neutral nations are looking on at this tremendous conflict between good-faith nations and no-faith nations with intense anxiety and sorrow, but no longer in any doubt as to the nature of the issue. The sinking of the *Lusitania* has removed every doubt; because that was a deliberate act in full sight of the world, and of a nature not to be obscured or confused by conflicting testimonies or questions about possible exaggeration of outrages or about official responsibility for them. The sinking of the *Lusitania* was an act which outraged not only the existing conventions of the civilized world in regard to naval warfare, but the moral feelings of present civilized society.

The neutral nations and some of the belligerent nations feel another strong objection to the present German way of conducting war on land and sea, namely, that it brutalizes the soldier and the sailor to an unprecedented degree. English, French, and Russian soldiers on the one side can contend with German, Austrian, and Turkish soldiers on the other with the utmost fierceness from trenches or in the open, use new and old weapons of destruction, and kill and wound each other with equal ardor and resolution, and yet not be brutalized or degraded in their moral nature, if they fight from love of country or with self-sacrificing loyalty to its spiritual ideals; but neither soldiers nor sailors can attack defenseless noncombatants, systematically destroy towns and villages, and put to death captured men, women, and children without falling in their moral nature before the brutes. That he obeyed orders will not save from moral ruin the soldier or sailor who does such deeds. He should have refused to obey such orders and taken the consequences. This is true even of the privates, but more emphatically of the officers. The white race has often been proud of the way in which its soldiers and sailors have fought in many causes—good, bad, and indifferent; because they fought bravely, took defeat resolutely, and showed

humanity after victory. The German method of conducting war omits chivalry, mercy, and humanity, and thereby degrades the German Nation and any other nation which sympathizes with it or supports its methods. It is no answer to the world's objection to the sinking of the *Lusitania* that Great Britain uses its navy to cut off from Germany food and needed supplies for its industries, for that is a recognized and effective method of warfare; whereas the sinking of an occasional merchant ship with its passengers and crew is a method of warfare nowhere effective, and almost universally condemned. If war, with its inevitable stratagems, ambushes, and lies must continue to be the arbiter in international disputes, it is certainly desirable that such magnanimity in war as the conventions of the last century made possible should not be lost because of Germany's behavior in the present European convulsion. It is also desirable to reaffirm with all possible emphasis that fidelity to international agreements is the taproot of human progress.

On the supposition that the people of the United States have learned the lesson of the *Lusitania*, so far as an understanding of the issues at stake in this gigantic war is concerned, can they also get from it any guidance in regard to their own relation to the fateful struggle? Apparently, not yet. With practical unanimity the American people will henceforth heartily desire the success of the Allies, and the decisive defeat of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey. With practical unanimity they will support whatever action the Administration at Washington shall decide to take in the immediate emergency; but at present they do not feel that they know whether they can best promote the defeat of the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey by remaining neutral or by taking active part in the conflict. Unless a dismemberment of Austria-Hungary is brought about by Italy and Rumania or some

other Balkan State entering the war on the side of the Allies, it now seems as if neither party would acknowledge defeat until exhausted or brought to a sudden moral collapse. Exhaustion in war can best be prevented by maintaining in activity the domestic industries and general productiveness of the nation involved in war and those of the neutral nations which are in position to feed it, and manufacture for it munitions, clothing, and the other supplies that war demands. While remaining strictly neutral, North and South America can be of great service to the Allies. To be sure, as a neutral the United States will be obliged to give some aid to Germany and her allies, such, for example, as harboring the interned commercial fleet of Germany; but this aid will be comparatively insignificant. The services which the American republics can thus render to the cause of liberty and civilization are probably more considerable than any they could render by direct contributions of military or naval force. Kept free from the drain of war, the republics will be better able to supply food, clothing, munitions, and money to the Allies both during the war and after the conclusion of peace.

On the whole, the wisest thing the neutral nations can do, which are remote from the theatres of war, and have no territorial advantages to seek at the coming of peace, is probably to defend vigorously and with the utmost sincerity and frankness all the existing rights of neutrals. By acting thus in the present case they will promote national righteousness and hinder national depravity, discourage, for the future, domination by any single great power in any part of the world, and help the cause of civilization by strengthening the just liberty and independence of many nations—large and small, and of different capacities and experiences—which may reasonably hope, if the Prussian terror can be abolished, to live together in peaceful co-operation for the common good.

Appeals for American Defense

Need of Further Protecting Neutral Rights Set Forth.

By GEORGE W. WICKERSHAM.

Formerly United States Attorney General.

To the Editor of The New York Times:

THE destruction of the Lusitania by the Germans, and the wanton killing of American men, women, and children, without warning, brings sharply before the American people the question of how long the present sexless policy of the conduct of our affairs is to be continued. Germany has apparently decided to run amuck with civilization. It is now for the American people to decide whether this nation has any virility left, or if it is content to sink to the level of China.

A very clear course, it seems to me, is open for us to pursue: We should cancel all diplomatic relations with a country which has declared war upon civilization, recall our Ambassador from Berlin, and hand Count Bernstorff his passports. Congress should be summoned in extra session, and an appropriation of at least \$250,000,000 asked to put us in a condition to protect our rights as a neutral civilized power. At the same time we should invite all neutral nations of the world to join us in a council of civilization to agree upon the steps to be taken to protect the interests of all neutral powers and their citizens from such wanton acts of destruction of life and property as those which Germany has been committing and which have culminated in the destruction of the Lusitania and of so many of her passengers.

Until now the National Administration has been proceeding not only on the basis of "safety first," but of safety first, last, and all the time. The time has arrived when we must remember the truth of what Lowell so well expressed, that

'Tis man's perdition to be safe, when for the truth he ought to die.

GEORGE W. WICKERSHAM.

BY THE NATIONAL SECURITY LEAGUE.

[From THE NEW YORK TIMES, May 11, 1915.]

The army, navy, and coast defenses of the United States are declared to be inadequate in an open letter signed by Joseph H. Choate, Alton B. Parker, Henry L. Stimson, and S. Stanwood Menken, which was given out yesterday in support of the plans of the National Security League. This organization, which maintains offices at 31 Pine Street, has embarked on a national campaign for better war defenses, and its appeal for members and supporters is expressed by the catch-phrase, "a first defense army of 1,000,000 workers."

The letter of Messrs. Choate, Parker, Stimson, and Menken contains most of the arguments put forth by the league in asking public support and enrollment. Its text follows:

Careful investigation by our committees who have looked into the question of national defense brings to light the following conditions of affairs:

According to official Government reports, there are barely 30,000 mobile troops in continental United States. These are distributed among fifty-two widely scattered posts, which would make it impossible to mobilize quickly at any given point. Even this small force is short of officers, ammunition, and equipment. Furthermore, it has no organized reserve.

Our National Guard, with negligible exceptions, is far below its paper strength in men, equipment, and efficiency.

Our coast defenses are inadequate, our fortifications insufficiently manned and without adequate organized reserves.

Our navy is neither adequate nor prepared for war. This, our first line of defense, is inadequately manned, short of ammunition, and has no organized reserve of trained men. Our submarine

flotilla exists chiefly upon paper. Fast scout cruisers, battle cruisers, aeroplanes, mine layers, supply ships, and transports are lacking. Target practice has been neglected or altogether omitted.

In view of this condition of affairs, and since there is no assurance that the United States will not again become involved in war, "and since a peaceful policy, even when supported by treaties, is not a sufficient guarantee against war, of which the subjugation of Belgium and the present coercion of China by a foreign power are noteworthy examples; and the United States cannot safely intrust the maintenance of its institutions and nationality to the mere negotiations of peace, and since we are not adequately prepared to maintain our national policies, and since the present defenseless condition of the nation is due to the failure of Congress not only to follow the carefully considered plans of our naval and military advisers, but also to provide any reasonable measure for gradually putting such plans into practice, it is manifest that until a workable plan for a world alliance has been evolved and agreed to by the principal nations, with proper guarantee of good faith, the United States must undertake adequate military preparations for its defense."

In the meantime the National Security League feels impelled to call public attention to our deplorable condition of unpreparedness. At the same time the league issues an appeal for public support in behalf of the following program for better national defense:

1. Legislation correcting present wasteful methods of military appropriations and disbursement.
2. Adoption of a definite military policy.
3. A stronger, better balanced navy.
4. An effective mobile army.
5. Larger and better equipped National Guard.
6. The creation of an organized reserve for each branch of our military service.

All those interested in the work of the league are invited to send their names and contributions to the National

Security League, 31 Pine Street, New York City.

[The letter is addressed to "present and former members of the Cabinet, to members of Congress, to Governors of our States and Territories, to Mayors of all American cities, to Chambers of Commerce and Boards of Trade, to merchants' associations, to colleges and universities, to university clubs and alumni associations, to all patriotic organizations, to all women's clubs, and to all American citizens."]

"Until a satisfactory plan of disarmament has been worked out and agreed upon by the nations of the world," says a statement, "the United States must be adequately prepared to defend itself against invasion. A military equipment sufficient for this purpose can be had without recourse to militarism. The league was formed as a preparation not for war, but against war."]

BY THE NAVY LEAGUE.

[FROM THE NEW YORK TIMES, May 12, 1915.]

The Navy League of the United States, of which General Horace Porter is President, and which includes in its membership Herbert L. Satterlee, George von L. Meyer, Beekman Winthrop, J. Pierpont Morgan, Governor Emmet O'Neal of Alabama, Senator James D. Phelan of California, Cardinal Gibbons, Theodore Roosevelt, Elihu Root, Edward T. Stotesbury, Benjamin Ide Wheeler, Joseph H. Choate, George B. Cortelyou, C. Oliver Iselin, Seth Low, Myron T. Herrick, Alton B. Parker, and scores of other men prominent in the public and business life of the country, through its Executive Committee adopted a resolution yesterday calling upon President Wilson to call Congress in extra session to authorize a bond issue of \$500,000,000, which sum, it is stated, is "needed to provide this country with adequate means of naval defense."

The resolution, which was adopted at a session at which members of the Executive Committee consulted by long-distance telephone, some of them being in Washington and others in New York at the Union League Club, read:

"In view of the crisis in our foreign



RAYMOND POINCARÉ
President of the French Republic Since Feb. 18, 1913
(Photo from P. S. Rogers.)



THE RIGHT HON. H. H. ASQUITH
Prime Minister of Great Britain and Ireland
(Photo from Brown Bros.)

relations, we, as representatives of the Navy League of the United States, express our emphatic belief that Congress should be immediately assembled and that measures should be taken at once to strengthen our national defense. Our most pacific country should, because of its supreme love of peace, possess preponderant naval strength and adequate military strength. A large bond issue of, if necessary, \$500,000,000 should be authorized at once. These bonds would be rapidly absorbed by the American people for such a purpose. Equipped with a

mighty fleet, American life and American rights would be scrupulously respected by all belligerents. In such case there would be no thought of our entering into war.

“GENERAL HORACE PORTER,
President;

“ROBERT M. THOMPSON,
Chairman Executive Committee;

“CHARLES A. FOWLER,

“PERRY BELMONT,

“JOHN C. O’LAUGHLIN,

“FRANK J. SYMES.”

The Drowned Sailor

By MAURICE HEWLETT.

[From “Sing Songs of the War.”]

LAST night I saw my true love stand
All shadowy by my bed.
He had my locket in his hand;
I knew that he was dead.

“Sweetheart, why stand you there so fast,
Why stand you there so grave?”
“I think,” said he, “this hour’s the last
That you and I can have.

“You gave me this from your fair breast,
It’s never left me yet;
And now it dares not seek the nest
Because it is so wet.

“The cold gray sea has covered it,
Deep in the sand it lies;
While over me the long weeds flit
And veil my staring eyes.

“And there are German sailors laid
Beside me in the deep;
We have no need of gun nor blade,
United in our sleep.”

“Dear heart, dear heart, come to my bed,
My arms are warm and sweet!”
“Alack for you, my love,” he said,
“My limbs would wet the sheet.

“Cold is the bed that I lie on
And deep beneath the swell;
No voice is left to make my moan
And bid my love farewell.”

Now I am widow that was wife—
Would God that they could prove
What law should rule, without the strife
That’s robbed me of my love!

War With Poisonous Gases

The Gap at Ypres Made by German Chlorine Vapor Bombs

Reports by the Official "Eyewitness"

and

Dr. J. S. Haldane, F. R. S.

Dr. John Scott Haldane, F. R. S., who has conducted the investigation for the British War Office, is a brother of Lord Haldane. He is a graduate in medicine of Edinburgh University and an M. A. of Oxford and an LL. D. of Birmingham. For many years he has been engaged in scientific investigation, and has contributed largely to the elucidation of the causes of death in colliery and mine explosions. He is the author of a work on the physiology of respiration and air analysis.

Professor Baker, F. R. S., who is carrying out chemical investigations into the nature of the gases, is Professor of Chemistry in the Imperial College of Science and Technology, London. He was a Scholar in Natural Science at Balliol. He has conducted important experiments into the nature of gases.

Sir Wilmot Herringham, M. D. Oxon., is a physician to St. Bartholomew's Hospital and Vice Chancellor of the London University.

Lieutenant McNee, M. B., M. Ch. Glasgow, a Carnegie Research Fellow, is assistant to the Professor of Pathology in Glasgow University and has conducted many investigations of an important character in pathology and chemical pathology.

General Headquarters,
British Expeditionary Force,
April 27, 1915.

To Earl Kitchener, Secretary of State
for War.

My Lord: I have the honor to report that, as requested by you yesterday morn-

ing, I proceeded to France to investigate the nature and effects of the asphyxiating gas employed in the recent fighting by the German troops. After reporting myself at General Headquarters I proceeded to Bailleul with Sir Wilmot Herringham, Consulting Physician to the British Force, and examined with him several men from Canadian battalions who were at the No. 2 Casualty Clearing Station, suffering from the effects of the gas.

These men were lying struggling for breath and blue in the face. On examining the blood with the spectroscope and by other means, I ascertained that the blueness was not due to the presence of any abnormal pigment. There was nothing to account for the blueness (cyanosis) and struggle for air but the one fact that they were suffering from acute bronchitis, such as is caused by inhalation of an irritant gas. Their statements were that when in the trenches they had been overwhelmed by an irritant gas produced in front of the German trenches and carried toward them by a gentle breeze.

One of them died shortly after our arrival. A post-mortem examination was conducted in our presence by Lieutenant McNee, a pathologist by profession, of Glasgow University. The examination showed that death was due to acute bronchitis and its secondary effects. There was no doubt that the bronchitis and accompanying slow asphyxiation were due to the irritant gas.

Lieutenant McNee had also examined

yesterday the body of a Canadian Sergeant, who had died in the clearing station from the effects of the gas. In this case, also, very acute bronchitis and œdema of the lungs caused death by asphyxiation.

A deposition by Captain Bertram, Eighth Canadian Battalion, was carefully taken down by Lieutenant McNee. Captain Bertram was then in the clearing station, suffering from the effects of the gas and from a wound. From a support trench, about 600 yards from the German lines, he had observed the gas. He saw, first of all, a white smoke arising from the German trenches to a height of about three feet. Then in front of the white smoke appeared a greenish cloud, which drifted along the ground to our trenches, not rising more than about seven feet from the ground when it reached our first trenches. Men in these trenches were obliged to leave, and a number of them were killed by the effects of the gas. We made a counter-attack about fifteen minutes after the gas came over, and saw twenty-four men lying dead from the effects of the gas on a small stretch of road leading from the advanced trenches to the supports. He was himself much affected by the gas still present, and felt as if he could not breathe.

The symptoms and the other facts so far ascertained point to the use by the German troops of chlorine or bromine for purposes of asphyxiation.

There are also facts pointing to the use in German shells of other irritant substances, though in some cases at least these agents are not of the same brutally barbarous character as the gas used in the attack on the Canadians. The effects are not those of any of the ordinary products of combustion of explosives. On this point the symptoms described left not the slightest doubt in my mind.

Professor H. B. Baker, F. R. S., who accompanied me, is making further inquiries from the chemical side.

I am, my Lord, your obedient servant,
J. S. HALDANE.

The following announcement was is-

sued by the British War Office on April 29, 1915:

Thanks to the magnificent response already made to the appeal in the press for respirators for the troops, the War Office is in a position to announce that no further respirators need be made.

THE "EYEWITNESS" STORY.

The following descriptive account was communicated by the British Official Eyewitness present with General Headquarters, supplementing his continuous narrative of the movements of the British force and the French armies in immediate touch with it:

April 27, 1915.

Since the last summary there has been a sudden development in the situation on our front, and very heavy fighting has taken place to the north and northeast of Ypres, which can be said to have assumed the importance of a second battle for that town. With the aid of a method of warfare up to now never employed by nations sufficiently civilized to consider themselves bound by international agreements solemnly ratified by themselves, and favored by the atmospheric conditions, the Germans have put into effect an attack which they had evidently contemplated and prepared for some time.

Before the battle began our line in this quarter ran from the cross-roads at Erootseinde, east of Zonnebeke on the Ypres-Moorslede Road to the cross-roads half a mile north of St. Julien, on the Ypres-Poelcapelle Road, roughly following the crest of what is known as the Grafenstafel Ridge. The French prolonged the line west of the Ypres-Poelcapelle Road, whence their trenches ran around the north of Langemarck to Steenstraete on the Yperlee Canal. The area covered by the initial attack is that between the canal and the Ypres-Poelcapelle Road, though it was afterward extended to the west of the canal and to the east of the road.

An effort on the part of the Germans in this direction was not unexpected, since movements of troops and transport behind their front line had been detected for some days. Its peculiar and novel

nature, however, was a surprise which was largely responsible for the measure of success achieved. Taking advantage of the fact that at this season of the year the wind not infrequently blows from the north, they secretly brought up apparatus for emitting asphyxiating vapor or gas, and distributed it along the section of their front line opposite that of our allies, west of Langemarck, which faced almost due north. Their plan was to make a sudden onslaught southwestward, which, if successful, might enable them to gain the crossings on the canal south of Bixschoote and place them well behind the British left in a position to threaten Ypres.

The attack was originally fixed for Tuesday, the 20th, but since all chances of success depended on the action of the asphyxiating vapor it was postponed, the weather being unfavorable. On Thursday, the 22d, the wind blew steadily from the north, and that afternoon, all being ready, the Germans put their plan into execution. Since then events have moved so rapidly and the situation has moved so frequently that it is difficult to give a consecutive and clear story of what happened, but the following account represents as nearly as can be the general course of events. The details of the gas apparatus employed by them are given separately, as also those of the asphyxiating grenades, bombs, and shells of which they have been throwing hundreds.

At some time between 4 and 5 P. M. the Germans started operations by releasing gases with the result that a cloud of poisonous vapor rolled swiftly before the wind from their trenches toward those of the French west of Langemarck, held by a portion of the French Colonial Division. Allowing sufficient time for the fumes to take full effect on the troops facing them, the Germans charged forward over the practically unresisting enemy in their immediate front, and, penetrating through the gap thus created, pressed on silently and swiftly to the south and west. By their sudden irruption they were able to overrun and surprise a large proportion of the French

troops billeted behind the front line in this area and to bring some of the French guns as well as our own under a hot rifle fire at close range.

The first intimation that all was not well to the north was conveyed to our troops holding the left of the British line between 5 and 6 P. M. by the withdrawal of some of the French Colonials and the sight of the wall of vapor following them. Our flank being thus exposed the troops were ordered to retire on St. Julien, with their left parallel to but to the west of the highroad. The splendid resistance of these troops, who saved the situation, has already been mentioned by the Commander in Chief.

Meanwhile, apparently waiting till their infantry had penetrated well behind the Allies' line, the Germans had opened a hot artillery fire upon the various tactical points to the north of Ypres, the bombardment being carried out with ordinary high-explosive shell and shrapnel of various calibres and also with projectiles containing asphyxiating gas. About this period our men in reserve near Ypres, seeing the shells bursting, had gathered in groups, discussing the situation and questioning some scattered bodies of Turcos who had appeared; suddenly a staff officer rode up shouting "Stand to your arms," and in a few minutes the troops had fallen in and were marching northward to the scene of the fight.

Nothing more impressive can be imagined than the sight of our men falling in quietly in perfect order on their alarm posts amid the scene of wild confusion caused by the panic-stricken refugees who swarmed along the roads.

In the meantime, to the north and northeast of the town, a confused fight was taking place, which gave proof not only of great gallantry and steadiness on the part of the troops referred to above, but of remarkable presence of mind on the part of their leaders. Behind the wall of vapor, which had swept across fields, through woods, and over hedges, came the German firing line, the men's mouths and noses, it is stated, pro-

tected by pads soaked in a solution of bicarbonate of soda. Closely following them again came the supports. These troops, hurrying forward with their formation somewhat broken up by the obstacles encountered in their path, looked like a huge mob bearing down upon the town. A battery of 4.7-inch guns a little beyond the left of our line was surprised and overwhelmed by them in a moment. Further to the rear and in a more easterly direction were several field batteries, and before they could come into action the Germans were within a few hundred yards. Not a gun, however, was lost.

One battery, taken in flank, swung around, fired on the enemy at point-blank range, and checked the rush. Another opened fire with the guns pointing in almost opposite directions, the enemy being on three sides of them. It was under the very heavy cannonade opened about this time by the Germans, and threatened by the advance of vastly superior numbers, that our infantry on our left steadily, and without any sign of confusion, slowly retired to St. Julien, fighting every step.

Help was not long in arriving, for some of our reserves near Ypres had stood to arms as soon as they were aware of the fact that the French line had been forced, and the officers on their own initiative, without waiting for orders, led them forward to meet the advancing enemy, who, by this time, were barely two miles from the town. These battalions attacked the Germans with the bayonet, and then ensued a *mêlée*, in which our men more than held their own, both sides losing very heavily.

One German battalion seems to have been especially severely handled, the Colonel being captured among several other prisoners. Other reinforcements were thrown in as they came up, and, when night fell, the fighting continued by moonlight, our troops driving back the enemy by repeated bayonet charges, in the course of which our heavy guns were recaptured.

By then the situation was somewhat restored in the area immediately north of Ypres. Further to the west, however, the enemy had forced their way

over the canal, occupying Steenstraete and the crossing at Het Sast, about three-quarters of a mile south of the former place, and had established themselves at various points on the west bank. All night long the shelling continued, and about 1:30 A. M. two heavy attacks were made on our line in the neighborhood of Broodseinde, east of Zonnebeke. These were both repulsed. The bombardment of Ypres itself and its neighborhood had by now redoubled in intensity and a part of the town was in flames.

In the early morning of Friday, the 23d, we delivered a strong counter-attack northward in co-operation with the French. Our advance progressed for some little distance, reaching the edge of the wood about half a mile west of St. Julien and penetrating it. Here our men got into the Germans with the bayonet, and the latter suffered heavily. The losses were also severe on our side, for the advance had to be carried out across the open. But in spite of this nothing could exceed the dash with which it was conducted. One man—and his case is typical of the spirit shown by the troops—who had had his rifle smashed by a bullet, continued to fight with an intrenching tool. Even many of the wounded made their way out of the fight with some article of German equipment as a memento.

About 11 A. M., not being able to progress further, our troops dug themselves in, the line then running from St. Julien practically due west for about a mile, whence it curved southwestward before turning north to the canal near Boesinghe. Broadly speaking, on the section of the front then occupied by us the result of the operations had been to remove to some extent the wedge which the Germans had driven into the allied line, and the immediate danger was over. During the afternoon our counter-attack made further progress south of Pilkem, thus straightening the line still more. Along the canal the fighting raged fiercely, our allies making some progress here and there. During the night, however, the Germans captured Lizerne, a

village on the main road from Ypres to Steenstraate.

When the morning of the 24th came the situation remained much the same, but the enemy, who had thrown several bridges across the canal, continued to gain ground to the west. On our front the Germans, under cover of their gas, made a further attack between 3 and 4 A. M. to the east of St. Julien and forced back a portion of our line. Nothing else in particular occurred until about mid-day, when large bodies of the enemy were seen advancing down the Ypres-Poelcapelle road toward St. Julien. Soon after a very strong attack developed against that village and the section of the line east of it. Under the pressure of these fresh masses our troops were compelled to fall back, contesting every inch of ground and making repeated counter-attacks; but until late at night a gallant handful, some 200 to 300 strong, held out in St. Julien. During the night the line was re-established north of the hamlet of Fortuin, about 700 yards further to the rear. All this time the fighting along the canal continued, the enemy forcing their way across near Boesinghe, and holding Het Sast, Steenstraate, and Lizerne strongly. The French counter-attacked in the afternoon, captured fifty prisoners, and made some further progress toward Pilkem. The Germans, however, were still holding the west bank firmly, although the Belgian artillery had broken the bridge behind them at Steenstraate.

On the morning of Sunday, the fourth day of the battle, we made a strong counter-attack on St. Julien, which gained some ground but was checked in front of the village. To the west of it we reached a point a few hundred yards south of the wood which had been the objective on the 23d and which we had had to relinquish subsequently. In the afternoon the Germans made repeated assaults in great strength on our line near Broodseinde. These were backed up by a tremendous artillery bombardment and the throwing of asphyxiating bombs; but all were beaten off with great slaughter to the enemy, and forty-five prisoners fell

into our hands. When night came the situation remained unchanged.

This determined offensive on the part of the enemy, although it has menaced Ypres itself, has not so far the appearance of a great effort to break through the line and capture the Channel ports, such as that made in October. Its initial success was gained by the surprise rendered possible by the use of a device which Germany pledged herself not to employ. The only result upon our troops has been to fill them with an even greater determination to punish the enemy and to make him pay tenfold for every act of "frightfulness" he has perpetrated.

Along the rest of the British front nothing of special importance has occurred.

WHAT THE GERMANS SAY.

The comments of the German newspapers on the advance of the imperial army north of Ypres readily admitted and justified the use of asphyxiating gases. The leading Prussian military organ, the Kreuz Zeitung, said:

The moral success of our victory is quite upon a level with its strategic value. It has again been proved that in the west also we are at any time in a position to take the offensive, and that, notwithstanding their most violent efforts, it is impossible for the English and the French to throw back or to break through our battle line.

In another article the Kreuz Zeitung said:

When the French report says that we used a large number of asphyxiating bombs, our enemies may infer from this that they always are making a mistake when by their behavior they cause us to have recourse to new technical weapons.

Dealing with the same subject in a leading article, the Frankfurter Zeitung declared:

It is quite possible that our bombs and shells made it impossible for the enemy to remain in his trenches and artillery positions, and it is even probable that missiles which emit poisonous gases have actually been used by us, since the German leaders have made it plain that, as

an answer to the treacherous missiles which have been used by the English and the French for many weeks past, we, too, shall employ gas bombs or whatever they are called. The German leaders pointed out that considerably more effective materials were to be expected from German chemistry, and they were right.

But, however destructive these bombs and shells may have been, do the English and the other people think that it makes a serious difference whether hundreds of guns and howitzers throw hundreds of thousands of shells on a single tiny spot in order to destroy and break to atoms everything living there, and to make the German trenches into a terrible hell as was the case at Neuve Chapelle, or whether we throw a few shells which spread death in the air? These shells are not more deadly than the poison of English explosives, but they take effect over a wider area, produce a rapid end, and spare the torn bodies the tortures and pains of death.

The Frankfurter Zeitung then compared the results achieved as follows:

The shells of Neuve Chapelle cost the Germans a trench and a village, but on the edge of the ruin the German ring remained firm and strong. How was it at Ypres? The enemy was thrown back on a front of more than five and a half miles. Along this whole front we gained two miles. These figures would signify little in comparison with the distance to the sea, but our next goal is Ypres, and on the north we are now only a few kilometers from this stronghold.

The Cologne Gazette referred to Sir John French's reports as follows:

It is delightful to read the complaints about the use of shells containing asphyxiating gases. This sounds particularly well out of the mouth of the Commander in Chief of a nation which for centuries past has trodden every provision of international law under foot.

The Canadians at Ypres

[From the Canadian Record Officer.]

The full narrative of the part played by the Canadians at Ypres is given in a communication from the Record Officer now serving with the Canadian Division at the front and published in the British press on May 1, 1915. The division was commanded by a distinguished English General, but these "amateur soldiers of Canada," as the narrator describes them, were officered largely by lawyers, college professors, and business men who before the war were neither disciplined nor trained. Many striking deeds of heroism and self-sacrifice were performed in the course of their brilliant charge and dogged resistance, which, in the words of Sir John French, "saved the situation" in the face of overwhelming odds.

ON April 22 the Canadian Division held a line of, roughly, 5,000 yards, extending in a north-westerly direction from the Ypres-Roulers Railway to the Ypres-

Poelcapelle road, and connecting at its terminus with the French troops. The division consisted of three infantry brigades, in addition to the artillery brigades. Of the infantry brigades the First was in reserve, the Second was on the right, and the Third established contact with the Allies at the point indicated above.

The day was a peaceful one, warm and sunny, and except that the previous day had witnessed a further bombardment of the stricken town of Ypres, everything seemed quiet in front of the Canadian line. At 5 o'clock in the afternoon a plan, carefully prepared, was put into execution against our French allies on the left. Asphyxiating gas of great intensity was projected into their trenches, probably by means of force pumps and pipes laid out under the parapets. The fumes, aided by a favorable wind, floated backward, poisoning and disabling over

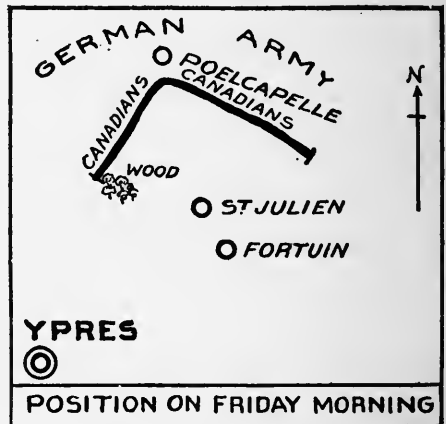
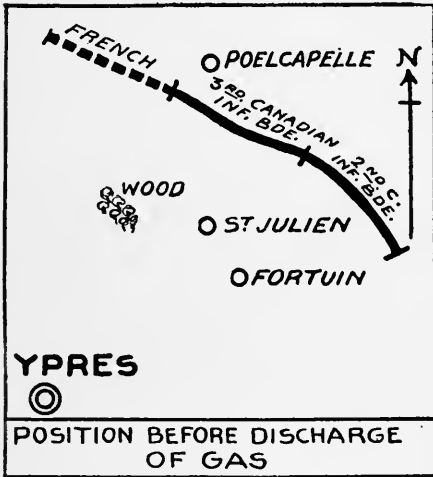
an extended area those who fell under their effect.

The result was that the French were compelled to give ground for a considerable distance. The glory which the French Army has won in this war would make it impertinent to labor the compelling nature of the poisonous discharges under which the trenches were lost. The French did, as every one knew they would do, all that stout soldiers could do, and the Canadian Division, officers and men, look forward to many occasions in the future in which they will stand side by side with the brave armies of France.

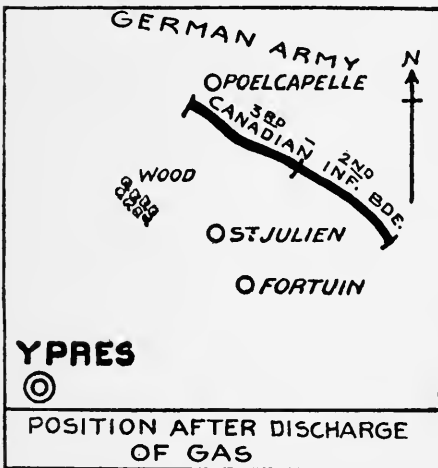
The immediate consequences of this

enforced withdrawal were, of course, extremely grave. The Third Brigade of the Canadian Division was without any left, or, in other words, its left was in the air. Rough diagrams may make the position clear.

It became imperatively necessary greatly to extend the Canadian lines to the left rear. It was not, of course, practicable to move the First Brigade from reserve at a moment's notice, and the line, extending from 5,000 to 9,000 yards, was naturally not the line that had been held by the Allies at 5 o'clock, and a gap still existed on its left. The new line, of which our recent point of contact with the French formed the apex, ran quite roughly as follows:



Contrast this with:



As shown above, it became necessary for Brig. Gen. Turner, commanding the Third Brigade, to throw back his left flank southward to protect his rear. In the course of the confusion which followed upon the readjustments of position, the enemy, who had advanced rapidly after his initial successes, took four British 4.7 guns in a small wood to the west of the village of St. Julien, two miles in the rear of the original French trenches.

The story of the second battle of Ypres is the story of how the Canadian Division, enormously outnumbered—for they had in front of them at least four divisions, supported by immensely heavy artillery—with a gap still existing, though reduced, in their lines, and with dispositions made hurriedly under the

stimulus of critical danger, fought through the day and through the night, and then through another day and night; fought under their officers until, as happened to so many, those perished gloriously, and then fought from the impulsion of sheer valor because they came from fighting stock.

The enemy, of course, was aware—whether fully or not may perhaps be doubted—of the advantage his breach in the line had given him, and immediately began to push a formidable series of attacks upon the whole of the newly-formed Canadian salient. If it is possible to distinguish when the attack was everywhere so fierce, it developed with particular intensity at this moment upon the apex of the newly formed line, running in the direction of St. Julien.

It has already been stated that four British guns were taken in a wood comparatively early in the evening of the 22d. In the course of that night, and under the heaviest machine-gun fire, this wood was assaulted by the Canadian Scottish, Sixteenth Battalion of the Third Brigade, and the Tenth Battalion of the Second Brigade, which was intercepted for this purpose on its way to a reserve trench. The battalions were respectively commanded by Lieut. Col. Leckie and Lieut. Col. Boyle, and after a most fierce struggle in the light of a misty moon they took the position at the point of the bayonet. At midnight the Second Battalion, under Colonel Watson, and the Toronto Regiment, Queen's Own, Third Battalion, under Lieut. Col. Rennie, both of the First Brigade, brought up much-needed reinforcement, and though not actually engaged in the assault were in reserve.

All through the following days and nights these battalions shared the fortunes and misfortunes of the Third Brigade. An officer who took part in the attack describes how the men about him fell under the fire of the machine guns, which, in his phrase, played upon them "like a watering pot." He added quite simply, "I wrote my own life off." But the line never wavered. When one man fell another took his place, and with a

final shout the survivors of the two battalions flung themselves into the wood. The German garrison was completely demoralized, and the impetuous advance of the Canadians did not cease until they reached the far side of the wood and entrenched themselves there in the position so dearly gained. They had, however, the disappointment of finding that the guns had been blown up by the enemy, and later on in the same night a most formidable concentration of artillery fire, sweeping the wood as a tropical storm sweeps the leaves from a forest, made it impossible for them to hold the position for which they had sacrificed so much.

The fighting continued without intermission all through the night, and, to those who observed the indications that the attack was being pushed with ever-growing strength, it hardly seemed possible that the Canadians, fighting in positions so difficult to defend and so little the subject of deliberate choice, could maintain their resistance for any long period. At 6 A. M. on Friday it became apparent that the left was becoming more and more involved, and a powerful German attempt to outflank it developed rapidly. The consequences, if it had been broken or outflanked, need not be insisted upon. They were not merely local.

It was therefore decided, formidable as the attempt undoubtedly was, to try and give relief by a counter-attack upon the first line of German trenches, now far, far advanced from those originally occupied by the French. This was carried out by the Ontario First and Fourth Battalions of the First Brigade, under Brig. Gen. Mercer, acting in combination with a British brigade.

It is safe to say that the youngest private in the rank, as he set his teeth for the advance, knew the task in front of him, and the youngest subaltern knew all that rested upon its success. It did not seem that any human being could live in the shower of shot and shell which began to play upon the advancing troops. They suffered terrible casualties. For a short time every other man seemed to

fall, but the attack was pressed ever closer and closer.

The Fourth Canadian Battalion at one moment came under a particularly withering fire. For a moment—not more—it wavered. Its most gallant commanding officer, Lieut. Col. Burchill, carrying, after an old fashion, a light cane, coolly and cheerfully rallied his men and, at the very moment when his example had infected them, fell dead at the head of his battalion. With a hoarse cry of anger they sprang forward, (for, indeed, they loved him,) as if to avenge his death. The astonishing attack which followed—pushed home in the face of direct frontal fire made in broad daylight by battalions whose names should live for ever in the memories of soldiers—was carried to the first line of German trenches. After a hand-to-hand struggle the last German who resisted was bayoneted, and the trench was won.

The measure of this success may be taken when it is pointed out that this trench represented in the German advance the apex in the breach which the enemy had made in the original line of the Allies, and that it was two and a half miles south of that line. This charge, made by men who looked death indifferently in the face, (for no man who took part in it could think that he was likely to live,) saved, and that was much, the Canadian left. But it did more. Up to the point where the assailants conquered, or died, it secured and maintained during the most critical moment of all the integrity of the allied line. For the trench was not only taken, it was held thereafter against all comers, and in the teeth of every conceivable projectile, until the night of Sunday, the 25th, when all that remained of the war-broken but victorious battalions was relieved by fresh troops.

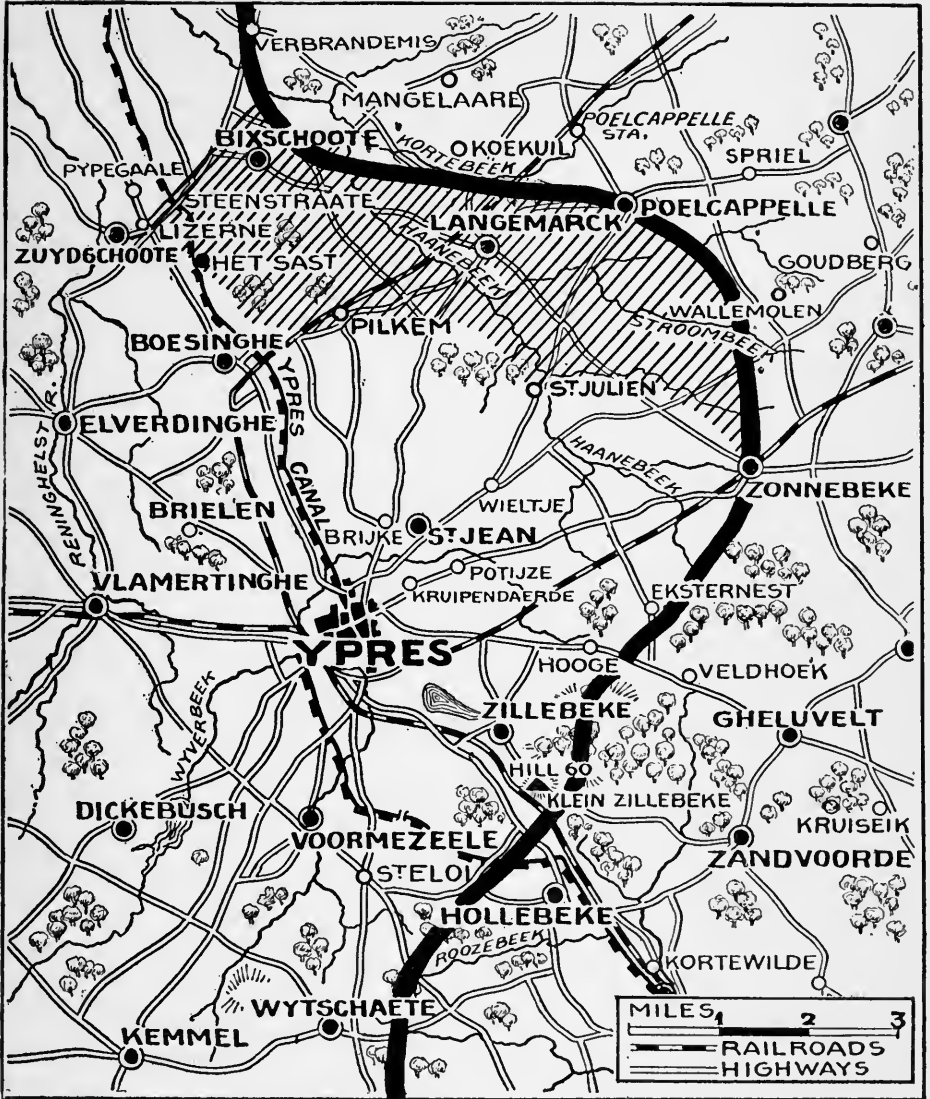
It is necessary now to return to the fortunes of the Third Brigade, commanded by Brig. Gen. Turner, which, as we have seen, at 5 o'clock on Thursday was holding the Canadian left, and after the first attack assumed the defense of the new Canadian salient, at the same time sparing all the men it could to form an extemporized line be-

tween the wood and St. Julien. This brigade also was at the first moment of the German offensive, made the object of an attack by the discharge of poisonous gas. The discharge was followed by two enemy assaults. Although the fumes were extremely poisonous, they were not, perhaps having regard to the wind, so disabling as on the French lines, (which ran almost east to west,) and the brigade, though affected by the fumes, stoutly beat back the two German assaults.

Encouraged by this success, it rose to the supreme effort required by the assault on the wood, which has already been described. At 4 o'clock on the morning of Friday, the 23d, a fresh emission of gas was made both upon the Second Brigade, which held the line running northeast, and upon the Third Brigade, which, as has been fully explained, had continued the line up to the pivotal point, as defined above, and had then spread down in a southeasterly direction. It is, perhaps, worth mentioning that two privates of the Forty-eighth Highlanders who found their way into the trenches commanded by Colonel Lipsett, Ninetieth Winnipeg Rifles, Eighth Battalion, perished in the fumes, and it was noticed that their faces became blue immediately after dissolution.

The Royal Highlanders of Montreal, Thirteenth Battalion, and the Forty-eighth Highlanders, Fifteenth Battalion, were more especially affected by the discharge. The Royal Highlanders, though considerably shaken, remained immovable upon their ground. The Forty-eighth Highlanders, which, no doubt, received a more poisonous discharge, was for the moment dismayed, and, indeed, their trench, according to the testimony of very hardened soldiers, became intolerable. The battalion retired from the trench, but for a very short distance, and for an equally short time. In a few moments they were again their own men. They advanced upon and occupied the trenches which they had momentarily abandoned.

In the course of the same night the Third Brigade, which had already displayed a resource, a gallantry, and a



The German rush across the Yser-Ypres Canal was checked at Lizerne and opposite Boesinghe. The shaded area on the map marks the scene of the battle. Within this area are Steenstraete, Het Sast, Pilkem, St. Julien, and Langemarck, all of which the Germans claimed to have captured.

tenacity for which no eulogy could be excessive, was exposed (and with it the whole allied case) to a peril still more formidable.

It has been explained, and, indeed, the fundamental situation made the peril clear, that several German divisions were attempting to crush or drive back this devoted brigade, and in any event to use their enormous numerical superiority to sweep around and overwhelm its left wing. At some point in the line which cannot be precisely determined the last attempt partially succeeded, and in the course of this critical struggle German troops in considerable though not in overwhelming numbers swung past the unsupported left of the brigade, and, slipping in between the wood and St. Julien, added to the torturing anxieties of the long-drawn struggle by the appearance, and indeed for the moment the reality, of isolation from the brigade base.

In the exertions made by the Third Brigade during this supreme crisis it is almost impossible to single out one battalion without injustice to others, but though the efforts of the Royal Highlanders of Montreal, Thirteenth Battalion, were only equal to those of the other battalions who did such heroic service, it so happened by chance that the fate of some of its officers attracted special attention.

Major Norsworth, already almost disabled by a bullet wound, was bayoneted and killed while he was rallying his men with easy cheerfulness. The case of Captain McCuaig, of the same battalion, was not less glorious, although his death can claim no witness. This most gallant officer was seriously wounded, in a hurriedly constructed trench, at a moment when it would have been possible to remove him to safety. He absolutely refused to move and continued in the discharge of his duty.

But the situation grew constantly worse, and peremptory orders were received for an immediate withdrawal. Those who were compelled to obey them were most insistent to carry with them, at whatever risk to their own mobility

and safety, an officer to whom they were devotedly attached. But he, knowing, it may be, better than they, the exertions which still lay in front of them, and unwilling to inflict upon them the disabilities of a maimed man, very resolutely refused, and asked of them one thing only, that there should be given to him, as he lay alone in the trench, two loaded Colt revolvers to add to his own, which lay in his right hand as he made his last request. And so, with three revolvers ready to his hand for use, a very brave officer waited to sell his life, wounded and racked with pain, in an abandoned trench.

On Friday afternoon the left of the Canadian line was strengthened by important reinforcements of British troops amounting to seven battalions. From this time forward the Canadians also continued to receive further assistance on the left from a series of French counter-attacks pushed in a northeasterly direction from the canal bank.

But the artillery fire of the enemy continually grew in intensity, and it became more and more evident that the Canadian salient could no longer be maintained against the overwhelming superiority of numbers by which it was assailed. Slowly, stubbornly, and contesting every yard, the defenders gave ground until the salient gradually receded from the apex, near the point where it had originally aligned with the French, and fell back upon St. Julien.

Soon it became evident that even St. Julien, exposed to fire from right and left, was no longer tenable in the face of overwhelming numerical superiority. The Third Brigade was therefore ordered to retreat further south, selling every yard of ground as dearly as it had done since 5 o'clock on Thursday. But it was found impossible, without hazarding far larger forces, to disentangle the detachment of the Royal Highlanders of Montreal, Thirteenth Battalion, and of the Royal Montreal Regiment, Fourteenth Battalion. The brigade was ordered, and not a moment too soon, to move back. It left these units with hearts as heavy as those with which his comrades had said

farewell to Captain McCuaig. The German tide rolled, indeed, over the deserted village, but for several hours after the enemy had become master of the village the sullen and persistent rifle fire which survived showed that they were not yet master of the Canadian rearguard. If they died, they died worthily of Canada.

The enforced retirement of the Third Brigade (and to have stayed longer would have been madness) reproduced for the Second Brigade, commanded by Brig. Gen. Curry, in a singularly exact fashion, the position of the Third Brigade itself at the moment of the withdrawal of the French. The Second Brigade, it must be remembered, had retained the whole line of trenches, roughly 2,500 yards, which it was holding at 5 o'clock on Thursday afternoon, supported by the incomparable exertions of the Third Brigade, and by the highly hazardous deployment in which necessity had involved that brigade. The Second Brigade had maintained its lines.

It now devolved upon General Curry, commanding this brigade, to reproduce the tactical manoeuvres with which, earlier in the fight, the Third Brigade had adapted itself to the flank movement of overwhelming numerical superiority. He flung his left flank around south, and his record is, that in the very crisis of this immense struggle he held his line of trenches from Thursday at 5 o'clock till Sunday afternoon. And on Sunday afternoon he had not abandoned his trenches. There were none left. They had been obliterated by artillery. He withdrew his undefeated troops from the fragments of his field fortifications, and the hearts of his men were as completely unbroken as the parapets of his trenches were completely broken. In such a brigade it is invidious to single out any battalion for special praise, but it is, perhaps, necessary to the story to point out that Lieut. Col. Lipsett, commanding the Ninetieth Winnipeg Rifles, Eighth Battalion of the Second Brigade, held the extreme left of the brigade position at the most critical moment.

The battalion was expelled from the trenches early on Friday morning by an

emission of poisonous gas, but, recovering in three-quarters of an hour, it counter-attacked, retook the trenches it had abandoned, and bayoneted the enemy. And after the Third Brigade had been forced to retire Lieut. Col. Lipsett held his position, though his left was in the air, until two British regiments filled up the gap on Saturday night.

The individual fortunes of these two brigades have brought us to the events of Sunday afternoon, but it is necessary, to make the story complete, to recur for a moment to the events of the morning. After a very formidable attack the enemy succeeded in capturing the village of St. Julien, which has so often been referred to in describing the fortunes of the Canadian left. This success opened up a new and formidable line of advance, but by this time further reinforcements had arrived. Here, again, it became evident that the tactical necessities of the situation dictated an offensive movement as the surest method of arresting further progress.

General Alderson, who was in command of the reinforcements, accordingly directed that an advance should be made by a British brigade which had been brought up in support. The attack was thrust through the Canadian left and centre, and as the troops making it swept on, many of them going to certain death, they paused an instant, and, with deep-throated cheers for Canada, gave the first indication to the division of the warm admiration which their exertions had excited in the British Army.

The advance was indeed costly, but it could not be gainsaid. The story is one of which the brigade may be proud, but it does not belong to the special account of the fortunes of the Canadian contingent. It is sufficient for our purpose to notice that the attack succeeded in its object, and the German advance along the line, momentarily threatened, was arrested.

We had reached, in describing the events of the afternoon, the points at which the trenches of the Second Brigade had been completely destroyed. This brigade, the Third Brigade, and the

considerable reinforcements which this time filled the gap between the two brigades were gradually driven fighting every yard upon a line running, roughly, from Fortuin, south of St. Julien, in a northeasterly direction toward Passchendaele. Here the two brigades were relieved by two British brigades, after exertions as glorious, as fruitful, and, alas! as costly as soldiers have ever been called upon to make.

Monday morning broke bright and clear and found the Canadians behind the firing line. This day, too, was to bring its anxieties. The attack was still pressed, and it became necessary to ask Brig. Gen. Curry whether he could once more call upon his shrunken brigade. "The men are tired," this indomitable soldier replied, "but they are ready and glad to go again to the trenches." And so once more, a hero leading heroes, the General marched back the men of the Second Brigade, reduced to a quarter of its original strength, to the very apex of the line as it existed at that moment.

This position he held all day Monday; on Tuesday he was still occupying the reserve trenches, and on Wednesday was relieved and retired to billets in the rear.

Such, in the most general outline, is the story of a great and glorious feat of arms. A story told so soon after the event, while rendering bare justice to units whose doings fell under the eyes of particular observers, must do less than justice to others who played their part—and all did—as gloriously as those whose special activities it is possible, even at this stage, to describe. But the friends of men who fought in other battalions may be content in the knowledge that they, too, shall learn, when time allows the complete correlation of diaries, the exact part which each unit played in these unforgettable days. It is rather accident than special distinction which had made it possible to select individual battalions for mention.

It would not be right to close even this account without a word of tribute to the auxiliary services. The signalers were always cool and resourceful. The telegraph and telephone wires being con-

stantly cut, many belonging to this service rendered up their lives in the discharge of their duty, carrying out repairs with the most complete calmness in exposed positions. The dispatch carriers, as usual, behaved with the greatest bravery. Theirs is a lonely life, and very often a lonely death. One cycle messenger lay upon the ground, badly wounded. He stopped a passing officer and delivered his message, together with some verbal instructions. These were coherently given, but he swooned almost before the words were out of his mouth.

The artillery never flagged in the sleepless struggle in which so much depended upon its exertions. Not a Canadian gun was lost in the long battle of retreat. And the nature of the position renders such a record very remarkable. One battery of four guns found itself in such a situation that it was compelled to turn two of its guns directly about and fire upon the enemy in positions almost diametrically opposite.

It is not possible in this account to attempt a description of the services rendered by the Canadian Engineers or the Medical Corps. Their members rivaled in coolness, endurance, and valor the Canadian infantry, whose comrades they were, and it is hoped in separate communications to do justice to both these brilliant services.

No attempt has been made in this description to explain the recent operations except in so far as they spring from, or are connected with, the fortunes of the Canadian Division. It is certain that the exertions of the troops who reinforced and later relieved the Canadians were not less glorious, but the long, drawn-out struggle is a lesson to the whole empire. "Arise, O Israel!" The empire is engaged in a struggle, without quarter and without compromise, against an enemy still superbly organized, still immensely powerful, still confident that its strength is the mate of its necessities. To arms, then, and still to arms! In Great Britain, in Canada, in Australia there is need, and there is need now, of a community organized alike in military and industrial co-operation.

That our countrymen in Canada, even

while their hearts are still bleeding, will answer every call which is made upon them, we well know.

The graveyard of Canada in Flanders is large; it is very large. Those who lie there have left their mortal remains on

alien soil. To Canada they have bequeathed their memories and their glory.

On Fame's eternal camping ground

Their silent tents are spread,

And Glory guards with solemn round

The bivouac of the dead.

Vapor Warfare Resumed

SIR JOHN FRENCH'S REPORT.

The British Press Bureau authorized the publication of the following report, dated May 3, by Field Marshal Sir John French on the employment by the Germans of poisonous gases as weapons of warfare:

THE gases employed have been ejected from pipes laid into the trenches, and also produced by the explosion of shells specially manufactured for the purpose. The German troops who attacked under cover of these gases were provided with specially designed respirators which were issued in sealed patent covers.

This all points to long and methodical preparation on a large scale. A week before the Germans first used this method they announced in their official *communiqué* that we were making use of asphyxiating gases. At the time there appeared to be no reason for this astounding falsehood, but now, of course, it is obvious that it was part of the scheme. It is a further proof of the deliberate nature of the introduction by the Germans of a new and illegal weapon, and shows that they recognized its illegality, and were anxious to forestall neutral and possibly domestic criticism.

Since the enemy has made use of this method of covering his advance with a cloud of poisoned air, he has repeated it both in offense and defense whenever the wind has been favorable. The effect of this poison is not merely disabling or even painlessly fatal as suggested in the German press. Those of its victims who do not succumb on the field and who can be brought into hospital suffer acutely, and in a large proportion of cases die a

painful and lingering death. Those who survive are in little better case, as the injury to their lungs appears to be of a permanent character, and reduces them to a condition which points to their being invalids for life.

These facts must be well known to the German scientists who devised this new weapon and to the military authorities who have sanctioned its use. I am of opinion that the enemy has definitely decided to use these gases as a normal procedure, and that protests will be useless.

THE "EYEWITNESS" STORY.

The following descriptive account, communicated by the British Eyewitness present with General Headquarters, continues and supplements the narrative published on April 29 of the movements of the British force and the French armies in immediate touch with it:

April 30, 1915.

As will have been gathered from the last summary, assaults accompanied with gas were not made on every position of the front held by the British to the north of Ypres at the same time. At one point it was not until the early morning of Saturday, April 24, that the Germans brought this method into operation against a section of our line not far from our left flank.

Late on Thursday afternoon the men here saw portions of the French retiring some distance to the west, and observed the cloud of vapor rolling along the ground southward behind them. Our position was then shelled with high explosives until 8 P. M. On Friday also it was bombarded for some hours, the Germans firing poison shells for one hour. Their infantry, who were in-

trenched about 120 yards away, evidently expected some result from their use of the latter, for they put their heads above the parapets, as if to see what the effect had been on our men, and at intervals opened rapid rifle fire. The wind, however, was strong and dissipated the fumes quickly, our troops did not suffer seriously from their noxious effect, and the enemy did not attempt any advance.

On Saturday morning, just about dawn, an airship appeared in the sky to the east of our line at this point, and dropped four red stars, which floated downward slowly for some distance before they died out. When our men, whose eyes had not unnaturally been fixed on this display of pyrotechnics, again turned to their front it was to find the German trenches rendered invisible by a wall of greenish-yellow vapor, similar to that observed on the Thursday afternoon, which was bearing down on them on the breeze. Through this the Germans started shooting. During Saturday they employed stupefying gas on several occasions in this quarter, but did not press on very quickly. One reason for this, given by a German prisoner, is that many of the enemy's infantry were so affected by the fumes that they could not advance.

To continue the narrative from the night of Sunday, April 25. At 12:30 A. M., in face of repeated attacks, our infantry fell back from a part of the Grafenstafel Ridge, northwest of Zonnebeke, and the line then ran for some distance along the south bank of the little Haanebeek stream. The situation along the Yperlee Canal remained practically unchanged.

When the morning of the 26th dawned the Germans, who had been seen massing in St. Julien, and to the east of the village on the previous evening, made several assaults, which grew more and more fierce as the hours passed, but reinforcements were sent up and the position was secured. Further east, however, our line was pierced near Broodseinde, and a small body of the enemy established themselves in a portion of our trenches. In the afternoon a strong, combined counter-attack was delivered by the

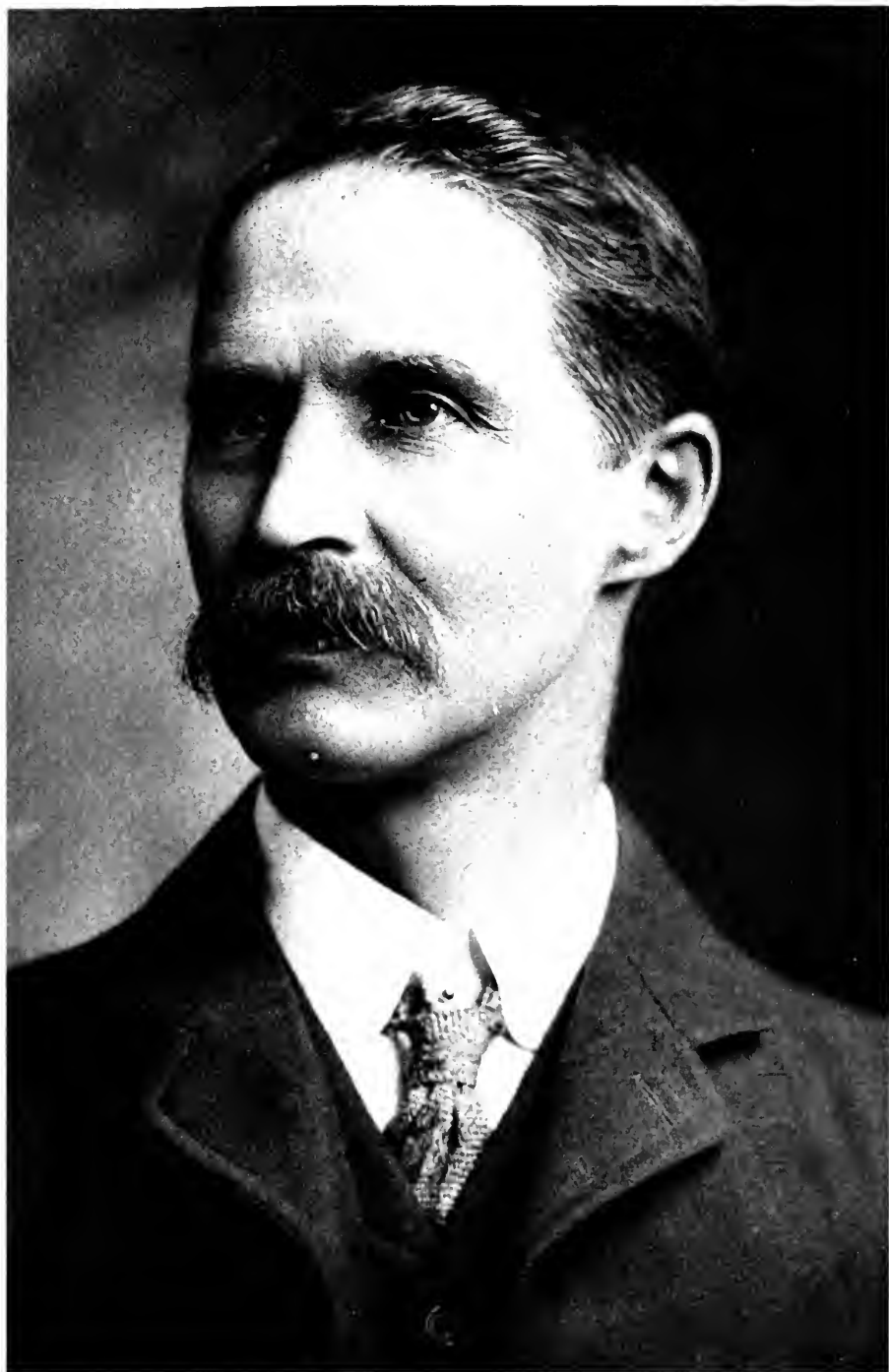
French and British along the whole front from Steenstraete to the east of St. Julien, accompanied by a violent bombardment. This moment, so far as can be judged at present, marked the turning point of the battle, for, although it effected no great change in the situation, it caused a definite check to the enemy's offensive, relieved the pressure, and gained a certain amount of ground.

During this counter-attack the guns concentrated by both sides on this comparatively narrow front poured in a great volume of fire. From the right came the roar of the British batteries, from the left the rolling thunder of the *soixante-quinze*, and every now and then above the turmoil rose a dull boom as a huge howitzer shell burst in the vicinity of Ypres. On the right our infantry stormed the German trenches close to St. Julien, and in the evening gained the southern outskirts of the village. In the centre they captured the trenches a little to the south of the Bois des Cuisiniers, west of St. Julien, and still further west more trenches were taken. This represented an advance of some 600 or 700 yards, but the gain in ground could not at all points be maintained. Opposite St. Julien we fell back from the village to a position just south of the place, and in front of the Bois des Cuisiniers and on the left of the line a similar retirement took place, the enemy making extensive use of his gas cylinders and of machine guns placed in farms at or other points of vantage. None the less, the situation at nightfall was more satisfactory than it had been. We were holding our own well all along the line and had made progress at some points. On the right the enemy's attacks on the front of the Grafenstafel Ridge had all been repulsed.

In the meantime the French had achieved some success, having retaken Lizerne and also the trenches round Het Sast, captured some 250 prisoners, and made progress all along the west bank of the canal. Heavy as our losses were during the day, there is little doubt that the enemy suffered terribly. Both sides were attacking at different points, the fighting was conducted very largely in



GENERAL SIR IAN HAMILTON
Commanding the Allied Expeditionary Forces Operating
Against the Dardanelles
(Photo from P. S. Rogers.)



ANDREW BONAR LAW
The Canadian-born Leader of the Opposition in the British
House of Commons
(Photo by Bassano.)

the open, and the close formations of the Germans on several occasions presented excellent targets to our artillery, which did not fail to seize its opportunities.

Nothing in particular occurred during the night.

The morning of the 27th found our troops occupying the following positions: North of Zonnebeke the right of the line still held the eastern end of the Grafenstafel Ridge, but from here it bent southwestward behind the Haanebeek stream, which it followed to a point about half a mile east of St. Julien. Thence it curved back again to the Vamheule Farm, on the Ypres-Poelcappelle road, running from here in a slight southerly curve to a point a little west of the Ypres-Langemarck road, where it joined the French. In the last mentioned quarter of the field it followed generally the line of a low ridge running from west to east. On the French front the Germans had been cleared from the west bank of the canal, except at one point, Steenstraate, where they continued to hold the bridgehead.

About 1 P. M. a counter-attack was made by us all along the line between the canal and the Ypres-Poelcappelle road, and for about an hour we continued to make progress. Then the right and centre were checked. A little later the left was also held up, and the situation remained very much as it had been on the previous day. The Germans were doubtless much encouraged by their initial success, and their previous boldness in attack was now matched by the stubborn manner in which they clung on to their positions. In the evening the French stormed some trenches east of the canal, but were again checked by the enemy's gas cylinders.

The night passed quietly, and was spent by us in reorganizing and consolidating our positions. The enemy did not interfere. This is not surprising, in view of the fact that by Tuesday evening they had been fighting for over five days. Their state of exhaustion is confirmed by the statements of the prisoners captured by the French, who also report-

ed that the German losses had been very heavy.

On Wednesday, the 28th, there was a complete lull on this sector of our line, and the shelling was less severe. Some fighting, however, occurred along the canal, the French taking over 100 prisoners.

Nothing of any importance has occurred on other parts of the front. On the 27th, at the Railway Triangle opposite Guinchy, the south side of the embankment held by the Germans was blown up by our miners. On the 28th a hostile aeroplane was forced to descend by our anti-aircraft guns. On coming down in rear of the German lines, it was at once fired upon and destroyed by our field artillery. Another hostile machine was brought down by rifle fire near Zonnebeke.

Splendid work has been done during the past few days by our airmen, who have kept all the area behind the hostile lines under close observation. On the 26th they bombed the stations of Staden, Thielt, Courtrai, Roubaix, and other places, and located an armored train near Langemarck, which was subsequently shelled and forced to retire. There have been several successful conflicts in the air, on one occasion a pilot in a single seater chasing a German machine to Roulers, and forcing it to land.

The raid on Courtrai unfortunately cost the nation a very gallant life, but it will live as one of the most heroic episodes of the war. The airman started on the enterprise alone in a biplane. On arrival at Courtrai he glided down to a height of 300 feet and dropped a large bomb on the railway junction. While he did this he was the target of hundreds of rifles, of machine guns, and of anti-aircraft armament, and was severely wounded in the thigh. Though he might have saved his life by at once coming down in the enemy's lines, he decided to save his machine at all costs, and made for the British lines. Descending to a height of only 100 feet in order to increase his speed, he continued to fly and was again wounded, this time mortally. He still flew on, however, and without coming down at

the nearest of our aerodromes went all the way back to his own base, where he executed a perfect landing and made his report. He died in hospital not long afterward.*

The outstanding feature of the action of the past week has been the steadiness of our troops on the extreme left; but of the deeds of individual gallantry and devotion which have been performed it would be impossible to narrate one-hundredth part. At one place in this quarter a machine gun was stationed in the angle of a trench when the German rush took place. One man after another of the detachment was shot, but the gun still continued in action, though five bodies lay around it. When the sixth man took the place of his fallen comrades, of whom one was his brother, the Germans were still pressing on. He waited until they were only a few yards away, and then poured a stream of bullets on to the advancing ranks, which broke and fell back, leaving rows of dead. He was then wounded himself.

Under the hot fire to which our batteries were subjected in the early part of the engagement telephone wires were repeatedly cut. The wire connecting one battery with its observing officer was severed on nine separate occasions, and on each occasion repaired by a Sergeant, who did the work out in the open under a perfect hail of shells.

On May 5 the following account of the British Official Eyewitness, continuing the report of April 30, was published:

About 5 P. M. a dense cloud of suffocating vapors was launched from their trenches along the whole front held by the French right and by our left from the Ypres-Langemarck road to a considerable distance east of St. Julien. The

fumes did not carry much beyond our front trenches. But these were to a great extent rendered untenable, and a retirement from them was ordered.

No sooner had this started than the enemy opened a violent bombardment with asphyxiating shells and shrapnel on our trenches and on our infantry as they were withdrawing. Meanwhile our guns had not been idle. From a distance, perhaps owing to some peculiarity of the light, the gas on this occasion looked like a great reddish cloud, and the moment it was seen our batteries poured a concentrated fire on the German trenches.

Curious situations then arose between us and the enemy. The poison belt, the upper part shredding into thick wreaths of vapor as it was shaken by the wind, and the lower and denser part sinking into all inequalities of the ground, rolled slowly down the trenches. Shells would rend it for a moment, but it only settled down again as thickly as before.

Nevertheless, the German infantry faced it, and they faced a hail of shrapnel as well. In some cases where the gas had not reached our lines our troops held firm and shot through the cloud at the advancing Germans. In other cases the men holding the front line managed to move to the flank, where they were more or less beyond the affected area. Here they waited until the enemy came on and then bayoneted them when they reached our trenches.

On the extreme left our supports waited until the wall of vapor reached our trenches, when they charged through it and met the advancing Germans with the bayonet as they swarmed over the parapets.

South of St. Julien the denseness of the vapor compelled us to evacuate trenches, but reinforcements arrived who charged the enemy before they could establish themselves in position. In every case the assaults failed completely. Large numbers were mown down by our artillery. Men were seen falling and others scattering and running back to their own lines. Many who reached the gas cloud could not make their way through it, and in all probability a great number of the wounded perished from the fumes.

*The obituary columns of The Times of April 30 contained the following notice under "Died of Wounds":

RHODES-MOORHOUSE.—On Tuesday, the 27th April, of wounds received while dropping bombs on Courtrai the day before, WILLIAM BARNARD RHODES RHODES-MOORHOUSE, Second Lieutenant, Royal Flying Corps, aged 27, dear elder son of Mr. and Mrs. Edward Moorehouse of Parnham House, Dorset, and most loved husband of Linda Rhodes-Moorhouse.

It is to that extent, from a military standpoint, a sign of weakness. Another sign of weakness is the adoption of illegal methods of fighting, such as spreading poisonous gas. It is a confession by the Germans that they have lost their former great superiority in artillery and are, in any cost, seeking another technical advantage over their enemy as a substitute.

Nevertheless, this spirit, this determination on the part of our enemies to stick at nothing must not be underestimated. Though it may not pay the Germans in the long run, it renders it all the more obvious that they are a foe that can be overcome only by the force of overwhelming numbers of men and guns.

Further to the east a similar attack was made about 7 P. M. which seems to have been attended with even less success, and the assaulting infantry was at once beaten back by our artillery fire.

It was not long before all our trenches were reoccupied and the whole line re-established in its original position. The attack on the French met with the same result.

The Eyewitness then relates incidents showing the steadiness of the Indian troops, who, he says, "advanced under a murderous fire, their war cry swelling louder and louder above the din."

Prisoners captured in the recent fighting, the narrative continues, stated that one German corps lost 80 per cent. of its men in the first week; that the losses from our artillery fire, even during days when no attacks were taking place, had been very heavy and that many of their own men had suffered from the effects of the gas.

The writer concludes as follows:

In regard to the recent fighting on our left, the German offensive, effected in the first instance by surprise, resulted in a considerable gain of ground for the enemy. Between all the earlier German efforts, the only difference was that on this latest occasion the attempt was carried out with the aid of poisonous gases.

There is no reason why we should not expect similar tactics in the future. They do not mean that the Allies have lost the initiative in the Western theatre,

nor that they are likely to lose it. They do mean, however, and the fact has been repeatedly pointed out, that the enemy's defensive is an active one, that his confidence is still unshaken and that he still is able to strike in some strength where he sees the chance or where mere local advantage can be secured.

The true idea of the meaning of the operations of the Allies can be gained only by bearing in mind that it is their primary object to bring about the exhaustion of the enemy's resources in men.

In the form now assumed by this struggle—a war of attrition—the Germans are bound ultimately to lose, and it is the consciousness of this fact that inspires their present policy. This is to achieve as early as possible some success of sufficient magnitude to influence the neutrals, to discourage the Allies, to make them weary of the struggle and to induce the belief among the people ignorant of war that nothing has been gained by the past efforts of the Allies because the Germans have not yet been driven back. It is being undertaken with a political rather than a strategical object.

The official British Eyewitness, under date of May 11, 1915, gives an account of the German attempts on the previous Saturday and Sunday to break the British lines around Ypres, and of the beginning of the Anglo-French offensive north of Arras. He said:

The calm that prevailed Thursday and Friday proved to be only the lull before the storm. Early Saturday morning it became apparent that the Germans were preparing an attack in strength against our line running east and northeast from Ypres, for they were concentrating under cover of a violent artillery fire, and at about 10 o'clock the battle began in earnest.

At that hour the Germans attacked our line from the Ypres-Poelcappelle road to within a short distance of the Menin highroad, it being evidently their intention while engaging us closely on the whole of this sector to break our front in the vicinity of the Ypres-Roulers Railway, to the north and to the south

of which their strongest and most determined assaults were delivered.

Under this pressure our front was penetrated at some points around Frezenberg, and at 4:30 o'clock in the afternoon we made a counter-attack between the Zonnebeke road and the railway in order to recover the lost ground. Our offensive was conducted most gallantly, but was checked before long by the fire of machine guns.

Meanwhile, the enemy launched another attack through the woods south of the Menin road, and at the same time threatened our left to the north of Ypres with fresh masses. Most desperate fighting ensued, the German infantry coming on again and again and gradually forcing our troops back, though only for a short distance, in spite of repeated counter-attacks.

During the night the fighting continued to rage with ever-increasing fury. It is impossible to say at exactly what hour our line was broken at different points, but it is certain that at one time the enemy's infantry poured through along the Poelcappelle road, and even got as far as Wieltje at 9 P. M.

There was also a considerable gap in our front about Frezenberg, where hostile detachments had penetrated. At both points counter-attacks were organized without delay. To the east of the salient the Germans first were driven back to Frezenberg, but there they made a firm stand, and under pressure of fresh reinforcements we fell back again toward Verlorenhoek.

Northeast of the salient a counter-attack carried out by us about 1 A. M. was more successful. Our troops swept the enemy out of Wieltje at the bayonet's point, leaving the village strewn with German dead and, pushing on, regained most of the ground to the north of that point. And so the fight surged to and fro throughout the night. All around the scene of the conflict the sky was lit up by the flashes of the guns and the light of blazing villages and farms, while against this background of smoke and flame, looking out in the murky light over the crumbling ruins of

the old town, rose the battered wreck of the cathedral town and the spires of Cloth Hall.

When Sunday dawned there came a short respite, and the firing for a time died down. The comparative lull enabled us to reorganize and consolidate our position on the new line we had taken up and to obtain some rest after the fatigue and strain of the night. It did not last long, however, and in the afternoon the climax of the battle was reached, for, under the cover of intense artillery fire, the Germans launched no less than five separate assaults against the east of the salient.

To the north and northeast their attacks were not at first pressed so hard as on the south of the Menin road, where the fighting was especially fierce. In the latter direction masses of infantry were hurled on with absolute desperation and were beaten off with corresponding slaughter.

At one point, north of the town, 500 of the enemy advanced from the wood, and it is affirmed by those present that not a single man of them escaped.

On the eastern face, at 6:30 P. M., an endeavor was made to storm the grounds of the Château Hooge, a little north of the Menin road, but the force attempting it broke and fell back under the hail of shrapnel poured upon them by our guns. It was on this side, where they had to face the concentrated fire of guns, Maxims and rifles again and again in their efforts to break their way through, that the Germans incurred their heaviest losses, and the ground was literally heaped with dead.

They evidently, for the time being at least, were unable to renew their efforts, and as night came on the fury of their offensive gradually slackened, the hours of darkness passing in quietness.

During the day our troops saw some of the enemy busily employed in stripping the British dead in our abandoned trenches, east of the Hooge Château, and several Germans afterward were noticed dressed in khaki.

So far as the Ypres region is concerned, this for us was a most successful

day. Our line, which on the northeast of the salient had, after the previous day's fighting, been reconstituted a short distance behind the original front, remained intact. Our losses were comparatively slight, and, owing to the targets presented by the enemy, the action resolved itself on our part into pure killing.

The reason for this very determined effort to crush our left on the part of the Germans is not far to seek. It is probable that for some days previously they had been in possession of information which led them to suppose that we intended to apply pressure on the right of our line, and that their great attack upon Ypres on the 7th, 8th, and 9th was undertaken with a view to diverting us from our purpose.

In this the Germans were true to their principles, for they rightly hold that the best manner of meeting an expected hostile offensive is to forestall it by attacking in some other quarter. In this instance their leaders acted with the utmost determination and energy and their soldiers fought with the greatest courage.

The failure of their effort was due to the splendid endurance of our troops, who held the line around the salient under a fire which again and again blotted out whole lengths of the defenses and killed the defenders by scores. Time after time along those parts of the front selected for assault were parapets destroyed, and time after time did the thinning band of survivors build them up again and await the next onset as steadily as before.

Here, in May, in defense of the same historic town, have our incomparable infantry repeated the great deeds their comrades performed half a year ago and beaten back most desperate onslaughts of hostile hordes backed by terrific artillery support.

The services rendered by our troops in this quarter cannot at present be estimated, for their full significance will only be realized in the light of future events. But so far their devotion has indirectly contributed in no small measure to the striking success already achieved by our allies.

Further south, in the meantime, on Sunday another struggle had been in progress on that portion of the front covered by the right of our line and the left of the French, for when the firing around Ypres was temporarily subsiding during the early hours of the morning another and even more tremendous cannonade was suddenly started by the artillery of the Allies some twenty miles to the south.

The morning was calm, bright, and clear, and opposite our right, as the sun rose, the scene in front of our line was the most peaceful imaginable. Away to the right were Guinchy, with its brickfields and the ruins of Givenchy. To the north of them lay low ground, where, hidden by trees and hedgerows, ran the opposing lines that were about to become the scene of the conflict, and beyond, in the distance, rose the long ridge of Aubers, the villages crowning it standing out clear cut against the sky.

At 5 o'clock the bombardment began, slowly at first and then growing in volume until the whole air quivered with the rush of the larger shells and the earth shook with the concussion of guns. In a few minutes the whole distant landscape disappeared in smoke and dust, which hung for a while in the still air and then drifted slowly across the line of battle.

Shortly before 6 o'clock our infantry advanced along our front between the Bois Grenier and Festubert. On the left, north of Fromelles, we stormed the German first line trenches. Hand-to-hand fighting went on for some time with bayonet, rifle, and hand grenade, but we continued to hold on to this position throughout the day and caused the enemy very heavy loss, for not only were many Germans killed in the bombardment, but their repeated efforts to drive us from the captured positions proved most costly.

On the right, to the north of Festubert, our advance met with considerable opposition and was not pressed.

Meanwhile, the French, after a prolonged bombardment, had taken the German positions north of Arras on a front of nearly five miles, and had pushed for-

ward from two to three miles, capturing 2,000 prisoners and six guns. This remarkable success was gained by our allies in the course of a few hours.

As may be supposed from the nature of the fighting which has been in progress, our losses have been heavy. On other parts of the front our action was confined to that of the artillery, but this proved most effective later, all the communications of the enemy being subjected to so heavy and accurate a fire that in some quarters all movement by daylight within range of our lines was rendered impracticable. At one place opposite our centre a convoy of ammunition was hit by a shell, which knocked out six motor lorries and caused two to blow up. Opposite our centre we fired two mines, which did considerable damage to the enemy's defenses.

During the day also our aeroplanes at-

tacked several points of importance. One of our airmen, who was sent to bomb the canal bridge near Don, was wounded on his way there, but continued and fulfilled his mission. Near Wytschaete, one of our aviators pursued a German aeroplane and fired a whole belt from his machine gun at it. The Taube suddenly swerved, righted itself for a second, and then descended from a height of several thousand feet straight to the ground.

On the other hand, a British machine unfortunately was brought down over Lille by the enemy's anti-aircraft guns, but it is hoped that the aviator escaped.

In regard to the German allegation, that the British used gas in their attacks on Hill 60, the Eyewitness says:

No asphyxiating gases have been employed by us at any time, nor have they yet been brought into play by us.

To Certain German Professors of Chemics

[From Punch, May 5, 1915.]

WHEN you observed how brightly other tutors
 Inspired the yearning heart of Youth;
 How from their lips, like Pilsen's foaming pewters,
 It sucked the fount of German Truth;
 There, in your Kaiserlich laboratory,
 "We, too," you said, "will find a task to do,
 And so contribute something to the glory
 Of God and William Two.

"Bring forth the stink-pots. Such a foul aroma
 By arts divine shall be evoked
 As will to leeward cause a state of coma
 And leave the enemy blind and choked;
 By gifts of culture we will work such ravages
 With our superbly patriotic smells
 As would confound with shame those half-baked savages,
 The poisoners of wells."

Good! You have more than matched the rival pastors
 That tute a credulous Fatherland;
 And we admit that you are proved our masters
 When there is dirty work in hand;
 But in your lore I notice one hiatus:
 Your Kaiser's scutcheon with its hideous blot—
 You've no corrosive in your apparatus
 Can out that damned spot!

O. S.

Seven Days of War East and West

Fighting of the Second Week in May on French and Russian Fronts.

[By a Military Expert of THE NEW YORK TIMES.]

THE sinking of the Lusitania has, for the week ended May 15, so completely absorbed the attention of the press and the interest of the public that the military operations themselves have not received the notice that otherwise would have been awarded them. The sinking of this ship, with the delicate diplomatic situation between Germany and the United States which the act brought about, is not a military or naval operation as such, and comments on it have no place in this column. At the same time there is an indirect effect of the drowning of hundreds of British citizens which will have a very direct bearing on Britain's military strength and policy.

The British public is notably hard to stir, are slow to act, and almost always underrate their adversary. In almost every war, from 1775 down to and including the South African war, England, with a self-assurance that could only be based on ignorance of true conditions, has started with only a small force, and it has been only when this force has been defeated and used up that the realization of the true needs of the situation has dawned. Then, and then only, has recruiting been possible at a pace commensurate with the necessity.

In the Boer war, for example, every one in England, official and civilian, believed that 30,000 men would be more than enough to defeat the South African burghers. Yet ten times 30,000 British soldiers were operating in the Transvaal and Orange Free State before the war ended.

In the present conflict Lord Kitchener himself admits that there are many times the number of British soldiers in France than was thought would be necessary when war was declared. And

even up to May 6 the British public was not thoroughly aroused. Many of the peasants in the back counties hardly believed the war was a reality. Recruiting was slow, there was but little enthusiasm, and Lord Haldane's thinly veiled hint that a draft might soon become necessary was almost unnoticed.

But the sinking of the Lusitania has brought the war home to England as nothing else has or could have done, and all England is aflame with a bitterness against Germany which is already increasing the flow of recruits and cannot but add to the fighting efficiency of the men now at the front. The effect will be far-reaching throughout the British Empire, and will do much to solve the problem which faced the organizers of Great Britain's forces of how to get sufficient volunteers to swell the volume of the French expeditionary force and to replace the casualties.

To turn to the direct military operations in the various theatres of war, no week since last Fall has witnessed more important activities or offensive movements conducted on such a scale. On both western and eastern fronts truly momentous actions involving great numbers of men have been under way, and though not yet concluded, have advanced so far as to give a reasonable basis for estimating the results.

ON THE WESTERN FRONT.

On the western front the principal scenes of action have been the front from Nieuport to Arras, the Champagne district, and the southern side of the German wedge from its apex at St. Mihiel to Pont-à-Mousson. On the northern part of the Allies' line from Ypres to Nieuport the Germans have been the aggressors. They have selected as the principal points of attack the Belgian line

back of the Yser just south of Nieuport and the point of juncture of the British with the Belgian lines.

Both attacks have the same general object—the bending back of the line between these two points with a view, for the future, of Dunkirk and Calais. The attack along the Yser has not been pushed to any extent, and what advantage there is rests with the Belgians. In fact, the Belgians have advanced somewhat and have been able to throw a bridge across the Yser near St. George, just east of Nieuport, on the Nieuport-Bruges road.

Around Ypres the fighting has been more than usually fierce and desperate. Blow after blow has been struck, first by one side, then by the other. Both German and British have admittedly suffered enormous losses, but the positions of their respective lines are almost unchanged from those occupied a week ago. The German gains of last week in the vicinity of Steenstraete produced in the British lines around Ypres a sharp salient, and it is against the sides of this salient that the Germans have been hurling their forces.

The town of Ypres is now in complete ruins, and, although it would normally be of importance because of the fact that it is the point of crossing of a number of roads, this importance is destroyed by the fact that it is entirely dominated by the German artillery. As long as this state of affairs exists the town has practically no strategic value. All that the Germans can accomplish if they take Ypres will have been a flattening out of the British salient.

Germany cannot be content with occasional bending of the Allies' line. The process is too slow and too costly. Germany has almost, if not quite, reached her maximum strength, and the losses she now suffers will be difficult to replace. Viewing the situation entirely from the German standpoint, success can only mean breaking through and attacking the two exposed flanks at the point pierced. This would force a retreat, as in the case of the Russian lines along the Dunajec, which will be

taken up later on. No other form of action can be decisive, though it might permit a little more of Belgian or French territory to change hands. This would, of course, in case the war were declared a draw, give Germany an additional advantage in the discussion of terms of peace, especially if the rule of *uti possidetis* were applied as a basis from which to begin negotiations. But this contingency is too remote for present consideration.

As to the probability of German success around Ypres, it seems to grow less as time passes. After the first rush was over and the British lines had time to re-form Germany has accomplished nothing. Moreover, it is certain that in back of the short twenty-five miles of line held by the British troops there is a reserve of almost a half million men. No other portion of the battle line in either theatre has such great latent strength ready to be thrown in when the critical moment comes. Just why it has not been used so far is a mystery, the solution of which can be found only in the brain of Sir John French. But it is known to be in France and is there for a purpose.

From Loos to Arras the French have undertaken the most ambitious and the most successful offensive movement made in the west since Winter set in. The entire French line along this front of twenty-five miles, taking the Germans by surprise, has gone forward a distance varying from one-half to two and a half miles. The attack was launched at an extremely opportune moment. The Germans were, in the first place, extremely busy in the north at Ypres, and were making every effort to drive that attack home. The probabilities were, therefore, that the line in front of the Arras-Loos position was none too strong, and that such reserves as could be spared had been sent north. Then, again, it would tend to divert attention from the Ypres line, and so relieve somewhat the pressure on the British lines at that point.

The objective of the French attack seems to have been the town of Lens, which is the centre of the coal district

of France. Loos, which is about three miles north of Lens, has been one of the centres of fighting. This indicates how close the French are to their objective. Lens is an important railroad centre, and is the point of junction of many roads which radiate in all directions. As yet the French advance is not sufficient to denote anything, but another step in the "nibbling" process by means of which the French have kept the Germans occupied for some months.

In the German angle, from Etain to St. Mihiel to Pont-à-Mousson, the French achieved what will probably prove to be the greatest local success of the past week. That is, the complete occupation of the Le Prêtre woods. Sooner or later the continual French encroachments on the German area of occupation must cause the straightening out of this line and the retirement of the Germans to the supporting forts of Metz. The object of all the French moves against this angle has been the town of Thiancourt, on the German supply line from Metz. The capture of the last German line of trenches in the Prêtre Forest brings the French within six miles of this town. When the French reach the northern edge of this forest, and they must be very close to it now, it will be a simple matter to drop shells into Thiancourt and seriously endanger every train that comes in.

On the rest of the western front there have been a number of isolated actions, notably in the Champagne district, in the Argonne Forest and north of Flirey, between St. Mihiel and Pont-à-Mousson. They have been of no particular advantage, however, and seem to have had no definite purpose beyond making additions to the casualty lists.

Considering the results of the week's operations in the west, therefore, it is safe to say that the advantage lies with the Allies. That part of the line which has been thrown on the defensive has more than held its own, while the French offense has resulted in a considerable advance over a wide front. If we may draw any comparison at all from this, it must be that the German line is not

nearly so impenetrable as the British, and that when the Allies think the attempt will justify the losses that will be inevitably sustained, the German line can be broken even though the rupture may be quickly healed.

IN THE EASTERN THEATRE.

In the eastern theatre interest still centres in the battles in Galicia. In Western Galicia, between the Dunajec and the San, the Russian forces are steadily giving way before the attacks of the Germanic allies. Their retreat, which, during the past week, has been rapid, has been well protected by heavy rear guard actions, which have temporarily delayed the pursuing Austrians at various points. At the same time, however, but little respite was given to the Russians.

German and Austrian reports as to the number of prisoners and amount of booty will bear scrutiny, and, taken into consideration with recent disturbances in Italy, may safely be discounted. The surrender of such large bodies of troops, even in the Russian Army, cannot be forced when the lines of retreat are open or when sufficient notice is given that such lines are dangerously menaced. It is only when troops are surrounded or when a large hostile force is thrust in between units, as happened some months ago with the Tenth Russian Army in the Masurian Lakes district, that such surrenders occur.

This does not apply, of course, to the wounded, and in the present case the Russians, through the enforced rapidity of their retreat, must necessarily in many instances have left their wounded on the field of battle to fall into the hands of the pursuing enemy. Certainly the Russian losses were heavy. Equally certain is it that the battle for the Carpathian passes is now history.

This is evident from a brief review of the Russian position on the Carpathian front, with particular reference to the necessary lines of communications and an outline of the present Russian position, as accurately as it can at present be determined. It must be stated at this point, however, that this position is a

matter of doubt, as reports from Vienna and from Petrograd are greatly at variance as to what has been accomplished.

It was noted last week that the Russian line formed a huge crescent, the longer arc of which (and this was the Carpathian front) extended from Bartfeld north, then east along the Carpathian crests, north of Uzsok to a point on the Stryi River. This line is over 100 miles long. It was dependent for supplies on five roads, three of which were fairly good dirt roads, the other two railroads; of the latter one runs through Uzsok, and is so far east that only a small section of the line was reached by it.

The main line, however, has been supplied from the remaining four, all of which turn off either from the one lateral railroad from Przemysl to Jaslo or from the dirt road between Jaslo and Sanok, and run south to the various passes. As this latter road simply loops the railroad between these two points, the entire Russian Carpathian line may be considered to have been supplied by the lateral railroad from Sanok to Jaslo. In proportion to the number of troops that had to be fed and supplied, these lines were only too few, and the marvel is that Russia was able to keep up the necessary flow of food and ammunition throughout her effort against the Carpathian passes. The possession of all of these roads was the *sine qua non* of Russian success. The loss of any one of them would affect so many miles of her line that the whole line would have felt the influence.

The Austrian troops are said to have reached the lower San, but no particular point is mentioned. Nothing is said about the upper San or the stretch of Galicia between the two. It may, therefore, be assumed that the Russian left is on the Vistula, near the confluence of the San, and that the general line runs from there south, probably through Rzeszow along the valley of the Wistok River, occupying the wooded hills east of that river, and bending eastward slightly toward the upper San. This means that all of the lines of communi-

cation that supplied the Carpathian front except the line through Uzsok Pass are now in Austrian hands.

Russia still clings tenaciously to Uzsok, however, doubtless having under consideration the possibility that Italy may enter the war, and that another advance against the Carpathians may then be made. In such a contingency the Russian losses in the various engagements around Uzsok would not have been in vain.

Russia has answered the Austrian drive from the west by a vigorous offense against the defenses of Bukowina Province. The Austrian forces east of the San River are divided—one part which has been extremely active against the Russians being on the east bank of the Stryi, and the other, which has been quiescently defensive, along the Bistritza, the latter line running almost due east and west. This latter force the Russians struck, using large bodies of Cossack cavalry in a flanking movement from the north. The Austrian retreat has been more precipitate, and the losses greater in proportion than in the Russian retreat from the Dunajec.

If in addition the Rumanians came across Transylvania and caught the Austrians in the rear the defeat would almost offset that of the Russians in the west. Rumania's advent into the war is, however, still a matter of doubt, and any conclusions predicated on that assumption are entirely speculative.

The two known facts in regard to the Galician situation are that in Western Galicia the Russian Dunajec line is retreating, uncovering and therefore involving in its retreat the troops in the Carpathians, and in Eastern Galicia the Russians seem to have the greater measure of success. Of the two, however, the operations in Western Galicia are of infinitely greater importance. Eventually the Russian retreat will probably reach the general line of the San River north of Jaraslau, where there will be an opportunity to re-form on a much shorter line, and after recuperation of men and supplies preparations for a new offense may be begun.

Operation on the Russian Front



This map records the action for the week ended May 15. In the extreme north, in the Russian Baltic Province of Courland, the Germans still held the port of Libau, (1), and a fierce battle was in progress south of Shavli, (2,) where the Russians stopped the raid toward Mitau.

In South Poland and West Galicia the changes brought about by the great Austro-German drive of 1,500,000 men from Cracow are shown by the heavy dotted and solid lines. The dotted line shows the approximate position of the German battle front when the drive began and the solid line its approximate position according to latest advices from Berlin and Vienna, Jaroslau (3) being the latest important position reported captured.

In extreme Eastern Galicia the situation was reversed, the dotted line showing roughly the position of the Russian line when the counter-drive by the Czar's forces was launched and the solid line its position, so far as was ascertainable, on May 15.

Their defeat, however, has been a severe blow, and has cost Russia a terrible price in men and in guns, the latter of which she could less afford to lose. On the other hand, they have inflicted terrible punishment on the victors, so that

the victory partakes of a Pyrrhian character.

In the meantime operations in the Dardanelles are being pressed, but are not reported with sufficient definiteness to give an idea as to the probable result.

Austro-German Success

By Major E. Moraht.

Major E. Moraht, the military expert of the Berliner Tageblatt, discussed the operations on the eastern war front as follows in the Tageblatt of April 30:

Austria-Hungary, through its latest decision to create a supplementary Landsturm service law, has given notice that it desires under any circumstances to be able to wage the war for a longer time, if conditions should compel it to do so. Thus are contradicted all the reports spread by ill-informed correspondents of foreign newspapers, who sought to create the impression that Austria-Hungary was tired and had not the energy to face the situation such as it is. Furthermore, the acceptance of the supplementary Landsturm service gave testimony, in the Hungarian Parliament, of the unanimity in which the Hungarian Nation unites as soon as it is a question of furthering the armed preparedness of the army.

The Landsturm law heretofore had two defects—it included in its scope only the once-trained men liable to Landsturm service up to the age of 42 years, and restricted the use of certain Landsturm troops to certain areas. Hereafter it will be possible to use the men capable of bearing arms up to the fiftieth year, though, to be sure, only in case the younger classes have in general already been exhausted. It will also be possible to draw Hungarian formations and Austrian Landsturm troops in such a manner that the area available will offer no more difficulties. Even though the new law will presumably hold good only during the present war, the impression created by the decision of the Austro-Hungarian Government on the enemy and

on neutrals cannot be a slight one. We in Germany can only congratulate the peoples of our ally, so willing to make sacrifices, upon this resolve, and no one among us will be able to deny recognition thereof, the less because we ourselves, according to human calculations, will not have to adopt such an extension of Landsturm service.

Our northeastern army has again been heard of. After a considerable time the situation has again changed, and that, too, in our favor. The battles northeast and east of Suwalki have again revived and have given into our hands the Russian trenches along a front of twenty kilometers. Between Kovno and Grodno, both situated on the Niemen, we must note in our battle line the towns of Mariampol, Kalwarya, and the territory east of Suwalki. This front has opposed to it the two Russian fortresses mentioned and between them the bridge-heads at Olita and Sereje. Owing to the brevity of the latest report, it cannot be told whether our attack found an end in the Russian positions. It may be that the attack went further and won territory at least twenty kilometers wide toward the Niemen. Moreover, we have learned that the Russians still held on north of Praszynsz, where on April 27 they lost prisoners and machine guns.

No answer is given by the sparse reports from the eastern army to the question of the entire foreign press: "Where has Hindenburg been keeping himself?" Wishes and speculations may thus busy themselves as much as they like with the answering of that question. In the Rus-

sian version of the war situation there is reference to advance guard skirmishes in the territory of Memel, a brief interruption of the quiet southeast of Augustowa and before Ossowicz. The Russians are clearly worried by the possibility of an undertaking of the navy against the Russian Baltic coast.

The territory of the fighting in the Carpathians still claims the chief interest—especially because everywhere where the general position and the weather conditions and topographical conditions permitted the Austro-Hungarian-German offensive has begun. As has been emphasized on previous occasions, the eagerness for undertaking actions on the part of our allies had never subsided at any point, in spite of the strenuous rigors of a stationary warfare. As early as April 14 an advance enlivened the territory northwest of the Uzsok Pass. The position on the heights of Tucholka has been won. The heights west and east of the Laborcz valley are in the hands of the Austro-German allies, and each day furnishes new proofs of the forward pressure. Of especial importance is the capture of Russian points of support southeast of Koziowa, east of the Orawa valley. The advance takes its course against the Galician town of Stryi. The progress which the Austro-German southern army made has so far been moving in the same direction, and one can understand why the Russians instituted the fiercest counter-attacks in order to force the allied troops to halt in this territory. The counter-attacks, however, ended with a collapse of the Russians, and the resultant pursuit was so vigorous that twenty-six more trenches were wrested from the foe. Daily our front is being advanced in a northeasterly direction, and there is little prospect for the Russians of being able to oppose successful resistance to our pressure. For it is not a matter of the success of a single fighting group that has been shoving forward like a wedge from the great line of attack, but of a strategic offensive led as a unit, and everywhere winning territory, the time for which seems to have arrived.

It is an important fact that the eastern group of the Austro-Hungarian army will clearly not be shattered. At Zaleszczyki a stand is being maintained, and at Boyan on the Pruth the Austrian mortars have driven the Russians out of their next-to-the-last positions before the Bessarabian frontier.

The speech of the Hungarian Minister of Defense of the Realm, Baron Hazai, who a few days ago discussed the military situation of the recent past in exhaustive fashion, is very interesting in many respects. It doubtless aimed to set in the right light the bravery of the Austro-Hungarian Army, for there have been persons who took little or no note of the achievements of that army. The Minister selected examples from the warfare of the eighteenth century, the time of the lukewarm campaigns, and the warfare of the nineteenth century, the era of logical and energetical battles. From this period of mobile wars, that were carried on under the principle of energy, he came to the preparations for the present war and estimated the number of soldiers which the belligerent parties had drawn to the colors at between 25,000,000 and 26,000,000 men. More than half of these are to be regarded as warriors, while the rest are doing service as reserves for the army or in the lines of support and communication, outside the fighting zone. The highest number of fighters on a single theatre of the war included from six to seven million fighters on both sides. The long trench warfare, the Minister rightly pointed out, demands greater energy than was ever demanded at any time of the troops, and a loss of from 10 per cent. to 15 per cent. of the fighting force today no longer keeps back the leaders from executing far-going decisions. Today the fronts clash, not in one-day or several day battles, but for weeks and months at a time, so that many of the fighters even now have already taken part in 100 battles. These instructive and appreciative words from an authoritative station throw a bright light upon the strength of the nations which are sacrificing their forces in a sense of duty

to their fatherland. But the lesson which the homeland should draw from such unprecedented self-sacrifice consists of this—always to stand as a firm pro-

tective wall behind the army, never to deny it recognition and encouraging approval, and to dissipate its cares for the present and for the future.

The Campaign in the Carpathians

Russian Victory Succeeded by Reverses and Defeat.

THE VICTORY IN APRIL.

[By the Correspondent of The London Times.]

Petrograd, April 18.

A dispatch from the Headquarters Staff of the Commander in Chief says:

At the beginning of March, (Old Style,) in the principal chain of the Carpathians, we only held the region of the Dukla Pass, where our lines formed an exterior angle. All the other passes—Lupkow and further east—were in the hands of the enemy.

In view of this situation, our armies were assigned the further task of developing, before the season of bad roads due to melting snows began, our positions in the Carpathians which dominated the outlets into the Hungarian plain. About the period indicated great Austrian forces, which had been concentrated for the purpose of relieving Przemysl, were in position between the Lupkow and Uzsok Passes.

It was for this sector that our grand attack was planned. Our troops had to carry out a frontal attack under very difficult conditions of terrain. To facilitate their attack, therefore, an auxiliary attack was decided upon on a front in the direction of Bartfeld as far as the Lupkow. This secondary attack was opened on March 19 and was completely developed.

On the 23rd and 28th of March our troops had already begun their principal attack in the direction of Baligrod, enveloping the enemy positions from the west of the Lupkow Pass and on the east near the source of the San.

The enemy opposed the most desperate resistance to the offensive of our troops.

They had brought up every available man on the front from the direction of Bartfeld as far as the Uzsok Pass, including even German troops and numerous cavalrymen fighting on foot. His effectives on this front exceeded 300 battalions. Moreover, our troops had to overcome great natural difficulties at every step.

Nevertheless, from April 5—that is, eighteen days after the beginning of our offensive—the valor of our troops enabled us to accomplish the task that had been set, and we captured the principal chain of the Carpathians on the front Reghetoff-Volosate, 110 versts (about 70 miles) long. The fighting latterly was in the nature of actions in detail with the object of consolidating the successes we had won.

To sum up: On the whole Carpathian front, between March 19 and April 12, the enemy, having suffered enormous losses, left in our hands, in prisoners only, at least 70,000 men, including about 900 officers. Further, we captured more than thirty guns and 200 machine guns.

On April 16 the actions in the Carpathians were concentrated in the direction of Rostoki. The enemy, notwithstanding the enormous losses he had suffered, delivered, in the course of that day, no fewer than sixteen attacks in great strength. These attacks, all of which were absolutely barren of result, were made against the heights which we had occupied further to the east of Telepovce.

Our troops, during the night of the 16th-17th, after a desperate fight, stormed and captured a height to the southeast of the village of Polen, where we took many prisoners. Three enemy



counter-attacks on this height were repulsed.

In other sectors all along our front there is no change.

THE GRAND DUKE'S STRATEGY.

Petrograd, April 19.

Today's record of the brilliant feats of the Russian Army in the Carpathians during the past month, contained in the survey of the Grand Duke, presents only one aspect—the discomfiture of the Austro-German forces. The *Neue Freie Presse* gives some indication of the other aspect.

In a recent issue it stated that "the fortnight's battle around the Lupkow and Uzsok Passes has been one of the most obstinate in history. The Russians succeeded in forcing the Austrians out of their positions. The difficulties of the Austro-Hungarian Army are complicated by the weather and the lack of ammunition and food." The question naturally suggests itself, why did these difficulties not equally disturb the Russian operations? On our side the difficulties of transport were, if anything, greater. The enemy was backed by numerous railways, with supplies close at hand, and was fighting on his native soil, and these advantages undoubtedly compensated for the greater difficulties of commissariat for the larger numbers of Austro-Germans. But from the avowal of the *Neue Freie Presse* it is suggested here that the Austrians were disorganized. The causes of this disorganization are attributed by military observers to the mixing up of German with Austrian units, rendering the task of command and supply very difficult.

The Grand Duke is fully prepared to take the field as soon as the allied commanders decide that the time for a general action has come. Never has the spirit of the Russian Army been firmer.

The critics this morning comment on the official communiqué detailing a gigantic task brilliantly fulfilled by the Carpathian army during March. Our position in the region of the Dukla Pass early last month exposed us to pressure from two sides, and might have involved the necessity of evacuating the main range. Our army thus required to extend

its positions commanding the outlets to the Hungarian plain, before the Spring thaws, in face of a large hostile concentration between Lupkow and Uzsok. The chief attack was directed against the latter section, and an auxiliary attack against the Bartfeld-Lupkow section. The auxiliary attack began on March 19 against the Austro-German left flank and reached its full development four days later. Mistaking the auxiliary for the principal attack, the enemy began an advance from the Bukowina, hoping to divert us from Uzsok, but, instead, the larger portion of our army assailed the enemy's flanks while a smaller body advanced against Rostoki, surmounting the immense difficulties of mountain warfare in Springtime.

By means of the envelopment of both his flanks the enemy was, by April 5, dislodged from the main range on the entire seventy-mile front from Regetow to Wolosate. Convinced that we were directing our chief efforts against his flanks, the enemy now strove to break our resistance in the Rostoki direction, but, after sixteen futile attacks, he was obliged to cede the commanding height of Telepovce, our occupation of which will probably compel him to evacuate his positions at Polen and Smolnik and withdraw to the valley of the Cziroka, a tributary of the Laborcz.

DEFEAT IN EARLY MAY.

[By The Associated Press.]

VIENNA, May 13, (via Amsterdam to London, May 14.)—An official statement issued here tonight after recalling that in November and December at Lodz and Limanowa the Austro-Germans compelled the Russians to draw back on a front to the extent of 400 kilometers, (about 249 miles,) thereby stopping the Russian advance into Germany, continues:

From January to the middle of April the Russians vainly exerted themselves to break through to Hungary, but they completely failed with heavy losses. Thereupon the time had come to crush the enemy in a common attack with a full force of the combined troops of both empires.



VICE ADMIRAL JOHN M. DE ROBECK
Commanding the Allied Fleet Operating Against the Dardanelles
(Photo © American Press Assn.)



FIELD MARSHAL BARON VON DER GOLTZ
Commander of the First Turkish Army, Formerly Military
Governor of Belgium

(Photo from Paul Thompson.)

A victory at Tarnow and Gorlice freed West Galicia from the enemy and caused the Russian fronts on the Nida and in the Carpathians to give way. In a ten days' battle the victorious troops beat the Russian Third and Eighth Armies to annihilation, and quickly covered the ground from the Dunajec and Beskids to the San River—130 kilometers (nearly 81 miles) of territory.

From May 2 to 12 the prisoners taken numbered 143,500, while 100 guns and 350 machine guns were captured, besides the booty already mentioned. We suppressed small detachments of the enemy scattered in the woods in the Carpathians.

Near Odvzechowa the entire staff of the Russian Forty-eighth Division of Infantry, including General Korniloff, surrendered. The best indication of the confusion of the Russian Army is the fact that our Ninth Corps captured in the last few days Russians of fifty-one various regiments. The quantity of captured Russian war material is piled up and has not yet been enumerated.

North of the Vistula the Austro-Hungarian troops are advancing across Stopnica. The German troops have captured Kielce.

East of Uzsok Pass the German and Hungarian troops took several Russian positions on the heights and advanced to the south of Turka, capturing 4,000 prisoners. An attack is proceeding here and in the direction of Skole.

In Southeast Galicia strong hostile troops are attacking across Horodenka.

BERLIN, (via London,) May 13.—The German War Office announced today that

in the recent fighting in Galicia and Russian Poland 143,500 Russians had been captured. It also stated that 69 cannon and 255 machine guns had been taken from the Russians, and that the victorious Austrian and German forces, continuing their advance eastward in Galicia, were approaching the fortress of Przemysl. The statement follows:

The army under General von Mackensen in the course of its pursuit of the Russians reached yesterday the neighborhood of Subiecko, on the lower Wisloka, and Kolbuezowa, northeast of Debica. Under the pressure of this advance the Russians also retreated from their positions north of the Vistula. In this section the troops under General von Woyrech, closely following the enemy, penetrated as far as the region northwest of Kielce.

In the Carpathians Austro-Hungarian and German troops under General von Linsingen conquered the hills east of the upper Stryi and took 3,650 men prisoners, as well as capturing six machine guns.

At the present moment, while the armies under General von Mackensen are approaching the Przemysl fortress and the lower San, it is possible to form an approximate idea of the booty taken. In the battles of Tarnow and Gorlice, and in the battles during the pursuit of these armies, we have so far taken 103,500 Russian prisoners, 69 cannon, and 255 machine guns. In these figures the booty taken by the allied troops fighting in the Carpathians and north of the Vistula is not included. This amounts to a further 40,000 prisoners.

Mr. Rockefeller and Serbia

[Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.]

LONDON, Thursday, May 13.—A Paris dispatch to the Exchange Telegraph Company, quoting the *Cri de Paris*, says:

"John D. Rockefeller has just sent 35,000,000 francs (\$5,000,000) to Prince Alexis of Serbia, President of the Serbian Red Cross Society.

"Prince Alexis married last year an American woman, Mrs. Hugo Pratt, whose father loaned years ago £2,000 to Rockefeller when the oil king started in business."

Italy in the War

Her Move Against Austro-Hungary

Last Phase of Italian Neutrality and Causes of the Struggle

DECLARATION OF WAR.

[By The Associated Press.]

VIENNA, May 23, (via Amsterdam and London, May 24.)—*The Duke of Avarna, Italian Ambassador to Austria, presented this afternoon to Baron von Barian, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, the following declaration of war:*

Vienna, May 23, 1915.

Conformably with the order of his Majesty the King, his august sovereign, the undersigned Ambassador of Italy has the honor to deliver to his Excellency, the Foreign Minister of Austria-Hungary, the following communication:

"Declaration has been made, as from the fourth of this month, to the Imperial and Royal Government of the grave motives for which Italy, confident in her good right, proclaimed annulled and henceforth without effect her treaty of alliance with Austria-Hungary, which was violated by the Imperial and Royal Government, and resumed her liberty of action in this respect.

"The Government of the King, firmly resolved to provide by all means at its disposal for safeguarding Italian rights and interests, cannot fail in its duty to take against every existing and future menace measures which events impose upon it for the fulfillment of national aspirations.

"His Majesty the King declares that he considers himself from tomorrow in a state of war with Austria-Hungary."

The undersigned has the honor to make known at the same time to his Excellency, the Foreign Minister, that passports will be placed this very day at the disposal of the Imperial and Royal Ambassador at Rome, and he will be

obliged to his Excellency if he will kindly have his passports handed to him.

Avarna.

FRANCIS JOSEPH'S DEFIANCE.

[By The Associated Press.]

LONDON, May 24, 5:45 A. M.—*A Reuter dispatch from Amsterdam says the Vienna Zeitung publishes the following autograph letter from Emperor Francis Joseph to Count Karl Stuerghk:*

Dear Count Stuerghk: I request you to make public the attached manifesto to my troops:

"VIENNA, May 23.—Francis Joseph to his troops:

"The King of Italy has declared war on me. Perfidy whose like history does not know was committed by the Kingdom of Italy against both allies. After an alliance of more than thirty years' duration, during which it was able to increase its territorial possessions and develop itself to an unthought of flourishing condition, Italy abandoned us in our hour of danger and went over with flying colors into the camp of our enemies.

"We did not menace Italy; did not curtail her authority; did not attack her honor or interests. We always responded loyally to the duties of our alliance and afforded her our protection when she took the field. We have done more. When Italy directed covetous glances across our frontier we, in order to maintain peace and our alliance relation, were resolved on great and painful sacrifices which particularly grieved our paternal heart. But the covetousness of Italy, which believed the moment should be used, was not to be appeased, so fate must be accommodated.

"My armies have victoriously with-

stood mighty armies in the north in ten months of this gigantic conflict in most loyal comradeship of arms with our illustrious ally. A new and treacherous enemy in the south is to you no new enemy. Great memories of Novara, Mortaro, and Lissa, which constituted the pride of my youth; the spirit of Radetzky, Archduke Albrecht, and Tegetthoff, which continues to live in my land and sea forces, guarantee that in the south also we shall successfully defend the frontiers of the monarchy.

"I salute my battle-trying troops, who are inured to victory. I rely on them and their leaders. I rely on my people for whose unexampled spirit of sacrifice my most paternal thanks are due. I pray the Almighty to bless our colors and take under His gracious protection our just cause."

ITALY'S CABINET EMPOWERED.

[By The Associated Press.]

ROME, May 20.—Amid tremendous enthusiasm the Chamber of Deputies late today adopted, by a vote of 407 to 74, the bill conferring upon the Government full power to make war.

The bill is composed of a single article and reads as follows:

The Government is authorized in case of war and during the duration of war to make decisions with due authority of law, in every respect required, for the defense of the State, the guarantee of public order, and urgent economic national necessities. The provisions contained in Articles 243 to 251 of the Military Code continue in force. The Government is authorized also to have recourse until Dec. 31, 1915, to monthly provisional appropriations for balancing the budget. This law shall come into force the day it is passed.

All members of the Cabinet maintain absolute silence regarding what step will follow the action of the Chamber. Former Ministers and other men prominent in public affairs declare, however, that the action of Parliament virtually was a declaration of war.

When the Chamber reassembled this afternoon after its long recess there were present 482 Deputies out of 500, the absentees remaining away on account of illness. The Deputies especially applaud-

ed were those who wore military uniforms and who had asked permission for leave from their military duties to be present at the sitting.

All the tribunes were filled to overflowing. No representatives of Germany, Austria, or Turkey were to be seen in the diplomatic tribune. The first envoy to arrive was Thomas Nelson Page, the American Ambassador, who was accompanied by his staff. M. Barrère, Sir J. Bennell Rodd, and Michel de Giers, the French, British, and Russian Ambassadors, respectively, appeared a few minutes later and all were greeted with applause, which was shared by the Belgian, Greek, and Rumanian Ministers. George B. McClellan, former Mayor of New York, occupied a seat in the President's tribune.

A few minutes before the session began the poet, Gabriele d'Annunzio, one of the strongest advocates of war, appeared in the rear of the public tribune, which was so crowded that it seemed impossible to squeeze in anybody else. But the moment the people saw him they lifted him shoulder high and passed him over their heads to the first row. The entire Chamber and all those occupying the other tribunes rose and applauded for five minutes, crying, "Viva d'Annunzio!" Later thousands sent him their cards, and in return received his autograph, bearing the date of this eventful day.

Signor Marcora, President of the Chamber, took his place at 3 o'clock. All the members of the House and everybody in the galleries stood up to acclaim the old follower of Garibaldi.

Premier Salandra, followed by all the members of the Cabinet, entered shortly afterward. It was a solemn moment. Then a delirium of cries broke out. "Viva Salandra!" roared the Deputies, and the cheering lasted for five minutes. Premier Salandra appeared to be much moved by the demonstration.

After the formalities of the opening Premier Salandra arose and said:

"Gentlemen: I have the honor to present to you a bill to meet the eventual expenditures of a national war"—

an announcement that was greeted by further prolonged applause.

The Premier began an exposition of the situation of Italy before the opening of hostilities in Europe. He declared that Italy had submitted to every humiliation from Austria-Hungary for the love of peace. By her ultimatum to Serbia Austria had annulled the equilibrium of the Balkans and prejudiced Italian interests there.

Notwithstanding this evident violation of the treaty of the Triple Alliance, Italy endeavored during long months to avoid a conflict, but these efforts were bound to have a limit in time and dignity. "This is why the Government felt itself forced to present its denunciation of the Triple Alliance on May 4," said Premier Salandra, who had difficulty in quieting the wild cheering that ensued. When he had succeeded in so doing he continued, amid frequent enthusiastic interruptions:

Italy must be united at this moment, when her destinies are being decided. We have confidence in our august chief, who is preparing to lead the army toward a glorious future. Let us gather around this well-beloved sovereign.

Since Italy's resurrection as a State she has asserted herself in the world of nations as a factor of moderation, concord, and peace, and she can proudly proclaim that she has accomplished this mission with a firmness which has not wavered before even the most painful sacrifices.

In the last period, extending over thirty years, she maintained her system of alliances and friendships chiefly with the object of thus assuring the European equilibrium, and, at the same time, peace. In view of the nobility of this aim Italy not only subordinated her most sacred aspiration, but has also been forced to look on, with sorrow, at the methodical attempts to suppress specifically the Italian characteristics which nature and history imprinted on those regions.

The ultimatum which the Austro-Hungarian Empire addressed last July to Serbia annulled at one blow the effects of a long-sustained effort by violating the pact which bound us to that State, violated the pact, in form, for it omitted to conclude a preliminary agreement with us or even give us notification, and violated it also in substance, for it sought to disturb, to our detriment, the delicate system of territorial possessions and

spheres of influence which had been set up in the Balkan Peninsula.

But, more than any particular point, it was the whole spirit of the treaty which was wronged, and even suppressed, for by unloosing in the world a most terrible war, in direct contravention of our interests and sentiments, the balance which the Triple Alliance should have helped to assure was destroyed and the problem of Italy's national integrity was virtually and irresistibly revived.

Nevertheless, for long months, the Government has patiently striven to find a compromise, with the object of restoring to the agreement the reason for being which it had lost. These negotiations were, however, limited not only by time, but by our national dignity. Beyond these limits the interests both of our honor and of our country would have been compromised.

Signor Salandra was interrupted time and time again by rounds of applause from all sides, and the climax was reached when he made a reference to the army and navy. Then the cries seemed interminable, and those on the floor of the House and in the galleries turned to the Military Tribune, from which the officers answered by waving their hands and handkerchiefs. At the end of the Premier's speech there were deafening "vivas" for the King, war, and Italy.

Only thirty-four Intransigent Socialists refused to join in the cheers, even in the cry "Viva Italia!" and they were hooted and hissed.

After the presentation of the bill conferring full powers upon the Government the President of the Chamber submitted the question whether a committee of eighteen members should be elected. Out of the 421 Deputies who voted 367 cast their ballot in the affirmative. The other 54 were against. The opposition was composed of Socialists and some adherents of ex-Premier Giolitti.

Foreign Minister Sonnino then rose, and, taking a copy of the "Green Book" from his pocket, said: "I have the honor to present to the Chamber a book containing an account of all the pourparlers with Austria from the 9th of September to the 4th of May." He handed the book to Signor Macora.

The Chamber then adjourned until 5 o'clock, when the committee reported in favor of the bill, and it was adopted.

Italy and the Austrian Frontier



The shaded portions on the Austrian frontier represent the provinces of "Italia Irredenta," which Italy would win back.

ITALY'S JUSTIFICATION.

The first complete official statement of the difficulties between Italy and Austria-Hungary, which forced the Italian declaration of war against the Dual Monarchy, was made public in Washington on May 25 by Count V. Macchi di Cellere, the Italian Ambassador. It took the form of a carefully prepared telegraphic statement to the Ambassador from Signor Sonnino, the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs, with instructions that it be delivered in the form of a note to the Government of the United States. After presenting the communication to Secretary Bryan, Count Cellere made public the following translation of its full text:

The Triple Alliance was essentially defensive and designed solely to preserve the status quo, or, in other words, the equilibrium, in Europe. That these were its only objects and purposes is established by the letter and spirit of the treaty as well as by the intentions clearly described and set forth in official acts of the Ministers who created the alliance and confirmed and renewed it in the interest of peace, which always has inspired Italian policy.

The treaty, as long as its intents and purposes had been loyally interpreted and regarded and as long as it had not been used as a pretext for aggression against others, greatly contributed to the elimination and settlement of causes of conflict, and for many years assured to Europe the inestimable benefits of peace.

But Austria-Hungary severed the treaty by her own hands. She rejected the response of Serbia, which gave to her all the satisfaction she could legitimately claim. She refused to listen to the conciliatory proposals presented by Italy in conjunction with other powers in the effort to spare Europe from a vast conflict certain to drench the Continent with blood and to reduce it to ruin beyond the conception of human imagination, and finally she provoked that conflict.

Article I. of the treaty embodied the usual and necessary obligation of such pacts—the pledge to exchange views

upon any fact and economic questions of a general nature that might arise pursuant to its terms. None of the contracting parties had the right to undertake, without a previous agreement, any step the consequence of which might impose a duty upon the other signatories arising out of the Alliance, or which would in any way whatsoever encroach upon their vital interests. This article was violated by Austria-Hungary when she sent to Serbia her note dated July 23, 1914, an action taken without the previous assent of Italy.

Thus, Austria-Hungary violated beyond doubt one of the fundamental provisions of the treaty. The obligation of Austria-Hungary to come to a previous understanding with Italy was the greater because her obstinate policy against Serbia gave rise to a situation which directly tended to the provocation of a European war.

As far back as the beginning of July, 1914, the Italian Government, preoccupied by the prevailing feeling in Vienna, caused to be laid before the Austro-Hungarian Government a number of suggestions advising moderation, and warning fit of the impending danger of a European outbreak. The course adopted by Austria-Hungary against Serbia constituted, moreover, a direct encroachment upon the general interests of Italy, both political and economical, in the Balkan Peninsula. Austria-Hungary could not for a moment imagine that Italy could remain indifferent while Serbian independence was being trodden upon.

On a number of occasions theretofore Italy gave Austria to understand, in friendly but clear terms, that the independence of Serbia was considered by Italy as essential to Balkan equilibrium. Austria-Hungary was further advised that Italy could never permit that equilibrium to be disturbed to her prejudice. This warning had been conveyed not only by her diplomats in private conversations with responsible Austro-Hungarian officials, but was proclaimed publicly by Italian statesmen on the floors of Parliament.

Therefore when Austria-Hungary ignored the usual practices and menaced Serbia by sending her an ultimatum without in any way notifying the Italian Government of what she proposed to do, indeed leaving that Government to learn of her action through the press rather than through the usual channels of diplomacy, when Austria-Hungary took this unprecedented course she not only severed her alliance with Italy but committed an act inimical to Italy's interests.

The Italian Government had obtained trustworthy information that the complete program laid down by Austria-Hungary with reference to the Balkans was prompted by a desire to decrease Italy's economical and political influence in that section, and tended directly and indirectly to the subservience of Serbia to Austria-Hungary, the political and territorial isolation of Montenegro, and the isolation and political decadence of Rumania.

This attempted diminution of the influence of Italy in the Balkans would have been brought about by the Austro-Hungarian program, even though Austria-Hungary had no intention of making further territorial acquisitions. Furthermore, attention should be called to the fact that the Austro-Hungarian Government had assumed the solemn obligation of prior consultation of Italy as required by the special provisions of Article VII. of the treaty of the Triple Alliance, which, in addition to the obligation of previous agreements, recognized the right of compensation to the other contracting parties in case one should occupy temporarily or permanently any section of the Balkans.

To this end, the Italian Government approached the Austro-Hungarian Government immediately upon the inauguration of Austro-Hungarian hostilities against Serbia, and succeeded in obtaining reluctant acquiescence in the Italian representations. Conversations were initiated immediately after July 23, for the purpose of giving a new lease of life to the treaty which had been violated and thereby annulled by the act of Austria-Hungary.

This object could be attained only by the conclusion of new agreements. The conversations were renewed, with additional propositions as the basis, in December, 1914. The Italian Ambassador at Vienna at that time received instructions to inform Count Berchtold, the Austro-Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs, that the Italian Government considered it necessary to proceed without delay to an exchange of views and consequently to concrete negotiations with the Austro-Hungarian Government concerning the complex situation arising out of the conflict which that Government had provoked.

Count Berchtold at first refused. He declared that the time had not arrived for negotiations. Subsequently, upon our rejoinder, in which the German Government united, Count Berchtold agreed to exchange views as suggested. We promptly declared, as one of our fundamental objects, that the compensation on which the agreement should be based should relate to territories at the time under the dominion of Austria-Hungary.

The discussion continued for months, from the first days of December to March, and it was not until the end of March that Baron Burian offered a zone of territory comprised within a line extending from the existing boundary to a point just north of the City of Trent.

In exchange for this proposed cession the Austro-Hungarian Government demanded a number of pledges, including among them an assurance of entire liberty of action in the Balkans. Note should be made of the fact that the cession of the territory around Trent was not intended to be immediately effective as we demanded, but was to be made only upon the termination of the European war. We replied that the offer was not acceptable, and then presented the minimum concessions which could meet in part our national aspirations and strengthen in an equitable manner our strategic position in the Adriatic.

These demands comprised: The extension of the boundary in Trentino, a new boundary on the Isonzo, special provision for Trieste, the cession of certain islands

of the Cürzolari Archipelago, the abandonment of Austrian claims in Albania, and the recognition of our possession of Avlona and the islands of the Aegean Sea, which we occupied during our war with Turkey.

At first our demands were categorically rejected. It was not until another month of conversation that Austria-Hungary was induced to increase the zone of territory she was prepared to cede in the Trentino and then only as far as Mezzo Lombardo, thereby excluding the territory inhabited by people of the Italian race, such as the Valle del Noce, Val di Fasso, and Val di Ampezzo. Such a proposal would have given to Italy a boundary of no strategical value. In addition the Austro-Hungarian Government maintained its determination not to make the cession effective before the end of the war.

The repeated refusals of Austria-Hungary were expressly confirmed in a conversation between Baron Burian and the Italian Ambassador at Vienna on April 29. While admitting the possibility of recognizing some of our interests in Avlona and granting the above-mentioned territorial cession in the Trentino, the Austro-Hungarian Government persisted in its opposition to all our other demands, especially those regarding the boundary of the Isonzo, Trieste, and the islands.

The attitude assumed by Austria-Hungary from the beginning of December until the end of April made it evident that she was attempting to temporize without coming to a conclusion. Under such circumstances Italy was confronted by the danger of losing forever the opportunity of realizing her aspirations based upon tradition, nationality, and her desire for a safe position in the Adriatic, while other contingencies in the European conflict menaced her principal interests in other seas.

Hence Italy faced the necessity and duty of recovering that liberty of action to which she was entitled and of seeking protection for her interests, apart from the negotiations which had been dragging uselessly along for five months and without reference to the Treaty of Al-

liance which had virtually failed as a result of its annulment by the action of Austria-Hungary in July, 1914.

It would not be out of place to observe that the alliance having terminated and there existing no longer any reason for the Italian people to be bound by it, though they had loyally stood by it for so many years because of their desire for peace, there naturally revived in the public mind the grievances against Austria-Hungary which for so many years had been voluntarily repressed.

While the Treaty of Alliance contained no formal agreement for the use of the Italian language or the maintenance of Italian tradition and Italian civilization in the Italian provinces of Austria, nevertheless if the alliance was to be effective in preserving peace and harmony it was indisputably clear that Austria-Hungary, as our ally, should have taken into account the moral obligation of respecting what constituted some of the most vital interests of Italy.

Instead, the constant policy of the Austro-Hungarian Government was to destroy Italian nationality and Italian civilization all along the coast of the Adriatic. A brief statement of the facts, and of the tendencies well known to all will suffice.

Substitution of officials of the Italian race by officials of other nationalities; artificial immigration of hundreds of families of a different nationality; replacement of Italian by other labor; exclusion from Trieste by the decree of Prince Hohenlohe of employes who were subjects of Italy; denationalization of the judicial administration; refusal of Austria to permit an Italian university in Trieste, which formed the subject of diplomatic negotiations; denationalization of navigation companies; encouragement of other nationalities to the detriment of the Italian, and, finally, the methodical and unjustifiable expulsion of Italians in ever-increasing numbers.

This deliberate and persistent policy of the Austro-Hungarian Government with reference to the Italian population was not only due to internal conditions brought about by the competition of the different nationalities within its terri-

tory, but was inspired in great part by a deep sentiment of hostility and aversion toward Italy, which prevailed particularly in the quarters closest to the Austro-Hungarian Government and influenced decisively its course of action.

Of the many instances which could be cited it is enough to say that in 1911, while Italy was engaged in war with Turkey, the Austro-Hungarian General Staff prepared a campaign against us, and the military party prosecuted energetically a political intrigue designed to drag in other responsible elements of Austria. The mobilization of an army upon our frontier left us in no doubt of our neighbor's sentiment and intentions.

The crisis was settled pacifically through the influence, so far as known, of outside factors; but since that time we have been constantly under apprehension of a sudden attack whenever the party opposed to us should get the upper hand in Vienna. All of this was known in Italy, and it was only the sincere desire for peace prevailing among the Italian people which prevented a rupture.

After the European war broke out, Italy sought to come to an understanding with Austria-Hungary with a view to a settlement satisfactory to both parties which might avert existing and future trouble. Her efforts were in vain, notwithstanding the efforts of Germany, which for months endeavored to induce Austria-Hungary to comply with Italy's suggestions, thereby recognizing the propriety and legitimacy of the Italian attitude. Therefore Italy found herself

compelled by the force of events to seek other solutions.

Inasmuch as the Treaty of Alliance with Austria-Hungary had ceased virtually to exist and served only to prolong a state of continual friction and mutual suspicion, the Italian Ambassador at Vienna was instructed to declare to the Austro-Hungarian Government that the Italian Government considered itself free from the ties arising out of the Treaty of the Triple Alliance in so far as Austria-Hungary was concerned. This communication was delivered in Vienna on May 4.

Subsequently to this declaration, and after we had been obliged to take steps for the protection of our interests, the Austro-Hungarian Government submitted new concessions, which, however, were deemed insufficient and by no means met our minimum demands. These offers could not be considered under the circumstances.

The Italian Government, taking into consideration what has been stated above, and supported by the vote of Parliament and the solemn manifestation of the country, came to the decision that any further delay would be inadvisable. Therefore, on this day (May 23) it was declared in the name of the King to the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador at Rome that, beginning tomorrow, May, 24, it will consider itself in a state of war with Austria-Hungary. Orders to this effect were also telegraphed yesterday to the Italian Ambassador at Vienna.

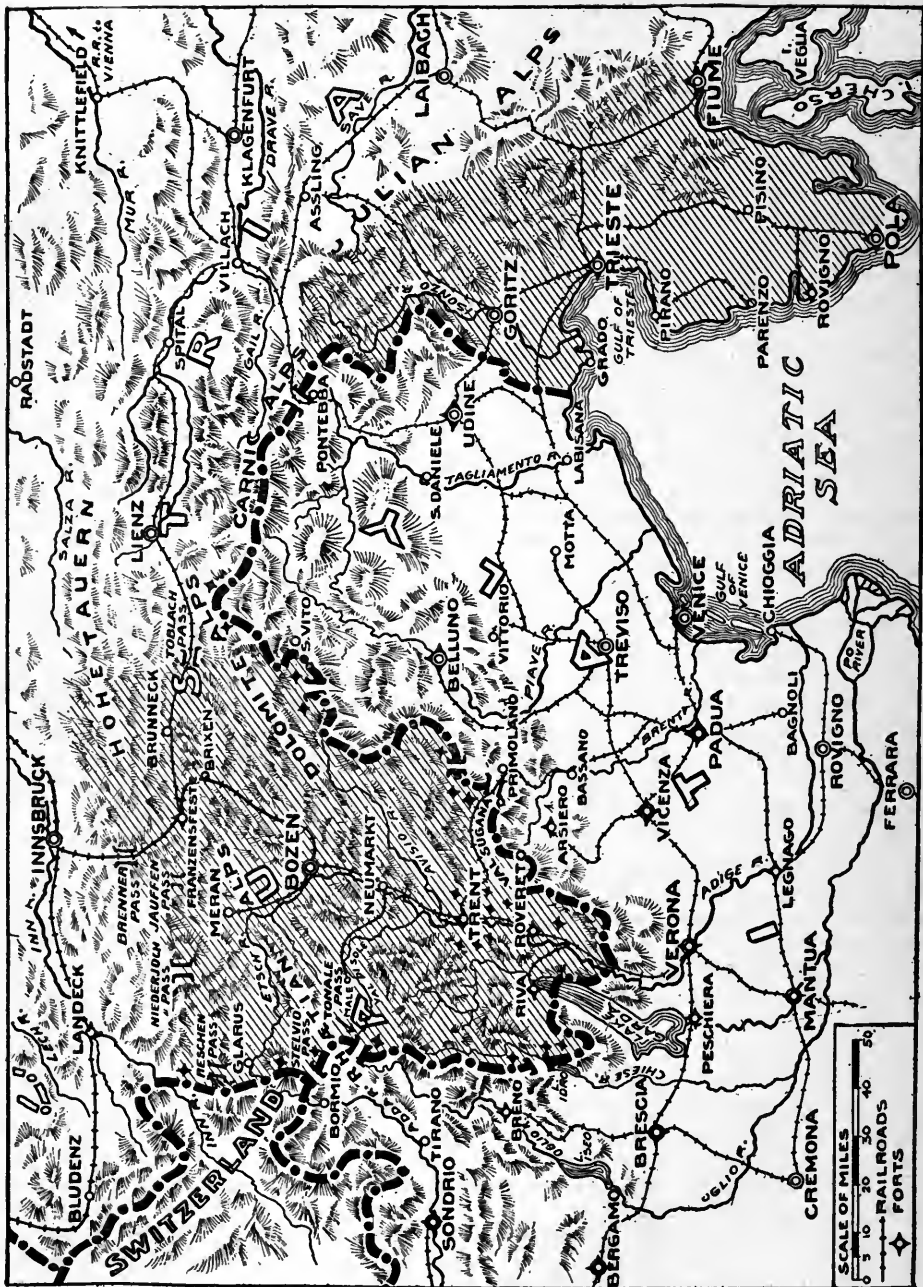
German Hatred of Italy

[By The Associated Press.]

AMSTERDAM, May 23.—The Frankfurter Zeitung today prints a telegram received from Vienna saying:

“The exasperation and contempt which Italy's treacherous surprise attack and her hypocritical justification arouse here (Vienna) are quite indescribable.

“Neither Serbia nor Russia, despite a long and costly war, is hated. Italy, however, or rather those Italian would-be politicians and business men who offer violence to the majority of peaceful Italian people, are so unutterably hated with the most profound honesty that this war can be terrible.”



Detail map of the frontier between Italy and Austria. The shaded portion shows territory demanded by Italy.

ITALY'S NEUTRALITY—THE LAST PHASE

The attitude of the Italian press since the character of its papers were defined in the May number of *THE CURRENT HISTORY* is here recorded. Since May 17, when the King, on account of the heated pro-intervention demonstrations held all over Italy, declined to accept the resignation of the Salandra Ministry, the Giolittian organ, the *Stampa*, of Turin, has dropped something of its feverish neutralistic propaganda, the Giolittian color has gradually faded from the *Giornale d'Italia* and the *Tribuna*, while ex-Premier Giolitti himself has left Rome, declaring that he had been misunderstood in having his declaration that Italy could obtain what she desired without fighting construed into meaning that he desired peace at all costs.

It is understood that in the middle of April Austria-Hungary became convinced that neutralistic sentiments might prevail in the peninsula, and consequently became less active in her negotiations with the Salandra Government. Thereupon Italy resumed negotiations with the Entente powers, and on April 14 acknowledged that Serbia should have an opening on the Adriatic Sea. This caused the Austro-Italian negotiations to be heatedly resumed, and on May 18 the German Imperial Chancellor read to the Reichstag the eleven Austro-Hungarian proposals. The text of these proposals, together with the Italian counter-proposals and the Italian exchange of claims in the Adriatic with the Entente powers, will be found outlined in the Italian official statement cabled by Minister Sonnino to the Italian Ambassador at Washington, presented on Page 494.

It must be borne in mind that the press comments are based upon an imperfect knowledge of the ultimate proposals and claims, and that the Italian attitude for rejecting the Austro-Hungarian proposals obviously rests on these grounds:

1. They are inadequate and might be rendered nought in case of the victory of the Entente powers.
2. They do not give Italy a defensive frontier in the north and east.
3. They do not materially improve Italy's commercial and military condition in the Adriatic.
4. They make no mention of Dalmatia and the Dalmatian Archipelago, with their deep harbors and natural fortifications—a curious contrast to the lowland harbors of the Italian coast opposite.

The Italian demands take into account the possible victory of the Entente powers.

In the circumstances, it is best to begin with an extract from a German paper, as there seems to be an impression abroad that Germany has not appreciated Italy's reasons for not joining with her allies at the beginning of the war and has conducted a propaganda discrediting her willingness to remain neutral provided the Austro-Hungarian concessions proved sufficient and were sufficiently guaranteed.

THE GERMAN VIEW.

*From the Frankfurter Zeitung of
March 3.*

Article VII. of the Austro-German-Italian Treaty, the terms of which have never before been made public, not only provides for the right of compensation in case one party to the contract enriches itself territorially in the Balkans, but also forbids either Austria or Italy to undertake anything in the Balkans without the consent of the other. * * *

In the Tripoli war, when the energetic Duca degli Abruzzi made his advance in the Adriatic against Prevesa and wished to force the Porte to yield through a serious action in the Dardanelles, and

when Italy wished to extend her occupation of the Aegean Islands, which lie as advance posts before the Dardanelles, she was obliged to forego her aims, and did loyally forego them, because Austria at that time did not yet desire a movement on the then still quiescent Balkan Peninsula. According to the Italian view, Austria, in determining to liquidate her matured account with Serbia without coming to an agreement in the matter with Italy, canceled the treaty in an important and essential part, irrespective of the assurance that she contemplated merely punishment of Serbia and not the acquisition of territory in the Balkans. The Italian policy con-

sidered itself from that moment free from every obligation, even if the speech of Premier Salandra in December could not be interpreted as a formal denunciation of the Dreibund. * * *

We have today good grounds for assuming that much as we must reckon with the fact that the country is determined to go to war if nothing is granted to it, just so little would it support a Government bent on making war because it does not receive anything.

It will be as impossible to solve the Trentino question from the point of view of abstract right as to solve any other iridescent question in that way. The Trentino question, which was long a question of national, historical, and ethnological idealism, has now become a real question of power. The European war and its developments have placed Italy in a position to use her power in order to expand. This is not unusual in history. * * *

But it should be carefully noted that only to an Italy remaining within the Triple Alliance can compensation be given, and, of course, only on the basis of complete reciprocity—(zug um zug-leistung gegen leistung). To demand anything whatsoever Italy has no right. On the other hand, the ignoble exploitation of the needs of an ally fighting for her existence would correspond neither with the generosity of the Italian nature nor with her real interests.

The honest path for Italy, who finds herself unable to enter the war on the side of her allies in accordance with the spirit of the Alliance, is to preserve unconditional neutrality. A simple discussion between the leading statesmen of all the three powers will banish every shade of misunderstanding and clear the situation. Italy will spare her strength for the great task on the other side of the Mediterranean and for her correct and sensible attitude will receive, under the guarantee of her friend, (Germany,) the promise of the fulfillment of her comprehensible desire. Any other policy would be foolish and criminal.

ITALY AND ENGLAND.

From the Giornale d'Italia, March 26.

It is known in London, we believe, that Italy is firmly resolved to assure her own future in whatever manner seems best. A seafaring, agricultural, industrial, mercantile, emigrant people like the Italian must for its very existence conquer its own place in the sun, cannot endure hegemonies of any kind, cannot suggest exclusions, oppressions, or prohibitions of any kind, but must defend at any cost its own liberty, not only political, but economic and maritime. Italy is resolved to defend à outrance that sum total of her rights in which the whole future is inclosed. A people does not spend for nothing in a few months \$300,000,000 to complete its military preparations and does not intrust for nothing, with a great example of concord, the most ample powers to the Government.

From the Messaggero, April 1.

As Prince von Bülow's negotiations have apparently failed, Italy naturally addresses herself to England. There is, however, this difficulty: England has already made arrangements with France and Russia for the solution of the questions of the Dardanelles and Asia Minor, whereas Italy wishes to have her say in these questions before giving her assistance to the Triple Entente. Moreover, there are Greek aspirations in the Levant and Serbian in the Adriatic to be reconciled with those of Italy. Consequently the situation is not easy.

From the Stampa, April 11.

Not only must Italy have her natural frontiers on the east restored, not only must she have her legitimate supremacy in the Adriatic assured, not only must she safeguard her interests in the Eastern Mediterranean and in the eventual partition of the Turkish Empire, but she must also see assured in the Western Mediterranean a greater guarantee for the safety of herself and her possessions and wider liberty of action than that of which she has recently had painful experience. These things must be guaran-

teed by an alliance with either Russia or with England. * * *

Before having solved this difficulty any decision in favor of war would be a leap in the dark, an act of inconceivable political blindness. It would be, to adopt a rough, but inevitable, term, a veritable betrayal.

From the Giornale d'Italia of April 12, in criticising the foregoing.

We absolutely fail to understand the motive which induced the Piedmontese journal to print matter so calculated to confuse public opinion. Indeed, the care with which our contemporary seeks to embarrass Italian diplomatic action seems somewhat strange and cannot escape the blame of all those who think it necessary not to hamper the liberty of action conceded to the Government almost unanimously by Parliament and by the people. * * *

It seems almost as though the Piedmontese journal had no thought but to put insoluble problems to the Government, in the face of public opinion, so as to try to prejudice its action in advance. The Stampa's program practically means that to the diplomatic rupture with the Central Empires would be added another diplomatic rupture with the Triple Entente, thus insuring the isolation which the Stampa professes to fear so much.

From the Corriere della Sera, April 12.

The article in the Stampa, which appears ultra-nationalist, is in reality purely neutralist. Italian aspirations must be kept within reasonable bounds. What would happen to Italy if demands were put forward which the Entente could not entertain? Quite apart from questions of direct interest and gain, other factors must be taken into account. There is the danger to Italy in case of the success of her late allies, which would mean the prostration of France, the annexation of Belgium to Germany, the arrival of Austria at Saloniki, British naval hegemony replaced by German, the revival of Turkey, and the consequent ambition to resume possession of lost territories.

ADRIATIC PROBLEM.

From the Politika of Belgrade, March 30.

Italy is claiming not only Italian territories which are under Austro-Hungarian domination, but also a very considerable part of the most purely southern Slav regions. Italy will have to realize one simple fact. Until this war Serbia was closed in on all sides by Austria-Hungary. She therefore asked that Europe should secure for her from Austria-Hungary at least a free outlet to the Adriatic, the price of which she had already paid in blood.

The two Balkan wars were waged primarily for the same thing, since they were wars of liberation. Today it is no longer a question of the economic independence of Serbia, since Austria-Hungary is passing from the scene, but it is a matter of the liberation and of the union into a single State of our race as a whole. This is the idea which at this moment governs the masses of our people, and the numberless graves of our fallen heroes testify to the sacrifice which we have made for the sake of this idea. Whoever, therefore, opposes our national union is an enemy of our race.

Deeply as it would pain Serbia to uproot out of her heart the sympathy which she feels for Italy, she will none the less do so without fail if ever it should become manifest that Italy's present policy signifies that she desires not only to consolidate her legitimate interests, but also to encroach upon the Balkans by attacking Serbia.

From the Giornale d'Italia, April 4.

No one in Italy has ever said or thought that in the event of a bouleversement in the Adriatic and the Balkans there should be denied to Serbia or any Slav State which might arise from the ruins of Austria-Hungary a wide outlet to the Adriatic. But, on the other hand, no one in Italy could ever permit that the reversion of Austria's strategic maritime position should fall into any hands but ours.

There are political and military considerations which are above any question of nationality whatever. It should be enough to cite the example of an

England which holds a Spanish Gibraltar and an Italian Malta, besides a Greek Cyprus and the Egyptian Suez Canal. It should be enough to recall the claim made by all the press of Petrograd to establish Russia at Constantinople and on the banks of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, in spite of all the principles of nationality, Balkan or Turk.

Let the Serbians, in case of an Adriatic and Balkan upset, have an ample outlet to the Adriatic, but do not let them aspire to conquer a predominance in that sea. The Italian people is not, and can not be at this moment, either phil or phobe regarding any other people. The existence, or at least the future, of all the nations is at stake today, and whoever desires the friendship of Italy must begin by loyally recognizing her rights and interests.

From the Giornale d'Italia of April 19.

We reject altogether the idea that Italy would be satisfied with the western portion of Istria, leaving the rest of the Eastern Adriatic shore to the Croats and Serbians. While Italy would certainly gain by the possession of Trieste and Pola, the strategic position in the Adriatic would still be exceedingly disadvantageous, especially as the Slav claim advanced by certain Russian newspapers, (that Croatia become an autonomous State and divide Dalmatia with Serbia,) includes the right to maintain fortified naval bases on the eastern shore.

This would merely mean exchanging Austrian strategical predominance for Slavonic, and, consequently, Russian predominance nearly as threatening to Italian interests.

The principal objective of Italy in the Adriatic is the solution once for all of the politico-strategic question of a sea which is commanded in the military sense from the eastern shore, and such a problem can be solved only by one method—by eliminating from the Adriatic every other war fleet. Otherwise the existing most difficult situation in the Adriatic will be perpetuated and in time inevitably aggravated.

From the Messaggero of April 21.

We understand that an Italian-Russian accord has been practically concluded. This accord refers both to the war, on which Italy will shortly embark, as well as to the peace which will be finally signed. The French and British Governments have taken an active part in facilitating this accord, as it deals with other questions besides that of the Adriatic.

From Idea Nazionale, May 10.

Italy desires war:

1. In order to obtain Trent, Trieste, and Dalmatia. The country desires it. A nation which has the opportunity to free its land should do so as a matter of imperative necessity. If the Government and the institutions will not make war, they render themselves guilty of high treason toward the country.

2. We desire war in order to conquer for ourselves a good strategic frontier in the north and east in place of the treacherous one which we now have. When a nation can assure the protection of its domain it ought to do so, otherwise its future will have less. It is a necessary duty. There is no other alternative but this—either complete the work or betray what has already been done.

3. We desire war because today in the Adriatic, the Balkan Peninsula, the Mediterranean, and Asia Italy should have all the advantages it is possible for her to have and without which her political, economic, and moral power would diminish in proportion as that of others augmented. To this has the Hon. Salandra borne witness. If we should avoid war we desire less than his words most sacredly proclaimed to the nation in Parliament. If we would be a great power we must accept certain obligations; one of them is war in order to keep us a great power. If we do not want to be a great power any longer, we deliberately and vilely betray ourselves.

The foregoing are the three reasons for entering the war—reasons which are tangible, material, and comprehensive.

From the Giornale d'Italia, May 12.

Italy is determined to realize her national aspirations, cost what it may. For

this reason the Government has hastened its preparations for war which, when completed, caused Austria to offer compensations, thus tacitly acknowledging the claims of Italy.

When the Austro-Italian negotiations were begun Signor Giolitti most unfortunately obstructed their successful issue by his inopportune letter declaring that war was unnecessary. Nevertheless, owing to the firmness of the Government and the determination to resort to war, the conversations were resumed. However, Austria, aside from offering insufficient concessions, assumed a waiting policy and sought secretly to conclude a secret peace with Russia. Thereupon the

Italian Government opened negotiations with the Allies, which had the effect of increasing the offers of Austria.

During the ultimate, delicate phase of the conversations, when those who advocate neutrality are causing great injury to the interests of the country and also helping its enemies, the Government, reposing in the support of the people, is determined to expose the intrigues and conspiracies intended to favor the Austrians and Germans.

Hence the Government will, if necessary, make an appeal to Parliament. Meanwhile, it will conserve its power and righteously defend the interests of the country.

ANNUNCIATION

By Ernst Lissauer.

Ernst Lissauer, the author of the famous "Song of Hate Against England," has written a second poem entitled "Bread," and directed against the British policy of cutting off Germany's food supply. The poem was published in the Bonner Zeitung and reprinted in the Frankfurter Zeitung of March 26, 1915. Following is a translation:

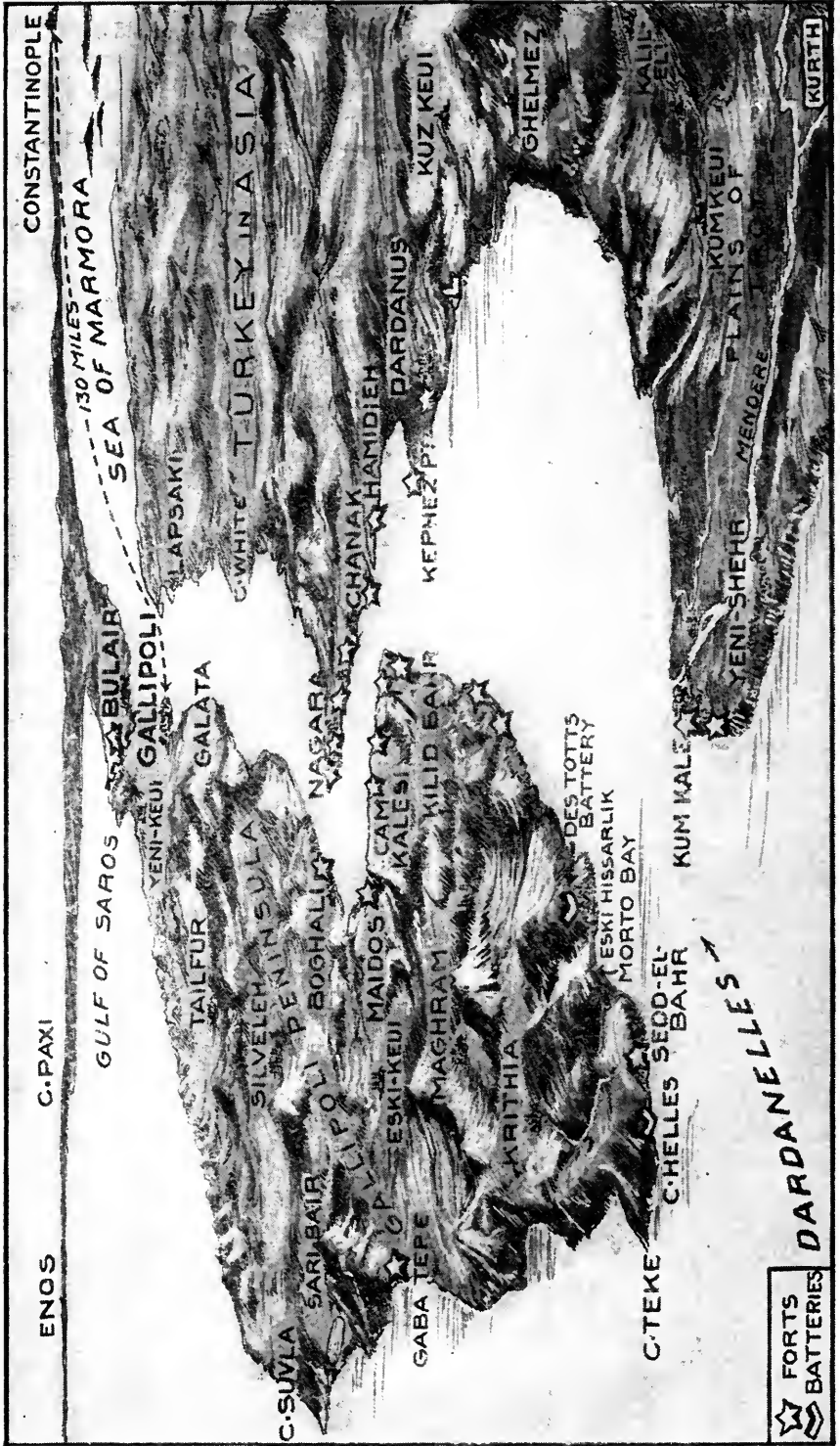
WITH arms they cannot overpower us,
 With hunger they would fain devour us;
 Foe beside foe in an iron ring.
 Has want crossed our borders, or hunger, or dearth?
 Listen: I chant the tidings of Spring:
 Our soil is our ally in this great thing;
 Already new bread is growing in the earth.

ADMONITION:

Save the food and guard and hoard!
 Bread is a sword.

PRAYER:

The peasants have sown the seed again.
 Now gather and pray the prayer of the grain:
 Earth of our land,
 With arms they cannot overpower us,
 With hunger they would fain devour us,
 Arise thou in thy harvest wrath!
 Thick grow thy grass, rich the reaper's path!
 Dearest soil of earth
 Our prayer hear:
 Show them of little worth,
 Shame them with blade and ear.



CONSTANTINOPLE

C. PAXI

ENOS

130 MILES

SEA OF MARMORA

GULF OF SAROS

BULAIR

GALLIPOLI

GALATA

TAILFUR

SILVEH

PENINSULA

C. SUVLA

SARIBAIR

GULLI POLI

BOGHALLI

MAIDOS

E SKI-KEDI

GABA TEPE

MAGHRAM

KRITHIA

KILID BANR

CAMY

KALESI

NAGARA

CHANAK

HANIDIEH

DARDANUS

KEPIZ PT.

KUZ KEUI

GHELMEZ

DES TOTTS BATTERY

E SKI HISSARLIK

MORTO BAY

C. HELLES

SEED-EL-BAHR

KUM KALE

YENI-SHEHR

KUMKEUI

PLAINS OF

MENDERE

KALIF ELI

KURTH

FORTS

BATTERIES

DARDANELLES

The Great End

By Arnold Bennett.

Fear that the British Government in its discussion of peace terms with Germany might defer to the policy of France and Russia of keeping important negotiations secret inspired the writing of this article, which appeared in *The London Daily News* of April 1, 1915, and is here published by the author's permission. Mr. Bennett points out that despite her alliance Great Britain is essentially a democracy subject to the mandates of her people.

THE well-meant but ingenuous efforts of the Government to produce pessimism among the citizens have failed. The object of these efforts was clear; it has, I think, been attained by more direct and wiser means. Munitions of war are now being more satisfactorily manufactured, though the country still refuses to be gloomy. "Eyewitness" pretended to quake, but Przemysl fell. He tried again, but Sir John French announced that he did not believe in a protracted war. Since Sir John French said also that he believed in victory, it follows that he believes in a victory not long delayed. The incomparable and candid reports of the French War Office about the first stages of the war increased our confidence, and at the same time showed to us the inferiority of our own reports. Only victors could publish such revelations, and Britain, with her passion for forgetting mistakes and her hatred of the confessional, could never bring herself to publish them. These reports were confirmed and capped by the remarkable communications of General Joffre to a journalistic friend. The New York Stock Exchange began to gamble about the date of victory. The London Stock Exchange took on a new firmness. Not even the sinister losses at Neuve Chapelle, nor the rumors concerning the same, could disturb our confidence. Peace, therefore, in the general view, and certainty in the view of those who knew most, is decidedly nearer than when I wrote last about peace.

A short while ago Mr. Asquith referred with sarcasm and reproof to those who talk of peace. But, for once, his meaning was not clear. If he meant that to suggest peace to the enemy at this stage is

both dangerous and ridiculous, he will be approved by the nation. But if he meant that terms of peace must not even be mentioned among ourselves, he will find people ready to disagree with him, and to support the weight of his sarcasm and his reproof. I am one of those people. Rellicose by disposition, I nevertheless like to know what I am fighting for. This is perhaps an idiosyncrasy, but many persons share it, and they are not to be ignored. It may be argued that Mr. Asquith has defined what we are fighting for. He has not. He has only defined part of what we are fighting for. His reference to the overthrow of Prussian militarism is futile, because it gives no indication of the method to be employed. The method of liberating and compensating Belgium and other small communities is clear; but how are you to overthrow an ideal? Prussian militarism will not be destroyed by a defeat in the field. Militarism cannot overthrow militarism; it can only breed militarism. The point is of the highest importance.

I do not assume that Mr. Asquith's notions about the right way to overthrow militarism are not sound notions. I assume that they are sound. I think that his common sense is massive. Though it is evident that he lets his Ministerial colleagues do practically what they choose in their own spheres, and though there are militarists in the Cabinet, I do not, like *The Morning Post*, consider that the Prime Minister exists in a stupor of negligence. On the contrary, I assume that at the end of the war, as at the beginning, Mr. Asquith will control the foolish, and that common sense will prevail in the Cabinet when a treaty is the subject of converse. Still further, I will

assume that, contrary to nearly all precedent, the collective sagacity of the Ministry has not been impaired, and its self-conceit perilously tickled, by the long exercise of absolute power in face of a Parliament of poltroons. And, lastly, I will abandon my old argument that the discussion of peace terms might shorten the war, without any risk of prolonging it. And still I very strongly hold that peace terms ought to be discussed.

It appears to me that there is a desire—I will not say a conspiracy—on the part of the Government to bring this war to an end in the same manner as it will be brought to an end in Germany—that is to say, autocratically, without either the knowledge or the consent of the nation. The projected scheme, I imagine, is to sit tight and quiet, and in due course inform the nation of a fact accomplished. It can be done, and I think it will be done, unless the House of Commons administers to itself a tonic and acquires courage. Already colonial statesmen have been politely but firmly informed that they are not wanted in England this year! The specious excuse for keeping the nation in the dark is that we are allied to Russia, where the people are never under any circumstances consulted, and to France, where for the duration of the war the Government is as absolute, in spirit and in conduct, as that of Russia; and that we must not pain those allied Governments by any exhibition of democracy in being. Secrecy and a complete autocratic control of the people are the watchwords of the allied Governments, and therefore they must be the watchwords of our Government.

This is very convenient for British autocrats, but the argument is not convincing. The surrender of ideals ought not to be so one-sided. We do not dream of suggesting to the Russian and the French Governments how they ought to conduct themselves toward their peoples; and similarly we should not allow them to influence the relations between our Government and ourselves.

The basis of peace negotiations must necessarily be settled in advance by representatives of all the allied Govern-

ments in conclave. The mandate of each Government in regard to the conclave is the affair of that Government, and it is the affair of no other Government. The mandate of our Government is, therefore, the affair of our Government, and the allied Governments are just as much entitled to criticise or object to it as we, for example, are entitled to suggest to the Czar how he ought to behave in Finland. Our Government, being a democratic Government, has no right to go into conclave without a mandate from the people who elected it. It possesses no mandate of the kind. It has a mandate, and a mighty one, to prosecute the war, and it is prosecuting the war to the satisfaction of the majority of the electorate. But a peace treaty is a different and an incomparably more important thing. Up to the present the mind of the nation has found no expression, and it probably will not find any expression unless the Government recognizes fairly that it is a representative Government and behaves with the deference which is due from a representative Government. As matters stand, the mandate of the British Government will come, not from Britain, but from Russia and France.

The great argument drawn from the Government's alleged duty to the allied Governments is, no doubt, reinforced, in the minds of Ministers and at Cabinet meetings, by two subsidiary arguments. The first of these rests in the traditional assumption that all international politics must be committed, perpetrated, and accomplished in secret. This strange traditional notion will die hard, but some time it will have to die, and at the moment of its death excellent and sincere persons will be convinced that the knell of the British Empire has sounded. The knell of the British Empire has frequently sounded. It sounded when capital punishment was abolished for sheep-stealing, when the great reform bill was passed, when purchase was abolished in the army, when the deceased wife's sister bill was passed, when the Parliament act became law; and it will positively sound again when the mediaeval Chinese tradi-

tions of the Diplomatic Service are cast aside. There are many important people alive today who are so obsessed by those traditions as to believe religiously that if the British people, and by consequence the German Government, were made aware of the peace terms, the German Army would in some mysterious way be strengthened and encouraged, and our own ultimate success imperiled. Such is the power of the dead hand, and against this power the new conviction that in a democratic and candid foreign policy lies the future safety of the world will have to fight hard.

The other subsidiary argument for ignoring the nation is that Ministers are wiser than the nation, and therefore that Ministers must save the nation from itself by making it impotent and acting over its head. This has always been the argument of autocrats, and even of tyrants. It is a ridiculous argument, and it was never more ridiculous than when applied to the British Government and the British Nation today. Throughout the war the Government has underestimated the qualities of the nation—courage, discipline, fortitude, and wisdom. It is still underestimating them. For myself, I have no doubt that in the making of peace the sagacity of the nation as a whole would be greater than the sagacity of the Government. But even if it were not, the right of the nation to govern itself in the gravest hour of its career remains unchallengeable. All arguments in favor of depriving the nation of that right amount to the argument of Germany in favor of taking Belgium—"We do it in your true interests, and in our own."

If the Government does not on its own initiative declare that it will consult—and effectively consult—Parliament concerning the peace terms, then it is the duty of Parliament, and especially of the House of Commons, to make itself unpleasant and to produce that appearance of internal discord which (we are told by all individuals who dislike being disturbed) is so enheartening to Germany. There have always been, and there still

are, ample opportunities for raising questions of foreign policy in the House of Commons. If foreign policy has seldom or never been adequately handled by the House of Commons, the reason simply is that the House has not been interested in it. Not to the tyranny of Ministries, but to the supineness and the ignorance of the people's representatives, is the present state of affairs due. Hence the rank and file of Radicals should organize themselves. They would unquestionably receive adequate support in the press and at public meetings. And none but they can do anything worth doing. And among the rank and file of Radicals the plain common-sense men should make themselves heard. Foreign policy debates in the House are usually the playground of cranks of all varieties, and the plain common-sense man seems to shrink from being vocal in such company. It is a pity. The plain common-sense man should believe in himself a little more. The result would perhaps startle his modesty. And he should begin instantly on the resumption of Parliament. He will of course be told that he is premature. But no matter. When he gets up and makes a row he will be told that he is premature, until Sir Edward Grey is in a position to announce in the icy cold and impressive tones of omniscience and omnipotence and perfect wisdom that the deed is irrevocably done and only the formal ratification of the people is required. We have been through all that before, and we shall go through it again unless we start out immediately to be unpleasant.

I hope nobody will get the impression that I think we are a nation of angels under a Government of earthy and primeval creatures. I do not. We are not in a Christian mood, and we don't want to be in a Christian mood. When last week a foolish schoolmaster took advantage of his august position to advocate Christianity at the end of the war, we frightened the life out of him, and he had to say that he had been "woefully misunderstood." In spite of this, the nation, being cut off from direct communication with foreign autocracy and re-

action, is in my view very likely to be less at the worst, it is and should be the
 unwise than the Government at the su- master and not the slave of the Govern-
 preme crisis. And even if it isn't, even ment.

German Women Not Yet For Peace

By Gertrude Baumer, President of the Bund Deutscher Frauen.

An emphatic refusal of German women to take part in the recent Women's Peace Conference at The Hague was issued by the Bund Deutscher Frauen (League of German Women) signed by Gertrude Baumer as President, and published by the Frankfurter Zeitung in its issue of April 29, 1915. The manifesto reads:

ON April 28 begins the Peace Congress to which women of Holland have invited the women of neutral and belligerent nations. The German woman's movement has declined to attend the congress, by unanimous resolution of its Executive Committee. If individual German women visit the congress it can be only such as have no responsible position in the organization of the German woman's movement and for whom the organization is, therefore, not responsible.

This declination must not be understood to mean that the German women do not feel as keenly as the women of other countries the enormous sacrifices and sorrows which this war has caused, or that they refuse to recognize the good intentions that figure in the institution of this congress. None can yearn more eagerly than we for an end of these sacrifices and sorrows. But we realize that in our consciousness of the weight of these sacrifices we are one with our whole people and Government; we know that the blood of those who fall out there on the field cannot be dearer to us women than to the men who are responsible for the decisions of Germany. Because we know that, we must decline to represent special desires in an international congress. We have no other desires than those of our entire people: a peace consonant with the honor of our State and guaranteeing its safety in the future.

The resolutions that are to be laid before the women's congress at The Hague are of two kinds. One kind denounces war as such, and recommends peaceful settlement of international quarrels. The other offers suggestions for hastening the concluding of peace.

As concerns the first group of suggestions, there are in the German woman's movement women who are in principle very much in sympathy with the aims of the peace movement. But they, too, are convinced that negotiations about the means of avoiding future wars and conquering the mutual distrust of nations can be considered only after peace has again been concluded. But we must most vigorously reject the proposition of voting approval to a resolution in which the war is declared to be an "insanity" that was made possible only through a "mass psychosis." Shall the German women deny the moral force that is impelling their husbands and sons into death, that has led home countless German men, amid a thousand dangers, from foreign lands, to battle for their threatened Fatherland, by declaring in common with the women of hostile States that the national spirit of self-sacrifice of our men is insanity and a psychosis? Shall we psychologically attack in the rear the men who are defending our safety by scoffing at and deprecating the internal forces that are keeping them up? Whoever asks us to do that cannot have experienced what thousands of wives and mothers have experienced, who have seen their husbands and sons march away.

Just as in these fundamental questions the women of the belligerent States must feel differently from those of neutral States, so, too, there is naturally a difference of opinion among the women of the different belligerent States concerning the time of the conclusion of peace. Inasmuch as the prospects of the belligerent States depend upon the time of the conclusion of peace and therewith the future fate of the nations involved in the war, there can likewise be no international conformity of opinion on this question either.

Dear to us German women as well, are the relations that bind us to the women of foreign lands, and we sincerely desire that they may survive this time of hatred and enmity. But precisely for that reason international negotiations seem fraught with fate to us at a time when we belong exclusively to our people and when strict limits are set to the value of international exchange of views in the fact that we are citizens of our own country, to strengthen whose national power of resistance is our highest task.

Diagnosis of the Englishman

By John Galsworthy

This article originally appeared in the *Amsterdaemer Revue*, having been written during the lull of the war while England fitted her volunteer armies for the Spring campaign, and is here published by special permission of the author.

AFTER six months of war search for the cause thereof borders on the academic. Comment on the physical facts of the situation does not come within the scope of one who, by disposition and training, is concerned with states of mind. Speculation on what the future may bring forth may be left to those with an aptitude for prophecy.

But there is one thought which rises supreme at this particular moment of these tremendous times: The period of surprise is over; the forces known; the issue fully joined. It is now a case of "Pull devil, pull baker" and a question of the fibre of the combatants. For this reason it may not be amiss to try to present to any whom it may concern as detached a picture as one can of the real nature of that combatant who is called the Englishman, especially since ignorance in Central Europe of his character was the chief cause of this war, and speculation as to the future is useless without right comprehension of this curious creature.

The Englishman is taken advisedly because he represents four-fifths of the population of the British Isles and eight-ninths of the character and sentiment therein.

And, first, let it be said that there is no more deceptive, unconsciously deceptive, person on the face of the globe. The Englishman certainly does not know himself, and outside England he is but guessed at. Only a pure Englishman—and he must be an odd one—really knows the Englishman, just as, for inspired judgment of art, one must go to the inspired artist.

Racially, the Englishman is so complex and so old a blend that no one can say what he is. In character he is just

as complex. Physically, there are two main types—one inclining to length of limb, narrowness of face and head, (you will see nowhere such long and narrow heads as in our islands,) and bony jaws; the other approximating more to the ordinary "John Bull." The first type is gaining on the second. There is little or no difference in the main character behind.

In attempting to understand the real nature of the Englishman certain salient facts must be borne in mind:

THE SEA.—To be surrounded generation after generation by the sea has developed in him a suppressed idealism, a peculiar impermeability, a turn for adventure, a faculty for wandering, and for being sufficient unto himself in far surroundings.

THE CLIMATE.—Whoso weathers for centuries a climate that, though healthy and never extreme, is perhaps the least reliable and one of the wettest in the world, must needs grow in himself a counterbalance of dry philosophy, a defiant humor, an enforced medium temperature of soul. The Englishman is no more given to extremes than is his climate; against its damp and perpetual changes he has become coated with a sort of bluntness.

THE POLITICAL AGE OF HIS COUNTRY.—This is by far the oldest settled Western power, politically speaking. For eight hundred and fifty years England has known no serious military disturbance from without; for over one hundred and fifty she has known no military disturbance, and no serious political turmoil within. This is partly the outcome of her isolation, partly the happy accident of her political constitution, partly the result of the Englishman's habit of looking before he leaps,

which comes, no doubt, from the mixture in his blood and the mixture in his climate.

THE GREAT PREPONDERANCE FOR SEVERAL GENERATIONS OF TOWN OVER COUNTRY LIFE.—Taken in conjunction with centuries of political stability this is the main cause of a certain deeply ingrained humanness of which, speaking generally, the Englishman appears to be rather ashamed than otherwise.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.—This potent element in the formation of the modern Englishman, not only of the upper but of all classes, is something that one rather despairs of making understood—in countries that have no similar institution. But, imagine one hundred thousand youths of the wealthiest, healthiest, and most influential classes passed during each generation at the most impressionable age, into a sort of ethical mold, emerging therefrom stamped to the core with the impress of a uniform morality, uniform manners, uniform way of looking at life; remembering always that these youths fill seven-eighths of the important positions in the professional administration of their country and the conduct of its commercial enterprise; remembering, too, that through perpetual contact with every other class their standard of morality and way of looking at life filters down into the very toes of the land. This great character-forming machine is remarkable for an unself-consciousness which gives it enormous strength and elasticity. Not inspired by the State, it inspires the State. The characteristics of the philosophy it enjoins are mainly negative and, for that, the stronger. "Never show your feelings—to do so is not manly and bores your fellows. Don't cry out when you're hurt, making yourself a nuisance to other people. Tell no tales about your companions, and no lies about yourself. Avoid all 'swank,' 'side,' 'swagger,' braggadocio of speech or manner, on pain of being laughed at." (This maxim is carried to such a pitch that the Englishman, except in his press, habitually understates everything.) "Think little

of money, and speak less of it. Play games hard, and keep the rules of them even when your blood is hot and you are tempted to disregard them. In three words, 'play the game,'" a little phrase which may be taken as the characteristic understatement of the modern Englishman's creed of honor in all classes. This great, unconscious machine has considerable defects. It tends to the formation of "caste"; it is a poor teacher of sheer learning, and, aesthetically, with its universal suppression of all interesting and queer individual traits of personality, it is almost horrid. But it imparts a remarkable incorruptibility to English life; it conserves vitality by suppressing all extremes, and it implants everywhere a kind of unassuming stoicism and respect for the rules of the great game—Life. Through its unconscious example and through its cult of games it has vastly influenced even the classes not directly under its control.

Three more main facts must be borne in mind:

THE ESSENTIAL DEMOCRACY OF THE GOVERNMENT.

FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND THE PRESS.

ABSENCE OF COMPULSORY MILITARY SERVICE.

These, the outcome of the quiet and stable home life of an island people, have done more than anything to make the Englishman a deceptive personality to the outside eye. He has for centuries been permitted to grumble. There is no such confirmed grumbler—until he really has something to grumble at, and then no one who grumbles less. There is no such confirmed carper at the condition of his country, yet no one really so profoundly convinced of its perfection. A stranger might well think from his utterances that he was spoiled by the freedom of his life, unprepared to sacrifice anything for a land in such a condition. Threaten that country, and with it his liberty, and you will find that his grumbles have meant less than nothing. You will find, too, that behind the apparent slackness of every arrangement and every individual are pow-

ers of adaptability to facts, elasticity, practical genius, a latent spirit of competition and a determination that are staggering. Before this war began it was the fashion among a number of English to lament the decadence of the race. These very grumblers are now foremost in praising, and quite rightly, the spirit shown in every part of their country. Their lamentations, which plentifully deceived the outside ear, were just English grumbles, for if in truth England had been decadent there could have been no such universal display for them to be praising now. But all this democratic grumbling and habit of "going as you please" serve a deep purpose. Autocracy, censorship, compulsion destroy humor in a nation's blood and elasticity in its fibre; they cut at the very mainsprings of national vitality. Only free from these baneful controls can each man arrive in his own way at realization of what is or is not national necessity; only free from them will each man truly identify himself with a national ideal—not through deliberate instruction or by command of others, but by simple, natural conviction from within.

Two cautions are here given to the stranger trying to form an estimate of the Englishman: The creature must not be judged from his press, which, manned (with certain exceptions) by those who are not typically English, is too highly colored altogether to illustrate the true English spirit; nor can he be judged by such of his literature as is best known on the Continent. The Englishman proper is inexpressive, unexpressed. Further, he must be judged by the evidences of his wealth. England may be the richest country in the world per head of population, but not 5 per cent. of that population have any wealth to speak of, certainly not enough to have affected their hardihood, and, with inconsiderable exceptions, those who have enough are brought up to worship hardihood. For the vast proportion of young Englishmen active military service is merely a change from work as hard, and more monotonous.

From these main premises, then, we come to what the Englishman really is.

When, after months of travel, one returns to England one can taste, smell, feel the difference in the atmosphere, physical and moral—the curious, damp, blunt, good-humored, happy-go-lucky, old-established, slow-seeming formlessness of everything. You hail a porter, you tell him you have plenty of time; he muddles your things amiably, with an air of "It'll be all right," till you have only just time. But suppose you tell him you have no time; he will set himself to catch that train for you, and he will catch it faster than a porter of any other country. Let no stranger, however, experiment to prove the truth of this, for that porter—and a porter is very like any other Englishman—is incapable of taking the foreigner seriously, and, quite friendly but a little pitying, will lose him the train, assuring the unfortunate gentleman that he really doesn't know what train he wants to catch—how should he?

The Englishman must have a thing brought under his nose before he will act; bring it there and he will go on acting after everybody else has stopped. He lives very much in the moment, because he is essentially a man of facts and not a man of imagination. Want of imagination makes him, philosophically speaking, rather ludicrous; in practical affairs it handicaps him at the start, but once he has "got going," as we say, it is of incalculable assistance to his stamina. The Englishman, partly through this lack of imagination and nervous sensibility, partly through his inbred dislike of extremes and habit of minimizing the expression of everything, is a perfect example of the conservation of energy. It is very difficult to come to the end of him. Add to this unimaginative, practical, tenacious moderation an inherent spirit of competition—not to say pugnacity—so strong that it will often show through the coating of his "Live and let live," half-surly, half-good-humored manner; add a peculiar, ironic, "don't care" sort of humor; an underground but inveterate humorlessness, and an ashamed idealism—and you get

some notion of the pudding of English character. Its main feature is a kind of terrible coolness, a rather awful level-headedness. The Englishman makes constant small blunders; but few, almost no, deep mistakes. He is a slow starter, but there is no stronger finisher because he has by temperament and training the faculty of getting through any job that he gives his mind to with a minimum expenditure of vital energy; nothing is wasted in expression, style, spread-eagleism; everything is instinctively kept as near to the practical heart of the matter as possible. He is—to the eye of an artist—distressingly matter-of-fact, a tempting mark for satire. And yet he is in truth an idealist, though it is his nature to snub, disguise, and mock his own inherent optimism. To admit enthusiasms is “bad form” if he is a “gentleman”; “swank” or mere waste of good heat if he is not a “gentleman.” England produces more than its proper percentage of cranks and poets; it may be taken that this is Nature’s way of redressing the balance in a country where feelings are not shown, sentiments not expressed, and extremes laughed at. Not that the Englishman lacks heart; he is not cold, as is generally supposed—on the contrary he is warm-hearted and feels very strongly; but just as peasants, for lack of words to express their feelings, become stolid, so it is with the Englishman from sheer lack of the habit of self-expression. Nor is the Englishman deliberately hypocritical; but his tenacity, combined with his powerlessness to express his feelings, often gives him the appearance of a hypocrite. He is inarticulate, has not the clear and fluent cynicism of expansive natures wherewith to confess exactly how he stands. It is the habit of men of all nations to want to have things both ways; the Englishman is unfortunately so unable to express himself, *even to himself*, that he has never realized this truth, much less confessed it—hence his appearance of hypocrisy.

He is quite wrongly credited with being attached to money. His island position, his early discoveries of coal, iron, and processes of manufacture have made

him, of course, into a confirmed industrialist and trader; but he is more of an adventurer in wealth than a heaper-up of it. He is far from sitting on his money-bags—has absolutely no vein of proper avarice, and for national ends will spill out his money like water, when he is convinced of the necessity.

In everything it comes to that with the Englishman—he must be convinced, and he takes a lot of convincing. He absorbs ideas slowly, reluctantly; he would rather not imagine anything unless he is obliged, but in proportion to the slowness with which he can be moved is the slowness with which he can be removed! Hence the symbol of the bulldog. When he does see and seize a thing he seizes it with the whole of his weight, and wastes no breath in telling you that he has got hold. That is why his press is so untypical; it gives the impression that he does waste breath. And, while he has hold, he gets in more mischief in a shorter time than any other dog because of his capacity for concentrating on the present, without speculating on the past or future.

For the particular situation which the Englishman has now to face he is terribly well adapted. Because he has so little imagination, so little power of expression, he is saving nerve all the time. Because he never goes to extremes, he is saving energy of body and spirit. That the men of all nations are about equally endowed with courage and self-sacrifice has been proved in these last six months; it is to other qualities that one must look for final victory in a war of exhaustion. The Englishman does not look into himself; he does not brood; he sees no further forward than is necessary, and he must have his joke. These are fearful and wonderful advantages. Examine the letters and diaries of the various combatants and you will see how far less imaginative and reflecting, (though shrewd, practical, and humorous,) the English are than any others; you will gain, too, a profound, a deadly conviction that behind them is a fibre like rubber, that may be frayed, and bent a little this way and that, but can neither be permeated nor broken.

When this war began the Englishman rubbed his eyes steeped in peace; he is still rubbing them just a little, but less and less every day. A profound lover of peace by habit and tradition, he has actually realized by now that he is in for it up to the neck. To any one who really knows him—*c'est quelque chose!*

It shall be freely confessed that, from an aesthetic point of view, the Eng-

lishman, devoid of high lights and shadows, coated with drab, and superhumanly steady on his feet, is not too attractive. But for the wearing, tearing, slow, and dreadful business of this war, the Englishman—fighting of his own free will, unimaginative, humorous, competitive, practical, never in extremes, a dumb, inveterate optimist, and terribly tenacious—is undoubtedly equipped with Victory.

Bernard Shaw's Terms of Peace

A letter written by G. Bernard Shaw to a friend in Vienna is published in the Münchener Neueste Nachrichten and in the Frankfurter Zeitung of April 21, 1915. Mr. Shaw says:

WE are already on the way out of the first and worst phase. When reason began to bestir itself, I appeared each week in great open meetings in London; and when the newspapers discovered that I was not only not being torn to pieces, but that I was growing better and better liked, then the feeling that patriotism consists of insane lies began to give place to the discovery that the presentation of the truth is not so dangerous as every one had believed.

At that time scarcely one of the leading newspapers took heed of my insistence that this war was an imperialistic war and popular only in so far as all wars are for a time popular. But I need hardly assure you that if Grey had announced: "We have concluded a treaty of alliance with Germany and Austria and must wage war upon France and Russia," he would have evoked precisely the same patriotic fervor and exactly the same democratic anti-Prussianism, (with the omission of the P.) Then the German Kaiser would have been cheered as the cousin of our King and our old and faithful friend.

As concerns myself, I am not unqualifiedly what is called a pan-German; the Germans, besides, would not have a spark of respect left for me if now, when all questions of civilization are buried, I did not hold to my people. But neither am I an anti-German.

Militarism has just compelled me to pay about £1,000 as war tax, in order to help some "brave little Serbian" or other to cut your throat, or some Russian mujik to blow out your brains, although I would rather pay twice as much to save your life or to buy in Vienna some good picture for our National Gallery, and although I should mourn far less about the death of a hundred Serbs or mujiks than for your death.

I am, even aside from myself, sorry for your sake that my plays are no longer produced. Why does not the Burgtheater play the "Schlachtenlenker"? Napoleon's speech about English "Realpolitik" would prove an unprecedented success. If the English win, I shall call upon Sir Edward Grey to add to the treaty of peace a clause in which Berlin and Vienna shall be obliged each year to produce at least 100 performances of my plays for the next twenty-five years.

In London during August the usual cheap evening orchestra concerts, so-called promenade concerts, were announced in a patriotic manner, with the comment that no German musician would be represented on the program. Everybody applauded this announcement, but nobody attended the concerts. A week later a program of Beethoven, Wagner, and Richard Strauss was announced. Everybody was indignant, and everybody went to hear it. It was a complete and decisive German victory, without a single man being killed.

A Policy of Murder

By Sir Arthur Conan Doyle

This article is taken from Conan Doyle's book "The German War," and is reproduced by permission of the author.

WHEN one writes with a hot heart upon events which are still recent one is apt to lose one's sense of proportion. At every step one should check one's self by the reflection as to how this may appear ten years hence, and how far events which seem shocking and abnormal may prove themselves to be a necessary accompaniment of every condition of war. But a time has now come when in cold blood, with every possible restraint, one is justified in saying that since the most barbarous campaigns of Alva in the Lowlands, or the excesses of the Thirty Years' War, there has been no such deliberate policy of murder as has been adopted in this struggle by the German forces. This is the more terrible since these forces are not, like those of Alva, Parma, or Tilly, bands of turbulent and mercenary soldiers, but they are the nation itself, and their deeds are condoned or even applauded by the entire national press. It is not on the chiefs of the army that the whole guilt of this terrible crime must rest, but it is upon the whole German Nation, which for generations to come must stand condemned before the civilized world for this reversion to those barbarous practices from which Christianity, civilization, and chivalry had gradually rescued the human race. They may, and do, plead the excuse that they are "earnest" in war, but all nations are earnest in war, which is the most desperately earnest thing of which we have any knowledge. How earnest we are will be shown when the question of endurance begins to tell. But no earnestness can condone the crime of the nation which deliberately breaks those laws which have been indorsed by the common consent of humanity.

War may have a beautiful as well as a terrible side, and be full of touches of human sympathy and restraint which

mitigate its unavoidable horror. Such have been the characteristics always of the secular wars between the British and the French. From the old glittering days of knighthood, with their high and gallant courtesy, through the eighteenth century campaigns where the debonair guards of France and England exchanged salutations before their volleys, down to the last great Napoleonic struggle, the tradition of chivalry has always survived. We read how in the Peninsula the pickets of the two armies, each of them as earnest as any Germans, would exchange courtesies, how they would shout warnings to each other to fall back when an advance in force was taking place, and how to prevent the destruction of an ancient bridge, the British promised not to use it on condition that the French would forgo its destruction—an agreement faithfully kept upon either side. Could one imagine Germans making war in such a spirit as this? Think of that old French bridge, and then think of the University of Louvain and the Cathedral of Rheims. What a gap between them—the gap that separates civilization from the savage!

Let us take a few of the points which, when focused together, show how the Germans have degraded warfare—a degradation which affects not only the Allies at present, but the whole future of the world, since if such examples were followed the entire human race would, each in turn, become the sufferers. Take the very first incident of the war, the mine laying by the Königin Luise. Here was a vessel, which was obviously made ready with freshly charged mines some time before there was any question of a general European war, which was sent forth in time of peace, and which, on receipt of a wireless message, began to spawn its hellish

cargo across the North Sea at points fifty miles from land in the track of all neutral merchant shipping. There was the keynote of German tactics struck at the first possible instant. So promiscuous was the effect that it was a mere chance which prevented the vessel which bore the German Ambassador from being destroyed by a German mine. From first to last some hundreds of people have lost their lives on this tract of sea, some of them harmless British trawlers, but the greater number sailors of Danish and Dutch vessels pursuing their commerce as they had every right to do. It was the first move in a consistent policy of murder.

Leaving the sea, let us turn to the air. Can any possible term save a policy of murder be applied to the use of aircraft by the Germans? It has always been a principle of warfare that unfortified towns should not be bombarded. So closely has it been followed by the British that one of our aviators, flying over Cologne in search of a Zeppelin shed, refrained from dropping a bomb in an uncertain light, even though Cologne is a fortress, lest the innocent should suffer. What is to be said, then, for the continual use of bombs by the Germans, which have usually been wasted in the destruction of cats or dogs, but which have occasionally torn to pieces some woman or child? If bombs were dropped on the forts of Paris as part of a scheme for reducing the place, then nothing could be said in objection, but how are we to describe the action of men who fly over a crowded city dropping bombs promiscuously which can have no military effect whatever, and are entirely aimed at the destruction of innocent civilians? These men have been obliging enough to drop their cards as well as their bombs on several occasions. I see no reason why these should not be used in evidence against them, or why they should not be hanged as murderers when they fall into the hands of the Allies. The policy is idiotic from a military point of view; one could conceive nothing which would stimulate and harden national resistance more surely than such petty irritations. But

it is a murderous innovation in the laws of war, and unless it is sternly repressed it will establish a most sinister precedent for the future.

As to the treatment of Belgium, what has it been but murder, murder all the way? From the first days of Visé, when it was officially stated that an example of "frightfulness" was desired, until the present moment, when the terrified population has rushed from the country and thrown itself upon the charity and protection of its neighbors, there has been no break in the record. Compare the story with that of the occupation of the South of France by Wellington in 1813, when no one was injured, nothing was taken without full payment, and the villagers fraternized with the troops. What a relapse of civilization is here! From Visé to Louvain, Louvain to Aerschot, Aerschot to Malines and Termonde, the policy of murder never fails.

It is said that more civilians than soldiers have fallen in Belgium. Peruse the horrible accounts taken by the Belgian Commission, who took evidence in the most careful and conscientious fashion. Study the accounts of that dreadful night in Louvain which can only be equaled by the Spanish Fury of Antwerp. Read the account of the wife of the Burgomaster of Aerschot, with its heartrending description of how her lame son, aged sixteen, was kicked along to his death by an aide de camp. It is all so vile, so brutally murderous that one can hardly realize that one is reading the incidents of a modern campaign conducted by one of the leading nations in Europe.

Do you imagine that the thing has been exaggerated? Far from it—the volume of crime has not yet been appreciated. Have not many Germans unwittingly testified to what they have seen and done? Only last week we had the journal of one of them, an officer whose service had been almost entirely in France and removed from the crime centres of Belgium. Yet were ever such entries in the diary of a civilized soldier? "Our men behaved like regular Vandals." "We shot the whole lot," (these

were villagers.) "They were drawn up in three ranks. The same shot did for three at a time." "In the evening we set fire to the village. The priest and some of the inhabitants were shot." "The villages all around were burning." "The villages were burned and the inhabitants shot." "At Leppe apparently two hundred men were shot. There must have been some innocent men among them." "In future we shall have to hold an inquiry into their guilt instead of merely shooting them." "The Vandals themselves could not have done more damage. The place is a disgrace to our army." So the journal runs on with its tale of infamy. It is an infamy so shameless that even in the German record the story is perpetuated of how a French lad was murdered because he refused to answer certain questions. To such a depth of degradation has Prussia brought the standard of warfare.

And now, as the appetite for blood grows ever stronger—and nothing waxes more fast—we have stories of the treatment of prisoners. Here is a point where our attention should be most concentrated and our action most prompt. It is the just duty which we owe to our own brave soldiers. At present the instances are isolated, and we will hope that they do not represent any general condition. But the stories come from sure sources. There is the account of the brutality which culminated in the

death of the gallant motor cyclist Pearson, the son of Lord Cowdray. There is the horrible story in a responsible Dutch paper, told by an eyewitness, of the torture of three British wounded prisoners in Landen Station on Oct. 9.

The story carries conviction by its detail. Finally, there are the disquieting remarks of German soldiers, repeated by this same witness, as to the British prisoners whom they had shot. The whole lesson of history is that when troops are allowed to start murder one can never say how or when it will stop. It may no longer be part of a deliberate, calculated policy of murder by the German Government. But it has undoubtedly been so in the past, and we cannot say when it will end. Such incidents will, I fear, make peace an impossibility in our generation, for whatever statesmen may write upon paper can never affect the deep and bitter resentment which a war so conducted must leave behind it.

Other German characteristics we can ignore. The consistent, systematic lying of the German press, or the grotesque blasphemies of the Kaiser, can be met by us with contemptuous tolerance. After all, what is is, and neither falsehood nor bombast will alter it. But this policy of murder deeply affects not only ourselves but the whole framework of civilization, so slowly and painfully built upward by the human race.

The Soldier's Epitaph

"HE DIED FOR ENGLAND."

[Inscription on the tombstone of a private soldier, recently killed in action.]

These four short words his epitaph,
 Sublimely simple, nobly plain;
 Who adds to them but addeth chaff,
 Obscures with husks the golden grain.
 Not all the bards of other days,
 Not Homer in his loftiest vein,
 Not Milton's most majestic strain,

Not the whole wealth of Pindar's lays,
 Could bring to that one simple phrase
 What were not rather loss than gain;
 That elegy so briefly fine,
 That epic writ in half a line,
 That little which so much conveys,
 Whose silence is a hymn of praise
 And throbs with harmonies divine.

The Will to Power

By Eden Phillpotts

A distinction between power as physical force and as expressed in terms of spiritual value is drawn by Mr. Phillpotts in his article, appearing in *The Westminster Gazette* of March 27, 1915, which is here reproduced.

IT has not often happened in the world's history that any generation can speak with such assured confidence of future events as at present. When the living tongue is concerned with destiny it seldom does more than indicate the trend of things to come, examine tendencies and movements, and predict, without any sure foreknowledge or conviction, what generations unborn may expect to find and the conditions they will create. Destiny for us, who speak of it, is an unknown sea whose waves, indeed, drive steadily onward before strong winds, but whose shore is still far distant. We know that we men of the hour can never see these billows break upon the sands of future time.

But today we may look forward to stupendous events; today there are mighty epiphanies quickening earth, not to be assigned to periods of future time, but at hand, so near that our living selves shall see their birth, and participate in their consequences. Nor can we stand as spectators of this worldwide hope; we must not only hear the evangel whose first mighty murmur is drifting to our ears from the future, we must take it up with heart and voice and help to sound and resound it. There is tremendous work lying ahead, not only for our children, but for us. Weighty deeds will presently have to be performed by all adult manhood and womanhood—deeds, perhaps, greater than any living man has been called to do—deeds that exalt the doer and make sacred for all history the hour in which they shall be done.

On Time's high canopy the years are as stars great and small, some of lesser magnitude, some forever bright with the

splendor of supreme human achievements; and now there flashes out a year concerning which, indeed, no man can say as yet how great it will be; but all men know that it must be great. It is destined to drown all lesser years, even as sunrise dims the morning stars with day; it is a year bright with promise and bodeful with ill-tidings also; for in the world at this moment there exist stupendous differences that this year will go far to set at rest. This year must solve profound problems, determine the trend of human affairs for centuries, and influence the whole future history of civilization. This year may actually see the issue; at least it will serve to light the near future when that issue shall be accomplished.

There has risen, then, a year that is great with no less a thing than the future welfare of the whole earth. It must embrace the victory of one ideal over another, and include a decision which shall determine whether the sublime human hope of freedom and security for all mankind is to guide human progress henceforth, or the spirit of domination and slavery to win a new lease of life. On the one hand, this year of the first magnitude will shine with the glory of such a victory for democratic ideas as we have not seen, or expected to see, in our generation; on the other, its bale-fire will blaze upon the overthrow of all great ideals, the destruction of a weak nation by a powerful one, and the triumph of that policy of "blood and iron" from which every enlightened man of this age shrinks with horror. The situation cannot be stated in simpler terms; no words can make it less than tremendous; and it is demanded from us to make it personal—as personal to ourselves as it is to the King of

England, the Emperor of Germany, or the Czar of all the Russias

They live who, when this far-flung agony of war is ended, when the last hero has fallen and lies in his grave, when the final cannon has sounded its knell, must be called upon to make the great peace. They live who will weave a shroud of death for the exhausted world, or plant the tree of life upon her bosom; and since we, inspired by the splendor of our cause, are assured that the day-spring will be ours, we already feel and know that we shall see that tree of life planted. But do we also feel and know that we must help to plant it, that the labor and toil of each of us is vital, that none is so weak but that there is a part of that planting for which he was born, a part consecrated to his individual effort, a part that will go undone if he does not do it?

Look to yourself, man, woman, child, that with heart and soul and strength you perform your part in the great world work lying ahead; remember that not princes and rulers, not regiments of your kinsmen, not the armed might of nations can do your appointed task for you. Fail of it, and by so much will the life tree lack in her planting; succeed, and by so much will she be the more splendid and secure. Her name is Freedom and her fruits are for the weak and humble as well as the strong and great, for the foolish as well as the wise, for all subjects as well as for all States. Put out your power, then, for that most sacred tree; deny yourself no pang that she may flourish; labor according to your strength that her blossom shall win the worship of humanity and her fruit be worthy of the blood of heroes that has poured for her planting.

Much we hear of the Will to Power, and because that great impulse has lifted our enemies on the full flood tide of their might and manhood in one overwhelming torrent, Germany has been condemned. But not for her united effort and whole-hearted sacrifice should we condemn her—not for her patriotism and response to the call. Her reply is

wholly magnificent, and it only stands condemned for the evil ends and ignoble ambitions toward which it is directed. The spectacle of a great nation at one, inspired by a single ideal and pouring its life, its wealth, its energy, with a single impulse in the name of the Fatherland can only be called sublime. The tragedy lies in the fact that this stupendous effort is not worthy of the cause; that for false hopes, false ambitions, and mistaken sense of right and justice Germany has wasted her life and given her soul.

Who blames the Will to Power? Power is the mightiest weapon fate can forge for a nation—a treasure beyond the strength of commerce, or armies, or navies, or intellect of man to produce. But it is necessary that we define power in terms of spiritual value; and then, surely, it appears that Power and Force can never be the same. A Frederick I., or a Napoleon, may pretend to confound power with force, and believe that their might must be right. They possessed a giant's strength and used it like giants. But true Power is ever the attribute of Right and they who strive for it must cleanse their souls, see that their ambition is worthy of such a possession, and, before all else, strive to realize the awful responsibility that goes with Power.

Never was a moment more golden than the present for this nation to Will to Power. For once our hearts are single, our resolutions pure, our patriotism, as well as the objects that we seek to attain, sure set upon the line of human progress. In the sane and sacred name of Freedom, therefore, and at her ancient inspiration it becomes us now to strive by all that is highest and best in us to fulfill our noblest possibilities and give soul and strength that the united Will to Power of our nation may surmount that of her enemies, even as our goal and purpose surmount theirs.

It is for the victory that must crown this victory we should labor, and cease not while hand can toil, mind achieve, and heart sacrifice to make the vital issue assured.

Alleged German Atrocities

Report of the Committee Appointed by the British Government and Presided Over by

The Right Hon. Viscount Bryce

Formerly British Ambassador at Washington

Proofs of alleged atrocities committed by the German armies in Belgium—proofs collected by men trained in the law and presented with unemotional directness after a careful inquiry—are presented in the report of the "Committee on Alleged German Atrocities" headed by Viscount Bryce, the English historian and formerly British Ambassador at Washington. The document was made public simultaneously in London and the United States on May 12, 1915, four days after the sinking of the *Lusitania*. It was pointed out at the time that this was a coincidence, as the report had been prepared several weeks before and forwarded by mail from England for publication on May 12.

WARRANT OF APPOINTMENT.

I hereby appoint—

The Right Hon. Viscount Bryce, O. M.;

The Right Hon. Sir Frederick Pollock, Bt., K. C.;

The Right Hon. Sir Edward Clarke, K. C.;

Sir Alfred Hopkinson, K. C.;

Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, Vice Chancellor of the University of Sheffield; and

Mr. Harold Cox;

to be a committee to consider and advise on the evidence collected on behalf of his Majesty's Government as to outrages alleged to have been committed by German troops during the present war, cases of alleged maltreatment of civilians in the invaded territories, and breaches of the laws and established usages of war; and to prepare a report for his Majesty's Government showing the conclusion at which they arrive on the evidence now available.

And I appoint Viscount Bryce to be Chairman, and Mr. E. Grimwood Mears and Mr. W. J. H. Brodrick, barristers at law, to be Joint Secretaries to the committee.

(Signed) H. H. ASQUITH.

15th December, 1914.

Sir Kenelm E. Digby, K. C., G. C. B., was appointed an additional member of the committee on 22d January, 1915.

To the Right Hon. H. H. Asquith, &c., &c., First Lord of H. M. Treasury.

The committee have the honor to present and transmit to you a report upon the evidence which has been submitted to them regarding outrages alleged to have been committed by the German troops in the present war.

By the terms of their appointment the committee were directed

"to consider and advise on the evidence collected on behalf of his Majesty's Government, as to outrages alleged to have been committed by German troops during the present war, cases of alleged maltreatment of civilians in the invaded territories, and breaches of the laws and established usages of war; and to prepare a report for his Majesty's Government showing the conclusion at which they arrive on the evidence now available."

It may be convenient that before proceeding to state how we have dealt with the materials, and what are the conclusions we have reached, we should set out the manner in which the evidence came into being, and its nature.

In the month of September, 1914, a

minute was, at the instance of the Prime Minister, drawn up and signed by the Home Secretary and the Attorney General. It stated the need that had arisen for investigating the accusations of inhumanity and outrage that had been brought against the German soldiers, and indicated the precautions to be taken in collecting evidence that would be needed to insure its accuracy. Pursuant to this minute steps were taken under the direction of the Home Office to collect evidence, and a great many persons who could give it were seen and examined.

For some three or four months before the appointment of the committee, the Home Office had been collecting a large body of evidence.* More than 1,200 depositions made by these witnesses have been submitted to and considered by the committee. Nearly all of these were obtained under the supervision of Sir Charles Mathews, the Director of Public Prosecutions, and of Mr. E. Grimwood Mears, barrister of the Inner Temple, while in addition Professor J. H. Morgan has collected a number of statements mainly from British soldiers, which have also been submitted to the committee.

The labor involved in securing, in a comparatively short time, so large a number of statements from witnesses scattered all over the United Kingdom, made it necessary to employ a good many examiners. The depositions were in all cases taken down in this country by gentlemen of legal knowledge and experience, though, of course, they had no authority to administer an oath. They were instructed not to "lead" the witnesses, or make any suggestions to them, and also to impress upon them the necessity for care and precision in giving their evidence.

They were also directed to treat the evidence critically, and as far as possible satisfy themselves, by putting questions which arose out of the evidence, that the

witnesses were speaking the truth. They were, in fact, to cross-examine them, so far as the testimony given provided materials for cross-examination.

We have seen and conversed with many of these gentlemen, and have been greatly impressed by their ability and by what we have gathered as to the fairness of spirit which they brought to their task. We feel certain that the instructions given have been scrupulously observed.

In many cases those who took the evidence have added their comments upon the intelligence and demeanor of the witnesses, stating the impression which each witness made, and indicating any cases in which the story told appeared to them open to doubt or suspicion. In coming to a conclusion upon the evidence the committee have been greatly assisted by these expressions of opinion, and have uniformly rejected every deposition on which an opinion adverse to the witness has been recorded.

This seems to be a fitting place at which to put on record the invaluable help which we have received from our secretaries, Mr. E. Grimwood Mears and Mr. W. J. H. Brodrick, whose careful diligence and minute knowledge of the evidence have been of the utmost service. Without their skill, judgment, and untiring industry the labor of examining and appraising each part of so large a mass of testimony would have occupied us for six months instead of three.

The marginal references in this report indicate the particular deposition or depositions on which the statements made in the text are based.*

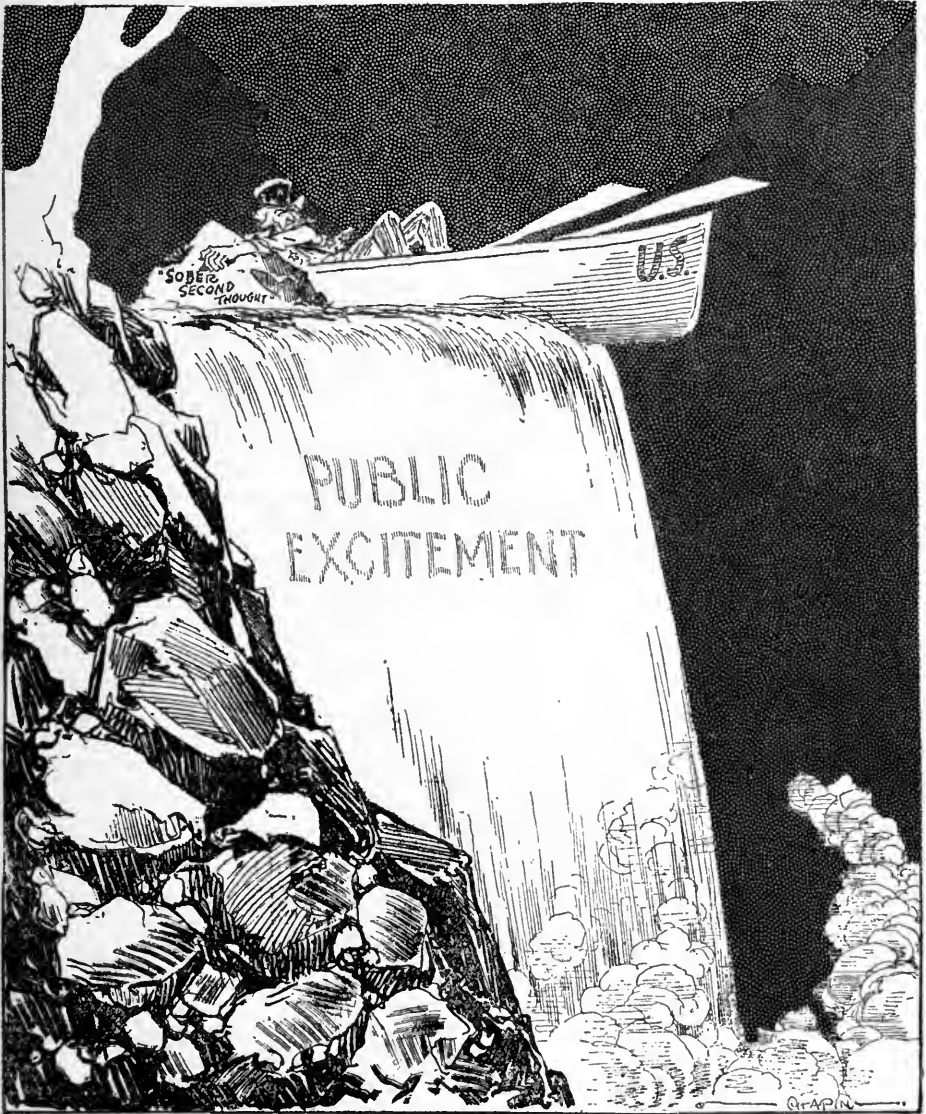
The depositions printed in the appendix themselves show that the stories were tested in detail, and in none of these have we been able to detect the trace of any desire to "make a case" against the German Army. Care was taken to impress upon the witness that the giving of evidence was a grave and serious matter, and every deposition submitted to us was signed by the witness in the presence of the examiner.

*Taken from Belgian witnesses, some soldiers, but most of them civilians from those towns and villages through which the German Army passed, and from British officers and soldiers.

[*Marginal references are omitted in this reproduction.—EDITOR.]

[American Cartoon]

Nearing the Brink



—From *The Republic*, St. Louis.

Hold Fast!

The Announcer



—From The Herald, New York.

[The Notice on the Bulletin Board is the German Embassy's advertisement giving warning that travellers who sailed on ships of Great Britain or her Allies entering the War Zone did so at their own risk.]

[American Cartoon]

The Sacrifice of Cain



—From *The Sun*, New York.

What have you done with your brother Abel?

[American Cartoon]

Removing the Hyphen



—From *The Times*, New York.

Now it must be either one or the other.

[American Cartoon]

A Misunderstanding



—From *The Evening Sun*, New York.

THE ALLIES: "Ouch! Don't you know we've taken the offensive?"

[English Cartoon]

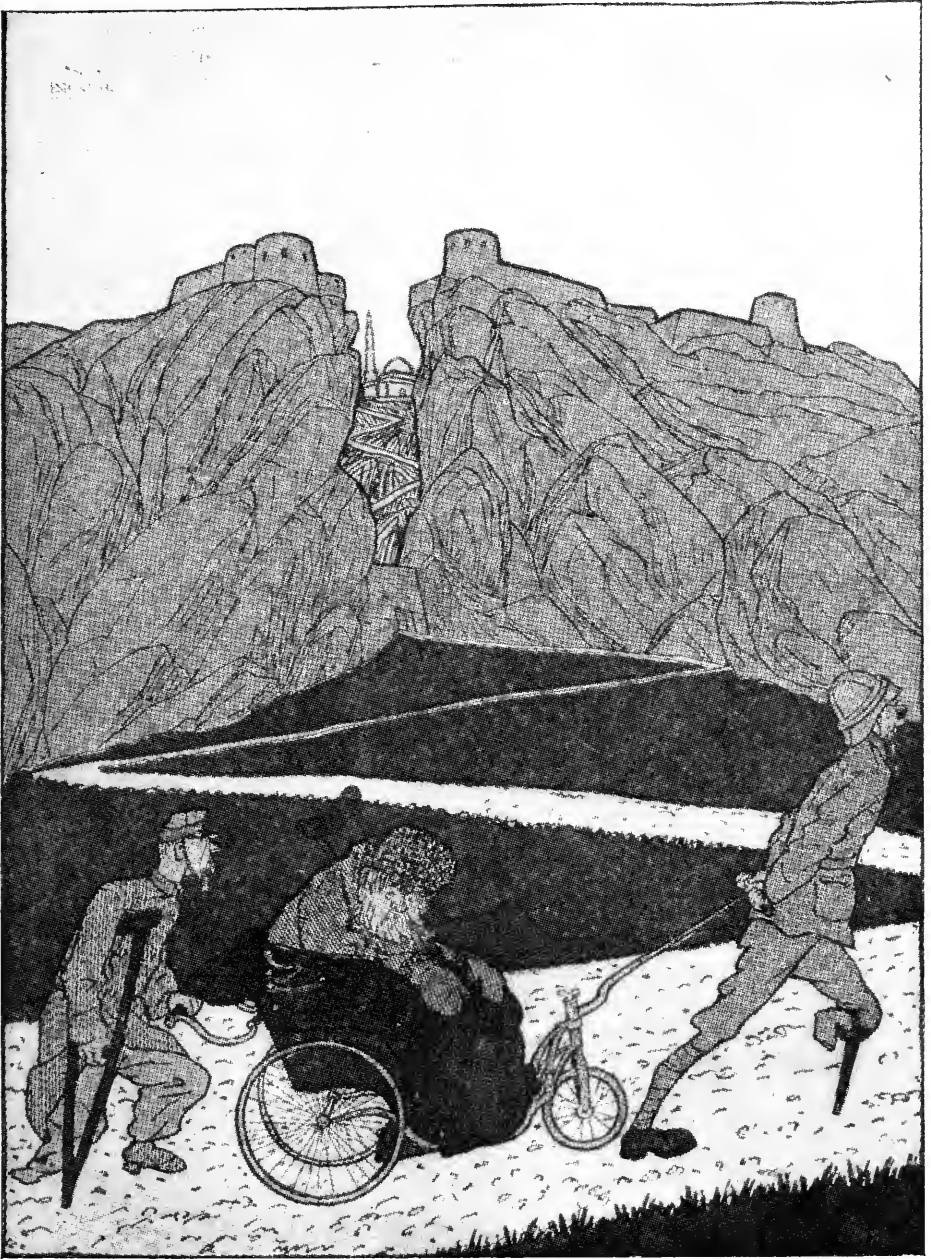
The Elixir of Hate



—From *Punch*, London.

KAISER: “ ‘ Fair is foul, and foul is fair;
Hover through the fog and filthy air.’ ”

[German Cartoon]
It's a Long Way to Constantinople



—From *Simplicissimus*, Munich.

The English soldiers have a war song "It's a Long Way to Tipperary." This has been changed; they now sing "It's a Long Way to Constantinople."

[English Cartoon]

Canada!



—From *Punch*, London.

Ypres: April 22-24, 1915.

[French Cartoon]

Our Colors Advance!

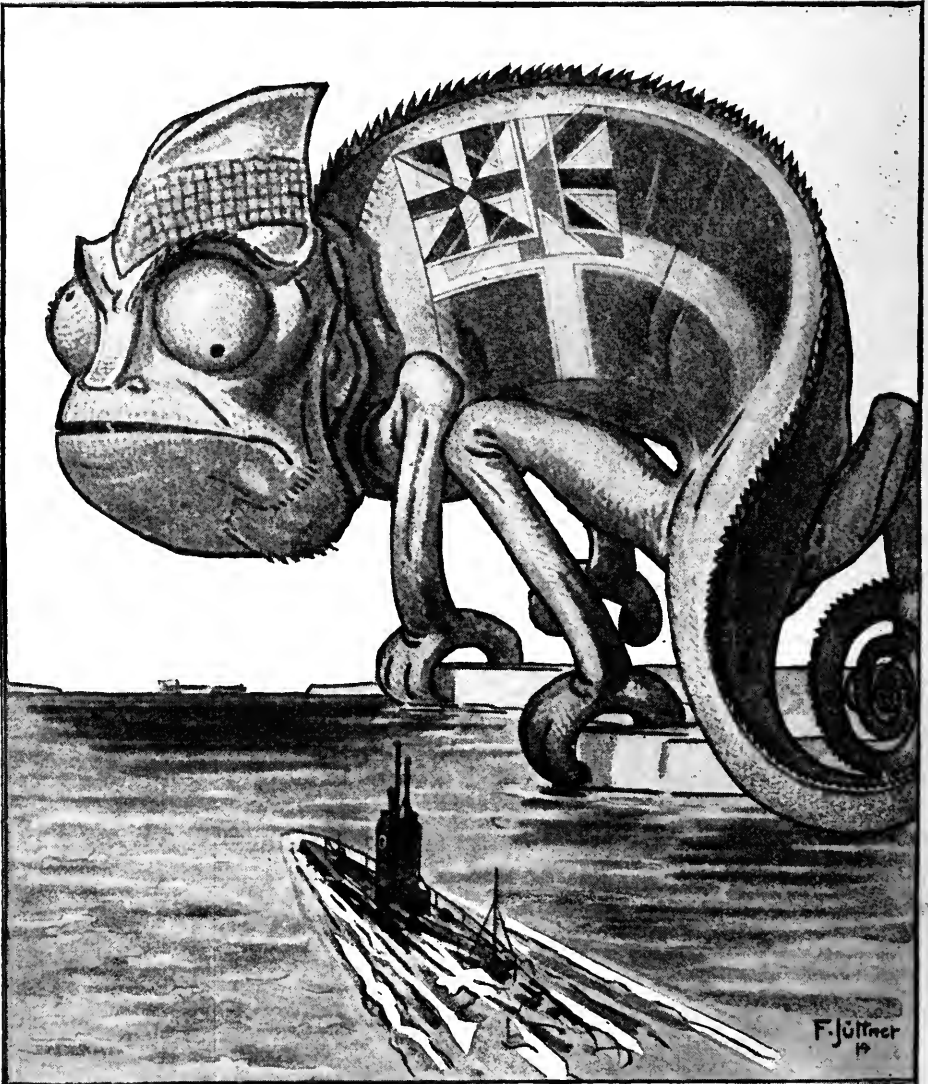


—From *La Vie Parisienne*, Paris.

War is teaching geography to the women of France. Alas! it is *by heart* they are learning their lessons.

[German Cartoon]

The English Chameleon



The Merchant Flag
of Norway

—From *Lustige Blätter*, Berlin.

When the Beast sees the enemy coming it changes its British colors and appears in neutral hues.



The Merchant Flag
of Great Britain

[Although this cartoon depends on color for its full value, the effect of the blending of the two flags is preserved in the black and white reproduction.]

[English Cartoon]

A Great Naval Triumph



—From *Punch*, London.

GERMAN SUBMARINE OFFICER: "This ought to make them jealous in the sister service. Belgium saw nothing better than this."

[Although *Punch* did not disclose the artist's allusion to Revelations, xiii., 18, contained in the number of the submarine "U-666," it may not be amiss to quote the passage: "Let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast: for it is the number of a man; and his number is six hundred three score and six."]

[German Cartoon]

Opening of the Bathing Season—Feb. 18



—From *Kladderadatsch*, Berlin.

The German stickle-backs worry the “Ruler of the Seas.”

What Is Our Duty?

By Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst

The position of the British suffragettes, who suspended their militant program and are zealously supporting the cause of the Allies, is stated in this speech by Mrs. Pankhurst, delivered in the Sun Hall, Liverpool, and reported in *The Suffragette* of April 23, 1915.

I THINK that throughout our agitation for the franchise for political emancipation, on platforms and on other places—even in prisons—we have talked about rights, and fought for rights; at the same time we have always coupled with the claim for rights clear statements as to duty. We have never lost sight of the fact that to possess rights puts upon human beings grave responsibilities and serious duties. We have fought for rights because, in order to perform your duty and fulfill your responsibilities properly, in time of peace, you must have certain citizen rights. When the State is in danger, when the very liberties in your possession are imperiled, is, above all, the time to think of duty. And so, when the war broke out, some of us who, convalescing after our fights, decided that one of the duties of the Women's Social and Political Union in war time was to talk to men about their duty to the nation—the duty of fighting to preserve the independence of our country, to preserve what our forefathers had won for us, and to protect the nation from foreign invasion.

There are people who say, "What right have women to talk to men about fighting for their country, since women are not, according to the custom of civilization, called upon to fight?" That used to be said to us in times of peace.

Certainly women have the right to say to men, "Are you going to fight to defend your country and redeem your promise to women?"

Men have said to women, not only that they fight to defend their country, but that they protect women from all the dangers and difficulties of life, and they are proud to be in the position to do it. Why, then, we say to those men, "You

are indeed now put to the test. The men of Belgium, the men of France, the men of Serbia, however willing they were to protect women from the things that are most horrible—and more horrible to women than death itself—have not been able to do it."

It is only by an accident, or a series of accidents, for which no man here has the right to take credit, that British women on British soil are not now enduring the horrors endured by the women of France, the women of Belgium, and the women of Serbia. The least that men can do is that every man of fighting age should prepare himself to redeem his word to women, and to make ready to do his best, to save the mothers, the wives, and the daughters of Great Britain from outrage too horrible even to think of.

We have the right to say to the men, "Fight for your country, defend the shores of this land of ours. Fight for your homes, for the women, and for the children." We have the right if that was the only reason, but in these days, when women are taking larger views of their duty to the State, we go further than that; we claim the right to hold recruiting meetings and ask men to fight for bigger reasons than are advanced ordinarily. We say to men, "In this war there are issues at stake bigger even than the safety of your homes and your own country. Your honor as a nation is at stake."

We have our duties in this war. First of all, this duty begins at home—this duty to our home, because I always feel that if we are not ready to do our duty to those nearest to us we are not fit to do our duty far away. And so the first duty is to ourselves and to our homes. Then there is the duty to protect those

who, having made a gallant fight for self-defense—and by that I mean the country of Belgium—what we owe to Belgium we can never repay, because now the whole German plan of campaign is perfectly plain to all those who are not prejudiced, and who are not affected by pan-Germanism; and, unfortunately, in their methods of warfare—and their methods of warfare are many—they not only fight physically, but they fight mentally and morally as well, and in this country and in France, and in every country in Europe, long before the war broke out, in fact, ever since the year 1870, they have been preparing by subtle means to take possession of Europe, and I believe their ambitions are not limited by that, they want to rule the whole world. The whole thing is clear to any unprejudiced observer.

It is very difficult for your attacking bully to imagine that a small State—I mean small numerically, and weak physically—will ever have the courage to stand up and resist the bully when he prepares to attack. The Germans did not expect Belgium to keep them at bay while the other countries involved prepared, but there is absolutely no doubt that the plan was to press through Belgium, to take possession of Paris, and then, having humiliated and crippled France, to cross the Channel and defeat us. There is no doubt that was the plan; it is perfectly clear. And that being so, we owe—civilization owes—to Belgium a debt which it can never repay.

Then we have our duty to our ally, France. How much democracy owes to France! France is the mother of European democracy. There is no doubt about her claim to that. If there had been nothing else worth fighting for in this war, in my opinion that alone would have been worth fighting for, to preserve that spirit and that democracy—which France has given to the world, and which would perish if France were destroyed. The people of France are a people who never have been, and I believe never will be, corrupted in the sense of thinking that material things are of more value than spiritual things. The people of France have always been

ready to sacrifice themselves for ideals. They have been ready to sacrifice life, they have been ready to sacrifice money, they have been ready to sacrifice everything for an ideal.

You know the old saying, that men should work and women should weep? That is not true, for it is for all of us to work and for all of us to weep when there is occasion to do so. Therefore, it is because in the French Nation you have splendid qualities combined in both sexes, because the history of the French Nation is so magnificent, because the French Nation has contributed so much to civilization, and so much in art, beauty, and in great qualities, it is our duty to stand by France, and to prevent her being crushed by the oversexed, that is to say, overmasculine, country of Germany.

It is our duty as women to do what we can to help our country in this war, because if the unthinkable thing happened, and Germany were to win, the women's movement, as we know it in Europe, would be put back fifty years at least; there is no doubt about it. Whether it ever could rise again is to my mind extremely doubtful. The ideal of women in Germany is the lowest in Europe. Infantile mortality is very high, immorality is widespread, and, in consequence, venereal disease is rampant. Notice, too, the miserable and niggardly pittance that is being paid to the wives and families of German soldiers, while nothing whatever is being paid to unmarried wives and their children. True security for women and children is for women to have control over their own destiny. And so it is a duty, a supreme duty, of women, first of all as human beings and as lovers of their country, to co-operate with men in this terrible crisis in which we find ourselves.

If all were trained to contribute something to the community, both in time of peace and in time of war, how much better it would be.

What bitterness there was in the hearts of many women when they saw work and business going on as usual, carried on by men who ought to be in the fighting line. There were thousands

upon thousands of women willing, even if they were not trained, to do that work and release men, and we have urged the authorities to take into account the great reserve force of the nation, the women who are or might be quite capable to step into the shoes of the men when they were called up to fight.

The Board of Trade issued its appeal to women just before Easter to register their names as willing to do national service in any capacity during the course of the war. I want to tell you tonight that I am very proud of the women of the country. When the first recruiting appeals were made to men, the hoardings were covered with placards and appeals and they were making efforts by recruiting bands, in places of pleasure—everywhere in the columns of the newspapers there were recruiting appeals to men. Then the time came when the Board of Trade wished to know to what extent it could depend upon the services of the women of the country, and what was done in the case of women? There were no posters for us; there were no recruiting meetings for us; there were no appeals from great names to us; no attractive pictures, "Your King and Country Want You"—nothing of that kind. And yet, in spite of that, in one week 34,000 women sent in their names as volunteers for a national service. [Loud applause.]

And now, something about this talk of peace, and the terms of peace. Well, I consider it very sinister and very dangerous. Very dangerous, indeed, because nothing heartens the Kaiser and his advisers so much as weakness in any of the allied nations. It is no use expecting Germany to understand that the people who are talking about peace are animated by a genuine love for peace. I go further as regards peace movements. I think that in this country, and in America, and in all the neutral countries, there are a great many very well-meaning people who are genuine lovers of peace. What woman does not dread the effects of war? Germans are encouraging the call for peace. The Kaiser knows he is going to be beaten, and he

wants to get out of it on as easy terms as possible, and so it is worth while for German-Americans to run a peace movement in America. They want America, which is a great neutral country, to intervene to try to force peace and to let the Germans down easily without having to pay for all that they have done in Belgium and in France. Similar tactics are being pursued in this country.

Only those who have been in close touch with people who know what goes on, and what has gone on, since the year 1870, after the Franco-German war, can realize how insidious this German influence is, and so I say to you who love peace (and who does not love peace?) if you take part in any of these peace movements, you are playing the German game and helping Germany. [Loud applause.] They talk of peace, but consider the position of our allies. The Germans in possession of the North of France, devastating the country, even today driving thousands of innocent, helpless people at the point of the bayonet, outraging women, and burning homes! And people in this country—an allied nation—allowing themselves to talk about terms of peace.

It is for Germany to talk of peace, not for us. [Loud applause.] It is for us to show a strong and determined front, because if we do anything else we are misunderstood, and advantage is taken of the situation. Since some women have responded to an invitation to take part in a peace conference at The Hague, I feel bound to say that they do not represent the mass of Englishwomen. [Loud applause.] The mass of Englishwomen are whole-hearted in our support of our own Government in this matter and in the support of our allies—[loud applause]—and we are prepared to face all the necessary sacrifices to bring this war to a successful issue from our point of view, because we know, because we feel, that this terrible business, forced upon us, has to be properly finished to save us from the danger of another war perhaps in ten years' time. [Applause.]

We have clear consciences on this mat-

ter. We did not want this war. France did not want this war. Belgium did not want this war. I do not believe that Russia wanted this war. It has been forced upon us, and since Germany took up the sword, the sword must be held in the hands of the Allies until Germany has had enough of war and does not want any more of it. [Loud applause.] For us to talk about peace now, for us to weaken our side now, is to make the condition of those men who are laying down their lives for us in France more terrible than it already is. We have to support them, and to stand loyally by them, and to make our sacrifices and show our patriotism to them.

And, speaking of sacrifices, let us consider this drink question. What is our duty in that matter? Well, I think our duty is this, that, if the Government of this country seriously think it is necessary for our success in this war to stop drink altogether until the war is ended, it is our duty loyally to support and accept that decision. [Loud applause.]

At any rate, in time of war we should be ready to say, "Let us sacrifice a personal pleasure in order to get a great national good." Would not that be a something to lift up a nation and make it a wonderful and a great nation?

I believe that in this war we are fighting for things undying and great; we are fighting for liberty; we are fighting for honor; we are fighting to preserve the great inheritance won for us by our forefathers, and it is worth while to fight for those things, and it is worth while to die for them—to die a glorious death in defense of all that makes life worth having is better than to live unending years of inglorious life. And so, out of this great trial that has come upon us, I believe a wonderful transformation will come to the people of this country and we shall emerge from it stronger and better and nobler and more worthy of our great traditions than ever we should perhaps have been without it. [Loud and continued applause.]

The Soldiers Pass

By MAURICE HEWLETT.

[From "Sing Songs of the War."]

THE soldiers pass at nightfall,
 A girl within each arm,
 And kisses quick and light fall
 On lips that take no harm.
 Lip language serves them better
 Who have no parts of speech:
 No syntax there to fetter
 The lore they love to teach.

What waist would shun th' indenture
 Of such a gallant squeeze?
 What girl's heart not dare venture
 The hot-and-cold disease?
 Nay, let them do their service
 Before the lads depart!
 That hand goes where the curve is
 That billows o'er the heart.

Who deems not how 'tis given,
 What knows he of its worth?
 'Tis either fire of heaven
 Or earthiness of earth.
 And if the lips are fickle
 That kiss, they'll never know
 If tears begin to trickle
 Where they saw roses blow.

"The girl I left behind me,"
 He'll sing, nor hear her moan,
 "The tears they come to blind me
 As I sit here alone."
 What else had you to offer,
 Poor spendthrift of the town?
 Lay out your unloct coffer—
 The Lord will know His own.

The Great End

By Arnold Bennett.

Fear that the British Government in its discussion of peace terms with Germany might defer to the policy of France and Russia of keeping important negotiations secret inspired the writing of this article, which appeared in *The London Daily News* of April 1, 1915, and is here published by the author's permission. Mr. Bennett points out that despite her alliance Great Britain is essentially a democracy subject to the mandates of her people.

THE well-meant but ingenuous efforts of the Government to produce pessimism among the citizens have failed. The object of these efforts was clear; it has, I think, been attained by more direct and wiser means. Munitions of war are now being more satisfactorily manufactured, though the country still refuses to be gloomy. "Eyewitness" pretended to quake, but Przemysl fell. He tried again, but Sir John French announced that he did not believe in a protracted war. Since Sir John French said also that he believed in victory, it follows that he believes in a victory not long delayed. The incomparable and candid reports of the French War Office about the first stages of the war increased our confidence, and at the same time showed to us the inferiority of our own reports. Only victors could publish such revelations, and Britain, with her passion for forgetting mistakes and her hatred of the confessional, could never bring herself to publish them. These reports were confirmed and capped by the remarkable communications of General Joffre to a journalistic friend. The New York Stock Exchange began to gamble about the date of victory. The London Stock Exchange took on a new firmness. Not even the sinister losses at Neuve Chapelle, nor the rumors concerning the same, could disturb our confidence. Peace, therefore, in the general view, and certainty in the view of those who knew most, is decidedly nearer than when I wrote last about peace.

A short while ago Mr. Asquith referred with sarcasm and reproof to those who talk of peace. But, for once, his meaning was not clear. If he meant that to suggest peace to the enemy at this stage is

both dangerous and ridiculous, he will be approved by the nation. But if he meant that terms of peace must not even be mentioned among ourselves, he will find people ready to disagree with him, and to support the weight of his sarcasm and his reproof. I am one of those people. Bellicose by disposition, I nevertheless like to know what I am fighting for. This is perhaps an idiosyncrasy, but many persons share it, and they are not to be ignored. It may be argued that Mr. Asquith has defined what we are fighting for. He has not. He has only defined part of what we are fighting for. His reference to the overthrow of Prussian militarism is futile, because it gives no indication of the method to be employed. The method of liberating and compensating Belgium and other small communities is clear; but how are you to overthrow an ideal? Prussian militarism will not be destroyed by a defeat in the field. Militarism cannot overthrow militarism; it can only breed militarism. The point is of the highest importance.

I do not assume that Mr. Asquith's notions about the right way to overthrow militarism are not sound notions. I assume that they are sound. I think that his common sense is massive. Though it is evident that he lets his Ministerial colleagues do practically what they choose in their own spheres, and though there are militarists in the Cabinet, I do not, like *The Morning Post*, consider that the Prime Minister exists in a stupor of negligence. On the contrary, I assume that at the end of the war, as at the beginning, Mr. Asquith will control the foolish, and that common sense will prevail in the Cabinet when a treaty is the subject of converse. Still further, I will

assume that, contrary to nearly all precedent, the collective sagacity of the Ministry has not been impaired, and its self-conceit perilously tickled, by the long exercise of absolute power in face of a Parliament of poltroons. And, lastly, I will abandon my old argument that the discussion of peace terms might shorten the war, without any risk of prolonging it. And still I very strongly hold that peace terms ought to be discussed.

It appears to me that there is a desire—I will not say a conspiracy—on the part of the Government to bring this war to an end in the same manner as it will be brought to an end in Germany—that is to say, autocratically, without either the knowledge or the consent of the nation. The projected scheme, I imagine, is to sit tight and quiet, and in due course inform the nation of a fact accomplished. It can be done, and I think it will be done, unless the House of Commons administers to itself a tonic and acquires courage. Already colonial statesmen have been politely but firmly informed that they are not wanted in England this year! The specious excuse for keeping the nation in the dark is that we are allied to Russia, where the people are never under any circumstances consulted, and to France, where for the duration of the war the Government is as absolute, in spirit and in conduct, as that of Russia; and that we must not pain those allied Governments by any exhibition of democracy in being. Secrecy and a complete autocratic control of the people are the watchwords of the allied Governments, and therefore they must be the watchwords of our Government.

This is very convenient for British autocrats, but the argument is not convincing. The surrender of ideals ought not to be so one-sided. We do not dream of suggesting to the Russian and the French Governments how they ought to conduct themselves toward their peoples; and similarly we should not allow them to influence the relations between our Government and ourselves.

The basis of peace negotiations must necessarily be settled in advance by representatives of all the allied Govern-

ments in conclave. The mandate of each Government in regard to the conclave is the affair of that Government, and it is the affair of no other Government. The mandate of our Government is, therefore, the affair of our Government, and the allied Governments are just as much entitled to criticise or object to it as we, for example, are entitled to suggest to the Czar how he ought to behave in Finland. Our Government, being a democratic Government, has no right to go into conclave without a mandate from the people who elected it. It possesses no mandate of the kind. It has a mandate, and a mighty one, to prosecute the war, and it is prosecuting the war to the satisfaction of the majority of the electorate. But a peace treaty is a different and an incomparably more important thing. Up to the present the mind of the nation has found no expression, and it probably will not find any expression unless the Government recognizes fairly that it is a representative Government and behaves with the deference which is due from a representative Government. As matters stand, the mandate of the British Government will come, not from Britain, but from Russia and France.

The great argument drawn from the Government's alleged duty to the allied Governments is, no doubt, reinforced, in the minds of Ministers and at Cabinet meetings, by two subsidiary arguments. The first of these rests in the traditional assumption that all international politics must be committed, perpetrated, and accomplished in secret. This strange traditional notion will die hard, but some time it will have to die, and at the moment of its death excellent and sincere persons will be convinced that the knell of the British Empire has sounded. The knell of the British Empire has frequently sounded. It sounded when capital punishment was abolished for sheep-stealing, when the great reform bill was passed, when purchase was abolished in the army, when the deceased wife's sister bill was passed, when the Parliament act became law; and it will positively sound again when the mediaeval Chinese tradi-

tions of the Diplomatic Service are cast aside. There are many important people alive today who are so obsessed by those traditions as to believe religiously that if the British people, and by consequence the German Government, were made aware of the peace terms, the German Army would in some mysterious way be strengthened and encouraged, and our own ultimate success imperiled. Such is the power of the dead hand, and against this power the new conviction that in a democratic and candid foreign policy lies the future safety of the world will have to fight hard.

The other subsidiary argument for ignoring the nation is that Ministers are wiser than the nation, and therefore that Ministers must save the nation from itself by making it impotent and acting over its head. This has always been the argument of autocrats, and even of tyrants. It is a ridiculous argument, and it was never more ridiculous than when applied to the British Government and the British Nation today. Throughout the war the Government has underestimated the qualities of the nation—courage, discipline, fortitude, and wisdom. It is still underestimating them. For myself, I have no doubt that in the making of peace the sagacity of the nation as a whole would be greater than the sagacity of the Government. But even if it were not, the right of the nation to govern itself in the gravest hour of its career remains unchallengeable. All arguments in favor of depriving the nation of that right amount to the argument of Germany in favor of taking Belgium—"We do it in your true interests, and in our own."

If the Government does not on its own initiative declare that it will consult—and effectively consult—Parliament concerning the peace terms, then it is the duty of Parliament, and especially of the House of Commons, to make itself unpleasant and to produce that appearance of internal discord which (we are told by all individuals who dislike being disturbed) is so enheartening to Germany. There have always been, and there still

are, ample opportunities for raising questions of foreign policy in the House of Commons. If foreign policy has seldom or never been adequately handled by the House of Commons, the reason simply is that the House has not been interested in it. Not to the tyranny of Ministries, but to the supineness and the ignorance of the people's representatives, is the present state of affairs due. Hence the rank and file of Radicals should organize themselves. They would unquestionably receive adequate support in the press and at public meetings. And none but they can do anything worth doing. And among the rank and file of Radicals the plain common-sense men should make themselves heard. Foreign policy debates in the House are usually the playground of cranks of all varieties, and the plain common-sense man seems to shrink from being vocal in such company. It is a pity. The plain common-sense man should believe in himself a little more. The result would perhaps startle his modesty. And he should begin instantly on the resumption of Parliament. He will of course be told that he is premature. But no matter. When he gets up and makes a row he will be told that he is premature, until Sir Edward Grey is in a position to announce in the icy cold and impressive tones of omniscience and omnipotence and perfect wisdom that the deed is irrevocably done and only the formal ratification of the people is required. We have been through all that before, and we shall go through it again unless we start out immediately to be unpleasant.

I hope nobody will get the impression that I think we are a nation of angels under a Government of earthy and primeval creatures. I do not. We are not in a Christian mood, and we don't want to be in a Christian mood. When last week a foolish schoolmaster took advantage of his august position to advocate Christianity at the end of the war, we frightened the life out of him, and he had to say that he had been "woefully misunderstood." In spite of this, the nation, being cut off from direct communication with foreign autocracy and re-

action, is in my view very likely to be less at the worst, it is and should be the
 unwise than the Government at the su- master and not the slave of the Govern-
 preme crisis. And even if it isn't, even ment.

German Women Not Yet For Peace

By Gertrude Baumer, President of the Bund Deutscher Frauen.

An emphatic refusal of German women to take part in the recent Women's Peace Conference at The Hague was issued by the Bund Deutscher Frauen (League of German Women) signed by Gertrude Baumer as President, and published by the Frankfurter Zeitung in its issue of April 29, 1915. The manifesto reads:

ON April 28 begins the Peace Congress to which women of Holland have invited the women of neutral and belligerent nations. The German woman's movement has declined to attend the congress, by unanimous resolution of its Executive Committee. If individual German women visit the congress it can be only such as have no responsible position in the organization of the German woman's movement and for whom the organization is, therefore, not responsible.

This declination must not be understood to mean that the German women do not feel as keenly as the women of other countries the enormous sacrifices and sorrows which this war has caused, or that they refuse to recognize the good intentions that figure in the institution of this congress. None can yearn more eagerly than we for an end of these sacrifices and sorrows. But we realize that in our consciousness of the weight of these sacrifices we are one with our whole people and Government; we know that the blood of those who fall out there on the field cannot be dearer to us women than to the men who are responsible for the decisions of Germany. Because we know that, we must decline to represent special desires in an international congress. We have no other desires than those of our entire people: a peace consonant with the honor of our State and guaranteeing its safety in the future.

The resolutions that are to be laid before the women's congress at The Hague are of two kinds. One kind denounces war as such, and recommends peaceful settlement of international quarrels. The other offers suggestions for hastening the concluding of peace.

As concerns the first group of suggestions, there are in the German woman's movement women who are in principle very much in sympathy with the aims of the peace movement. But they, too, are convinced that negotiations about the means of avoiding future wars and conquering the mutual distrust of nations can be considered only after peace has again been concluded. But we must most vigorously reject the proposition of voting approval to a resolution in which the war is declared to be an "insanity" that was made possible only through a "mass psychosis." Shall the German women deny the moral force that is impelling their husbands and sons into death, that has led home countless German men, amid a thousand dangers, from foreign lands, to battle for their threatened Fatherland, by declaring in common with the women of hostile States that the national spirit of self-sacrifice of our men is insanity and a psychosis? Shall we psychologically attack in the rear the men who are defending our safety by scoffing at and deprecating the internal forces that are keeping them up? Whoever asks us to do that cannot have experienced what thousands of wives and mothers have experienced, who have seen their husbands and sons march away.

Just as in these fundamental questions the women of the belligerent States must feel differently from those of neutral States, so, too, there is naturally a difference of opinion among the women of the different belligerent States concerning the time of the conclusion of peace. Inasmuch as the prospects of the belligerent States depend upon the time of the conclusion of peace and therewith the future fate of the nations involved in the war, there can likewise be no international conformity of opinion on this question either.

Dear to us German women as well, are the relations that bind us to the women of foreign lands, and we sincerely desire that they may survive this time of hatred and enmity. But precisely for that reason international negotiations seem fraught with fate to us at a time when we belong exclusively to our people and when strict limits are set to the value of international exchange of views in the fact that we are citizens of our own country, to strengthen whose national power of resistance is our highest task.

Diagnosis of the Englishman

By John Galsworthy

This article originally appeared in the *Amsterdaemer Revue*, having been written during the lull of the war while England fitted her volunteer armies for the Spring campaign, and is here published by special permission of the author.

AFTER six months of war search for the cause thereof borders on the academic. Comment on the physical facts of the situation does not come within the scope of one who, by disposition and training, is concerned with states of mind. Speculation on what the future may bring forth may be left to those with an aptitude for prophecy.

But there is one thought which rises supreme at this particular moment of these tremendous times: The period of surprise is over; the forces known; the issue fully joined. It is now a case of "Pull devil, pull baker" and a question of the fibre of the combatants. For this reason it may not be amiss to try to present to any whom it may concern as detached a picture as one can of the real nature of that combatant who is called the Englishman, especially since ignorance in Central Europe of his character was the chief cause of this war, and speculation as to the future is useless without right comprehension of this curious creature.

The Englishman is taken advisedly because he represents four-fifths of the population of the British Isles and eight-ninths of the character and sentiment therein.

And, first, let it be said that there is no more deceptive, unconsciously deceptive, person on the face of the globe. The Englishman certainly does not know himself, and outside England he is but guessed at. Only a pure Englishman—and he must be an odd one—really knows the Englishman, just as, for inspired judgment of art, one must go to the inspired artist.

Racially, the Englishman is so complex and so old a blend that no one can say what he is. In character he is just

as complex. Physically, there are two main types—one inclining to length of limb, narrowness of face and head, (you will see nowhere such long and narrow heads as in our islands,) and bony jaws; the other approximating more to the ordinary "John Bull." The first type is gaining on the second. There is little or no difference in the main character behind.

In attempting to understand the real nature of the Englishman certain salient facts must be borne in mind:

THE SEA.—To be surrounded generation after generation by the sea has developed in him a suppressed idealism, a peculiar impermeability, a turn for adventure, a faculty for wandering, and for being sufficient unto himself in far surroundings.

THE CLIMATE.—Whoso weathers for centuries a climate that, though healthy and never extreme, is perhaps the least reliable and one of the wettest in the world, must needs grow in himself a counterbalance of dry philosophy, a defiant humor, an enforced medium temperature of soul. The Englishman is no more given to extremes than is his climate; against its damp and perpetual changes he has become coated with a sort of bluntness.

THE POLITICAL AGE OF HIS COUNTRY.—This is by far the oldest settled Western power, politically speaking. For eight hundred and fifty years England has known no serious military disturbance from without; for over one hundred and fifty she has known no military disturbance, and no serious political turmoil within. This is partly the outcome of her isolation, partly the happy accident of her political constitution, partly the result of the Englishman's habit of looking before he leaps,

which comes, no doubt, from the mixture in his blood and the mixture in his climate.

THE GREAT PREPONDERANCE FOR SEVERAL GENERATIONS OF TOWN OVER COUNTRY LIFE.—Taken in conjunction with centuries of political stability this is the main cause of a certain deeply ingrained humanness of which, speaking generally, the Englishman appears to be rather ashamed than otherwise.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.—This potent element in the formation of the modern Englishman, not only of the upper but of all classes, is something that one rather despairs of making understood—in countries that have no similar institution. But, imagine one hundred thousand youths of the wealthiest, healthiest, and most influential classes passed during each generation at the most impressionable age, into a sort of ethical mold, emerging therefrom stamped to the core with the impress of a uniform morality, uniform manners, uniform way of looking at life; remembering always that these youths fill seven-eighths of the important positions in the professional administration of their country and the conduct of its commercial enterprise; remembering, too, that through perpetual contact with every other class their standard of morality and way of looking at life filters down into the very toes of the land. This great character-forming machine is remarkable for an unself-consciousness which gives it enormous strength and elasticity. Not inspired by the State, it inspires the State. The characteristics of the philosophy it enjoins are mainly negative and, for that, the stronger. "Never show your feelings—to do so is not manly and bores your fellows. Don't cry out when you're hurt, making yourself a nuisance to other people. Tell no tales about your companions, and no lies about yourself. Avoid all 'swank,' 'side,' 'swagger,' braggadocio of speech or manner, on pain of being laughed at." (This maxim is carried to such a pitch that the Englishman, except in his press, habitually understates everything.) "Think little

of money, and speak less of it. Play games hard, and keep the rules of them even when your blood is hot and you are tempted to disregard them. In three words, 'play the game,' a little phrase which may be taken as the characteristic understatement of the modern Englishman's creed of honor in all classes. This great, unconscious machine has considerable defects. It tends to the formation of "caste"; it is a poor teacher of sheer learning, and, aesthetically, with its universal suppression of all interesting and queer individual traits of personality, it is almost horrid. But it imparts a remarkable incorruptibility to English life; it conserves vitality by suppressing all extremes, and it implants everywhere a kind of unassuming stoicism and respect for the rules of the great game—Life. Through its unconscious example and through its cult of games it has vastly influenced even the classes not directly under its control.

Three more main facts must be borne in mind:

THE ESSENTIAL DEMOCRACY OF THE GOVERNMENT.

FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND THE PRESS.

ABSENCE OF COMPULSORY MILITARY SERVICE.

These, the outcome of the quiet and stable home life of an island people, have done more than anything to make the Englishman a deceptive personality to the outside eye. He has for centuries been permitted to grumble. There is no such confirmed grumbler—until he really has something to grumble at, and then no one who grumbles less. There is no such confirmed carper at the condition of his country, yet no one really so profoundly convinced of its perfection. A stranger might well think from his utterances that he was spoiled by the freedom of his life, unprepared to sacrifice anything for a land in such a condition. Threaten that country, and with it his liberty, and you will find that his grumbles have meant less than nothing. You will find, too, that behind the apparent slackness of every arrangement and every individual are pow-

ers of adaptability to facts, elasticity, practical genius, a latent spirit of competition and a determination that are staggering. Before this war began it was the fashion among a number of English to lament the decadence of the race. These very grumblers are now foremost in praising, and quite rightly, the spirit shown in every part of their country. Their lamentations, which plentifully deceived the outside ear, were just English grumbles, for if in truth England had been decadent there could have been no such universal display for them to be praising now. But all this democratic grumbling and habit of "going as you please" serve a deep purpose. Autocracy, censorship, compulsion destroy humor in a nation's blood and elasticity in its fibre; they cut at the very mainsprings of national vitality. Only free from these baneful controls can each man arrive in his own way at realization of what is or is not national necessity; only free from them will each man truly identify himself with a national ideal—not through deliberate instruction or by command of others, but by simple, natural conviction from within.

Two cautions are here given to the stranger trying to form an estimate of the Englishman: The creature must not be judged from his press, which, manned (with certain exceptions) by those who are not typically English, is too highly colored altogether to illustrate the true English spirit; nor can he be judged by such of his literature as is best known on the Continent. The Englishman proper is inexpressive, unexpressed. Further, he must be judged by the evidences of his wealth. England may be the richest country in the world per head of population, but not 5 per cent. of that population have any wealth to speak of, certainly not enough to have affected their hardihood, and, with inconsiderable exceptions, those who have enough are brought up to worship hardihood. For the vast proportion of young Englishmen active military service is merely a change from work as hard, and more monotonous.

From these main premises, then, we come to what the Englishman really is.

When, after months of travel, one returns to England one can taste, smell, feel the difference in the atmosphere, physical and moral—the curious, damp, blunt, good-humored, happy-go-lucky, old-established, slow-seeming formlessness of everything. You hail a porter, you tell him you have plenty of time; he muddles your things amiably, with an air of "It'll be all right," till you have only just time. But suppose you tell him you have no time; he will set himself to catch that train for you, and he will catch it faster than a porter of any other country. Let no stranger, however, experiment to prove the truth of this, for that porter—and a porter is very like any other Englishman—is incapable of taking the foreigner seriously, and, quite friendly but a little pitying, will lose him the train, assuring the unfortunate gentleman that he really doesn't know what train he wants to catch—how should he?

The Englishman must have a thing brought under his nose before he will act; bring it there and he will go on acting after everybody else has stopped. He lives very much in the moment, because he is essentially a man of facts and not a man of imagination. Want of imagination makes him, philosophically speaking, rather ludicrous; in practical affairs it handicaps him at the start, but once he has "got going," as we say, it is of incalculable assistance to his stamina. The Englishman, partly through this lack of imagination and nervous sensibility, partly through his inbred dislike of extremes and habit of minimizing the expression of everything, is a perfect example of the conservation of energy. It is very difficult to come to the end of him. Add to this unimaginative, practical, tenacious moderation an inherent spirit of competition—not to say pugnacity—so strong that it will often show through the coating of his "Live and let live," half-surly, half-good-humored manner; add a peculiar, ironic, "don't care" sort of humor; an underground but inveterate humaneness, and an ashamed idealism—and you get

some notion of the pudding of English character. Its main feature is a kind of terrible coolness, a rather awful level-headedness. The Englishman makes constant small blunders; but few, almost no, deep mistakes. He is a slow starter, but there is no stronger finisher because he has by temperament and training the faculty of getting through any job that he gives his mind to with a minimum expenditure of vital energy; nothing is wasted in expression, style, spread-eagleism; everything is instinctively kept as near to the practical heart of the matter as possible. He is—to the eye of an artist—distressingly matter-of-fact, a tempting mark for satire. And yet he is in truth an idealist, though it is his nature to snub, disguise, and mock his own inherent optimism. To admit enthusiasms is “bad form” if he is a “gentleman”; “swank” or mere waste of good heat if he is not a “gentleman.” England produces more than its proper percentage of cranks and poets; it may be taken that this is Nature’s way of re-dressing the balance in a country where feelings are not shown, sentiments not expressed, and extremes laughed at. Not that the Englishman lacks heart; he is not cold, as is generally supposed—on the contrary he is warm-hearted and feels very strongly; but just as peasants, for lack of words to express their feelings, become stolid, so it is with the Englishman from sheer lack of the habit of self-expression. Nor is the Englishman deliberately hypocritical; but his tenacity, combined with his powerlessness to express his feelings, often gives him the appearance of a hypocrite. He is inarticulate, has not the clear and fluent cynicism of expansive natures wherewith to confess exactly how he stands. It is the habit of men of all nations to want to have things both ways; the Englishman is unfortunately so unable to express himself, *even to himself*, that he has never realized this truth, much less confessed it—hence his appearance of hypocrisy.

He is quite wrongly credited with being attached to money. His island position, his early discoveries of coal, iron, and processes of manufacture have made

him, of course, into a confirmed industrialist and trader; but he is more of an adventurer in wealth than a heaper-up of it. He is far from sitting on his money-bags—has absolutely no vein of proper avarice, and for national ends will spill out his money like water, when he is convinced of the necessity.

In everything it comes to that with the Englishman—he must be convinced, and he takes a lot of convincing. He absorbs ideas slowly, reluctantly; he would rather not imagine anything unless he is obliged, but in proportion to the slowness with which he can be moved is the slowness with which he can be removed! Hence the symbol of the bulldog. When he does see and seize a thing he seizes it with the whole of his weight, and wastes no breath in telling you that he has got hold. That is why his press is so untypical; it gives the impression that he does waste breath. And, while he has hold, he gets in more mischief in a shorter time than any other dog because of his capacity for concentrating on the present, without speculating on the past or future.

For the particular situation which the Englishman has now to face he is terribly well adapted. Because he has so little imagination, so little power of expression, he is saving nerve all the time. Because he never goes to extremes, he is saving energy of body and spirit. That the men of all nations are about equally endowed with courage and self-sacrifice has been proved in these last six months; it is to other qualities that one must look for final victory in a war of exhaustion. The Englishman does not look into himself; he does not brood; he sees no further forward than is necessary, and he must have his joke. These are fearful and wonderful advantages. Examine the letters and diaries of the various combatants and you will see how far less imaginative and reflecting, (though shrewd, practical, and humorous,) the English are than any others; you will gain, too, a profound, a deadly conviction that behind them is a fibre like rubber, that may be frayed, and bent a little this way and that, but can neither be permeated nor broken.

When this war began the Englishman rubbed his eyes steeped in peace; he is still rubbing them just a little, but less and less every day. A profound lover of peace by habit and tradition, he has actually realized by now that he is in for it up to the neck. To any one who really knows him—*c'est quelque chose!*

It shall be freely confessed that, from an aesthetic point of view, the Eng-

lishman, devoid of high lights and shadows, coated with drab, and superhumanly steady on his feet, is not too attractive. But for the wearing, tearing, slow, and dreadful business of this war, the Englishman—fighting of his own free will, unimaginative, humorous, competitive, practical, never in extremes, a dumb, inveterate optimist, and terribly tenacious—is undoubtedly equipped with Victory.

Bernard Shaw's Terms of Peace

A letter written by G. Bernard Shaw to a friend in Vienna is published in the Münchener Neueste Nachrichten and in the Frankfurter Zeitung of April 21, 1915. Mr. Shaw says:

WE are already on the way out of the first and worst phase. When reason began to bestir itself, I appeared each week in great open meetings in London; and when the newspapers discovered that I was not only not being torn to pieces, but that I was growing better and better liked, then the feeling that patriotism consists of insane lies began to give place to the discovery that the presentation of the truth is not so dangerous as every one had believed.

At that time scarcely one of the leading newspapers took heed of my insistence that this war was an imperialistic war and popular only in so far as all wars are for a time popular. But I need hardly assure you that if Grey had announced: "We have concluded a treaty of alliance with Germany and Austria and must wage war upon France and Russia," he would have evoked precisely the same patriotic fervor and exactly the same democratic anti-Prussianism, (with the omission of the P.) Then the German Kaiser would have been cheered as the cousin of our King and our old and faithful friend.

As concerns myself, I am not unqualifiedly what is called a pan-German; the Germans, besides, would not have a spark of respect left for me if now, when all questions of civilization are buried, I did not hold to my people. But neither am I an anti-German.

Militarism has just compelled me to pay about £1,000 as war tax, in order to help some "brave little Serbian" or other to cut your throat, or some Russian mujik to blow out your brains, although I would rather pay twice as much to save your life or to buy in Vienna some good picture for our National Gallery, and although I should mourn far less about the death of a hundred Serbs or mujiks than for your death.

I am, even aside from myself, sorry for your sake that my plays are no longer produced. Why does not the Burgtheater play the "Schlachtenlenker"? Napoleon's speech about English "Realpolitik" would prove an unprecedented success. If the English win, I shall call upon Sir Edward Grey to add to the treaty of peace a clause in which Berlin and Vienna shall be obliged each year to produce at least 100 performances of my plays for the next twenty-five years.

In London during August the usual cheap evening orchestra concerts, so-called promenade concerts, were announced in a patriotic manner, with the comment that no German musician would be represented on the program. Everybody applauded this announcement, but nobody attended the concerts. A week later a program of Beethoven, Wagner, and Richard Strauss was announced. Everybody was indignant, and everybody went to hear it. It was a complete and decisive German victory, without a single man being killed.

A Policy of Murder

By Sir Arthur Conan Doyle

This article is taken from Conan Doyle's book "The German War," and is reproduced by permission of the author.

WHEN one writes with a hot heart upon events which are still recent one is apt to lose one's sense of proportion. At every step one should check one's self by the reflection as to how this may appear ten years hence, and how far events which seem shocking and abnormal may prove themselves to be a necessary accompaniment of every condition of war. But a time has now come when in cold blood, with every possible restraint, one is justified in saying that since the most barbarous campaigns of Alva in the Lowlands, or the excesses of the Thirty Years' War, there has been no such deliberate policy of murder as has been adopted in this struggle by the German forces. This is the more terrible since these forces are not, like those of Alva, Parma, or Tilly, bands of turbulent and mercenary soldiers, but they are the nation itself, and their deeds are condoned or even applauded by the entire national press. It is not on the chiefs of the army that the whole guilt of this terrible crime must rest, but it is upon the whole German Nation, which for generations to come must stand condemned before the civilized world for this reversion to those barbarous practices from which Christianity, civilization, and chivalry had gradually rescued the human race. They may, and do, plead the excuse that they are "earnest" in war, but all nations are earnest in war, which is the most desperately earnest thing of which we have any knowledge. How earnest we are will be shown when the question of endurance begins to tell. But no earnestness can condone the crime of the nation which deliberately breaks those laws which have been indorsed by the common consent of humanity.

War may have a beautiful as well as a terrible side, and be full of touches of human sympathy and restraint which

mitigate its unavoidable horror. Such have been the characteristics always of the secular wars between the British and the French. From the old glittering days of knighthood, with their high and gallant courtesy, through the eighteenth century campaigns where the debonair guards of France and England exchanged salutations before their volleys, down to the last great Napoleonic struggle, the tradition of chivalry has always survived. We read how in the Peninsula the pickets of the two armies, each of them as earnest as any Germans, would exchange courtesies, how they would shout warnings to each other to fall back when an advance in force was taking place, and how to prevent the destruction of an ancient bridge, the British promised not to use it on condition that the French would forgo its destruction—an agreement faithfully kept upon either side. Could one imagine Germans making war in such a spirit as this? Think of that old French bridge, and then think of the University of Louvain and the Cathedral of Rheims. What a gap between them—the gap that separates civilization from the savage!

Let us take a few of the points which, when focused together, show how the Germans have degraded warfare—a degradation which affects not only the Allies at present, but the whole future of the world, since if such examples were followed the entire human race would, each in turn, become the sufferers. Take the very first incident of the war, the mine laying by the Königin Luise. Here was a vessel, which was obviously made ready with freshly charged mines some time before there was any question of a general European war, which was sent forth in time of peace, and which, on receipt of a wireless message, began to spawn its hellish

cargo across the North Sea at points fifty miles from land in the track of all neutral merchant shipping. There was the keynote of German tactics struck at the first possible instant. So promiscuous was the effect that it was a mere chance which prevented the vessel which bore the German Ambassador from being destroyed by a German mine. From first to last some hundreds of people have lost their lives on this tract of sea, some of them harmless British trawlers, but the greater number sailors of Danish and Dutch vessels pursuing their commerce as they had every right to do. It was the first move in a consistent policy of murder.

Leaving the sea, let us turn to the air. Can any possible term save a policy of murder be applied to the use of aircraft by the Germans? It has always been a principle of warfare that unfortified towns should not be bombarded. So closely has it been followed by the British that one of our aviators, flying over Cologne in search of a Zeppelin shed, refrained from dropping a bomb in an uncertain light, even though Cologne is a fortress, lest the innocent should suffer. What is to be said, then, for the continual use of bombs by the Germans, which have usually been wasted in the destruction of cats or dogs, but which have occasionally torn to pieces some woman or child? If bombs were dropped on the forts of Paris as part of a scheme for reducing the place, then nothing could be said in objection, but how are we to describe the action of men who fly over a crowded city dropping bombs promiscuously which can have no military effect whatever, and are entirely aimed at the destruction of innocent civilians? These men have been obliging enough to drop their cards as well as their bombs on several occasions. I see no reason why these should not be used in evidence against them, or why they should not be hanged as murderers when they fall into the hands of the Allies. The policy is idiotic from a military point of view; one could conceive nothing which would stimulate and harden national resistance more surely than such petty irritations. But

it is a murderous innovation in the laws of war, and unless it is sternly repressed it will establish a most sinister precedent for the future.

As to the treatment of Belgium, what has it been but murder, murder all the way? From the first days of Visé, when it was officially stated that an example of "frightfulness" was desired, until the present moment, when the terrified population has rushed from the country and thrown itself upon the charity and protection of its neighbors, there has been no break in the record. Compare the story with that of the occupation of the South of France by Wellington in 1813, when no one was injured, nothing was taken without full payment, and the villagers fraternized with the troops. What a relapse of civilization is here! From Visé to Louvain, Louvain to Aerschot, Aerschot to Malines and Termonde, the policy of murder never fails.

It is said that more civilians than soldiers have fallen in Belgium. Peruse the horrible accounts taken by the Belgian Commission, who took evidence in the most careful and conscientious fashion. Study the accounts of that dreadful night in Louvain which can only be equaled by the Spanish Fury of Antwerp. Read the account of the wife of the Burgomaster of Aerschot, with its heartrending description of how her lame son, aged sixteen, was kicked along to his death by an aide de camp. It is all so vile, so brutally murderous that one can hardly realize that one is reading the incidents of a modern campaign conducted by one of the leading nations in Europe.

Do you imagine that the thing has been exaggerated? Far from it—the volume of crime has not yet been appreciated. Have not many Germans unwittingly testified to what they have seen and done? Only last week we had the journal of one of them, an officer whose service had been almost entirely in France and removed from the crime centres of Belgium. Yet were ever such entries in the diary of a civilized soldier? "Our men behaved like regular Vandals." "We shot the whole lot," (these

were villagers.) "They were drawn up in three ranks. The same shot did for three at a time." "In the evening we set fire to the village. The priest and some of the inhabitants were shot." "The villages all around were burning." "The villages were burned and the inhabitants shot." "At Leppe apparently two hundred men were shot. There must have been some innocent men among them." "In future we shall have to hold an inquiry into their guilt instead of merely shooting them." "The Vandals themselves could not have done more damage. The place is a disgrace to our army." So the journal runs on with its tale of infamy. It is an infamy so shameless that even in the German record the story is perpetuated of how a French lad was murdered because he refused to answer certain questions. To such a depth of degradation has Prussia brought the standard of warfare.

And now, as the appetite for blood grows ever stronger—and nothing waxes more fast—we have stories of the treatment of prisoners. Here is a point where our attention should be most concentrated and our action most prompt. It is the just duty which we owe to our own brave soldiers. At present the instances are isolated, and we will hope that they do not represent any general condition. But the stories come from sure sources. There is the account of the brutality which culminated in the

death of the gallant motor cyclist Pearson, the son of Lord Cowdray. There is the horrible story in a responsible Dutch paper, told by an eyewitness, of the torture of three British wounded prisoners in Landen Station on Oct. 9.

The story carries conviction by its detail. Finally, there are the disquieting remarks of German soldiers, repeated by this same witness, as to the British prisoners whom they had shot. The whole lesson of history is that when troops are allowed to start murder one can never say how or when it will stop. It may no longer be part of a deliberate, calculated policy of murder by the German Government. But it has undoubtedly been so in the past, and we cannot say when it will end. Such incidents will, I fear, make peace an impossibility in our generation, for whatever statesmen may write upon paper can never affect the deep and bitter resentment which a war so conducted must leave behind it.

Other German characteristics we can ignore. The consistent, systematic lying of the German press, or the grotesque blasphemies of the Kaiser, can be met by us with contemptuous tolerance. After all, what is is, and neither falsehood nor bombast will alter it. But this policy of murder deeply affects not only ourselves but the whole framework of civilization, so slowly and painfully built upward by the human race.

The Soldier's Epitaph

"HE DIED FOR ENGLAND."

[Inscription on the tombstone of a private soldier, recently killed in action.]

These four short words his epitaph,
 Sublimely simple, nobly plain;
 Who adds to them but addeth chaff,
 Obscures with husks the golden grain.
 Not all the bards of other days,
 Not Homer in his loftiest vein,
 Not Milton's most majestic strain,

Not the whole wealth of Pindar's lays,
 Could bring to that one simple phrase
 What were not rather loss than gain;
 That elegy so briefly fine,
 That epic writ in half a line,
 That little which so much conveys,
 Whose silence is a hymn of praise
 And throbs with harmonies divine.

The Will to Power

By Eden Phillpotts

A distinction between power as physical force and as expressed in terms of spiritual value is drawn by Mr. Phillpotts in his article, appearing in *The Westminster Gazette* of March 27, 1915, which is here reproduced.

IT has not often happened in the world's history that any generation can speak with such assured confidence of future events as at present. When the living tongue is concerned with destiny it seldom does more than indicate the trend of things to come, examine tendencies and movements, and predict, without any sure foreknowledge or conviction, what generations unborn may expect to find and the conditions they will create. Destiny for us, who speak of it, is an unknown sea whose waves, indeed, drive steadily onward before strong winds, but whose shore is still far distant. We know that we men of the hour can never see these billows break upon the sands of future time.

But today we may look forward to stupendous events; today there are mighty epiphanies quickening earth, not to be assigned to periods of future time, but at hand, so near that our living selves shall see their birth, and participate in their consequences. Nor can we stand as spectators of this worldwide hope; we must not only hear the evangel whose first mighty murmur is drifting to our ears from the future, we must take it up with heart and voice and help to sound and resound it. There is tremendous work lying ahead, not only for our children, but for us. Weighty deeds will presently have to be performed by all adult manhood and womanhood—deeds, perhaps, greater than any living man has been called to do—deeds that exalt the doer and make sacred for all history the hour in which they shall be done.

On Time's high canopy the years are as stars great and small, some of lesser magnitude, some forever bright with the

splendor of supreme human achievements; and now there flashes out a year concerning which, indeed, no man can say as yet how great it will be; but all men know that it must be great. It is destined to drown all lesser years, even as sunrise dims the morning stars with day; it is a year bright with promise and bodeful with ill-tidings also; for in the world at this moment there exist stupendous differences that this year will go far to set at rest. This year must solve profound problems, determine the trend of human affairs for centuries, and influence the whole future history of civilization. This year may actually see the issue; at least it will serve to light the near future when that issue shall be accomplished.

There has risen, then, a year that is great with no less a thing than the future welfare of the whole earth. It must embrace the victory of one ideal over another, and include a decision which shall determine whether the sublime human hope of freedom and security for all mankind is to guide human progress henceforth, or the spirit of domination and slavery to win a new lease of life. On the one hand, this year of the first magnitude will shine with the glory of such a victory for democratic ideas as we have not seen, or expected to see, in our generation; on the other, its bale-fire will blaze upon the overthrow of all great ideals, the destruction of a weak nation by a powerful one, and the triumph of that policy of "blood and iron" from which every enlightened man of this age shrinks with horror. The situation cannot be stated in simpler terms; no words can make it less than tremendous; and it is demanded from us to make it personal—as personal to ourselves as it is to the King of

England, the Emperor of Germany, or the Czar of all the Russias

They live who, when this far-flung agony of war is ended, when the last hero has fallen and lies in his grave, when the final cannon has sounded its knell, must be called upon to make the great peace. They live who will weave a shroud of death for the exhausted world, or plant the tree of life upon her bosom; and since we, inspired by the splendor of our cause, are assured that the day-spring will be ours, we already feel and know that we shall see that tree of life planted. But do we also feel and know that we must help to plant it, that the labor and toil of each of us is vital, that none is so weak but that there is a part of that planting for which he was born, a part consecrated to his individual effort, a part that will go undone if he does not do it?

Look to yourself, man, woman, child, that with heart and soul and strength you perform your part in the great world work lying ahead; remember that not princes and rulers, not regiments of your kinsmen, not the armed might of nations can do your appointed task for you. Fail of it, and by so much will the life tree lack in her planting; succeed, and by so much will she be the more splendid and secure. Her name is Freedom and her fruits are for the weak and humble as well as the strong and great, for the foolish as well as the wise, for all subjects as well as for all States. Put out your power, then, for that most sacred tree; deny yourself no pang that she may flourish; labor according to your strength that her blossom shall win the worship of humanity and her fruit be worthy of the blood of heroes that has poured for her planting.

Much we hear of the Will to Power, and because that great impulse has lifted our enemies on the full flood tide of their might and manhood in one overwhelming torrent, Germany has been condemned. But not for her united effort and whole-hearted sacrifice should we condemn her—not for her patriotism and response to the call. Her reply is

wholly magnificent, and it only stands condemned for the evil ends and ignoble ambitions toward which it is directed. The spectacle of a great nation at one, inspired by a single ideal and pouring its life, its wealth, its energy, with a single impulse in the name of the Fatherland can only be called sublime. The tragedy lies in the fact that this stupendous effort is not worthy of the cause; that for false hopes, false ambitions, and mistaken sense of right and justice Germany has wasted her life and given her soul.

Who blames the Will to Power? Power is the mightiest weapon fate can forge for a nation—a treasure beyond the strength of commerce, or armies, or navies, or intellect of man to produce. But it is necessary that we define power in terms of spiritual value; and then, surely, it appears that Power and Force can never be the same. A Frederick I., or a Napoleon, may pretend to confound power with force, and believe that their might must be right. They possessed a giant's strength and used it like giants. But true Power is ever the attribute of Right and they who strive for it must cleanse their souls, see that their ambition is worthy of such a possession, and, before all else, strive to realize the awful responsibility that goes with Power.

Never was a moment more golden than the present for this nation to Will to Power. For once our hearts are single, our resolutions pure, our patriotism, as well as the objects that we seek to attain, sure set upon the line of human progress. In the sane and sacred name of Freedom, therefore, and at her ancient inspiration it becomes us now to strive by all that is highest and best in us to fulfill our noblest possibilities and give soul and strength that the united Will to Power of our nation may surmount that of her enemies, even as our goal and purpose surmount theirs.

It is for the victory that must crown this victory we should labor, and cease not while hand can toil, mind achieve, and heart sacrifice to make the vital issue assured.

Alleged German Atrocities

Report of the Committee Appointed by the British Government and Presided Over by

The Right Hon. Viscount Bryce

Formerly British Ambassador at Washington

Proofs of alleged atrocities committed by the German armies in Belgium—proofs collected by men trained in the law and presented with unemotional directness after a careful inquiry—are presented in the report of the "Committee on Alleged German Atrocities" headed by Viscount Bryce, the English historian and formerly British Ambassador at Washington. The document was made public simultaneously in London and the United States on May 12, 1915, four days after the sinking of the Lusitania. It was pointed out at the time that this was a coincidence, as the report had been prepared several weeks before and forwarded by mail from England for publication on May 12.

WARRANT OF APPOINTMENT.

I hereby appoint—

The Right Hon. Viscount Bryce, O. M. ;
The Right Hon. Sir Frederick Pollock, Bt., K. C. ;
The Right Hon. Sir Edward Clarke, K. C. ;
Sir Alfred Hopkinson, K. C. ;

Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, Vice Chancellor of the University of Sheffield; and
Mr. Harold Cox;

to be a committee to consider and advise on the evidence collected on behalf of his Majesty's Government as to outrages alleged to have been committed by German troops during the present war, cases of alleged maltreatment of civilians in the invaded territories, and breaches of the laws and established usages of war; and to prepare a report for his Majesty's Government showing the conclusion at which they arrive on the evidence now available.

And I appoint Viscount Bryce to be Chairman, and Mr. E. Grimwood Mears and Mr. W. J. H. Brodrick, barristers at law, to be Joint Secretaries to the committee.

(Signed) H. H. ASQUITH.

15th December, 1914.

Sir Kenelm E. Digby, K. C., G. C. B., was appointed an additional member of the committee on 22d January, 1915.

To the Right Hon. H. H. Asquith, &c., &c., First Lord of H. M. Treasury.

The committee have the honor to present and transmit to you a report upon the evidence which has been submitted to them regarding outrages alleged to have been committed by the German troops in the present war.

By the terms of their appointment the committee were directed

"to consider and advise on the evidence collected on behalf of his Majesty's Government, as to outrages alleged to have been committed by German troops during the present war, cases of alleged maltreatment of civilians in the invaded territories, and breaches of the laws and established usages of war; and to prepare a report for his Majesty's Government showing the conclusion at which they arrive on the evidence now available."

It may be convenient that before proceeding to state how we have dealt with the materials, and what are the conclusions we have reached, we should set out the manner in which the evidence came into being, and its nature.

In the month of September, 1914, a

minute was, at the instance of the Prime Minister, drawn up and signed by the Home Secretary and the Attorney General. It stated the need that had arisen for investigating the accusations of inhumanity and outrage that had been brought against the German soldiers, and indicated the precautions to be taken in collecting evidence that would be needed to insure its accuracy. Pursuant to this minute steps were taken under the direction of the Home Office to collect evidence, and a great many persons who could give it were seen and examined.

For some three or four months before the appointment of the committee, the Home Office had been collecting a large body of evidence.* More than 1,200 depositions made by these witnesses have been submitted to and considered by the committee. Nearly all of these were obtained under the supervision of Sir Charles Mathews, the Director of Public Prosecutions, and of Mr. E. Grimwood Mears, barrister of the Inner Temple, while in addition Professor J. H. Morgan has collected a number of statements mainly from British soldiers, which have also been submitted to the committee.

The labor involved in securing, in a comparatively short time, so large a number of statements from witnesses scattered all over the United Kingdom, made it necessary to employ a good many examiners. The depositions were in all cases taken down in this country by gentlemen of legal knowledge and experience, though, of course, they had no authority to administer an oath. They were instructed not to "lead" the witnesses, or make any suggestions to them, and also to impress upon them the necessity for care and precision in giving their evidence.

They were also directed to treat the evidence critically, and as far as possible satisfy themselves, by putting questions which arose out of the evidence, that the

witnesses were speaking the truth. They were, in fact, to cross-examine them, so far as the testimony given provided materials for cross-examination.

We have seen and conversed with many of these gentlemen, and have been greatly impressed by their ability and by what we have gathered as to the fairness of spirit which they brought to their task. We feel certain that the instructions given have been scrupulously observed.

In many cases those who took the evidence have added their comments upon the intelligence and demeanor of the witnesses, stating the impression which each witness made, and indicating any cases in which the story told appeared to them open to doubt or suspicion. In coming to a conclusion upon the evidence the committee have been greatly assisted by these expressions of opinion, and have uniformly rejected every deposition on which an opinion adverse to the witness has been recorded.

This seems to be a fitting place at which to put on record the invaluable help which we have received from our secretaries, Mr. E. Grimwood Mears and Mr. W. J. H. Brodrick, whose careful diligence and minute knowledge of the evidence have been of the utmost service. Without their skill, judgment, and untiring industry the labor of examining and appraising each part of so large a mass of testimony would have occupied us for six months instead of three.

The marginal references in this report indicate the particular deposition or depositions on which the statements made in the text are based.*

The depositions printed in the appendix themselves show that the stories were tested in detail, and in none of these have we been able to detect the trace of any desire to "make a case" against the German Army. Care was taken to impress upon the witness that the giving of evidence was a grave and serious matter, and every deposition submitted to us was signed by the witness in the presence of the examiner.

*Taken from Belgian witnesses, some soldiers, but most of them civilians from those towns and villages through which the German Army passed, and from British officers and soldiers.

[*Marginal references are omitted in this reproduction.—EDITOR.]

A noteworthy feature of many of the depositions is that, though taken at different places and on different dates, and by different lawyers from different witnesses, they often corroborate each other in a striking manner.

The evidence is all couched in the very words which the witnesses used, and where they spoke, as the Belgian witnesses did, in Flemish or French, pains were taken to have competent translators, and to make certain that the translation was exact.

Seldom did these Belgian witnesses show a desire to describe what they had seen or suffered. The lawyers who took the depositions were surprised to find how little vindictiveness, or indeed passion, they showed, and how generally free from emotional excitement their narratives were. Many hesitated to speak lest what they said, if it should ever be published, might involve their friends or relatives at home in danger, and it was found necessary to give an absolute promise that names should not be disclosed.

For this reason names have been omitted.

A large number of depositions, and extracts from depositions, will be found in Appendix A, and to these your attention is directed.

In all cases these are given as nearly as possible (for abbreviation was sometimes inevitable) in the exact words of the witness, and wherever a statement has been made by a witness tending to exculpate the German troops, it has been given in full. Excisions have been made only where it has been felt necessary to conceal the identity of the deponent, or to omit what are merely hearsay statements, or are palpably irrelevant. In every case the name and description of the witnesses are given in the original depositions and in copies which have been furnished to us by H. M. Government. The originals remain in the custody of the Home Department, where they will be available, in case of need, for reference after the conclusion of the war.

The committee have also had before

them a number of diaries taken from the German dead.

It appears to be the custom in the German Army for soldiers to be encouraged to keep diaries and to record in them the chief events of each day. A good many of these diaries were collected on the field when British troops were advancing over ground which had been held by the enemy, were sent to headquarters in France, and dispatched thence to the War Office in England. They passed into the possession of the Prisoners of War Information Bureau, and were handed by it to our secretaries. They have been translated with great care. We have inspected them and are absolutely satisfied of their authenticity. They have thrown important light upon the methods followed in the conduct of the war. In one respect, indeed, they are the most weighty part of the evidence, because they proceed from a hostile source and are not open to any such criticism on the ground of bias as might be applied to Belgian testimony. From time to time references to these diaries will be found in the text of the report. In Appendix B they are set out at greater length both in the German original and in an English translation, together with a few photographs of the more important entries.

In Appendix C are set out a number of German proclamations. Most of these are included in the Belgian Report No. VI., which has been furnished to us. Actual specimens of original proclamations, issued by or at the bidding of the German military authorities, and posted in the Belgian and French towns mentioned, have been produced to us, and copies thereof are to be found in this appendix.

Appendix D contains the rules of The Hague Convention dealing with the conduct of war on land as adopted in 1907, Germany being one of the signatory powers.

In Appendix E will be found a selection of statements collected in France by Professor Morgan.

These five appendices are contained in a separate volume.

In dealing with the evidence we have

recognized the importance of testing it severely, and so far as the conditions permit we have followed the principles which are recognized in the courts of England, the British overseas dominions, and the United States. We have also (as already noted) set aside the testimony of any witnesses who did not favorably impress the lawyers who took their depositions, and have rejected hearsay evidence except in cases where hearsay furnished an undersigned confirmation of facts with regard to which we already possessed direct testimony from some other source, or explained in a natural way facts imperfectly narrated or otherwise perplexing.*

It is natural to ask whether much of the evidence given, especially by the Belgian witnesses, may not be due to excitement and overstrained emotions, and whether, apart from deliberate falsehood, persons who mean to speak the truth may not in a more or less hysterical condition have been imagining themselves to have seen the things which they say that they saw. Both the lawyers who took the depositions, and we when we came to examine them, fully recognized this possibility. The lawyers, as already observed, took pains to test each witness and either rejected, or appended a note of distrust to, the testimony of those who failed to impress them favorably. We have carried the sifting still further by also omitting from the depositions those in which we found something that seemed too exceptional to be accepted on the faith of one witness only, or too little supported by other evidence pointing to like facts. Many depositions

have thus been omitted on which, though they are probably true, we think it safer not to place reliance.

Notwithstanding these precautions, we began the inquiry with doubts whether a positive result would be attained. But the further we went and the more evidence we examined so much the more was our skepticism reduced. There might be some exaggeration in one witness, possible delusion in another, inaccuracies in a third. When, however, we found that things which had at first seemed improbable were testified to by many witnesses coming from different places, having had no communication with one another, and knowing nothing of one another's statements, the points in which they all agreed became more and more evidently true. And when this concurrence of testimony, this convergence upon what were substantially the same broad facts, showed itself in hundreds of depositions, the truth of those broad facts stood out beyond question. The force of the evidence is cumulative. Its worth can be estimated only by perusing the testimony as a whole. If any further confirmation had been needed, we found it in the diaries in which German officers and private soldiers have recorded incidents just such as those to which the Belgian witnesses depose.

The experienced lawyers who took the depositions tell us that they passed from the same stage of doubt into the same stage of conviction. They also began their work in a skeptical spirit, expecting to find much of the evidence colored by passion, or prompted by an excited fancy. But they were impressed by the general moderation and matter-of-fact level-headedness of the witnesses. We have interrogated them, particularly regarding some of the most startling and shocking incidents which appear in the evidence laid before us, and where they expressed a doubt we have excluded the evidence, admitting it as regards the cases in which they stated that the witnesses seemed to them to be speaking the truth, and that they themselves believed the incidents referred to have happened. It is for this reason that we

*For instance, the dead body of a man is found lying on the doorstep, or a woman is seen who has the appearance of having been outraged. So far the facts are proved by the direct evidence of the person by whom they have been seen. Information is sought for by him as to the circumstances under which the death or outrages took place. The bystanders who saw the circumstances, but who are not now accessible, relate what they saw, and this is reported by the witness to the examiner and is placed on record in the depositions. We have had no hesitation in taking such evidence into consideration.

have inserted among the depositions printed in the appendix several cases which we might otherwise have deemed scarcely credible.

The committee has conducted its investigations and come to its conclusions independently of the reports issued by the French and Belgian commissions, but it has no reason to doubt that those conclusions are in substantial accord with the conclusions that have been reached by these two commissions.

ARRANGEMENT OF THE REPORT.

As respects the framework and arrangement of the report, it has been deemed desirable to present first of all what may be called a general historical account of the events which happened, and the conditions which prevailed in the parts of Belgium which lay along the line of the German march, and thereafter to set forth the evidence which bears upon particular classes of offenses against the usages of civilized warfare, evidence which shows to what extent the provisions of The Hague Convention have been disregarded.

This method, no doubt, involves a cer-

tain amount of overlapping, for some of the offenses belonging to the latter part of the report will have been already referred to in the earlier part which deals with the invasion of Belgium. But the importance of presenting a connected narrative of events seems to outweigh the disadvantage of occasional repetition.

The report will therefore be found to consist of two parts, viz. :

(1) An analysis and summary of the evidence regarding the conduct of the German troops in Belgium toward the civilian population of that country during the first few weeks of the invasion.

(2) An examination of the evidence relating to breaches of the rules and usages of war and acts of inhumanity, committed by German soldiers or groups of soldiers, during the first four months of the war, whether in Belgium or in France.

This second part has again been subdivided into two sections:

a. Offenses committed against noncombatant civilians during the conduct of the war generally.

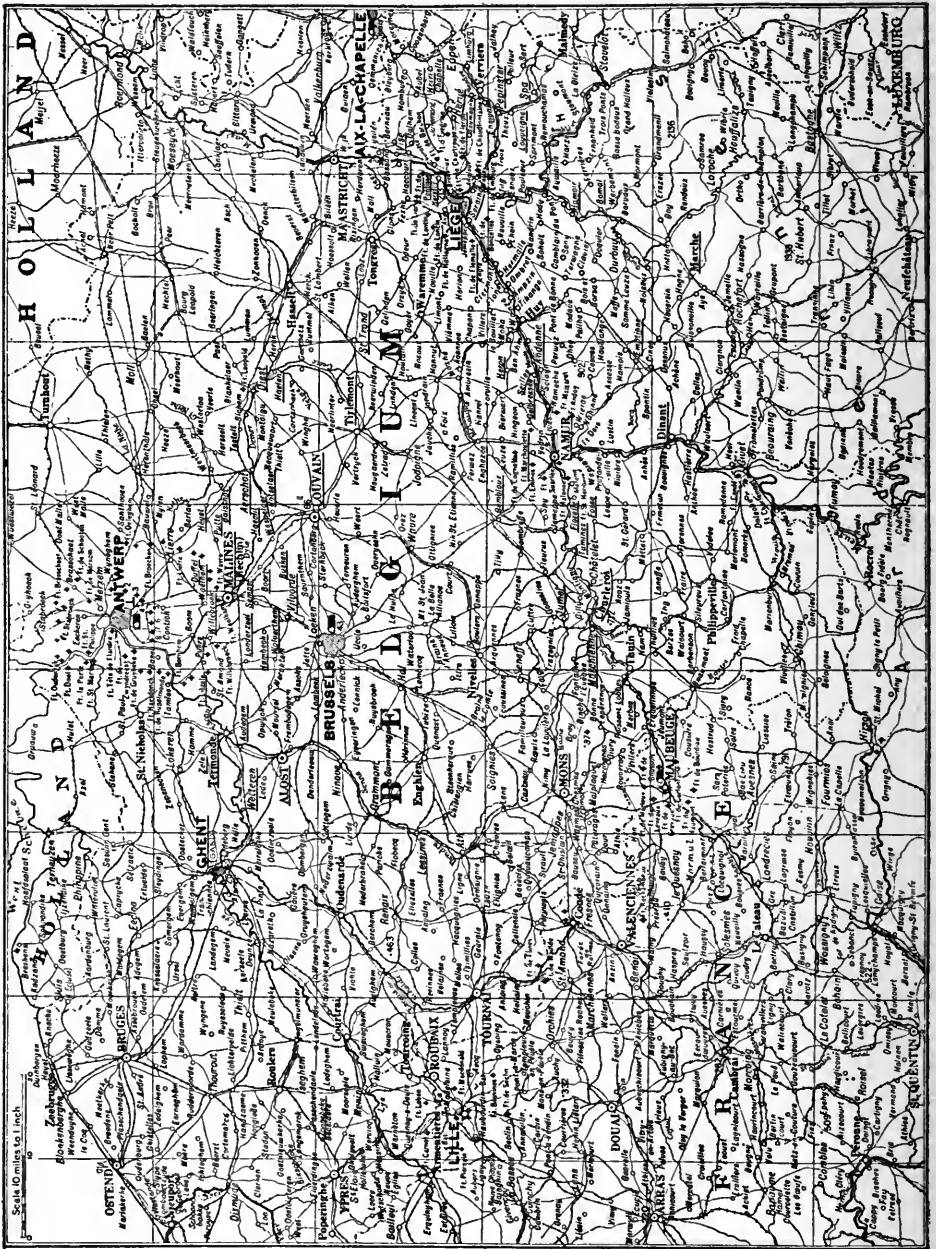
b. Offenses committed against combatants, whether in Belgium or in France.

PART I.

THE CONDUCT OF THE GERMAN TROOPS IN BELGIUM.

Although the neutrality of Belgium had been guaranteed by a treaty signed in 1839 to which France, Prussia, and Great Britain were parties, and although, apart altogether from any duties imposed by treaty, no belligerent nation has any right to claim a passage for its army across the territory of a neutral State, the position which Belgium held between the German Empire and France had obliged her to consider the possibility that in the event of a war between these two powers her neutrality might not be respected. In 1911 the Belgian Minister at Berlin had requested an assurance from Germany that she would observe the Treaty of 1839; and the Chancellor of the empire had declared that Germany had no intention of violating Belgian neutrality. Again in 1913 the German Secretary of State at a

meeting of a Budget Committee of the Reichstag had declared that "Belgian neutrality is provided for by international conventions and Germany is determined to respect those conventions." Finally, on July 31, 1914, when the danger of war between Germany and France seemed imminent, Herr von Below, the German Minister in Brussels, being interrogated by the Belgian Foreign Department, replied that he knew of the assurances given by the German Chancellor in 1911, and that he "was certain that the sentiments expressed at that time had not changed." Nevertheless on Aug. 2 the same Minister presented a note to the Belgian Government demanding a passage through Belgium for the German Army on pain of an instant declaration of war. Startled as they were by the suddenness with which



this terrific war cloud had risen on the eastern horizon, the leaders of the nation rallied around the King in his resolution to refuse the demand and to prepare for resistance. They were aware of the danger which would confront the civilian population of the country if it were tempted to take part in the work of national defense. Orders were accordingly issued by the Civil Governors of provinces, and by the Burgomasters of towns, that the civilian inhabitants were to take no part in hostilities and to offer no provocation to the invaders. That no excuse might be furnished for severities, the populations of many important towns were instructed to surrender all firearms into the hands of the local officials.¹

This happened on Aug. 2. On the evening of Aug. 3 the German troops crossed the frontier. The storm burst so suddenly that neither party had time to adjust its mind to the situation. The Germans seem to have expected an easy passage. The Belgian population, never dreaming of an attack, were startled and stupefied.

LIEGE AND DISTRICT.

On Aug. 4 the roads converging upon Liège from northeast, east, and south were covered with German Death's Head Hussars and Uhlans pressing forward to seize the passage over the Meuse. From the very beginning of the operations the civilian population of the villages lying upon the line of the German advance were made to experience the extreme horrors of war. "On the 4th of August," says one witness, "at Herve," (a village not far from the frontier,) "I saw at about 2 o'clock in the afternoon, near the station, five Uhlans; these were the first German troops I had seen. They were followed by a German officer and some soldiers in a motor car. The men in the car called out to a couple of young fellows who were standing about thirty yards away. The young men, being afraid, ran off and then the Germans

fired and killed one of them named D." The murder of this innocent fugitive civilian was a prelude to the burning and pillage of Herve and of other villages in the neighborhood, to the indiscriminate shooting of civilians of both sexes, and to the organized military execution of batches of selected males. Thus at Herve some fifty men escaping from the burning houses were seized, taken outside the town and shot. At Melen, a hamlet west of Herve, forty men were shot. In one household alone the father and mother (names given) were shot, the daughter died after being repeatedly outraged, and the son was wounded. Nor were children exempt. "About Aug. 4," says one witness, "near Vottem, we were pursuing some Uhlans. I saw a man, woman, and a girl about nine, who had been killed. They were on the threshold of a house, one on the top of the other, as if they had been shot down, one after the other, as they tried to escape."

The burning of the villages in this neighborhood and the wholesale slaughter of civilians, such as occurred at Herve, Micheroux, and Soumagne, appear to be connected with the exasperation caused by the resistance of Fort Fléron, whose guns barred the main road from Aix la Chapelle to Liège. Enraged by the losses which they had sustained, suspicious of the temper of the civilian population, and probably thinking that by exceptional severities at the outset they could cow the spirit of the Belgian Nation, the German officers and men speedily accustomed themselves to the slaughter of civilians. How rapidly the process was effected is illustrated by an entry in the diary of Kurt Hoffman, a one-year's man in the First Jägers, who on Aug. 5 was in front of Fort Fléron. He illustrates his story by a sketch map. "The position," he says, "was dangerous. As suspicious civilians were hanging about—houses 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, were cleared, the owners arrested, (and shot the following day.) Suddenly village A was fired at. Out of it bursts our baggage train, and the Fourth Company of the Twenty-seventh Regiment who had lost their way and been shelled by our

¹ Copies of typical proclamations have been printed in *L'Allemagne et la Belgique*, Documents Annexés, xxxvi.

own artillery. From the point D. P., (shown in diary,) I shoot a civilian with rifle at 400 meters slap through the head, as we afterward ascertained." Within a few hours, Hoffman, while in house 3, was himself under fire from his own comrades and narrowly escaped being killed. A German, ignorant that house 3 had been occupied, reported, as was the fact, that he had been fired upon from that house. He had been challenged by the field patrol, and failed to give the countersign. Hoffman continues:

"Ten minutes later, people approach who are talking excitedly—apparently Germans. I call out 'Halt, who's there?' Suddenly rapid fire is opened upon us, which I can only escape by quickly jumping on one side—with bullets and fragments of wall and pieces of glass flying around me. I call out 'Halt, here Field Patrol.' Then it stops, and there appears Lieutenant Römer with three platoons. A man has reported that he had been shot at out of our house; no wonder, if he does not give the countersign."

The entry, though dated Aug. 5, was evidently written on the 6th or later, because the writer refers to the suspicious civilians as having been shot on that day. Hoffman does not indicate of what offense these civilians were guilty, and there is no positive evidence to connect their slaughter with the report made by the German who had been fired on by his comrades. They were "suspicious" and that was enough.

The systematic execution of civilians, which in some cases, as the diary just cited shows, was founded on a genuine mistake, was given a wide extension through the Province of Liège. In Soumagne and Micheroux very many civilians were summarily shot. In a field belonging to a man named E. fifty-six or fifty-seven were put to death. A German officer said: "You have shot at us." One of the villagers asked to be allowed to speak, and said: "If you think these people fired kill me, but let them go." The answer was three volleys. The survivors were bayoneted. Their corpses were seen in the field that night by another witness. One at least had been mutilated. These were not the only

victims in Soumagne. The eyewitness of the massacre saw, on his way home, twenty bodies, one that of a young girl of thirteen. Another witness saw nineteen corpses in a meadow.

At Blegny Trembleur, on the 6th, some civilians were captured by German soldiers, who took steps to put them to death forthwith, but were restrained by the arrival of an officer. The prisoners subsequently were taken off to Battice and five were shot in a field. No reason was assigned for their murder.

In the meantime house burners were at work. On the 6th, Battice was destroyed in part. From the 8th to the 10th over 300 houses were burned at Herve, while mounted men shot into doors and windows to prevent the escape of the inhabitants.

At Heure le Romain on or about the 15th of August all the male inhabitants, including some bedridden old men, were imprisoned in the church. The Burgomaster's brother and the priest were bayoneted.

On or about the 14th and 15th the village of Visé was completely destroyed. Officers directed the incendiaries, who worked methodically with benzine. Antiques and china were removed from the houses, before their destruction, by officers, who guarded the plunder, revolver in hand. The house of a witness, which contained valuables of this kind, was protected for a time by a notice posted on the door by officers. This notice has been produced to the committee. After the removal of the valuables this house also was burned.

German soldiers had arrived on the 15th at Blegny Trembleur and seized a quantity of wine. On the 16th prisoners were taken; four, including the priest and the Burgomaster, were shot. On the same day 200 (so-called) hostages were seized at Flémalle and marched off. There they were told that unless Fort Flémalle surrendered by noon they would be shot. It did surrender and they were released.

Entries in a German diary show that on the 19th the German soldiers gave themselves up to debauchery in the

streets of Liège, and on the night of the 20th (Thursday) a massacre took place in the streets, beginning near the Café Carpentier, at which there is said to have been a dinner attended by Russian and other students. A proclamation issued by General Kolewe on the following day gave the German version of the affair, which was that his troops had been fired on by Russian students. The diary states that in the night the inhabitants of Liège became mutinous and that fifty persons were shot. The Belgian witnesses vehemently deny that there had been any provocation given, some stating that many German soldiers were drunk, others giving evidence which indicates that the affair was planned beforehand. It is stated that at 5 o'clock in the evening, long before the shooting, a citizen was warned by a friendly German soldier not to go out that night.

Though the cause of the massacre is in dispute, the results are known with certainty. The Rue des Pitteurs and houses in the Place de l'Université and the Quai des Pêcheurs were systematically fired with benzine, and many inhabitants were burned alive in their houses, their efforts to escape being prevented by rifle fire. Twenty people were shot, while trying to escape, before the eyes of one of the witnesses. The Liège Fire Brigade turned out but was not allowed to extinguish the fire. Its carts, however, were usefully employed in removing heaps of civilian corpses to the Town Hall. The fire burned on through the night and the murders continued on the following day, the 21st. Thirty-two civilians were killed on that day in the Place de l'Université alone, and a witness states that this was followed by the rape in open day of fifteen or twenty women on tables in the square itself.

No depositions are before us which deal with events in the City of Liège after this date. Outrages, however, continued in various places in the province.

For example, on or about the 21st of August, at Pepinster two witnesses were seized as hostages and were threatened, together with five others, that, unless they could discover a civilian who was al-

leged to have shot a soldier in the leg, they would be shot themselves. They escaped their fate because one of the hostages convinced the officer that the alleged shooting, if it took place at all, took place in the Commune of Cornesse and not that of Pepinster, whereupon the Burgomaster of Cornesse, who was old and very deaf, was shot forthwith.

The outrages on the civilian population were not confined to the villages mentioned above, but appear to have been general throughout this district from the very outbreak of the war.

An entry in one of the diaries says:

"We crossed the Belgian frontier on 15th August, 1914, at 11:50 in the forenoon, and then we went steadily along the main road till we got into Belgium. Hardly were we there when we had a horrible sight. Houses were burned down, the inhabitants chased away and some of them shot. Not one of the hundreds of houses were spared. Everything was plundered and burned. Hardly had we passed through this large village before the next village was burned, and so it went on continuously. On the 16th August, 1914, the large village of Barchon was burned down. On the same day we crossed the bridge over the Meuse at 11:50 in the morning. We then arrived at the town of Wandre. Here the houses were spared, but everything was examined. At last we were out of the town and everything went in ruins. In one house a whole collection of weapons was found. The inhabitants without exception were shot. This shooting was heartbreaking, as they all knelt down and prayed, but that was no ground for mercy. A few shots rang out and they fell back into the green grass and slept for ever." ["Die Einwohner wurden samt und sonders herausgeholt und erschossen: aber dieses Erschiessen war direkt herzerreisend wie sie alle knieben und beteten, aber dies half kein Erbarmen. Ein paar Schüsse krackten und die fielen rücklings in das grüne Gras und erschliefen für immer."]

VALLEYS OF MEUSE AND SAMBRE.

While the First Army, under the command of General Alexander von Kluck, was mastering the passages of the Meuse between Visé and Namur, and carrying out the scheme of devastation which has already been described, detachments of the Second German Army, under General von Bülow, were proceeding up the

Meuse valley toward Namur. On Wednesday, Aug. 12, the town of Huy, which stands half way between Namur and Liège, was seized. On Aug. 20 German guns opened fire on Namur itself. Three days later the city was evacuated by its defenders, and the Germans proceeded along the valley of the Sambre through Tamines and Charleroi to Mons. Meanwhile a force under General von Hausen had advanced upon Dinant, by Laroche, Marche, and Achène, and on Aug. 15 made an unsuccessful assault upon that town. A few days later the attack was renewed and with success, and, Dinant captured, von Hausen's army streamed into France by Bouvines and Rethel, firing and looting the villages and shooting the inhabitants as they passed through.

The evidence with regard to the Province of Namur is less voluminous than that relating to the north of Belgium. This is largely due to the fact that the testimony of soldiers is seldom available, as the towns and villages once occupied by the Germans were seldom reoccupied by the opposing troops, and the number of refugees who have reached England from the Namur district is comparatively small.

ANDENNE.

Andenne is a small town on the Meuse between Liège and Namur, lying opposite the village of Seilles, (with which it is connected by a bridge over the river,) and was one of the earlier places reached on the German advance up the Meuse. In order to understand the story of the massacre which occurred there on Thursday, Aug. 20, the following facts should be borne in mind: The German advance was hotly contested by Belgian and French troops. From daybreak onward on the 19th of August the Eighth Belgian Regiment of the Line were fighting with the German troops on the left bank of the Meuse on the heights of Seilles. At 8 A. M. on the 19th the Belgians found further resistance impossible in the district, and retired under shelter of the forts of Namur. As they retired they blew up Andenne Bridge. The first Germans arrived at Andenne at about 10 A. M., when ten or twelve Uhlans rode

into the town. They went to the bridge and found it was destroyed. They then retired, but returned about half an hour afterward. Soon after that several thousand Germans entered the town and made arrangements to spend the night there. Thus, on the evening of the 19th of August, a large body of German troops were in possession of the town, which they had entered without any resistance on the part of the allied armies or of the civilian population.

About 4:30 on the next afternoon shots were fired from the left bank of the Meuse and replied to by the Germans in Andenne. The village of Andenne had been isolated from the district on the left bank of the Meuse by the destruction of the bridge, and there is nothing to suggest that the firing on the left came from the inhabitants of Andenne. Almost immediately, however, the slaughter of these inhabitants began, and continued for over two hours and intermittently during the night. Machine guns were brought into play. The German troops were said to be for the most part drunk, and they certainly murdered and ravaged unchecked. A reference to the German diaries in the appendix will give some idea of the extent to which the army gave itself up to drink through the month of August.

When the fire slackened about 7 o'clock, many of the townspeople fled in the direction of the quarries; others remained in their houses. At this moment the whole of the district around the station was on fire and houses were flaming over a distance of two kilometers in the direction of the hamlet of Trama. The little farms which rise one above the other on the high ground of the right bank were also burning.

At 6 o'clock on the following morning, the 21st, the Germans began to drag the inhabitants from their houses. Men, women, and children were driven into the square, where the sexes were separated. Three men were then shot, and a fourth was bayoneted. A German Colonel was present whose intention in the first place appeared to be to shoot all the men. A young German girl who had been staying in the neighborhood interceded with

him, and after some parleying, some of the prisoners were picked out, taken to the banks of the Meuse and there shot. The Colonel accused the population of firing on the soldiers, but there is no reason to think that any of them had done so, and no inquiry appears to have been made.

About 400 people lost their lives in this massacre, some on the banks of the Meuse, where they were shot according to orders given, and some in the cellars of the houses where they had taken refuge. Eight men belonging to one family were murdered. Another man was placed close to a machine gun which was fired through him. His wife brought his body home on a wheelbarrow. The Germans broke into her house and ransacked it, and piled up all the eatables in a heap on the floor and relieved themselves upon it.

A hairdresser was murdered in his kitchen where he was sitting with a child on each knee. A paralytic was murdered in his garden. After this came the general sack of the town. Many of the inhabitants who escaped the massacre were kept as prisoners and compelled to clear the houses of corpses and bury them in trenches. These prisoners were subsequently used as a shelter and protection for a pontoon bridge which the Germans had built across the river, and were so used to prevent the Belgian forts from firing upon it.

A few days later the Germans celebrated a *Fête Nocturne* in the square. Hot wine, looted in the town, was drunk, and the women were compelled to give three cheers for the Kaiser and to sing "Deutschland über Alles."

NAMUR DISTRICT.

The fight around Namur was accompanied by sporadic outrages. Near Marchovelette wounded men were murdered in a farm by German soldiers. The farm was set on fire. A German cavalryman rode away holding in front of him one of the farmer's daughters crying and disheveled.

At Temploux, on the 23d of August, a professor of modern languages at the College of Namur was shot at his front

door by a German officer. Before he died he asked the officer the reason for this brutality, and the officer replied that he had lost his temper because some civilians had fired upon the Germans as they entered the village. This allegation was not proved. The Belgian Army was still operating in the district, and it may well be that it was from them that the shots in question proceeded. After the murder the house was burned.

On the 24th and 25th of August massacres were carried out at Surice, in which many persons belonging to the professional classes, as well as others, were killed.

Namur was entered on the 24th of August. The troops signalized their entry by firing on a crowd of 150 unarmed, unresisting civilians, ten alone of whom escaped.

A witness of good standing who was in Namur describes how the town was set on fire systematically in six different places. As the inhabitants fled from the burning houses they were shot by the German troops. Not less than 140 houses were burned.

On the 25th the hospital at Namur was set on fire with inflammable pastilles, the pretext being that soldiers in the hospital had fired upon the Germans.

At Denée, on the 28th of August, a Belgian soldier who had been taken prisoner saw three civilian fellow-prisoners shot. One was a cripple and another an old man of eighty who was paralyzed. It was alleged by two German soldiers that these men had shot at them with rifles. Neither of them had a rifle, nor had they anything in their pockets. The witness actually saw the Germans search them and nothing was found.

CHARLEROI DISTRICT.

In Tamines, a large village on the Meuse between Namur and Charleroi, the advance guard of the German Army appeared in the first fortnight in August, and in this as well as in other villages in the district, it is proved that a large number of civilians, among them aged people, women, and children, were deliberately killed by the soldiers. One witness describes how she saw a Belgian

boy of fifteen shot on the village green at Tamines, and a day or two later on the same green a little girl and her two brothers, (name given,) who were looking at the German soldiers, were killed before her eyes for no apparent reason.

The principal massacre at Tamines took place about Aug. 23. A witness describes how he saw the public square littered with corpses, and after a search found those of his wife and child, a little girl of seven.

Another witness, who lived near Tamines, went there on Aug. 27, and says: "It is absolutely destroyed and a mass of ruins."

At Morlanwelz, about this time, the British Army, together with some French cavalry, were compelled to retire before the German troops. The latter took the Burgomaster and his man servant prisoner and shot them both in front of the Hôtel de Ville at Péronne, (Belgium,) where the bodies were left in the street for forty-eight hours. They burned the Hôtel de Ville and sixty-two houses. The usual accusation of firing by civilians was made. It is strenuously denied by the witness, who declares that three or four days before the arrival of the Germans, circulars had been distributed to every house and placards had been posted in the town ordering the deposit of all firearms at the Hôtel de Ville and that this order had been complied with.

At Monceau-sur-Sambre, on the 21st of August, a young man of eighteen was shot in his garden. His father and brother were seized in their house and shot in the courtyard of a neighboring country house. The son was shot first. The father was compelled to stand close to the feet of his son's corpse and to fix his eyes upon him while he himself was shot. The corpse of the young man shot in the garden was carried into the house and put on a bed. The next morning the Germans asked where the corpse was. When they found it was in the house, they fetched straw, packed it around the bed on which the corpse was lying, and set fire to it and burned the house down. A great many houses were burned in Monceau.

A vivid picture of the events at Mon-

tigny-sur-Sambre has been given by a witness of high standing who had exceptional opportunities of observation. In the early morning of Saturday, Aug. 22, Uhlans reached Montigny. The French Army was about four kilometers away, but on a hill near the village were a detachment of French, about 150 to 200 strong, lying in ambush. At about 1:30 o'clock the main body of the German Army began to arrive. Marching with them were two groups of so-called hostages, about 400 in all. Of these, 300 were surrounded with a rope held by the front, rear, and outside men. The French troops in ambush opened fire, and immediately the Germans commenced to destroy the town. Incendiaries with a distinctive badge on their arm went down the main street throwing handfuls of inflammatory and explosive pastilles into the houses. These pastilles were carried by them in bags, and in this way about 130 houses were destroyed in the main street. By 10:30 P. M. some 200 more hostages had been collected. These were drawn from Montigny itself, and on that night about fifty men, women, and children were placed on the bridge over the Sambre and kept there all night. The bridge was similarly guarded for a day or two, apparently either from a fear that it was mined or in the belief that these men, women, and children would afford some protection to the Germans in the event of the French attempting to storm the bridge. At one period of the German occupation of Montigny, eight nuns of the Order of Ste. Marie were captives on the bridge. House burning was accompanied by murder, and on the Monday morning twenty-seven civilians from one parish alone were seen lying dead in the hospital.

Other outrages committed at Jumet, Bouffioulx, Charleroi, Marchiennes-au-Pont, Couillet, and Maubeuge are described in the depositions given in the appendix.

DINANT.

A clear statement of the outrages at Dinant, which many travelers will recall as a singularly picturesque town on the

Meuse, is given by one witness, who says that the Germans began burning houses in the Rue St. Jacques on the 21st of August, and that every house in the street was burned. On the following day an engagement took place between the French and the Germans, and the witness spent the whole day in the cellar of a bank with his wife and children. On the morning of the 23d, about 5 o'clock, firing ceased, and almost immediately afterward a party of Germans came to the house. They rang the bell and began to batter at the door and windows. The witness's wife went to the door and two or three Germans came in. The family were ordered out into the street. There they found another family, and the two families were driven with their hands above their heads along the Rue Grande. All the houses in the street were burning. The party was eventually put into a forge where there were a number of other prisoners, about a hundred in all, and were kept there from 11 A. M. till 2 P. M. They were then taken to the prison. There they were assembled in a courtyard and searched. No arms were found. They were then passed through into the prison itself and put into cells. The witness and his wife were separated from each other. During the next hour the witness heard rifle shots continually, and noticed in the corner of a courtyard leading off the row of cells the body of a young man with a mantle thrown over it. He recognized the mantle as having belonged to his wife. The witness's daughter was allowed to go out to see what had happened to her mother, and the witness himself was allowed to go across the courtyard half an hour afterward for the same purpose. He found his wife lying on the floor in a room. She had bullet wounds in four places, but was alive and told her husband to return to the children, and he did so. About 5 o'clock in the evening he saw the Germans bringing out all the young and middle-aged men from the cells, and ranging their prisoners, to the number of forty, in three rows in the middle of the courtyard. About twenty Germans were drawn up opposite, but before any-

thing was done there was a tremendous fusillade from some point near the prison and the civilians were hurried back to their cells. Half an hour later the same forty men were brought back into the courtyard. Almost immediately there was a second fusillade like the first and they were driven back to the cells again. About 7 o'clock the witness and other prisoners were brought out of their cells and marched out of the prison. They went between two lines of troops to Roche Bayard, about a kilometer away. An hour later the women and children were separated and the prisoners were brought back to Dinant, passing the prison on their way. Just outside the prison the witness saw three lines of bodies which he recognized as being those of neighbors. They were nearly all dead, but he noticed movement in some of them. There were about 120 bodies. The prisoners were then taken up to the top of the hill outside Dinant and compelled to stay there till 8 o'clock in the morning. On the following day they were put into cattle trucks and taken thence to Coblenz. For three months they remained prisoners in Germany.

Unarmed civilians were killed in masses at other places near the prison. About ninety bodies were seen lying on the top of one another in a grass square opposite the convent. They included many relatives of a witness whose deposition will be found in the appendix. This witness asked a German officer why her husband had been shot, and he told her that it was because two of her sons had been in the civil guard and had shot at the Germans. As a matter of fact one of her sons was at that time in Liège and the other in Brussels. It is stated that, besides the ninety corpses referred to above, sixty corpses of civilians were recovered from a hole in the brewery yard and that forty-eight bodies of women and children were found in a garden. The town was systematically set on fire by hand grenades.

Another witness saw a little girl of seven, one of whose legs was broken and the other injured by a bayonet.

We have no reason to believe that the civilian population of Dinant gave any

provocation, or that any other defense can be put forward to justify the treatment inflicted upon its citizens.

As regards this town and the advance of the German Army from Dinant to Rethel on the Aisne, a graphic account is given in the diary of a Saxon officer.¹ This diary confirms what is clear from the evidence as a whole, both as regards these and other districts, that civilians were constantly taken as prisoners, often dragged from their homes, and shot under the direction of the authorities without any charge being made against them. An event of the kind is thus referred to in a diary entry:

“Apparently 200 men were shot. There must have been some innocent men among them. In future we shall have to hold an inquiry as to their guilt instead of shooting them”

The shooting of inhabitants, women and children as well as men, went on after the Germans had passed Dinant on their way into France. The houses and villages were pillaged and property wantonly destroyed.

AERSCHOT, MALINES, VILVORDE, AND LOUVAIN QUADRANGLE.

About Aug. 9 a powerful screen of cavalry masking the general advance of the First and Second German Armies was thrown forward into the provinces of Brabant and Limburg. The progress of the invaders was contested at several points, probably near Tirlemont on the Louvain road, and at Diest, Haelen, and Schaffen, on the Aerschot road, by detachments of the main Belgian Army, which was drawn up upon the line of the Dyle. In their preliminary skirmishes the Belgians more than once gained advantages, but after the fall on Aug. 15 of the last of the Liège forts the great line of railway which runs through Liège

toward Brussels and Antwerp in one direction and toward Namur and the French frontier in another fell into the hands of the Germans. From this moment the advance of the main army was swift and irresistible. On Aug. 19 Louvain and Aerschot were occupied by the Germans, the former without resistance, the latter after a struggle which resulted early in the day in the retirement of the Belgian Army upon Antwerp. On Aug. 20 the invaders made their entry into Brussels.

The quadrangle of territory bounded by the towns of Aerschot, Malines, Vilvorde, and Louvain is a rich agricultural tract, studded with small villages and comprising two considerable cities, Louvain and Malines. This district on Aug. 19 passed into the hands of the Germans, and owing perhaps to its proximity to Antwerp, then the seat of the Belgian Government and headquarters of the Belgian Army, it became from that date a scene of chronic outrage, with respect to which the committee has received a great mass of evidence.

The witnesses to these occurrences are for the most part imperfectly educated persons who cannot give accurate dates, so it is impossible in some cases to fix the dates of particular crimes; and the total number of outrages is so great that we cannot refer to all of them in the body of the report or give all the depositions relating to them in the appendix. The main events, however, are abundantly clear, and group themselves naturally around three dates—Aug. 19, Aug. 25, and Sept. 11.

The arrival of the Germans in the district on Aug. 19 was marked by systematic massacres and other outrages at Aerschot itself, Gelrode, and some other villages.

On Aug. 25 the Belgians, sallying out of the defenses of Antwerp, attacked the German positions at Malines, drove the enemy from the town, and reoccupied many of the villages, such as Sempst, Hofstade, and Eppeghem, in the neighborhood. And, just as numerous

¹ A copy of this diary was given by the French military authorities to the British Headquarters Staff in France, and the latter have communicated it to the committee. It will be found in Appendix B after the German diaries shown to us by the British War Office.

outrages against the civilian population had been the immediate consequence of the temporary repulse of the German vanguard from Fort Fléron, so a large body of depositions testify to the fact that a sudden outburst of cruelty was the response of the German Army to the Belgian victory at Malines. The advance of the German Army to the Dyle had been accompanied by reprehensible, and, indeed, (in certain cases,) terrible outrages, but these had been, it would appear, isolated acts, some of which are attributed by witnesses to indignation at the check at Haelen, while others may have been the consequence of drunkenness. But the battle of Malines had results of a different order. In the first place, it was the occasion of numerous murders committed by the German Army in retreating through the villages of Sempst, Hofstade, Epeghem, Elewyt, and elsewhere. In the second place, it led, as it will be shown later, to the massacres, plunderings, and burnings at Louvain, the signal for which was provided by shots exchanged between the German Army retreating after its repulse at Malines and some members of the German garrison of Louvain who mistook their fellow-countrymen for Belgians. Lastly, the encounter at Malines seems to have stung the Germans into establishing a reign of terror in so much of the district comprised in the quadrangle as remained in their power. Many houses were destroyed and their contents stolen. Hundreds of prisoners were locked up in various churches and were in some instances marched about from one village to another. Some of these were finally conducted to Louvain and linked up with the bands of prisoners taken in Louvain itself, and sent to Germany and elsewhere.

On Sept. 11, when the Germans were driven out of Aerschot across the River Démer by a successful sortie from Antwerp, murders of civilians were taking place in the villages which the Belgian Army then recaptured from the Germans. These crimes bear a strong resemblance to those committed in Hofstade and other villages after the battle of Malines.

AERSCHOT AND DISTRICT.

Period I., (Aug. 19 and following days.)

AERSCHOT.

The German Army entered Aerschot quite early in the morning. Workmen going to their work were seized and taken as hostages.

The Germans, apparently already irritated, proceeded to make a search for the priests and threatened to burn the convent if the priests should happen to be found there. One priest was accused of inciting the inhabitants to fire on the troops, and when he denied it the Burgomaster was blamed by the officer. The priest then showed the officer the notices on the walls, signed by the Burgomaster, warning the inhabitants not to intervene in hostilities.

It appears that they accused the priest of having fired at the Germans from the tower of the church. This is important, because it is one of the not infrequent cases in which the Germans ascribed firing from a church to priests, whereas in fact this firing came from Belgian soldiers, and also because it seems to show that the Germans from the moment of their arrival in Aerschot were seeking to pick a quarrel with the inhabitants, and this goes far to explain their subsequent conduct. Hostages were collected until 200 men, some of whom were invalids, were gathered together.

M. Tielmans, the Burgomaster, was then ordered by some German officers to address the crowd and to tell them to hand in any weapons which they might have in their possession at the Town Hall, and to warn them that any one who was found with weapons would be killed. As a matter of fact, the arms in the possession of civilians had already been collected at the beginning of the war. The Burgomaster's speech resulted in the delivery of one gun, which had been used for pigeon shooting. The hostages were then released. Throughout the day the town was looted by the soldiers. Many shop windows were broken, and the contents of the shop fronts ransacked.

A shot was fired about 7 o'clock in the evening, by which time many of

the soldiers were drunk. The Germans were not of one mind as to the direction from which the shot proceeded. Some said it came from a jeweler's shop, and some said it came from other houses. No one was hit by this shot, but thereafter German soldiers began to fire in various directions at people in the streets.

It is said that a German General or Colonel was killed at the Burgomaster's house. As far as the committee have been able to ascertain, the identity of the officer has never been revealed. The German version of the story is that he was killed by the 15-year-old son of the Burgomaster. The committee, however, is satisfied by the evidence of several independent witnesses that some German officers were standing at the window of the Burgomaster's house, that a large body of German troops was in the square, that some of these soldiers were drunk and let off their rifles, that in the volley one of the officers standing at the window of the Burgomaster's house fell, that at the time of the accident the wife and son of the Burgomaster had gone to take refuge in the cellar, and that neither the Burgomaster nor his son were in the least degree responsible for the occurrence which served as the pretext for their subsequent execution, and for the firing and sack of the town.*

The houses were set on fire with spe-

cial apparatus, while people were dragged from their houses, already burning, and some were shot in the streets.

Many civilians were marched to a field on the road to Louvain and kept there all night. Meanwhile many of the inhabitants were collected in the square. By this time very many of the troops were drunk.

On the following day a number of the civilians were shot under the orders of an officer, together with the Burgomaster, his brother, and his son. Of this incident, which is spoken to by many witnesses, a clear account is given:

"German soldiers came and took hold of me and every other man they could see, and eventually there were about sixty of us, including some of 80, (i. e., years of age,) and they made us accompany them * * * all the prisoners had to walk with their hands above their heads. We were then stopped and made to stand in a line, and an officer, a big fat man who had a bluish uniform * * * came along the line and picked out the Burgomaster, his brother, and his son, and some men who had been employed under the Red Cross. In all, ten men were picked out * * * the remainder were made to turn their backs upon the ten. I then heard some shots fired, and I and the other men turned around and we saw all the ten men, including the Burgomaster, were lying on the ground."

This incident is spoken to by other witnesses also. Some of their depositions appear in the appendix.

*This account agrees substantially with that given in a letter written by Mme. Tielmans, the Burgomaster's wife, which is printed in the fifth report of the Belgian Commission. The letter is as follows:

This is how it happened. About 4 in the afternoon my husband was giving cigars to the sentinels stationed at the door. I saw that the General and his aides de camp were looking at us from the balcony and told him to come indoors. Just then I looked toward the Grand Place, where more than 2,000 Germans were encamped, and distinctly saw two columns of smoke followed by a fusillade. The Germans were firing on the houses and forcing their way into them. My husband, children, servant, and myself had just time to dash into the staircase leading to the cellar. The Germans were even firing into the passages of the houses. After a few minutes of indescribable horror, one of the General's aides de camp came down and said: "The General is dead. Where is the Burgomaster?" My husband said to me, "This will be serious for me." As he went forward I said to the aide de camp: "You can see for yourself, Sir, that my

husband did not fire." "That makes no difference," he said. "He is responsible." My husband was taken off. My son, who was at my side, took us into another cellar. The same aide de camp came and dragged him out and made him walk in front of him, kicking him as he went. The poor boy could hardly walk. That morning when they came to the town the Germans had fired through the windows of the houses, and a bullet had come into the room where my son was, and he had been wounded in the calf by the ricochet. After my husband and son had gone I was dragged all through the house by Germans, with their revolvers leveled at my head. I was compelled to see their dead General. Then my daughter and I were thrown into the street without cloaks or anything. We were massed in the Grand Place, surrounded by a cordon of soldiers, and compelled to witness the destruction of our beloved town. And then, by the hideous light of the fire, I saw them for the last time, about 1 in the morning, my husband and my boy tied together. My brother-in-law was behind them. They were being led out to execution.

GELRODE.

On the same day at Gelrode, a small village close to Aerschot, twenty-five civilians were imprisoned in the church. Seven were taken out by fifteen German soldiers in charge of an officer just outside. One of the seven tried to run away, whereupon all the six who remained behind alive were shot. This was on the night of Aug. 19. No provocation whatever had been given. The men in question had been searched, and no arms had been found upon them. Here, as at Aerschot, precautions had been taken previously to secure the delivery up of all arms in the hands of civilians.

Some of the survivors were compelled to dig graves for the seven. At a later date the corpses were disinterred and reburied in consecrated ground. The marks of the bullets in the brick wall against which the six were shot were then still plainly visible. On the same day a woman was shot by some German soldiers as she was walking home. This was done at a distance of 100 yards and for no apparent reason.

An account of a murder by an officer at Campenhout is given in a later part of this report, and depositions relating to Rotselaer, Tremeloo, and Wespelaer will be found in the appendix.

The committee is specially impressed by the character of the outrages committed in the smaller villages. Many of these are exceptionally shocking and cannot be regarded as contemplated or prescribed by the responsible commanders of the troops by whom they were committed. The inference, however, which we draw from these occurrences is that when once troops have been encouraged in a career of terrorism the more savage and brutal natures, of whom there are some in every large army, are liable to run to wild excess, more particularly in those regions where they are least subject to observation and control.

AERSCHOT AND DISTRICT.

Period II., (Aug. 25.)

Immediately after the battle of Malines, which resulted in the evacuation

by the Germans of the district of Malines, Sempst, Hofstade, and Eppenheim, a long series of murders were committed either just before or during the retreat of the army. Many of the inhabitants who were unarmed, including women and young children, were killed—some of them under revolting circumstances.

Evidence given goes to show that the death of these villagers was due not to accident, but to deliberate purpose. The wounds were generally stabs or cuts, and for the most part appear to have been inflicted with the bayonet.

MALINES.

In Malines itself many bodies were seen. One witness saw a German soldier cut a woman's breasts after he had murdered her, and saw many other dead bodies of women in the streets.

HOFSTADE.

In Hofstade a number of houses had been set on fire and many corpses were seen, some in houses, some in back yards, and some in the streets.

Several examples are given below.

Two witnesses speak to having seen the body of a young man pierced by bayonet thrusts with the wrists cut also.

On a side road the corpse of a civilian was seen on his doorstep with a bayonet wound in his stomach, and by his side the dead body of a boy of 5 or 6 with his hands nearly severed.

The corpses of a woman and boy were seen at the blacksmith's. They had been killed with the bayonet.

In a café a young man, also killed with the bayonet, was holding his hands together as if in the attitude of supplication.

Two young women were lying in the back yard of the house. One had her breasts cut off, the other had been stabbed.

A young man had been hacked with the bayonet until his entrails protruded. He also had his hands joined in the attitude of prayer.

In the garden of a house in the main street bodies of two women were ob-

served, and in another house the body of a boy of 16 with two bayonet wounds in the chest.

SEMPST.

In Sempst a similar condition of affairs existed. Houses were burning and in some of them were the charred remains of civilians.

In a bicycle shop a witness saw the burned corpse of a man. Other witnesses speak to this incident.

Another civilian, unarmed, was shot as he was running away. As will be remembered, all the arms had been given up some time before by order of the Burgomaster.

The corpse of a man with his legs cut off, who was partly bound, was seen by another witness, who also saw a girl of 17 dressed only in a chemise, and in great distress. She alleged that she herself and other girls had been dragged into a field, stripped naked, and violated, and that some of them had been killed with the bayonet.

WEERDE.—At Weerde four corpses of civilians were lying in the road. It was said that these men had fired upon the German soldiers; but this is denied. The arms had been given up long before.

Two children were killed in a village, apparently Weerde, quite wantonly as they were standing in the road with their mother. They were 3 or 4 years old and were killed with the bayonet.

A small farm burning close by formed a convenient means of getting rid of the bodies. They were thrown into the flames from the bayonets. It is right to add that no commissioned officer was present at the time.

EPPEGHEM.—At Epegghem on Aug. 25 a pregnant woman who had been wounded with a bayonet was discovered in the convent. She was dying. On the road six dead bodies of laborers were seen.

ELEWYT.—At Elewyt a man's naked body was tied up to a ring in the wall in the back yard of a house. He was dead, and his corpse was mutilated in a manner too horrible to record. A woman's naked body was also found in a stable abutting on the same back yard.

VILVORDE.—At Vilvorde corpses of civilians were also found. These villages are all on the line from Malines to Brussels.

BOORT MEERBEEK. — At Boort Meerbeek a German soldier was seen to fire three times at a little girl 5 years old. Having failed to hit her, he subsequently bayoneted her. He was killed with the butt end of a rifle by a Belgian soldier who had seen him commit this murder from a distance.

HERENT.—At Herent the charred body of a civilian was found in a butcher's shop, and in a handcart twenty yards away was the dead body of a laborer.

Two eyewitnesses relate that a German soldier shot a civilian and stabbed him with a bayonet as he lay. He then made one of these witnesses, a civilian prisoner, smell the blood on the bayonet.

HAECHT.—At Haecht the bodies of ten civilians were seen lying in a row by a brewery wall.

In a laborer's house, which had been broken up, the mutilated corpse of a woman of 30 to 35 was discovered.

A child of 3 with its stomach cut open by a bayonet was lying near a house.

WERCHTER. — At Werchter the corpses of a man and woman and four younger persons were found in one house. It is stated that they had been murdered because one of the latter, a girl, would not allow the Germans to outrage her.

This catalogue of crimes does not by any means represent the sum total of the depositions relating to this district laid before the committee. The above are given merely as examples of acts which the evidence shows to have taken place in numbers that might have seemed scarcely credible.

In the rest of the district, that is to say, Aerschot and the other villages from which the Germans had not been driven, the effect of the battle was to cause a recrudescence of murder, arson, pillage, and cruelty, which had to some extent died down after Aug. 20 or 21.

In Aerschot itself fresh prisoners seem to have been taken and added to those who were already in the church, since it would appear that prisoners were kept to some extent in the church during the



GENERAL SIR WILLIAM ROBERTSON, K. C. B.
Chief of the British General Staff, Who Made a Remarkable Record
as Quartermaster General in France

(Photo from Reia News Service.)



GENERAL FOCH
The Brilliant Strategist Who Commands the French
Armies of the North
(Photo from P. S. Rogers.)

whole of the German occupation of Aerschot. The second occasion on which large numbers of prisoners were put there was shortly after the battle of Malines, and it was then that the priest of Gelrode was brought to Aerschot Church, treated abominably, and finally murdered.

One witness describes the scene graphically:

"The whole of the prisoners—men, women, and children—were placed in the church. Nobody was allowed to go outside the church to obey the calls of nature; the church had to be used for that purpose. We were afterward allowed to go outside the church for this purpose, and then I saw the clergyman of Gelrode standing by the wall of the church with his hands above his head, being guarded by soldiers."

The actual details of the murder of the priest are as follows: The priest was struck several times by the soldiers on the head. He was pushed up against the wall of the church. He asked in Flemish to be allowed to stand with his face to the wall, and tried to turn around. The Germans stopped him and then turned him with his face to the wall, with his hands above his head. An hour later the same witness saw the priest still standing there. He was then led away by the Germans a distance of about fifty yards. There, with his face against the wall of a house, he was shot by five soldiers.

Other murders of which we have evidence appear in the appendix.

Some of the prisoners in the church at Aerschot were actually kept there until the arrival of the Belgian Army on Sept. 11, when they were released. Others were marched to Louvain and eventually merged with other prisoners, both from Louvain itself and the surrounding districts, and taken to Germany and elsewhere.

It is said by one witness that about 1,500 were marched to Louvain and that the journey took six hours.

The journey to Louvain is thus described by a witness: We were all marched off to Louvain, walking. There were some very old people, among others a man 90 years of age. The very old people were drawn in carts and barrows

by the younger men. There was an officer with a bicycle, who shouted, as people fell out by the side of the road, "Shoot them!"

AERSCHOT AND DISTRICT.

Period III., (September.)

It is unnecessary to describe with much particularity the events of the period beginning about Sept. 10. The Belgian soldiers, who had recaptured the place, found corpses of civilians who must have been murdered in Aerschot itself, just as they found them in Sempst and the other villages on Aug. 25. Some of these bodies were found in wells and some had been burned alive in their houses.

The prisoners released by the Belgian Army from the church were almost starved.

HAECHT.—At Haecht several children had been murdered, one of 2 or 3 years of age was found nailed to the door of a farmhouse by its hands and feet—a crime which seems almost incredible, but the evidence for which we feel bound to accept. In the garden of this house was the body of a girl who had been shot in the forehead.

CAPELLE-AU-BOIS.—At Capelle-au-Bois two children were murdered in a cart and their corpses were seen by many witnesses at different stages of the cart's journey.

EPPEGHEM.—At Epegghem the dead body of a child of 2 was seen pinned to the ground with a German lance. Same witness saw a mutilated woman alive near Weerde on the same day.

TREMELOO.—Belgian soldiers on patrol duty found a young girl naked on the ground, covered with scratches. She complained of having been violated. On the same day an old woman was seen kneeling by the body of her husband, and she told them that the Germans had shot him as he was trying to escape from the house.

LOUVAIN AND DISTRICT.

The events spoken to as having occurred in and around Louvain between the 19th and the 25th of August deserve close attention.

For six days the Germans were in peaceful occupation of the city. No houses were set on fire—no citizens killed. There was a certain amount of looting of empty houses, but otherwise discipline was effectively maintained. The condition of Louvain during these days was one of relative peace and quietude, presenting a striking contrast to the previous and contemporaneous conduct of the German Army elsewhere.

On the evening of Aug. 25 a sudden change takes place. The Germans, on that day repulsed by the Belgians, had retreated to and reoccupied Louvain. Immediately the devastation of that city and the holocaust of its population commences. The inference is irresistible that the army as a whole wreaked its vengeance on the civil population and the buildings of the city in revenge for the setback which the Belgian arms had inflicted on them. A subsidiary cause alleged was the assertion, often made before, that civilians had fired upon the German Army.

The depositions which relate to Louvain are numerous, and are believed by the committee to present a true and fairly complete picture of the events of the 25th and 26th of August and subsequent days. We find no grounds for thinking that the inhabitants fired upon the German Army on the evening of the 25th of August. Eyewitnesses worthy of credence detail exactly when, where, and how the firing commenced. Such firing was by Germans on Germans. No impartial tribunal could, in our opinion, come to any other conclusion.

On the evening of the 25th firing could be heard in the direction of Herent, some three kilometers from Louvain. An alarm was sounded in the city. There was disorder and confusion, and at 8 o'clock horses attached to baggage wagons stamped in the street and rifle fire commenced. This was in the Rue de la Station and came from the German police guard, (21 in number,) who, seeing the troops arrive in disorder, thought it was the enemy. Then the corps of incendiaries got to work. They had broad belts with the words "Gott mit uns"

and their equipment consisted of a hatchet, a syringe, a small shovel, and a revolver. Fires blazed up in the direction of the Law Courts, St. Martin's Barracks, and later in the Place de la Station. Meanwhile an incessant fusillade was kept up on the windows of the houses. In their efforts to escape the flames the inhabitants climbed the walls.

"My mother and servants," says a witness, "had to do the same and took refuge at Monsieur A.'s, whose cellars are vaulted and afforded a better protection than mine. A little later we withdrew to Monsieur A.'s stables, where about thirty people who had got there by climbing the walls were to be found. Some of these poor wretches had to climb twenty walls. A ring came at the bell. We opened the door. Several civilians flung themselves under the porch. The Germans were firing upon them from the street. Every moment new fires were lighting up, accompanied by explosions. In the middle of the night I heard a knock at the outer door of the stable which led into a little street, and heard a woman's voice crying for help. I opened the door, and just as I was going to let her in a rifle shot fired from the street by a German soldier rang out and the woman fell dead at my feet. About 9 in the morning things got quieter, and we took the opportunity of venturing into the street. A German who was carrying a silver pyx and a number of boxes of cigars told us we were to go to the station, where trains would be waiting for us. When we got to the Place de la Station we saw in the square seven or eight dead bodies of murdered civilians. Not a single house in the place was standing. A whole row of houses behind the station at Blauwput was burned. After being driven hither and thither interminably by officers, who treated us roughly and insulted us throughout, we were divided."

The prisoners were then distributed between different bodies of troops and marched in the direction of Herent. Seventy-seven inhabitants of Louvain, including a number of people of good position, (the names of several are given,) were thus taken to Herent.

"We found the village of Herent in flames, so much so that we had to quicken up to prevent ourselves from being suffocated and burned up by the flames in the middle of the road. Half-burned corpses of civilians were lying in front of the houses. During a halt soldiers stole cattle and slaughtered them where

they stood. Firing started on our left. We were told it was the civilians firing, and that we were going to be shot. The truth is that it was the Germans themselves who were firing to frighten us. There was not a single civilian in the neighborhood. Shortly afterward we proceeded on our march to Malines. We were insulted and threatened. * * * The officers were worse than the men. We got to Campenhout about 7 P. M., and were locked into the church with all the male population of the village. Some priests had joined our numbers. We had had nothing to eat or drink since the evening of the day before. A few compassionate soldiers gave us water to drink, but no official took the trouble to see that we were fed."

Next day, Thursday, the 27th, a safe conduct to return to Louvain was given, but the prisoners had hardly started, when they were stopped and taken before a Brigade General and handed to another escort. Some were grossly ill-treated. They were accused of being soldiers out of uniform, and were told they could not go to Louvain, "as the town was going to be razed to the ground." Other prisoners were added, even women and children, until there were more than 200. They were then taken toward Malines, released, and told to go to that town together, and that those who separated would be fired on. Other witnesses corroborate the events described by the witness.

A woman employed by an old gentleman living in the Rue de la Station tells the story of her master's death:

"We had supper as usual about 8, but two German officers, (who were staying in the house,) did not come in to supper that evening. My master went to bed at 8:15, and so did his son. The servants went to bed at 9:30. Soon after I got to my bedroom I saw out of my room flames from some burning house near by. I roused my master and his son. As they came down the stairs they were seized by German soldiers and both were tied up and led out, my master being tied with a rope and his son with a chain. They were dragged outside. I did not actually see what happened outside, but heard subsequently that my master was bayoneted and shot, and that his son was shot. I heard shots from the kitchen, where I was, and was present at the burial of my master and his son thirteen days later. German soldiers came back

into the house and poured some inflammable liquid over the floors and set fire to it. I escaped by another staircase to that which my master and his son had descended."

On the 26th, (Wednesday,) in the City of Louvain, massacre, fire, and destruction went on. The university, with its library, the Church of St. Peter, and many houses were set on fire and burned to the ground. Citizens were shot and others taken prisoners and compelled to go with the troops. Soldiers went through the streets saying "Man hat geschossen."* One soldier was seen going along shooting in the air.

Many of the people hid in cellars, but the soldiers shot down through the gratings. Some citizens were shot on opening the doors, others in endeavoring to escape. Among other persons whose houses were burned was an old man of 90 lying dangerously ill, who was taken out on his mattress and left lying in his garden all night. He died shortly after in the hospital to which a friend took him the following morning.

On Thursday, the 27th, orders were given that every one should leave the city, which was to be razed to the ground. Some citizens, including a canon of the cathedral, with his aged mother, were ordered to go to the station and afterward to take the road to Tirlemont. Among the number were about twenty priests from Louvain. They were insulted and threatened, but ultimately allowed to go free and make their way as best they could, women and sick persons among them, to Tirlemont. Other groups of prisoners from Louvain were on the same day taken by other routes, some early in the morning, through various villages in the direction of Malines, with hands tightly bound by a long cord. More prisoners were afterward added, and all made to stay the night in the church at Campenhout. Next day, the 28th, this group, then consisting of about 1,000 men, women and children, was taken back to Louvain. The houses along the road were burning and many dead bodies of civilians, men and women, were

*"They have been shooting."

seen on the way. Some of the principal streets in Louvain had by that time been burned out. The prisoners were placed in a large building on the cavalry exercise ground— "One woman went mad, some children died, others were born." On the 29th the prisoners were marched along the Malines road, and at Herent the women and children and men over 40 were allowed to go; the others were taken to Boort Meerbeek, 15 kilometers from Malines, and told to march straight to Malines or be shot. At 11 P. M. they reached the fort of Waelhem and were at first fired on by the sentries, but on calling out they were Belgians were allowed to pass. These prisoners were practically without food from early morning on the 26th until midnight on the 29th. Of the corpses seen on the road, some had their hands tied behind their backs, others were burned, some had been killed by blows, and some corpses were those of children who had been shot.

Another witness, a man of independent means, was arrested at noon by the soldiers of the One Hundred and Sixty-fifth Regiment and taken to the Place de la Station. He was grossly ill-treated on the way and robbed by an officer of his purse and keys. His hands were tied behind his back. His wife was kept a prisoner at the other side of the station. He was then made to march with about 500 other prisoners until midnight, slept in the rain that night, and next day, having had no food since leaving Louvain, was taken to the church in Rotselaer, where there were then about 1,500 prisoners confined, including some infants. No food was given, only some water. Next day they were taken through Wespelaer and back to Louvain. On the way from Rotselaer to Wespelaer fifty bodies were seen, some naked and carbonized and unrecognizable. When they arrived at Louvain the Fish Market, the Place Marguerite, the cathedral, and many other buildings were on fire. In the evening about 100 men, women, and children were put in horse trucks from which the dung had not been removed, and at 6 the next morning left for Cologne.

The wife of this witness was also taken prisoner with her husband and her maid, but was separated from him, and she saw other ladies made to walk before the soldiers with their hands above their heads. One, an old lady of 85, (name given,) was dragged from her cellar and taken with them to the station. They were kept there all night, but set free in the morning, Thursday, but shortly afterward sent to Tirlemont on foot. A number of corpses were seen on the way. The prisoners, of whom there are said to have been thousands, were not allowed even to have water to drink, although there were streams on the way from which the soldiers drank. Witness was given some milk at a farm, but as she raised it to her lips it was taken away from her.

A priest was taken on Friday morning, Aug. 28, and placed at the head of a number of refugees from Wygmael. He was led through Louvain, abused and ill-treated, and placed with some thousands of other people in the riding school in the Rue du Manège. The glass roof broke in the night from the heat of burning buildings around. Next day the prisoners were marched through the country with an armed guard. Burned farms and burned corpses were seen on the way. The prisoners were finally separated into three groups, and the younger men marched through Herent and Bueken to Campenhout, and ultimately reached the Belgian lines about midnight on Saturday, Aug. 29. All the houses in Herent, a village of about 5,000 inhabitants, had been burned.

The massacre of civilians at Louvain was not confined to its citizens. Large crowds of people were brought into Louvain from the surrounding districts, not only from Aerschot and Gelrode as above mentioned, but also from other places. For example, a witness describes how many women and children were taken in carts to Louvain, and there placed in a stable. Of the hundreds of people thus taken from the various villages and brought to Louvain as prisoners, some were massacred there, others were forced to march along with citizens of

Louvain through various places, some being ultimately sent on the 29th to the Belgian lines at Malines, others were taken in trucks to Cologne as described below, others were released. An account of the massacre of some of these unfortunate civilian prisoners given by two witnesses may be quoted:

"We were all placed in Station Street, Louvain, and the German soldiers fired upon us. I saw the corpses of some women in the street. I fell down, and a woman who had been shot fell on top of me. I did not dare to look at the dead bodies in the street, there were so many of them. All of them had been shot by the German soldiers. One woman whom I saw lying dead in the street was a Miss J., about 35. I also saw the body of A. M., (a woman.) She had been shot. I saw an officer pull her corpse underneath a wagon."

Another witness, who was taken from Aerschot, also describes the occurrence:

"I was afterward taken with a large number of other civilians and placed in the church at Louvain. Then we were taken to Station Street, Louvain. There were about 1,500 civilians of both sexes, and we had been marched from Aerschot to Louvain. When we were in Station Street I felt that something was about to happen, and I tried to shelter in a doorway. The German soldiers then fired a mitrailleuse and their rifles upon the people, and the people fell on all sides. Two men next to me were killed. I afterward saw some one give a signal, and the firing ceased. I then ran away with a married woman named B., (whose maiden name was A. M.,) aged 29, who belonged to Aerschot, but we were again captured. She was shot by the side of me, and I saw her fall. Several other people were shot at the same time. I again ran away, and in my flight saw children falling out of their mothers' arms. I cannot say whether they were shot, or whether they fell from their mothers' arms in the great panic which ensued. I, however, saw children bleeding."

JOURNEY TO COLOGNE.

The greatest number of prisoners from Louvain, however, were assembled at the station and taken by trains to Cologne. Several witnesses describe their sufferings and the ill-treatment they received on the journey. One of the first trains started in the afternoon. It consisted of cattle trucks, about 100 being in each

truck. It took three days to get to Cologne. The prisoners had nothing to eat but a few biscuits each, and they were not allowed to get out for water and none was given. On a wagon the words "Civilians who shot at the soldiers at Louvain" were written. Some were marched through Cologne afterward for the people to see. Ropes were put about the necks of some and they were told they would be hanged. An order then came that they were to be shot instead of hanged. A firing squad was prepared, and five or six prisoners were put up, but were not shot. After being kept a week at Cologne some of these prisoners were taken back—this time only thirty or forty in a truck—and allowed to go free on arriving at Limburg. Several witnesses who were taken in other trains to Cologne describe their experiences in detail. Some of the trucks were abominably filthy. Prisoners were not allowed to leave to obey the calls of nature; one man who quitted the truck for the purpose was killed by a bayonet. Describing what happened to another body of prisoners, a witness says that they were made to cross Station Street, where the houses were burning, and taken to the station, placed in horse trucks, crowded together, men, women, and children, in each wagon. They were kept at the station during the night, and the following day left for Cologne. For two days and a half they were without food, and then they received a loaf of bread among ten persons, and some water. The prisoners were afterward taken back to Belgium. They were, in all, eight days in the train, crowded and almost without food. Two of the men went mad. The women and children were separated from the men at Brussels. The men were taken to a suburb and then to the villages of Herent, Vilvorde, and Sempst, and afterward set at liberty.

This taking of the inhabitants, including some of the influential citizens, in groups and marching them to various places, and in particular the sending of them to Malines and the dispatch of great numbers to Cologne, must evidently have been done under the direction of

the higher military authorities. The ill-treatment of the prisoners was under the eyes and often by the direction or with the sanction of officers, and officers themselves took part in it.

The object of taking many hundreds of prisoners to Cologne and back into Belgium is at first sight difficult to understand. Possibly it is to be regarded as part of the policy of punishment for Belgian resistance and general terrorization of the inhabitants—possibly as a desire to show these people to the population of a German city and thus to confirm the belief that the Belgians had shot at their troops.

Whatever may have been the case when the burning began on the evening of the 25th, it appears clear that the subsequent destruction and outrages were done with a set purpose. It was not until the 26th that the library, and other university buildings, the Church of St. Peter and many houses were set on fire. It is to be noticed that cases occur in the depositions in which humane acts by individual officers and soldiers are mentioned, or in which officers are said to have expressed regret at being obliged to carry out orders for cruel action against the civilians. Similarly, we find entries in diaries which reveal a genuine pity for the population and disgust at the conduct of the army. It appears that a German non-commissioned officer stated definitely that he "was acting under orders and executing them with great unwillingness." A commissioned officer on being asked at Louvain by a witness—a highly educated man—about the horrible acts committed by the soldiers, said he "was merely executing orders," and that he himself would be shot if he did not execute them. Others gave less credible excuses, one stating that the inhabitants of Louvain had burned the city themselves because they did not wish to supply food and quarters for the German Army. It was to the discipline rather than the want of discipline in the army that these outrages, which we are obliged to describe as systematic, were due, and the special official notices posted on certain houses that they were not to be destroyed show the fate which had been

decreed for the others which were not so marked.

We are driven to the conclusion that the harrying of the villages in the district, the burning of a large part of Louvain, the massacres there, the marching out of the prisoners, and the transport to Cologne, (all done without inquiry as to whether the particular persons seized or killed had committed any wrongful act,) were due to a calculated policy carried out scientifically and deliberately, not merely with the sanction but under the direction of higher military authorities, and were not due to any provocation or resistance by the civilian population.

TERMONDE.

To understand the depositions describing what happened at Termonde it is necessary to remember that the German Army occupied the town on two occasions, the first, from Friday, Sept. 4, to Sunday, Sept. 6, and again later in the month, about the 16th. The civilians had delivered up their arms a fortnight before the arrival of the Germans.

Early in the month, probably about the 4th, a witness saw two civilians murdered by Uhlans. Another witness saw their dead bodies, which remained in the street for ten days. Two hundred civilians were utilized as a screen by the German troops about this date.

On the 5th the town was partially burned. One witness was taken prisoner in the street by some German soldiers, together with several other civilians. At about 12 o'clock some of the tallest and strongest men among the prisoners were picked out to go around the streets with paraffin. Three or four carts containing paraffin tanks were brought up, and a syringe was used to put paraffin on to the houses, which were then fired. The process of destruction began with the houses of rich people, and afterward the houses of the poorer classes were treated in the same manner. German soldiers had previously told this witness that if the Burgomaster of Termonde, who was out of town, did not return by 12 o'clock that day the town would be set on fire. The firing of the town

was in consequence of his failure to return. The prisoners were afterward taken to a factory and searched for weapons. They were subsequently provided with passports enabling them to go anywhere in the town, but not outside. The witness in question managed to effect his escape by swimming across the river.

Another witness describes how the tower of the Church of Termonde St. Gilles was utilized by the Belgian troops for offensive purposes. They had in fact mounted a machine gun there. This witness was subsequently taken prisoner in a cellar in Termonde in which he had taken refuge with other people. All the men were taken from the cellar and the women were left behind. About seventy prisoners in all were taken; one, a brewer, who could not walk fast enough, was wounded with a bayonet. He fell down and was compelled to get up and follow the soldiers. The prisoners had to hold up their hands, and if they dopped their hands they were struck on the back with the butt end of rifles. They were taken to Lebbeke, where there were in all 300 prisoners, and there they were locked up in the church for three days and with scarcely any food.

A witness living at Baesrode was taken prisoner with 250 others and kept all night in a field. The prisoners were released on the following morning. This witness saw three corpses of civilians, and says that the Germans on Sunday, the 6th, plundered and destroyed the houses of those who had fled. The Germans left on the following day, taking about thirty men with them, one a man of 72 years of age.

Later in the month civilians were again used as a screen, and there is evidence of other acts of outrage.

ALOST.

Alost was the scene of fighting between the Belgian and German Armies during the whole of the latter part of the month of September. In connection with the fighting numerous cruelties appear to have been perpetrated by the German troops.

On Saturday, Sept. 11, a weaver was

bayoneted in the street. Another civilian was shot dead at his door on the same night. On the following day the witness was taken prisoner together with thirty others. The money of the prisoners was confiscated, and they were subsequently used as a screen for the German troops who were at that moment engaged in a conflict with the Belgian Army in the town itself. The Germans burned a number of houses at this time. Corpses of 14 civilians were seen in the streets on this occasion.

A well-educated witness, who visited the Wetteren Hospital shortly after this date, saw the dead bodies of a number of civilians belonging to Alost, and other civilians wounded. One of these stated that he took refuge in the house of his sister-in-law; that the Germans dragged the people out of the house, which was on fire, seized him, threw him on the ground, and hit him on the head with the butt end of a rifle, and ran him through the thigh with a bayonet. They then placed him with seventeen or eighteen others in front of the German troops, threatening them with revolvers. They said that they were going to make the people of Alost pay for the losses sustained by the Germans. At this hospital was an old woman of 80 completely transfixed by a bayonet.

Other crimes on noncombatants at Alost belong to the end of the month of September. Many witnesses speak to the murder of harmless civilians.

In Binnenstraat the Germans broke open the windows of the houses and threw fluid inside, and the houses burst into flames. Some of the inhabitants were burned to death.

The civilians were utilized on Saturday, Sept. 26, as a screen. During their retreat the Germans fired twelve houses in Rue des Trois Clefs, and three civilians, whose names are given, were shot dead in that street after the firing of the houses. On the following day a heap of nine dead civilians were lying in the Rue de l'Argent.

Similar outrages occurred at Erpe, a village a few miles from Alost, about the same date. The village was deliberately

burned. The houses were plundered and some civilians were murdered.

Civilians were apparently used as a screen at Erpe, but they were prisoners taken from Alost and not dwellers in that village.

DIARIES OF GERMAN SOLDIERS.

This disregard for the lives of civilians is strikingly shown in extracts from German soldiers' diaries, of which the following are representative examples.

Barthel, who was a Sergeant and standard bearer of the Second Company of the First Guards Regiment of Foot, and who during the campaign received the Iron Cross, says, under date Aug. 10, 1914:

"A transport of 300 Belgians came through Duisburg in the morning. Of these, eighty, including the Oberburgomaster, were shot according to martial law."

Matbern of the Fourth Company of Jägers, No. 11, from Marburg, states that at a village between Birnal and Dinant on Sunday, Aug. 23, the Pioneers and Infantry Regiment One Hundred and Seventy-eight were fired upon by the inhabitants. He gives no particulars beyond this. He continues:

"About 220 inhabitants were shot, and the village was burned. Artillery is continuously shooting—the village lies in a large ravine. Just now, 6 o'clock in the afternoon, the crossing of the Meuse begins near Dinant. All villages, châteaux and houses are burned down during the night. It is a beautiful sight to see the fires all around us in the distance."

Bombardier Wetzels of the Second Mounted Battery, First Kurhessian Field Artillery Regiment, No. 11, records an incident which happened in French territory near Lille on Oct. 11: "We had no fight, but we caught about twenty men and shot them." By this time killing not in a fight would seem to have passed into a habit.

Diary No. 32 gives an accurate picture of what took place in Louvain:

"What a sad scene—all the houses surrounding the railway station completely destroyed—only some foundation walls still standing. On the station square captured guns. At the end of a main street there is the Council Hall

which has been completely preserved with all its beautiful turrets; a sharp contrast: 180 inhabitants are stated to have been shot after they had dug their own graves."

The last and most important entry is that contained in Diary No. 19. This is a blue book interleaved with blotting paper, and contains no name and address; there is, however, one circumstance which makes it possible to speak with certainty as to the regiment of the writer. He gives the names of First Lieutenant von Oppen, Count Eulenburg, Captain von Roeder, First Lieutenant von Bock und Polach, Second Lieutenant Count Hardenberg, and Lieutenant Engelbrecht. A perusal of the Prussian Army list of June, 1914, shows that all these officers, with the exception of Lieutenant Engelbrecht, belonged to the First Regiment of Foot Guards. On Aug. 24, 1914, the writer was in Ermeton. The exact translation of the extract, grim in its brevity, is as follows:

"24.8.14. We took about 1,000 prisoners: at least 500 were shot. The village was burned because inhabitants had also shot. Two civilians were shot at once."

We may now sum up and endeavor to explain the character and significance of the wrongful acts done by the German Army in Belgium.

If a line is drawn on a map from the Belgian frontier to Liège and continued to Charleroi, and a second line drawn from Liège to Malines, a sort of figure resembling an irregular Y will be formed. It is along this Y that most of the systematic (as opposed to isolated) outrages were committed. If the period from Aug. 4 to Aug. 30 is taken it will be found to cover most of these organized outrages. Termonde and Alost extend, it is true, beyond the Y lines, and they belong to the month of September. Murder, rape, arson, and pillage began from the moment when the German Army crossed the frontier. For the first fortnight of the war the towns and villages near Liège were the chief sufferers. From Aug. 19 to the end of the month, outrages spread in the directions of Charleroi and Malines and reach their period of greatest intensity. There is a

certain significance in the fact that the outrages around Liège coincide with the unexpected resistance of the Belgian Army in that district, and that the slaughter which reigned from Aug. 19 to the end of the month is contemporaneous with the period when the German Army's need for a quick passage through Belgium at all costs was deemed imperative.

Here let a distinction be drawn between two classes of outrages.

Individual acts of brutality—ill-treatment of civilians, rape, plunder, and the like—were very widely committed. These are more numerous and more shocking than would be expected in warfare between civilized powers, but they differ rather in extent than in kind from what has happened in previous though not recent wars.

In all wars many shocking and outrageous acts must be expected, for in every large army there must be a proportion of men of criminal instincts whose worst passions are unloosed by the immunity which the conditions of warfare afford. Drunkenness, moreover, may turn even a soldier who has no criminal habits into a brute, who may commit outrages at which he would himself be shocked in his sober moments, and there is evidence that intoxication was extremely prevalent among the German Army, both in Belgium and in France, for plenty of wine was to be found in the villages and country houses which were pillaged. Many of the worst outrages appear to have been perpetrated by men under the influence of drink. Unfortunately, little seems to have been done to repress this source of danger.

In the present war, however—and this is the gravest charge against the German Army—the evidence shows that the killing of noncombatants was carried out to an extent for which no previous war between nations claiming to be civilized, (for such cases as the atrocities perpetrated by the Turks on the Bulgarian Christians in 1876, and on the Armenian Christians in 1895 and 1896, do not belong to that category,) furnishes any

precedent. That this killing was done as part of a deliberate plan is clear from the facts hereinbefore set forth regarding Louvain, Aerschot, Dinant, and other towns. The killing was done under orders in each place. It began at a certain fixed date, and stopped, (with some few exceptions,) at another fixed date. Some of the officers who carried out the work did it reluctantly, and said they were obeying directions from their chiefs. The same remarks apply to the destruction of property. House burning was part of the program; and villages, even large parts of a city, were given to the flames as part of the terrorizing policy.

Citizens of neutral States who visited Belgium in December and January report that the German authorities do not deny that noncombatants were systematically killed in large numbers during the first weeks of the invasion, and this, so far as we know, has never been officially denied. If it were denied, the flight and continued voluntary exile of thousands of Belgian refugees would go far to contradict a denial, for there is no historical parallel in modern times for the flight of a large part of a nation before an invader.

The German Government have, however, sought to justify their severities on the grounds of military necessity, and have excused them as retaliation for cases in which civilians fired on German troops. There may have been cases in which such firing occurred, but no proof has ever been given, or, to our knowledge, attempted to be given, of such cases, nor of the stories of shocking outrages perpetrated by Belgian men and women on German soldiers.

The inherent improbability of the German contention is shown by the fact that after the first few days of the invasion every possible precaution had been taken by the Belgian authorities, by way of placards and handbills, to warn the civilian population not to intervene in hostilities. Throughout Belgium steps had been taken to secure the handing over of all firearms in the possession of civilians before the German Army arrived. These steps were sometimes taken

by the police and sometimes by the military authorities.

The invaders appear to have proceeded upon the theory that any chance shot coming from an unexpected place was fired by civilians. One favorite form of this allegation was that priests had fired from the church tower. In many instances the soldiers of the allied armies used church towers and private houses as cover for their operations. At Aerschot, where the Belgian soldiers were stationed in the church tower and fired upon the Germans as they advanced, it was at once alleged by the Germans when they entered the town, and with difficulty disproved, that the firing had come from civilians. Thus one elementary error creeps at once into the German argument, for they were likely to confound, and did in some instances certainly confound, legitimate military operations with the hostile intervention of civilians.

Troops belonging to the same army often fire by mistake upon each other. That the German Army was no exception to this rule is proved not only by many Belgian witnesses, but by the most irrefragable kind of evidence—the admission of German soldiers themselves, recorded in their war diaries. Thus Otto Clepp, Second Company of the Reserve, says, under date of Aug. 22: "Three A. M. Two infantry regiments shot at each other—9 dead and 50 wounded—fault not yet ascertained." In this connection the diaries of Kurt Hoffman and a soldier of the 112th Regiment, (Diary No. 14,) will repay study. In such cases the obvious interest of the soldier is to conceal his mistake, and a convenient method of doing so is to raise the cry of "francs-tireurs!"

Doubtless the German soldiers often believed that the civilian population, naturally hostile, had, in fact, attacked them. This attitude of mind may have been fostered by the German authorities themselves before the troops passed the frontier, and thereafter stories of alleged atrocities committed by Belgians upon Germans, such as the myth referred to in one of the diaries relating to Liège,

were circulated among the troops and roused their anger.

The diary of Barthel, when still in Germany on Aug. 10, shows that he believed that the Oberburgomaster of Liège had murdered a Surgeon General. The fact is that no violence was inflicted on the inhabitants at Liège until the 19th, and no one who studies these pages can have any doubt that Liège would immediately have been given over to murder and destruction if any such incident had occurred.

Letters written to their homes which have been found on the bodies of dead Germans bear witness, in a way that now sounds pathetic, to the kindness with which they were received by the civil population. Their evident surprise at this reception was due to the stories which had been dinned into their ears of soldiers with their eyes gouged out, treacherous murders, and poisoned food—stories which may have been encouraged by the higher military authorities in order to impress the mind of the troops, as well as for the sake of justifying the measures which they took to terrify the civil population. If there is any truth in such stories, no attempt has been made to establish it. For instance, the Chancellor of the German Empire, in a communication made to the press on Sept. 2 and printed in the Nord Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung of Sept. 21, said as follows:

"Belgian girls gouged out the eyes of the German wounded. Officials of Belgian cities have invited our officers to dinner and shot and killed them across the table. Contrary to all international law, the whole civilian population of Belgium was called out and, after having at first shown friendliness, carried on in the rear of our troops terrible warfare with concealed weapons. Belgian women cut the throats of soldiers whom they had quartered in their homes while they were sleeping."

No evidence whatever seems to have been adduced to prove these tales, and though there may be cases in which individual Belgians fired on the Germans, the statement that "the whole civilian population of Belgium was called out" is utterly opposed to the fact.

An invading army may be entitled to

shoot at sight a civilian caught red-handed, or any one who, though not caught redhanded, is proved guilty on inquiry. But this was not the practice followed by the German troops. They do not seem to have made any inquiry. They seized the civilians of the villages indiscriminately and killed them, or such as they selected from among them, without the least regard to guilt or innocence. The mere cry, "Civilisten haben geschossen!" was enough to hand over a whole village or district, and even outlying places, to ruthless slaughter.

We gladly record the instances where the evidence shows that humanity had not wholly disappeared from some members of the German Army, and that they realized that the responsible heads of that organization were employing them not in war, but in butchery: "I am merely executing orders, and I should be shot if I did not execute them," said an officer to a witness at Louvain. At Brussels another officer says: "I have not done one-hundredth part of what we have been ordered to do by the high German military authorities."

As we have already observed, it would be unjust to charge upon the German Army generally acts of cruelty which, whether due to drunkenness or not, were done by men of brutal instincts and unbridled passions. Such crimes were sometimes punished by the officers. They were in some cases offset by acts of humanity and kindness. But when an army is directed or permitted to kill noncombatants on a large scale the ferocity of the worst natures springs into fuller life, and both lust and the thirst of blood become more widespread and more formidable. Had less license been allowed to the soldiers and had they not been set to work to slaughter civilians there would have been fewer of those painful cases in which a depraved and morbid cruelty appears.

Two classes of murders in particular require special mention because one of them is almost new and the other altogether unprecedented. The former is the seizure of peaceful citizens as so-called hostages, to be kept as a pledge for the conduct of the civil population or as a

means to secure some military advantage or to compel the payment of a contribution, the hostages being shot if the condition imposed by the arbitrary will of the invader is not fulfilled. Such hostage taking, with the penalty of death attached, has now and then happened, the most notable case being the shooting of the Archbishop of Paris and some of his clergy by the Communards of Paris in 1871, but it is opposed both to the rules of war and to every principle of justice and humanity. The latter kind of murder is the killing of the innocent inhabitants of a village because shots have been fired, or are alleged to have been fired, on the troops by some one in the village. For this practice no previous example and no justification have been or can be pleaded. Soldiers suppressing an insurrection may have sometimes slain civilians mingled with insurgents, and Napoleon's forces in Spain are said to have now and then killed promiscuously when trying to clear guerrillas out of a village. But in Belgium large bodies of men, sometimes including the Burgomaster and the priest, were seized, marched by officers to a spot chosen for the purpose, and there shot in cold blood, without any attempt at trial or even inquiry, under the pretense of inflicting punishment upon the village, though these unhappy victims were not even charged with having themselves committed any wrongful act, and though, in some cases at least, the village authorities had done all in their power to prevent any molestation of the invading force. Such acts are no part of war, for innocence is entitled to respect even in war. They are mere murders, just as the drowning of the innocent passengers and crews on a merchant ship is murder and not an act of war.

That these acts should have been perpetrated on the peaceful population of an unoffending country which was not at war with its invaders, but merely defending its own neutrality, guaranteed by the invading power, may excite amazement and even incredulity. It was with amazement and almost with incredulity that the committee first read the depositions relating to such acts. But when

the evidence regarding Liège was followed by that regarding Aerschot, Louvain, Andenne, Dinant, and the other towns and villages, the cumulative effect of such a mass of concurrent testimony became irresistible, and we were driven to the conclusion that the things described had really happened. The question then arose, how they could have happened. Not from mere military license, for the discipline of the German Army is proverbially stringent, and its obedience implicit. Not from any special ferocity of the troops, for whoever has traveled among the German peasantry knows that they are as kindly and good-natured as any people in Europe, and those who can recall the war of 1870 will remember that no charges resembling those proved by these depositions were then established. The excesses recently committed in Belgium were, moreover, too widespread and too uniform in their character to be mere sporadic outbursts of passion or rapacity.

The explanation seems to be that these excesses were committed—in some cases ordered, in others allowed—on a system and in pursuance of a set purpose. That purpose was to strike terror into the civil population and dishearten the Belgian troops, so as to crush down resistance and extinguish the very spirit of self-defense. The pretext that civilians had fired upon the invading troops was used to justify not merely the shooting of individual francs-tireurs, but the murder of large numbers of innocent civilians, an act absolutely forbidden by the rules of civilized warfare.*

In the minds of Prussian officers war seems to have become a sort of sacred mission, one of the highest functions of the omnipotent State, which is itself as much an army as a State. Ordinary morality and the ordinary sentiment of pity vanish in its presence, superseded by a new standard, which justifies to the soldier every means that can conduce to success, however shocking to a natural sense of justice and humanity, however

revolting to his own feelings. The spirit of war is deified. Obedience to the State and its war lord leaves no room for any other duty or feeling. Cruelty becomes legitimate when it promises victory. Proclaimed by the heads of the army, this doctrine would seem to have permeated the officers and affected even the private soldiers, leading them to justify the killing of noncombatants as an act of war, and so accustoming them to slaughter that even women and children become at last the victims. It cannot be supposed to be a national doctrine, for it neither springs from nor reflects the mind and feelings of the German people as they have heretofore been known to other nations. It is a specifically military doctrine, the outcome of a theory held by a ruling caste who have brooded and thought, written and talked, and dreamed about war until they have fallen under its obsession and been hypnotized by its spirit.

The doctrine is plainly set forth in the German Official Monograph on the usages of war on land, issued under the direction of the German Staff. This book is pervaded throughout by the view that whatever military needs suggest becomes thereby lawful, and upon this principle, as the diaries show, the German officers acted.*

If this explanation be the true one, the mystery is solved, and that which seemed scarcely credible becomes more intelligible, though not less pernicious. This is not the only case that history records in which a false theory, disguising itself as loyalty to a State or to a Church, has perverted the conception of duty and become a source of danger to the world.

PART II.

Having thus narrated the offenses committed in Belgium, which it has been proper to consider as a whole, we now turn to another branch of the subject, the breaches of the usages of war which

* As to this, see, in appendix, the Rules of The Hague Convention of 1907, to which Germany was a signatory.

"Kriegsbrauch im Landkriege," Berlin, 1902, in Vol. VI., in the series entitled "Kriegsgeschichtliche Einzelschriften," published in 1905. A translation of this monograph, by Professor J. H. Morgan, has recently been published.

appear in the conduct of the German Army generally.

This branch has been considered under the following heads:

First.—The treatment of noncombatants, whether in Belgium or in France, including—

(a) The killing of noncombatants in France;

(b) The treatment of women and children;

(c) The using of innocent non-combatants as a screen or shield in the conduct of military operations;

(d) Looting, burning, and the wanton destruction of property.

Second.—Offenses committed in the course of ordinary military operations, which violate the usages of war and the provisions of The Hague Convention.

This division includes:

(a) *Killing of wounded or prisoners;*

(b) *Firing on hospitals or on the Red Cross ambulances and stretcher bearers;*

(c) *Abuse of the Red Cross or of the white flag.*

TREATMENT OF THE CIVILIAN POPULATION.

(a) Killing of Noncombatants.

The killing of civilians in Belgium has been already described sufficiently. Outrages on the civilian population of the invaded districts, the burning of villages, the shooting of innocent inhabitants, and the taking of hostages, pillage, and destruction continued as the German armies passed into France. The diary of the Saxon officer above referred to describes acts of this kind committed by the German soldiers in advancing to the Aisne at the end of August and after they had passed the French frontier, as well as when they were in Belgian territory.

A proclamation, (a specimen of which was produced to the committee,) issued at Rheims and placarded over the town, affords a clear illustration of the methods adopted by the German Higher Command. The population of Rheims is warned that on the slightest disturbance part or the whole of the city will be burned to the ground and all the hos-

tages taken from the city (a long list of whom is given in the proclamation) immediately shot.

The evidence, however, submitted to the committee with regard to the conduct of the German Army in France is not nearly so full as that with regard to Belgium. There is no body of civilian refugees in England, and the French witnesses have generally laid their evidence before their own Government. The evidence forwarded to us consists principally of the statements of British officers and soldiers who took part in the retreat after the battle of Mons and in the subsequent advance, following the Germans from the Marne. The area covered is relatively small, and it is from French reports that any complete account of what occurred in the invaded districts in France as a whole must be obtained.

Naturally, soldiers in a foreign country, with which they were unacquainted, cannot be expected always to give accurately the names of villages through which they passed on their marches, but this does not prevent their evidence from being definite as to what they actually saw in the farms and houses where the German troops had recently been. Many shocking outrages are recorded. Three examples may here suffice; others are given in the appendix. A Sergeant who had been through the retreat from Mons and then taken part in the advance from the Marne, and who had been engaged in driving out some German troops from a village, states that his troop halted outside a bakery just inside the village. It was a private house where baking was done, "not like our bakeries here." Two or three women were standing at the door. The women motioned them to come into the house, as did also three civilian Frenchmen who were there. They took them into a garden at the back of the house. At the end of the garden was the bakery. They saw two old men between 60 and 70 years of age and one old woman lying close to each other in the garden. All three had the scalps cut right through and the brains were hanging out. They were still bleeding. Apparently they had only

just been killed. The three French civilians belonged to this same house. One of them spoke a few words of English. He gave them to understand that these three had been killed by the Germans because they had refused to bake bread for them.

Another witness states that two German soldiers took hold of a young civilian named D. and bound his hands behind his back, and struck him in the face with their fists. They then tied his hands in front and fastened the cord to the tail of the horse. The horse dragged him for about fifty yards, and then the Germans loosened his hands and left him. The whole of his face was cut and torn, and his arms and legs were bruised. On the following day one of his sisters, whose husband was a soldier, came to their house with her four children. His brother, who was also married and who lived in a village near Valenciennes, went to fetch the bread for his sister. On the way back to their house he met a patrol of Uhlans, who took him to the market place at Valenciennes, and then shot him. About twelve other civilians were also shot in the market place. The Uhlans then burned nineteen houses in the village, and afterward burned the corpses of the civilians, including that of his brother. His father and his uncle afterward went to see the dead body of his brother, but the German soldiers refused to allow them to pass.

A lance corporal in the Rifles, who was on patrol duty with five privates during the retirement of the Germans after the Marne, states that they entered a house in a small village and took ten Uhlans prisoners, and then searched the house and found two women and two children. One was dead, but the body not yet cold. The left arm had been cut off just below the elbow. The floor was covered with blood. The woman's clothing was disarranged. The other woman was alive but unconscious. Her right leg had been cut off above the knee. There were two little children, a boy about 4 or 5 and a girl of about 6 or 7. The boy's left hand was cut off at the wrist and the girl's right

hand at the same place. They were both quite dead. The same witness states that he saw several women and children lying dead in various other places, but says he could not say whether this might not have been accidentally caused in legitimate fighting.

The evidence before us proves that in the parts of France referred to murder of unoffending civilians and other acts of cruelty, including aggravated cases of rape, carried out under threat of death, and sometimes actually followed by murder of the victim, were committed by some of the German troops.

(b) The Treatment of Women and Children.

The evidence shows that the German authorities, when carrying out a policy of systematic arson and plunder in selected districts, usually drew some distinction between the adult male population on the one hand and the women and children on the other. It was a frequent practice to set apart the adult males of the condemned district with a view to the execution of a suitable number—preferably of the younger and more vigorous—and to reserve the women and children for milder treatment. The depositions, however, present many instances of calculated cruelty, often going the length of murder, toward the women and children of the condemned area. We have already referred to the case of Aerschot, where the women and children were herded in a church which had recently been used as a stable, detained for forty-eight hours with no food other than coarse bread, and denied the common decencies of life. At Dinant sixty women and children were confined in the cellar of a convent from Sunday morning till the following Friday, (Aug. 23,) sleeping on the ground, for there were no beds, with nothing to drink during the whole period, and given no food until the Wednesday, "when somebody threw into the cellar two sticks of macaroni and a carrot for each prisoner." In other cases the women and children were marched for long distances along roads, (e. g., march of

women from Louvain to Tirlemont, Aug. 28,) the laggards pricked on by the attendant Uhlans. A lady complains of having been brutally kicked by privates. Others were struck with the butt end of rifles. At Louvain, at Liége, at Aerschot, at Malines, at Montigny, at Andenne, and elsewhere, there is evidence that the troops were not restrained from drunkenness, and drunken soldiers cannot to be trusted to observe the rules or decencies of war, least of all when they are called upon to execute a preordained plan of arson and pillage. From the very first women were not safe. At Liége women and children were chased about the streets by soldiers. A witness gives a story, very circumstantial in its details, of how women were publicly raped in the market place of the city, five young German officers assisting. At Aerschot men and women were deliberately shot when coming out of burning houses. At Liége, Louvain, Sempst, and Malines women were burned to death, either because they were surprised and stupefied by the fumes of the conflagration or because they were prevented from escaping by German soldiers. Witnesses recount how a great crowd of men, women, and children from Aerschot were marched to Louvain, and then suddenly exposed to a fire from a mitrailleuse and rifles. "We were all placed," recounts a sufferer, "in Station Street, Louvain, and the German soldiers fired on us. I saw the corpses of some women in the street. I fell down, and a woman who had been shot fell on top of me." Women and children suddenly turned out into the streets, and, compelled to witness the destruction by fire of their homes, provided a sad spectacle to such as were sober enough to see. A humane German officer, witnessing the ruin of Aerschot, exclaims in disgust: "I am a father myself, and I cannot bear this. It is not war, but butchery." Officers as well as men succumbed to the temptation of drink, with results which may be illustrated by an incident which occurred at Campenhout. In this village there was a certain well-to-do merchant (name given) who had a good cellar of champagne. On the afternoon of the

14th or 15th of August three German cavalry officers entered the house and demanded champagne. Having drunk ten bottles and invited five or six officers and three or four private soldiers to join them, they continued their carouse, and then called for the master and mistress of the house.

"Immediately my mistress came in," says the valet de chambre, "one of the officers who was sitting on the floor got up, and, putting a revolver to my mistress' temple, shot her dead. The officer was obviously drunk. The other officers continued to drink and sing, and they did not pay great attention to the killing of my mistress. The officer who shot my mistress then told my master to dig a grave and bury my mistress. My master and the officer went into the garden, the officer threatening my master with a pistol. My master was then forced to dig the grave and to bury the body of my mistress, in it. I cannot say for what reason they killed my mistress. The officer who did it was singing all the time."

In the evidence before us there are cases tending to show that aggravated crimes against women were sometimes severely punished. One witness reports that a young girl who was being pursued by a drunken soldier at Louvain appealed to a German officer, and that the offender was then and there shot. Another describes how an officer of the Thirty-second Regiment of the Line was led out to execution for the violation of two young girls, but reprieved at the request or with the consent of the girls' mother. These instances are sufficient to show that the maltreatment of women was no part of the military scheme of the invaders, however much it may appear to have been the inevitable result of the system of terror deliberately adopted in certain regions. Indeed, so much is avowed. "I asked the commander why we had been spared," says a lady in Louvain, who deposes to having suffered much brutal treatment during the sack. He said: "We will not hurt you any more. Stay in Louvain. All is finished." It was Saturday, Aug. 29, and the reign of terror was over.

Apart from the crimes committed in special areas and belonging to a scheme of systematic reprisals for the alleged

shooting by civilians, there is evidence of offenses committed against women and children by individual soldiers, or by small groups of soldiers, both in the advance through Belgium and France as in the retreat from the Marne. Indeed, the discipline appears to have been loose during the retreat, and there is evidence as to the burning of villages and the murder and violation of their female inhabitants during this episode of the war.

In this tale of horrors hideous forms of mutilation occur with some frequency in the depositions, two of which may be connected in some instances with a perverted form of sexual instinct.

A third form of mutilation, the cutting of one or both hands, is frequently said to have taken place. In some cases where this form of mutilation is alleged to have occurred it may be the consequence of a cavalry charge up a village street, hacking and slashing at everything in the way; in others the victim may possibly have held a weapon; in others the motive may have been the theft of rings.

We find many well-established cases of the slaughter (often accompanied by mutilation) of whole families, including not infrequently that of quite small children. In two cases it seems to be clear that preparations were made to burn a family alive. These crimes were committed over a period of many weeks and simultaneously in many places, and the authorities must have known, or ought to have known, that cruelties of this character were being perpetrated; nor can any one doubt that they could have been stopped by swift and decisive action on the part of the heads of the German Army.

The use of women and even children as a screen for the protection of the German troops is referred to in a later part of this report. From the number of troops concerned, it must have been commanded or acquiesced in by officers, and in some cases the presence and connivance of officers is proved.

The cases of violation, sometimes under threat of death, are numerous and clearly proved. We referred here to

comparatively few out of the many that have been placed in the appendix, because the circumstances are in most instances much the same. They were often accompanied with cruelty, and the slaughter of women after violation is more than once credibly attested.

It is quite possible that in some cases where the body of a Belgian or a French woman is reported as lying on the roadside pierced with bayonet wounds or hanging naked from a tree, or else as lying gashed and mutilated in a cottage kitchen or bedroom, the woman in question gave some provocation. She may by act or word have irritated her assailant, and in certain instances evidence has been supplied both as to the provocation offered and as to the retribution inflicted.

(1) "Just before we got to Melen," says a witness who had fallen into the hands of the Germans on Aug. 5, "I saw a woman with a child in her arms standing on the side of the road on our left-hand side watching the soldiers go by. Her name was G., aged about 63, and a neighbor of mine. The officer asked the woman for some water in good French. She went inside her son's cottage to get some and brought it immediately he had stopped. The officer went into the cottage garden and drank the water. The woman then said, when she saw the prisoners, 'Instead of giving you water you deserve to be shot.' The officer shouted to us, 'March.' We went on, and immediately I saw the officer draw his revolver and shoot the woman and child. One shot killed both."

Two old men and one old woman refused to bake bread for the Germans. They were butchered.

Aug. 23—I went with two friends (names given) to see what we could see. About three hours out of Malines we were taken prisoners by a German patrol—an officer and six men—and marched off into a little wood of saplings, where there was a house. The officer spoke Flemish. He knocked at the door; the peasant did not come. The officer ordered the soldiers to break down the door, which two of them did. The peasant came and asked what they were doing. The officer said he did not come quickly enough and that they had "trained up" plenty of others. His hands were tied behind his back, and he was



BARON STEPHAN BURIAN VON RAJECZ
The Hungarian Who Succeeded Count Berchtold as Austro-Hungarian
Foreign Minister and President of the Common Ministerial Council



H. M. FERDINAND I.
The New King of Rumania, in succession to his uncle
the late King Charles I
(Photo from P. S. Rogers.)

shot at once without a moment's delay. The wife came out with a little sucking child. She put the child down and sprang at the Germans like a lioness. She clawed their faces. One of the Germans took a rifle and struck her a tremendous blow with the butt on the head. Another took his bayonet and fixed it and thrust it through the child. He then put his rifle on his shoulder with the child upon it; its little arms stretched out once or twice. The officers ordered the houses to be set on fire, and straw was obtained and it was done. The man and his wife and the child were thrown on the top of the straw. There were about forty other peasant prisoners there also, and the officer said: "I am doing this as a lesson and example to you. When a German tells you to do something next time you must move more quickly." The regiment of Germans was a regiment of Hussars, with crossbones and a death's head on the cap.

Can any one think that such acts as these, committed by women in the circumstances created by the invasion of Belgium, were deserving of the extreme form of vengeance attested by these and other depositions?

In considering the question of provocation it is pertinent to take into account the numerous cases in which old women and very small children have been shot, bayoneted, and even mutilated. Whatever excuse may be offered by the Germans for the killing of grown-up women, there can be no possible defense for the murder of children, and if it can be shown that infants and small children were not infrequently bayoneted and shot it is a fair inference that many of the offenses against women require no explanation more recon-dite than the unbridled violence of brutal or drunken criminals.

It is clearly shown that many offenses were committed against infants and quite young children. On one occasion children were even roped together and used as a military screen against the enemy; on another three soldiers went into action carrying small children to protect themselves from flank fire. A shocking case of the murder of a baby by a drunken soldier at Malines is thus

recorded by one eyewitness and confirmed by another:

"One day when the Germans were not actually bombarding the town I left my house to go to my mother's house in High Street. My husband was with me. I saw eight German soldiers, and they were drunk. They were singing and making a lot of noise and dancing about. As the German soldiers came along the street I saw a small child, whether boy or girl I could not see, come out of a house. The child was about two years of age. The child came into the middle of the street so as to be in the way of the soldiers. The soldiers were walking in twos. The first line of two passed the child. One of the second line, the man on the left, stepped aside and drove his bayonet with both hands into the child's stomach, lifting the child into the air on his bayonet and carrying it away on his bayonet, he and his comrades still singing. The child screamed when the soldier struck it with his bayonet, but not afterward."

These, no doubt, were for the most part the acts of drunken soldiers, but an incident has been recorded which discloses the fact that even sober and highly placed officers were not always disposed to place a high value on child life. Thus the General, wishing to be conducted to the Town Hall at Lebbeke, remarked in French to his guide, who was accompanied by a small boy: "If you do not show me the right way I will shoot you and your boy." There was no need to carry the threat into execution, but that the threat should have been made is significant.

We cannot tell whether these acts of cruelty to children were part of the scheme for inducing submission by inspiring terror. In Louvain, where the system of terrorizing was carried to the furthest limit, outrages on children were uncommon. The same, however, cannot be said of some of the smaller villages which were subjected to the system. In Hofstade and Sempst, in Haecht, Rotselaer, and Wespelaer, many children were murdered. Nor can it be said of the village of Tamines, where three small children (whose names are given by an eye witness of the crime)

were slaughtered on the green for no apparent motive. It is difficult to imagine the motives which may have prompted such acts. Whether or no Belgian civilians fired on German soldiers, young children at any rate did not fire. The number and character of these murders constitute the most distressing feature connected with the conduct of the war so far as it is revealed in the depositions submitted to the committee.

(c) The Use of Civilians as Screens.

We have before us a considerable body of evidence with reference to the practice of the Germans of using civilians and sometimes military prisoners as screens from behind which they could fire upon the Belgian troops, in the hope that the Belgians would not return the fire for fear of killing or wounding their own fellow-countrymen.

In some cases this evidence refers to places where fighting was actually going on in the streets of a town or village, and to these cases we attach little importance. It might well happen when terrified civilians were rushing about to seek safety that groups of them might be used as a screen by either side of the combatants without any intention of inhumanity or of any breach of the rules of civilized warfare. But, setting aside these doubtful cases, there remains evidence which satisfies us that on so many occasions as to justify its being described as a practice the German soldiers, under the eyes and by the direction of their officers, were guilty of this act.

Thus, for instance, outside Fort Fléron, near Liège, men and children were marched in front of the Germans to prevent the Belgian soldiers from firing.

The progress of the Germans through Mons was marked by many incidents of this character. Thus, on Aug. 22 half a dozen Belgian colliers returning from work were marching in front of some German troops who were pursuing the English, and in the opinion of the witnesses they must have been placed there intentionally. An English officer describes how he caused a barricade to be erected in a main thoroughfare leading

out of Mons when the Germans, in order to reach a crossroad in the rear, fetched civilians out of the houses on each side of the main road and compelled them to hold up white flags and act as cover.

Another British officer who saw this incident is convinced that the Germans were acting deliberately for the purpose of protecting themselves from the fire of the British troops. Apart from this protection the Germans could not have advanced, as the street was straight and commanded by the British rifle fire at a range of 700 or 800 yards. Several British soldiers also speak to this incident, and their story is confirmed by a Flemish witness in a side street.

On Aug. 24 men, women, and children were actually pushed into the front of the German position outside Mons. The witness speaks of 16 to 20 women, about a dozen children, and half a dozen men being there.

Seven or eight women and five or six very young children were utilized in this way by some Uhlans between Landrécies and Guise.

A Belgian soldier saw an incident of this character during the retreat from Namur.

At the battle of Malines 60 or 80 Belgian civilians, among whom were some women, were driven before the German troops. Another witness saw a similar incident near Malines, but a much larger number of civilians was involved, and a priest was in front with a white flag.

In another instance, related by a Belgian soldier, the civilians were tied by the wrists in groups.

At Epeghem, where the Germans were driven back by the Belgian sortie from Antwerp, civilians were used as a cover for the German retreat.

Near Malines, early in September, about 10 children, roped together, were driven in front of a German force.

At Londerzeel 30 or 40 civilians, men, women, and children, were placed at the head of a German column.

One witness from Termonde was made to stand in front of the Germans, together with others, all with their hands above their heads. Those who allowed

their hands to drop were at once prodded with the bayonet. Again, at Termonde, about Sept. 10, a number of civilians were shot by the Belgian soldiers, who were compelled to fire at the Germans, taking the risk of killing their own countrymen.

At Tournai 400 Belgian civilians, men, women, and children, were placed in front of the Germans, who then engaged the French.

The operations outside Antwerp were not free from incidents of this character. Near Willebroeck some civilians, including a number of children, a woman, and one old man, were driven in front of the German troops. German officers were present, and one woman who refused to advance was stabbed twice with the bayonet, and a little child who ran up to her as she fell had half its head blown away by a shot from a rifle.

Other incidents of the same kind are reported from Nazareth and Ypres. The British troops were compelled to fire, in some cases at the risk of killing civilians.

At Ypres the Germans drove women in front of them by pricking them with bayonets. The wounds were afterward seen by the witness.

(d) Looting, Burning, and Destruction of Property.

There is an overwhelming mass of evidence of the deliberate destruction of private property by the German soldiers. The destruction in most cases was effected by fire, and the German troops, as will be seen from earlier passages in the report, had been provided beforehand with appliances for rapidly setting fire to houses. Among the appliances enumerated by witnesses are syringes for squirting petrol, guns for throwing small inflammable bombs, and small pellets made of inflammable material. Specimens of the last mentioned have been shown to members of the committee. Besides burning houses, the Germans frequently smashed furniture and pictures; they also broke in doors and windows. Frequently, too, they defiled houses by relieving the wants of nature upon the floor. They also appear to have perpetrated the same vileness upon piled up

heaps of provisions so as to destroy what they could not themselves consume. They also on numerous occasions threw corpses into wells, or left in them the bodies of persons murdered by drowning.

In addition to these acts of destruction the German troops, both in Belgium and France, are proved to have been guilty of persistent looting. In the majority of cases the looting took place from houses, but there is also evidence that German soldiers and even officers robbed their prisoners, both civil and military, of sums of money and other portable possessions. It was apparently well known throughout the German Army that towns and villages would be burned whenever it appeared that any civilians had fired upon the German troops, and there is reason to suspect that this known intention of the German military authorities in some cases explains the sequence of events which led up to the burning and sacking of a town or village. The soldiers, knowing that they would have an opportunity of plunder if the place was condemned, had a motive for arranging some incident which would provide the necessary excuse for condemnation. More than one witness alleges that shots coming from the window of a house were fired by German soldiers who had forced their way into the house for the purpose of thus creating an alarm. It is also alleged that German soldiers on some occasions merely fired their rifles in the air in a side street and then reported to their officers that they had been fired at. On the report that firing had taken place orders were given for wholesale destruction, and houses were destroyed in streets and districts where there was no allegation that firing had taken place, as well as in those where the charge arose. That the destruction could have been limited is proved by the care taken to preserve particular houses whose occupants had made themselves in one way or another agreeable to the conquerors. These houses were marked in chalk, ordering them to be spared, and spared they were.

The above statements have reference to the burning of towns and villages. In addition, the German troops in numerous

instances have set fire to farmhouses and farm buildings. Here, however, the plea of military necessity can more safely be alleged. A farmhouse may afford convenient shelter to an enemy, and where such use is probable it may be urged that the destruction of the buildings is justifiable. It is clearly, however, the duty of the soldiers who destroy the buildings to give reasonable warning to the occupants so that they may escape. Doubtless this was in many cases done by the German commanders, but there is testimony that in some cases the burning of the farmhouse was accompanied by the murder of the inhabitants.

The same fact stands out clearly in the more extensive burning of houses in towns and villages. In some cases, indeed, as a prelude to the burning, inhabitants were cleared out of their houses and driven along the streets, often with much accompanying brutality—some to a place of execution, others to prolonged detention in a church or other public buildings. In other cases witnesses assert that they saw German soldiers forcing back into the flames men, women, and children who were trying to escape from the burning houses. There is also evidence that soldiers deliberately shot down civilians as they fled from the fire.

The general conclusion is that the burning and destruction of property which took place was only in a very small minority of cases justified by military necessity, and that even then the destruction was seldom accompanied by that care for the lives of noncombatants which has hitherto been expected from a military commander belonging to a civilized nation. On the contrary, it is plain that in many cases German officers and soldiers deliberately added to the sufferings of the unfortunate people whose property they were destroying.

OFFENSES AGAINST COMBATANTS.

(a) *The Killing of the Wounded and of Prisoners.*

In dealing with the treatment of the wounded and of prisoners and the cases in which the former appear to have been killed when helpless, and the latter at,

or after, the moment of capture, we are met by some peculiar difficulties, because such acts may not in all cases be deliberate and cold-blooded violations of the usages of war. Soldiers who are advancing over a spot where the wounded have fallen may conceivably think that some of these lying prostrate are shamming dead, or, at any rate, are so slightly wounded as to be able to attack or to fire from behind when the advancing force has passed, and thus they may be led into killing those whom they would otherwise have spared. There will also be instances in which men intoxicated with the frenzy of battle slay even those whom on reflection they might have seen to be incapable of further harming them. The same kind of fury may vent itself on persons who are already surrendering, and even a soldier who is usually self-controlled or humane may, in the heat of the moment, go on killing, especially in a general *mêlée*, those who were offering to surrender. This is most likely to happen when such a soldier has been incensed by an act of treachery or is stirred to revenge by the death of a comrade to whom he is attached. Some cases of this kind appear in the evidence. Such things happen in all wars as isolated instances, and the circumstances may be pleaded in extenuation of acts otherwise shocking. We have made due allowance for these considerations and have rejected those cases in which there is a reasonable doubt as to whether those who killed the wounded knew that the latter were completely disabled. Nevertheless, after making all allowances, there remain certain instances in which it is clear that quarter was refused to persons desiring to surrender when it ought to have been given, or that persons already so wounded as to be incapable of fighting further were wantonly shot or bayoneted.

The cases to which references are given all present features generally similar, and in several of them men who had been left wounded in the trenches when a trench was carried by the enemy were found, when their comrades subsequently retook the trench, to have been slaughtered, although evidently helpless, or else

they would have escaped with the rest of the retreating force. For instance, a witness says:

"About Sept. 20 our regiment took part in an engagement with the Germans. After we had retired into our trenches, a few minutes after we got back into them, the Germans retired into their trenches. The distance between the trenches of the opposing forces was about 400 yards. I should say about fifty or sixty of our men had been left lying on the field from our trenches. After we got back to them I distinctly saw German soldiers come out of their trenches, go over the spots where our men were lying, and bayonet them. Some of our men were lying nearly half way between the trenches."

Another says:

"The Germans advanced over the trenches of the headquarters trench, where I had been on guard for three days. When the Germans reached our wounded I saw their officer using his sword to cut them down."

Another witness says:

"Outside Ypres we were in trenches and were attacked, and had to retire until reinforced by other companies of the Royal Fusiliers. Then we took the trenches and found the wounded, between twenty and thirty, lying in the trenches with bayonet wounds, and some shot. Most of them, say three-quarters, had their throats cut."

In one case, given very circumstantially, a witness tells how a party of wounded British soldiers were left in a chalk pit, all very badly hurt, and quite unable to make resistance. One of them, an officer, held up his handkerchief as a white flag, and this

"attracted the attention of a party of about eight Germans. The Germans came to the edge of the pit. It was getting dusk, but the light was still good, and everything clearly discernible. One of them, who appeared to be carrying no arms and who, at any rate, had no rifle, came a few feet down the slope into the chalk pit, within eight or ten yards of some of the wounded men."

He looked at the men, laughed, and said something in German to the Germans who were waiting on the edge of the pit. Immediately one of them fired at the officer, then three or four of these ten soldiers were shot, then another officer, and the witness, and the rest of them.

"After an interval of some time I sat up and found that I was the only man of the ten who were living when the Germans came into the pit remaining alive and that all the rest were dead."

Another witness describes a painful case in which five soldiers, two Belgians and three French, were tied to trees by German soldiers apparently drunk, who stuck knives in their faces, pricked them with their bayonets, and ultimately shot them.

We have no evidence to show whether and in what cases orders proceeded from the officer in command to give no quarter, but there are some instances in which persons obviously desiring to surrender were, nevertheless, killed.

(b) *Firing on Hospitals or on the Red Cross Ambulances or Stretcher Bearers.*

This subject may conveniently be divided into three subdivisions, namely, firing on—

(1) Hospital buildings and other Red Cross establishments.

(2) Ambulances.

(3) Stretcher bearers.

Under the first and second categories there is obvious difficulty in proving intention, especially under the conditions of modern long-range artillery fire. A commanding officer's duty is to give strict orders to respect hospitals, ambulances, &c., and also to place Red Cross units as far away as possible from any legitimate line of fire. But with all care some accidents must happen, and many reported cases will be ambiguous. At the same time, when military observers have formed a distinct opinion that buildings and persons under the recognizable protection of the Red Cross were willfully fired upon, such opinions cannot be disregarded.

Between thirty and forty of the depositions submitted related to this offense. This number does not in itself seem so great as to be inconsistent with the possibility of accident.

In one case a Red Cross depôt was shelled on most days throughout the week. This is hardly reconcilable with the enemy's gunners having taken any care to avoid it.

There are other cases of conspicuous

hospitals being shelled, in the witnesses' opinion, purposely.

In one of these the witness, a Sergeant Major, makes a suggestion which appears plausible, namely, that the German gunners use any conspicuous building as a mark to verify their ranges rather than for the purpose of destruction. It would be quite according to the modern system of what German writers call *Kriegsräson* to hold that the convenience of range-finding is a sufficient military necessity to justify disregarding any immunity conferred on a building by the Red Cross or otherwise. In any case, artillery fire on a hospital at such a moderate range as about 1,000 yards can hardly be thought accidental.

(2) As to firing on ambulances, the evidence is more explicit.

In one case the witness is quite clear that the ambulances were aimed at.

In another case of firing at an ambulance train the range was quite short.

In another a Belgian Red Cross party is stated to have been ambushed.

On the whole we do not find proof of a general or systematic firing on hospitals or ambulances; but it is not possible to believe that much care was taken to avoid this.

(3) As to firing on stretcher bearers in the course of trench warfare, the testimony is abundant, and the facts do not seem explicable by accident. It may be that sometimes the bearers were suspected of seeing too much; and it is plain from the general military policy of the German armies that very slight suspicion would be acted on in case of doubt.

(c) *Abuse of the Red Cross and of the White Flag.*

THE RED CROSS.

Cases of the Red Cross being abused are much more definite.

There are several accounts of fire being opened, sometimes at very short range, by machine guns which had been disguised in a German Red Cross ambulance or car. This was aggravated in one case near Tirlmont by the German soldiers wearing Belgian uniforms.

Witness speaks also of a stretcher

party with the Red Cross being used to cover an attack and of a German Red Cross man working a machine gun.

There is also a well-attested case of a Red Cross motor car being used to carry ammunition under command of officers.

Unless all these statements are willfully false, which the committee sees no reason to believe, these acts must have been deliberate, and it does not seem possible that a Red Cross car could be equipped with a machine gun by soldiers acting without orders. There is also one case of firing from a cottage where the Red Cross flag was flying, and this could not be accidental.

On the whole, there is distinct evidence of the Red Cross having been deliberately misused for offensive purposes, and seemingly under orders, on some, though not many, occasions.

ABUSE OF THE WHITE FLAG.

Cases of this kind are numerous. It is possible that a small group of men may show a white flag without authority from any proper officer, in which case their action is, of course, not binding on the rest of the platoon or other unit. But this will not apply to the case of a whole unit advancing as if to surrender, or letting the other side advance to receive the pretended surrender, and then opening fire. Under this head we find many depositions by British soldiers and several by officers. In some cases the firing was from a machine gun brought up under cover of the white flag.

The depositions taken by Professor Morgan in France strongly corroborate the evidence collected in this country.

The case numbered h 70 may be noted as very clearly stated. The Germans, who had "put up a white flag on a lance and ceased fire," and thereby induced a company to advance in order to take them prisoners, "dropped the white flag and opened fire at a distance of 100 yards." This was near Nesle, on Sept. 6, 1914. It seems clearly proved that in some divisions at least of the German Army this practice is very common. The incidents as reported cannot

be explained by unauthorized surrenders of small groups.

There is, in our opinion, sufficient evidence that these offenses have been frequent, deliberate, and in many cases committed by whole units under orders. All the acts mentioned in this part of the report are in contravention of The Hague Convention, signed by the great powers, including France, Germany, Great Britain, and the United States, in 1907, as may be seen by a reference to Appendix D, in which the provisions of that convention relating to the conduct of war on land are set forth.

CONCLUSIONS.

From the foregoing pages it will be seen that the committee have come to a definite conclusion upon each of the heads under which the evidence has been classified.

It is proved—

(i.) That there were in many parts of Belgium deliberate and systematically organized massacres of the civil population, accompanied by many isolated murders and other outrages.

(ii.) That in the conduct of the war generally innocent civilians, both men and women, were murdered in large numbers, women violated, and children murdered.

(iii.) That looting, house burning, and the wanton destruction of property were ordered and countenanced by the officers of the German Army, that elaborate provision had been made for systematic incendiarism at the very outbreak of the war, and that the burnings and destruction were frequent where no military necessity could be alleged, being in-

deed part of a system of general terrorization.

(iv.) That the rules and usages of war were frequently broken, particularly by the using of civilians, including women and children, as a shield for advancing forces exposed to fire, to a less degree by killing the wounded and prisoners, and in the frequent abuse of the Red Cross and the white flag.

Sensible as they are of the gravity of these conclusions the committee conceive that they would be doing less than their duty if they failed to record them as fully established by the evidence. Murder, lust, and pillage prevailed over many parts of Belgium on a scale unparalleled in any war between civilized nations during the last three centuries.

Our function is ended when we have stated what the evidence establishes, but we may be permitted to express our belief that these disclosures will not have been made in vain if they touch and rouse the conscience of mankind, and we venture to hope that as soon as the present war is over the nations of the world in council will consider what means can be provided and sanctions devised to prevent the recurrence of such horrors as our generation is now witnessing.

We are, &c.,

BRYCE,
F. POLLOCK,
EDWARD CLARKE,
KENELM E. DIGBY,
ALFRED HOPKINSON,
H. A. L. FISHER,
HAROLD COX.

SCRIABIN'S LAST WORDS.

[From The London Times, May 1, 1915.]

M. Brianchaninov, an intimate friend of Scriabin, telegraphed the news of the composer's death to a friend in England. He stated that Scriabin died of the disease of the lip from which he was suffering when in England last year, and that he had just finished the "wonderful poetical text" of the prologue to his "Mystery." When Scriabin was suffering terrible pain just before his death he clenched his hands and his last words were: "I must be self-possessed, like Englishmen."

M. Brianchaninov is collecting a fund for Scriabin's children, and he suggests that possibly "some English friends and admirers" may care to contribute.

Chronology of the War

Showing Progress of Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events From March 31, 1915, Up to and Including April 30, 1915

[Continued from the May number.]

CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

- April 1—Russians take up lively offensive in Central Poland, seeking to prevent reinforcements being sent to the Carpathians; they halt a raid from Bukowina; Austrians drive back Russians near Inowlodz, on the Pilica River; Germans check night attempt of Russians to cross the Rawka River; German bombardment of Ossowetz has been abandoned; cold weather is favoring German operations in East Prussia; German Headquarters Staff reports that in March the German Eastern army took 55,800 Russian prisoners, 9 cannon, and 61 machine guns.
- April 2—Russians take the offensive along their whole front from the Baltic Sea to Rumanian border; they are reported to be concentrating an enormous force on the coast of Finland to prevent any attempt at a German landing; Germans in Poland are being pushed back to the East Prussian border; Russians capture another strongly fortified ridge in the Carpathians, scaling ice-covered hills to do it; vast bodies of Russian cavalry are held in readiness for a sweep across the plains of Hungary; main Austrian Army in Bukowina is falling back; Russians now stand upon last heights of the main chain of Beskid Mountains; Austrians repulse Russian attacks east of Beskid Pass; Russians drive back Germans to the east of Pilwizka; Austrians repulse Russian attacks between the Pruth and Dniester Rivers.
- April 3—Fighting in the Carpathians continues night and day along a forty-mile front; Russians are making gains and pressing Austrians hard; Germans are pouring reinforcements into Hungary to support Austrians; Austrians gain in Bukowina; Austrians are trying to cut off Montenegro from all communication with the outside world and starve her into submission.
- April 4—Austrians retreat from the Beskid region after Russian success; Austrians make progress in the Laborcza Valley; fighting has been going on for twenty-four continuous hours on both sides of the Dukla Pass; Germans repulse Russian attacks near Augustowo.
- April 5—Russians continue to make steady progress in the Carpathians; they are now on the Hungarian side of both the Dukla and Lupkow Passes and are making advances on the heights which dominate Uzsok Pass; Russians gain in Bukowina and in North Poland.
- April 6—Russians continue their great offensive in the Carpathians; Austrians are retreating at some points and burning their bridges behind them; Russians make progress in direction of Rostok Pass; German reinforcements are being rushed from Flanders to Austria via Munich; Austrian and German troops take strong Russian positions east of Laborcza Valley; Russians have been repulsed in an attempt to cross to the left bank of the Dniester River southwest of Uscie-Diekupie; Austrian artillery is bombarding Serbian towns on the Danube and the Save.
- April 7—Russians continue offensive between the River Toplia and the Uzsok Pass region; Austrians take guns and war material on the heights east of the Laborcza Valley; Austrians bombard Belgrade; Austrians win ground along the River Pruth; Austrians are reported to have passed the Dniester and to be advancing on Kamenitz Podolsky, in Russian territory.
- April 8—Russian advance in the Carpathians cuts one Austrian army in two; Russians capture Smolnik, east of Lupkow Pass; fierce fighting is going on in the mountain passes.
- April 9—The whole southern slope of the Carpathians has been strongly fortified by the Austrians; twenty-four Austrian and six German army corps are stated to be now facing the Russians.
- April 10—Russians begin attack on German forces which hold the hills from Uzsok Pass eastward to Beskid Pass; Russians make gains in the direction of Rostok; the general Russian offensive continues on the Niznia - Destuszica - Volestate-Bukowecz line; in places in the Carpathians the Russians are progressing through seven feet of snow; Austro-German forces repulse a strong Russian attack in the Opor Valley.

- April 11—All the main ridges of the Carpathians are now in the hands of the Russians, who hold the eighty-mile front Uzsok-Mezo-Laborcza-Bartfeld, with the head sections of five main railways; at some points the Russians are descending the southern slopes and are approaching the Uzsok Valley.
- April 12—Germans repulse Russian attack near Kaziouwka, Russians losing heavily; artillery duels are in progress near Ossowetz and in the region of Edwabno; German attack on village of Szafranki is repulsed; Austro-Germans still hold the Uzsok Pass; they repulse Russian attacks east of there.
- April 13—Large German reinforcements are being sent to the Austrians; 280,000 Germans, comprising seven army corps, are co-operating with the Austrians in a formidable attack on the left wing of the Russian army which is invading Hungary; Austrian Embassy at Washington gives out an official bulletin from Vienna saying the Russian advance in the Carpathians is halted; heavy fighting is in progress in the Bartfeld-Stryi region; Russians advance on both banks of the Ondawa, and gain success in direction of Uzsok, capturing certain heights; Austro-German forces strongly attack the heights south of Koziouwka, but are repulsed; Russians repel German attacks on the front west of the Niemen; Ossowetz is again bombarded by the Germans; fierce fighting is on in Bukowina.
- April 14—After a twelve-hour battle the Austrians retreat precipitately from a strong position at Mezo Laborcz, on Hungarian side of the East Beskid Mountains; the whole main front in this district is in Russian hands; Austro-German forces are contesting stubbornly every foot of the German advance along the front from Bartfeld to Stryi; Austrians are trying to penetrate into Russian territory from Bukowina; Germans are active in Poland; Germans attack the town of Chafranka, on the Skwa River, near Ostrolenka; it is stated at Petrograd that 4,000,000 combatants, including both sides, are now engaged along the Carpathians.
- April 15—Russians crush fierce counter-attack against their left wing in the Carpathians made by picked Bavarian infantry; Russians repulse an attack by Austrians on the extreme east; Austrians defeat Russians near Oiezkowice, on the Biala.
- April 16—War correspondents at Austrian headquarters, in summing up the result of the fighting in the Carpathians, say that the Russian loss has been 500,000, and that the backbone of the invading army is broken; Germans prepare to attack along an 800-mile Russian front.
- April 17—The melting of the snow in the Carpathians, resulting in overflowing streams and rivers and in seas of mud, is stopping various intended movements on both sides; artillery engagements are in progress in Southeast Galicia and Bukowina; Russians repulse attacks in the direction of Stryi; Russian Emperor leaves for the front.
- April 18—In a review of the Carpathian campaign issued by Russian General Headquarters it is stated that since the beginning of March Russian troops have carried by storm 75 miles of the principal chain of the Carpathians, have taken 70,000 prisoners, 30 field guns, and 200 machine guns; fighting in the Carpathians on main line of Russian advance is now concentrated on the narrow section between the villages of Telepoche and Zuella; Russians gain on the heights of Telepotch; artillery duels continue in Southeast Galicia.
- April 20—Russians repulse vigorous German attack east of Telepotch and Polen; severe fighting for the height near Oravozil is in progress, the Russians reoccupying it by a desperate assault after losing it earlier in the day; 600,000 Austro-German troops are now engaged over an irregular line between the Lupkow and Uzsok Passes.
- April 21—Austrians repel, after several days' fighting, a strong Russian attack on the extreme wings of the Austrian forces in the wooded mountains near Laborcza and the Ung Valley; Austrians still hold Uzsok Pass; Russians repulse Austrian attack in Western Galicia near Gorlitz; Russians check an Austrian counter-attack against the heights of Polen; the counter-attack of General Litzinger's Bavarian army against Russian left wing in the Carpathian position has now been definitely halted; nevertheless the Russian advance in the Carpathians has now apparently come to a full stop; Russians reoccupy the hill village of Oravtchik.
- April 22—Russians defeat Austrians in bayonet fighting on the Bukowina front; artillery duels are in progress in Russian Poland and Western Galicia; Austrians repulse Russian attacks on both sides of the Uzsok Pass, taking 1,200 prisoners; Russians check attempted Austrian outflanking movements on the central Carpathian front; in Galicia an Austro-German army, defeated by Russians, is falling back.
- April 23—Austrians have success in artillery duel in the sector of Nagypolany; Russians gain in the direction of Lutovisk; a strong force of Russian cavalry invades East Prussia near Memel, the seaport at the northern extremity of the province, and is threatening the German left flank; Russians make gains in the region of Telepotch and at Sianka; Austrians repulse several day attacks at points near Uzsok Pass; heavy artillery engagements are being fought in the region of this pass.

- April 25—Austro-German troops take by storm Ostry Mountain, in the Orava Valley, in the Carpathians, to the south of Koziouwa; the mountain is 3,500 feet high, with precipitous sides, and the Russians believed their fortifications had made it impregnable; this victory gives the Austrians command of the Orava Valley and allows them to advance their lines east of Uzsok Pass eleven miles into Galician territory; Russian artillery repulses a German attack between Kalwaya and Ludwinow in Prussian Poland; heavy fighting continues in the Carpathians in the Uzsok Pass region, the Austrians having brought up fresh units of heavy artillery.
- April 26—Russian counter-attacks on the height of Ostry are beaten off; Austrians capture twenty-six Russian trenches; Austrians gain ground south of Koziouwa; artillery duel is being fought on the Dniester in Bukowina.
- April 27—Russians have begun another strong offensive around the heights of Uzsok Pass; Austro-German casualties there in two days are estimated by Russians at 20,000; Russians repel Austrian attacks on the heights to the northeast at Oroszepatak; Russians are concentrating at Bojan, Northern Bukowina.
- April 28—Heavy fighting continues in the Uzsok Pass region; a battle has been raging for five days in the vicinity of Stryl; Russians repulse Germans at Jednorozetz; Germans take twelve miles of Russian trenches east of Suwalki; Austrians occupy Novoselitsky, on border of Bessarabia, and are advancing into Russian territory.
- April 29—Germans begin an offensive along nearly the whole of the East Prussian front, extending from north of the Niemen River to the sector north of the Vistula; Russians are beaten back in an attack in the Carpathians northeast of Loubnia; Russians repulse an attack on the heights of the Opor Valley.
- April 30—German cavalry is invading the Russian Baltic Provinces; German attempt to advance on the left bank of the Vistula is checked; in the region of Golovetzko the Russians take the offensive, capturing trenches and prisoners; Russians check an attempted offensive north of Nadvorna; Austrians repulse Russian night attacks in the Orawa and Opor Valleys.
- CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE.**
- April 1—Artillery duels are in progress in the Woevre district; French occupy the village of Fey-en-Haye to the west of the Forest of Le Prêtre; outpost engagements take place near Lunéville.
- April 2—Heavy artillery fighting is on between the Meuse and the Moselle; night infantry fighting takes place in the Forest of Le Prêtre.
- April 3—Germans repulse French in Forest of Le Prêtre; Germans repulse French attack on heights west of Mülhausen; French make progress with mining operations southwest of Peronne; French check a German attempt to debouch near Lassigny; French repulse attacks in Upper Alsace.
- April 4—Germans take from the Belgians the village of Drei Grachten on the west side of the Yser, this being the first time the Germans have gained a foothold on the west bank for weeks; French make progress in the Woevre district; French take village of Regniéville, west of Fey-en-Haye; Germans repulse French charges in Forest of Le Prêtre.
- April 5—French capture three successive lines of trenches at the Forest of Ailly, near St. Mihiel; Germans repulse Belgians near Drei Grachten; Germans repulse French attempt to advance in the Argonne Forest and Germans gain ground in the Forest of Le Prêtre; French are advancing in Champagne; French gain ground in the Hurlus district and beyond the Camp de Chalons, capturing some of the Germans' prepared positions; bombardment of Rheims is being continued night and day, and it is reported that one-third of the houses have been destroyed and another one-third damaged.
- April 6—French are conducting a sustained offensive between the Meuse and Moselle in an effort to dislodge Germans from St. Mihiel; French gain trenches in the Wood of Ailly; French make progress near Maizeray and in the Forest of Le Prêtre; strong French attacks at points east of Verdun are repulsed, but French occupy village of Gussainville.
- April 7—French, continuing extensive operations, make gains in the Woevre district and southward between St. Mihiel and Pont-à-Mousson; east of Verdun the French take two lines of trenches, and repulse German counter-attacks; Germans report that French offensive, as a whole, is thus far a failure.
- April 8—French official report states that since April 4 the French offensive between the Meuse and the Moselle has resulted in important gains on the heights of the Orne, on the heights of the Meuse at Les Eparges, in the Ailly Wood, and in the Southern Woevre between the Forest of Mortmare and the Forest of Le Prêtre, the Germans losing heavily; the German report is at variance with French claims and states that the French have failed; Belgians report that the western side of the Yser Canal, in the direction of Drei Grachten, is completely free of Germans.
- April 9—Desperate fighting continues on the heights of the Meuse and along the St. Mihiel-Pont-à-Mousson front; French announce complete occupation of Les Eparges, one of their chief objectives;

- French say Germans were repulsed fifteen times in the Forest of Mortmare; Berlin report is at sharp variance with the French, stating that all French attacks in the Meuse region have been repulsed with heavy loss; Germans make gains in Champagne; Germans retake Drei Grachten from Belgians.
- April 10—French extend their gains in the Woevre; French push forward on St. Mihiel-Pont-à-Mousson front in attempt to cut German communications; French hold Les Eparges firmly, where, according to the official French report, the Germans have lost 30,000 men in two months; Germans repulse French between the Orne and the heights of the Meuse, and in the Forest of Le Prêtre; French attacks on the village of Bezange la Grande fail.
- April 11—French state that they maintain their gains of previous days in the St. Mihiel region, though Germans recapture some of their own lost trenches in Mortmare Wood; French repulse attacks in the Forest of Le Prêtre, though the Germans capture some machine guns; a strong French attack on German positions north of Combres results in failure; German main army headquarters denies that the recent French attacks in the St. Mihiel region have been successful; Germans take three villages from the Belgians; Germans are vigorously attacking positions recently taken from them by the French on Hartmanns-Weilerkopf; furious German attacks are made near Albert, being a continuation of an attack begun yesterday; Germans blow up some French trenches by mines; heavy German losses, due to the pounding of six miles of French artillery, occur in an infantry advance.
- April 12—Lively fighting in the Woevre district; Germans attack Les Eparges, but are repulsed; French make gains at Courlie; Germans have successes in close-quarter fighting in the Forests of Ailly and Le Prêtre; German sappers throw letters into British trenches saying they are tired of fighting and expressing hopes for peace.
- April 13—French make slight gains east of Berry-au-Bac; Germans repulse French attacks at several points; Germans gain ground in the Forest of Le Prêtre; Germans are moving up reinforcements in the region of Thionville and Metz.
- April 14—French penetrate the German line at Marcheville, but are driven out by counter-attacks; French extend their front in the Forest of Ailly, and make progress in the Forest of Mortmare; French artillery checks a German attack at Les Eparges; activity is renewed at Berry-au-Bac; Germans are strengthening the forts at Istein, on the Rhine.
- April 15—The whole spur northeast of Notre Dame de Lorette has been carried by the French with the bayonet; French gain at Bagatelle in the Argonne; French repulse German counter-attacks at Les Eparges; Germans repulse French attacks at Marcheville, at the Forest of Le Prêtre, and elsewhere.
- April 16—French repulse German attacks north of Arras and in the St. Mihiel region.
- April 17—French make progress in the Vosges on both sides of the Fecht River; in Champagne, northeast of Perthes, the Germans explode mines under French trenches; Germans repulse French near Flirey; French repulse Germans at Notre Dame de Lorette; in the Valley of the Aisne French heavy artillery bombards the caves of Pasly, used as German shelters.
- April 18—Germans repulse British attack in the hills southeast of Ypres; Germans capture an advanced French position in the Vosges southwest of Stossweiler; French have successes in the Valley of the Aisne, at the Bois de St. Mord, and in Champagne, to the northwest of Perthes; French make progress in region of Schnepfen-Riethkopf in Alsace.
- April 19—British line south of Ypres has been pushed forward three miles after much hard fighting; British take Hill 60, an important strategic point, lying two miles south of Zillebeke; German counter-attacks are repulsed; British attacks are repulsed between Ypres and Comines; French make gains along the Fecht River, and capture a division of mountain artillery; French gain the summit of Burgkorpfeld, and are advancing on the north bank of the Fecht; French repulse counter-attacks at Les Eparges; Germans repulse French attacks at Combres.
- April 20—Heavy artillery fighting in Champagne and the Argonne; French infantry attack fails north of Four-de-Paris; French make slight progress in the Forest of Mortmare; Germans storm and re-occupy the village of Embermenil, west of Avrecourt.
- April 21—Violent German counter-attacks are being made on Hill 60, but all have been repulsed, "with great loss to the enemy," according to the British; Germans capture a French battery near Rheims; French repulse German attacks at several points between the Meuse and the Moselle; French repulse attack in Alsace east of Hartmanns-Weilerkopf; Germans repulse French attack north of Four-de-Paris; Germans repulse French attack extending over a considerable front at Flirey; German gain in the Forest of Le Prêtre.
- April 22—A great new battle is being fought at Ypres, Germans taking a strong offensive from the northeast; they drive the Allies back to the Ypres Canal, taking 6,000 prisoners and 35 guns; at Steen-

straete and Het Sase the Germans force their way across the canal and establish themselves on the west bank; Germans capture villages of Langemarck, Steenstraete, Het Sase, and Pilken; Ypres is being heavily bombarded; British and French official reports declare that at one point where the French fell back they did so because of asphyxiating gas used by the Germans; the Germans, on the contrary, have claimed several times recently that the French have been using asphyxiating bombs at various points; Germans continue tremendous attacks on Hill 60, with what is declared to be one of the fiercest artillery bombardments in history, but the British still hold it; German troops are pouring through Belgium to the Ypres front; Germans gain ground south of La Bassée; Germans repulse French attack in the western part of the Forest of Le Prêtre; French repulse attack at Bagatelle, in the Argonne; French gain ground near St. Mihiel; French continue to advance on both banks of the Fecht River; official French report states that all the Ailly woods are now in the hands of the French after several days' fighting in the early part of April; infantry attacks were preceded by a concentrated artillery fire, at one point the French firing 20,000 shells in 1.5 minutes.

April 23—French make progress at Forstat and near St. Mihiel; artillery duels at Combres, St. Mihiel, Apremont, and northeast of Flirey; French take advanced German trenches between Ailly and Apremont.

April 24—One of the most furious battles of the war is now raging north of Ypres, where the Allies have regained some of the ground recently lost; Germans are pouring more troops into Flanders to push the attack; the Canadians make a brilliant counter-attack, regaining part of the ground this division lost, and retake four Canadian 4.7-inch guns which they had lost; the Canadians are highly praised in the British War Office report; Germans make further gains at another point on the line and they seize Lizerne on the west bank of the Ypres Canal; the French report says the French and Belgians recaptured Lizerne later in the day; the British have consolidated their position on Hill 60; fierce fighting is in progress in the Ailly wood; French repulse another attack on Les Eparges and an attack south of the Forest of Parroy; Germans repel a number of French attacks between the Meuse and the Moselle; Germans make progress in the Forest of Le Prêtre.

April 25—Germans gain more ground at Ypres and begin a terrific drive near La Bassée; Germans capture villages of St. Julien and Kersselaere and advance to-

ward Grafenstafel, taking British prisoners and machine guns; Allies repulse Germans at several other points; Germans repulse French attack in the Argonne and win in the Meuse hills, southwest of Combres, taking seventeen cannon and 1,000 prisoners; London reports that clouds of chlorine were released from bottles by the Germans during the recent fighting at Ypres, the gas being borne by the wind to the French trenches, killing many men.

April 26—Allies rally and check the German drive near Ypres, fresh German assaults north and northeast of the city being beaten off; Berlin says that the Germans retain the west bank of the Yser, while London reports that the Allies have retaken it; Germans still hold Lizerne, on the west bank of the canal; Germans take from the French the summit of Hartmanns-Weilerkopf, capturing 750 men and four machine guns; French repulse German attack at Notre Dame de Lorette; fighting is in progress on the heights of the Meuse; German attack on Les Eparges fails.

April 27—Allies repulse German attack northeast of Ypres; British make progress near St. Julien; French retake Het Sase; Belgians repel three attacks south of Dixmude, and charge Germans with again using asphyxiating gases; Allies retake Lizerne; Germans still hold the bridgehead on the left bank of the canal just east of Lizerne; French state they have retaken the summit of Hartmanns-Weilerkopf, but the Germans declare all French attacks failed; German attacks near Les Eparges fail.

April 28—Allies are delivering counter-attacks in an attempt to regain the ground lost north and northeast of Ypres; Germans are bringing up reinforcements and hold firmly their present lines; scarcely a house is left standing in Ypres; Germans take French trenches near Beauséjour in Champagne; French repulse Germans in the Argonne, near Marie Thérèse; both the Germans and French claim to be in possession of Hartmanns-Weilerkopf; French gain ground on heights of the Meuse; Germans repulse strong French night attack in the Forest of Le Prêtre.

April 29—Germans repulse Allies north of Ypres; German official report states Germans have taken sixty-three guns in Ypres fighting; Germans repulse French night attacks at Le Mesnil in Champagne; Germans gain ground on heights of the Meuse; French repulse Germans at Les Eparges.

April 30—French gain ground north of Ypres, taking two lines of trenches; Belgians have repulsed a German attack from Steenstraete; Germans have fortified and hold bridgeheads on the west bank of Ypres Canal near Steenstraete and Het

Sase and on the east bank of the canal north of Ypres; Germans repel a charge of Turcos and Zouaves; a huge German gun shells Dunkirk from behind the German lines near Belgian coast, about twenty-two miles away; twenty persons are killed and forty-five wounded; British airmen locate the gun and bombard it, while allied warships attack from the sea; French state that they hold the summit of Hartmanns-Weilerkopf; 500 shells fall in Rheims; French fail in an attempt in the Champagne district to win back their former positions north of Le Mesnil; Germans repulse French charge north of Flirey.

TURKISH AND EGYPTIAN CAMPAIGNS.

April 1—It is learned that the Turks lost 12,000 men and many guns in a fight against the Russians at Atkutr, Persia, on March 25; preceding the reoccupation by the Russians of Solmac Plains, northwest of Urumiah, 720 Christians were massacred by the Turks.

April 2—Turks are building new forts at San Stefano, near Constantinople, and thousands of Turkish troops are employed as workmen in the ammunition factories, which are being worked to their capacity.

April 3—Turks have repulsed an attempt to land troops from a British cruiser at Mowilah, at the head of the Red Sea.

April 7—Russians enter Artvin, Russian Armenia; the entire province of Batum has been cleared of Turks.

April 8—French War Office announces that the expeditionary corps to the Orient, under command of General d'Amade, has been ready for three weeks to aid the allied fleets and the British expeditionary force in operations against Turkey; the French troops are now in camp at Ramleh, Egypt, resting and perfecting their organization.

April 14—An official report is issued by the India Office of the British Government which states that 23,000 Turks and Kurds attacked the British positions at Kurna, Ahwaz, and Shaiba in Mesopotamia on March 12; they were driven off; Turks are daily massing troops on the Gallipoli Peninsula, especially at Killed Bahr; heavy guns formerly around Constantinople, Prncipo, and Marmora seaports are being removed to the Dardanelles; a large number of German aeroplanes are with the Turkish troops.

April 15—The greater part of the garrisons at Adrianople, Demotika, and Kirk Killisseh have been withdrawn from the defense of Constantinople.

April 16—India Office of the British Government makes public an official report stating that the British India troops have inflicted another defeat on the Turks in the vicinity of Shaiba, Mesopotamia;

British casualties were 700; the Turkish forces numbered 15,000, their losses being so heavy that they fled to Nakhailah.

April 19—Reports sent to London state that the Turks have massed 350,000 men on the Gallipoli Peninsula, and have 200,000 more around Constantinople; 35,000 French and British troops are at Lemnos Island, off the entrance to the Dardanelles; Field Marshal Baron von der Goltz has been appointed Commander in Chief of the First Turkish Army.

April 21—Twenty thousand British and French troops have been landed near Enos, European Turkey, on the Gulf of Saros; General Sir Ian Hamilton, veteran of the Boer and other wars, is the Commander in Chief of the Allies' expeditionary force for the Dardanelles.

April 23—Troops of Allies are being landed at three points—at Enos, at Suol, a promontory on the west of the Gallipoli Peninsula, and at the Bulair Isthmus.

April 24—Observations made by aviators of the Allies show 25,000 Turkish troops are concentrated for the defense of Smyrna; they occupy trenches extending from Vourlah to Smyrna, and are posted on heights commanding the city.

April 26—British War Office announces that in spite of serious opposition troops have been landed at various points on the Gallipoli Peninsula, and their advance continues; a general attack is now in progress on the Dardanelles by both the allied army and fleet.

April 27—On the Gallipoli Peninsula the allied troops under General Sir Ian Hamilton are trying to batter their way through large Turkish forces led by German officers in an effort to force the Dardanelles and reach Constantinople; the French state that they have occupied Kum Kale, the Turkish fortress on the Asiatic side of the entrance to the Dardanelles, but the official Turkish report says the French were repulsed here; Turks repulse Allies at Teke Burum.

April 28—Allied troops have established a line across the southern tip of the Gallipoli Peninsula, from Eske-Hissarlik to the mouth of a stream on the opposite side; Allies beat off attacks at Sari-Bair and are advancing; Turks are strongly intrenching, and have constructed many wire entanglements; report from Berlin states that the left wing of the allied army has been beaten back by the Turks and 12,000 men captured.

April 29—The landing of allied troops on the Gallipoli Peninsula is still going on; forces disembarked at Enos have advanced twenty miles; 11,000 Turks have been captured, and many German officers; British aerial fleet is co-operating with the troops; Turks drive back Allies who landed near Gaba Tepeh, and sink twelve

sloops bearing allied troops; the landing of one detachment of allied troops on the Gallipoli Peninsula was accomplished by a ruse, 1,000 decrepit donkeys with dummy baggage being landed at one point while the troops landed elsewhere; Russians have dislodged Turks from Kotur, 110 miles northwest of Tabriz.

April 30—After hard fighting the British have firmly established themselves on the Gallipoli Peninsula and have advanced toward the Narrows of the Dardanelles; the French have cleared Cape Kum Kale of Turks; activity is renewed on the Caucasus front; Russians are advancing in direction of Olti, on border of Turkey, and have cleared the Kurds out of the Alasehkert Valley.

CAMPAIGN IN AFRICA.

April 1—British troops occupy Aus, an important trading station in German West Africa.

April 2—Madrid reports that Moorish rebels have occupied Fez and Meknes, and that the French hold only Casablanca and Rabat.

April 6—It is announced officially at Cape Town that troops of the Union of South Africa have captured Warmbad, twenty miles north of the Orange River.

April 7—It is announced officially at Cape Town that troops of the Union of South Africa have occupied without opposition the railway stations at Kalkfontein and Kanus, German Southwest Africa.

April 21—German troops in Kamerun have been forced by allied forces to retreat from the plateau in the centre of the colony; seat of Government has been transferred to Jaunde; allied troops have forced a passage across the Kele River; British troops have taken possession of the Ngwas Bridge; French native troops from Central Africa have attained in the east the Lomis-Dume line; official news reaches Berlin of the defeat of a British force in German East Africa on Jan. 18-19 near Jassini, the total British loss being 700; Mafia Island, off the coast of German East Africa, was occupied by the British on Jan. 10.

NAVAL RECORD.

April 1—German submarines sink British steamer Seven Seas and French steamer Emma, thirty men going down with the vessels; British squadron shells Zeebrugge, where Germans have established a submarine base, by moonlight; Hamburg-American liner Macedonia, which had been interned at Las Palmas, Canary Islands, but recently escaped, has now eluded British cruisers and sailed for South American waters.

April 2—It is learned that Chile has made representations to the British Government regarding the sinking of the German

cruiser Dresden; Chile says she was blown up by her own crew in Chilean waters after bombardment by British squadron, and when the Chilean Government was on the point of internment her; three British trawlers are sunk by the German submarine U-10, whose Captain, the fishermen state, told them he has "orders to sink everything"; Norwegian sailing ship Nor is burned by a German submarine, the submarine Captain giving the Nor's Captain a document saying she was destroyed for carrying contraband; Dutch steamer Schieland is blown up off the English coast, presumably by a mine; British steamer Lockwood is sunk by a German submarine off Devonshire coast, the crew escaping.

April 3—Forts at entrance to the Gulf of Smyrna are bombarded by allied fleet; French fishing vessel is sunk by a German submarine, her crew escaping; Berlin estimates state that from Aug. 1 to March 1 a tonnage of 437,879 in British merchant ships and auxiliary cruisers has been destroyed.

April 4—German submarine sinks British steamer City of Bremen in the English Channel, four of the crew being drowned; German submarine sinks a Russian bark in the English Channel; three German steamers are sunk by mines in the Baltic, 25 men being drowned; Turkish armored cruiser Medjidieh is sunk by a Russian mine; it is learned that an Austrian steamer with 600 tons of ammunition aboard was blown up by a mine in the Danube on March 30, 35 of the crew being drowned; it is learned that the American steamer Greenbriar, lost in the North Sea a few days ago, was sunk by a mine.

April 5—A Turkish squadron sinks two Russian ships; Turkish batteries off Kum Kale sink an allied mine sweeper; an Athens report says that the British battleship Lord Nelson, recently stranded in the Dardanelles, has been destroyed by the fire of the Turkish shore guns; British trawler Agantha is sunk by a German submarine off Longstone, the crew being subjected to rifle fire from the submarine while taking to the boats; German submarine U-31 sinks British steamer Olive and Russian bark Hermes, the crews being saved; German Baltic fleet, returning from bombardment of Libau, is cut off from its base by German mines, which have gone adrift in large numbers because of a storm.

April 6—A German submarine is entangled in net off Dover specially designed for the catching of submarines; Stockholm reports that the Swedish steamer England has been seized by the Germans in the Baltic and taken to a German port.

April 7—United States Government, at request of Commander Thierichens, takes over for internment the German converted

- cruiser Prinz Eitel Friedrich, to hold her until the end of the war; German Admiralty admits loss of submarine U-9, already reported by the British as being sunk.
- April 8—French sailing ship Chateaubriand is sunk by a German submarine off the Isle of Wight, the crew being saved.
- April 9—British and French cruisers have taken from Italian mail steamers 2,300 bags of outgoing German mail, and it is planned to seize bags from abroad intended for Germany.
- April 10—British steamer Harpalyce, which made one voyage as a relief ship with supplies for the Belgians donated by residents of New York State, is sunk in the North Sea by a submarine; some of her crew are missing.
- April 11—German auxiliary cruiser Kronprinz Wilhelm anchors at Newport News, needing coal and provisions; Captain Thierfelder reports that his ship has sunk fourteen ships of the Allies and one Norwegian ship; allied fleet is bombarding Dardanelles forts from the Gulf of Saros; French steamer Frederic Franck, after being torpedoed by a German submarine in the English Channel, is towed to Plymouth.
- April 12—United States State Department is notified by Ambassador Page that the British Government will settle the case of the American steamship *Wilhelmina* in accordance with the contentions of the owners of the cargo; the British state that they will requisition and pay for the cargo, and the owners of both ship and cargo will be reimbursed for the delay caused in sending the case before a prize court; Captains of the American steamers *Navajo*, *Joseph W. Fordney*, and *Llama* appeal to American Embassy at London to procure their release from British marine authorities at Kirkwall; British collier *Newlyn* is damaged by an unexplained explosion off the Scilly Islands, but makes port; a French battleship, assisted by French aeroplanes, bombards the Turkish encampment near Gaza.
- April 13—British torpedo boat destroyer *Renard* dashes up the Dardanelles over ten miles at high speed on a scouting expedition.
- April 14—Allied patrol ships bombard Dardanelles forts; a cruiser and a destroyer are struck by shells from the forts; Dutch steamer *Katwyk*, from Baltimore to Rotterdam with a cargo of corn consigned to the Netherlands Government, is blown up and sunk while at anchor seven miles west of the North Hinder Lightship in the North Sea; crew is saved; indignation expressed in Holland; Swedish steamer *Folke* is sunk by a mine or torpedo off Peterhead; thirty-one new cases of beriberi have developed among the crew of the Kronprinz Wilhelm since her arrival at Newport News.
- April 15—"White Paper" made public in London shows that Great Britain has made "a full and ample apology" to the Government of Chile for the sinking in Chilean territorial waters last month of the German cruiser *Dresden*, the internment of which had already been ordered by the Maritime Governor of Cumberland Bay when the British squadron attacked her; two allied battleships enter the bay at Enos and with shells destroy the Turkish camp there; Russian squadron bombards *Kara-Burum*, inside the *Tchatalja* lines; British steamer *Ptarmigan* is sunk by a German submarine in the North Sea, eight of the crew being lost; tabulation made in London of statistics of maritime losses shows that England and her allies have sunk, captured, or detained 543 ships belonging to Germany and her allies, while Germany and her allies have sunk, captured, or detained 265 ships belonging to England, France, Belgium, and Russia.
- April 16—French cruiser bombards fortifications of *El-Arish*, near the boundary of Egypt and Palestine, as well as detachments of Turkish troops concentrated near that place; one cruiser bombards the Dardanelles forts; Russian squadron bombards *Eregli* and *Sunguldaik*, in Asia Minor, on the Black Sea.
- April 17—Two British ships drive ashore and destroy a Turkish torpedo boat which attacked a British transport in the Aegean Sea; it is reported that 100 men on the transport were drowned; Greek steamer *Ellispointis*, en route for Montevideo from Holland, is torpedoed in the North Sea, the crew being saved.
- April 18—British submarine *E-15* runs ashore in the Dardanelles, the crew being captured by Turks; two British picket boats, under a heavy fire, then torpedo and destroy the stranded vessel to prevent her being used by the Turks.
- April 19—Russian Black Sea torpedo boat squadron bombards the coast of Turkey in Asia, between *Archav* and *Artaschin*; provision stores and barracks are destroyed; many Turkish coastwise vessels laden with ammunition and supplies are sunk; six allied torpedo boats fail in an attempt to penetrate the Dardanelles.
- April 20—Two Turkish torpedo boat destroyers are blown up while passing through a mine belt laid by the Russians across the entrance to the Bosphorus.
- April 21—British freighter *Ruth* is sunk by a German submarine in the North Sea, crew being rescued.
- April 22—*M. Augagneur*, French Minister of Marine, and *Winston Spencer Churchill*, First Lord of the British Admiralty, hold a conference in the north of France as to the best means of forcing the Darda-

- nelles; an Anglo-French fleet is sighted off the lower coast of Norway; German Admiralty gives out a statement that British submarines have been repeatedly sighted lately in Heligoland Bay and that one of these submarines was sunk on April 17; all steamship communication between the British Isles and Holland is suspended; allied fleet bombards Dardanelles forts and points on the west coast of Gallipoli; British trawler *St. Lawrence* is sunk in the North Sea by a German submarine, two of the crew being lost; a German submarine has taken the British steam trawler *Glanarse* into a German port from a point off Aberdeen; British trawler *Fuschia* brings into Aberdeen the crew of the trawler *Envoy*, which was shelled by a German submarine.
- April 23—German Admiralty announces that the German high seas fleet has recently cruised repeated in the North Sea, advancing into English waters without meeting British ships; the British Official Gazette announces a blockade, beginning at midnight, of Kamerun, German West Africa; Norwegian steamer *Caprivi* is sunk by a mine off the Irish coast.
- April 24—Finnish steamer *Frack* is sunk in the Baltic by a German submarine; Norwegian barks *Oscar* and *Eva* are sunk by a German submarine, the crews being saved.
- April 25—Russian Black Sea fleet bombards the Bosphorus forts.
- April 26—French armored cruiser *Leon Gambetta* is torpedoed by the Austrian submarine U-5 in the Strait of Otranto; 532 of her men, including Admiral Senes and all her commissioned officers, perish; Italian vessels rescue 162 men; the cruiser was attacked while on patrol duty in the waterway leading to the Adriatic Sea, and sank in ten minutes after the torpedo hit; England stops all English Channel and North Sea shipping, experts believing that the Admiralty order is connected with the desperate fighting now going on at Ypres; German converted cruiser *Kronprinz Wilhelm*, lying at Newport News, interns until the end of the war.
- April 27—Sixteen battleships and armored cruisers of the Allies attack advance batteries at the Dardanelles, but do little damage; British battleships *Majestic* and *Triumph*, damaged, have to withdraw from the fighting line; the fleet is operating in conjunction with the land forces.
- April 28—Bombardment of the Dardanelles is continued by the Allies; French armored cruiser *Jeanne d'Arc* is damaged by fort fire; Captain of a Swedish steamer reports the presence in the North Sea of a German fleet of sixty-eight vessels of all classes.
- April 29—British steamer *Mobile* is sunk by a German submarine off the north coast of Scotland, the crew being saved.
- April 30—Allied fleet is co-operating with the troops in their advance on the Gallipoli Peninsula; British battleship *Queen Elizabeth* directs the fire of her fifteen-inch guns upon the Peninsula under guidance of aviators; a Turkish troopship is sunk; *Zeebrugge* is bombarded from the sea; British trawler *Lily Dale* is sunk by a German submarine in the North Sea; British Admiralty announces that the German steamship *Macedonia*, which escaped from Las Palmas, Canary Islands, a few weeks ago, has been captured by a British cruiser.

AERIAL RECORD.

- April 1—British airmen bombard German submarines which are being built at Hoboken, near Antwerp.
- April 2—French aeroplane squadron drops thirty-three bombs on barracks and aeroplane hangars at Vigneulles, in the Woëvre region; French and Belgian aviators drop thirty bombs on aviation camp at Handezaema; allied aviators drop bombs on Mühlheim and Neuenberg, doing slight damage; Adolphe Pegoud, French aviator, attacks and brings down a German Taube near Saint Menehould by shooting at it; he captures the pilot and observer, unhurt.
- April 3—French bring down a German aeroplane at Rheims, the aviators, unhurt, being captured.
- April 4—German Taube drops bombs on Newkerk church, near Ypres; twelve women and Abbé Reynaert are killed; many persons injured; bombs are dropped from a British aeroplane on the forts at the entrance to the Gulf of Smyrna; the tenth Zeppelin to be constructed at Friedrichshafen has its trial trip; the latest type is longer and faster than preceding models.
- April 5—French War Office announces that in the British raid on Belgium, at the end of March, 40 German workmen were killed and 62 wounded; at Hoboken two German submarines were destroyed, a third damaged, and the Antwerp Naval Construction Yards were gutted; French aviators bombard Mühlheim, killing three women.
- April 6—German seaplane is brought down by the Russians off Libau, after dropping bombs on city, the aviators being captured.
- April 7—Austrian aviators drop bombs in the market place of Porgoritzza, Montenegro, killing twelve women and children, and injuring forty-eight other persons; many buildings are destroyed.
- April 8—One Austrian aeroplane beats three Russian machines in mid-air, all the Russian aeroplanes falling to earth.
- April 9—It is reported from Furnes, Belgium, that Garros, French aviator, recently won a duel in mid-air against a German aeroplane, shooting down Germans.
- April 11—Captain of British steamer *Serula* drives off two German aeroplanes with

- a rifle; the aviators drop twenty-five bombs, all missing; German aeroplane bombards an allied transport near the Dardanelles.
- April 12—German dirigible drops seven bombs on Nancy, doing slight damage.
- April 13—French aviators bombard military hangars at Vigneulles, and disperse, near there, a German battalion on the march; according to a report printed in a Swiss newspaper, Count Zeppelin's secretary told this journal's correspondent that Germany is preparing for a great air raid on London in August, with two squadrons of five dirigibles each.
- April 14—A Zeppelin makes a night raid over the Tyne district of England; inhabitants of the whole region from Newcastle to the coast, warned by authorities, plunge the territory into darkness, which has the effect of baffling the airship pilot; bombs, chiefly of the incendiary kind, are dropped from time to time haphazard; a Zeppelin, while flying over the Ypres district, is shot at and badly damaged, coming down some hours afterward a complete wreck near Maria Aeltre; a Zeppelin drops bombs on Bailleul, the objective being the aviation ground, but this is not hit; three civilians are killed; two German aeroplanes are forced to come to the ground within the French lines, one near Braine and the other near Lunéville.
- April 15—Fifteen French aeroplanes drop bombs on German military buildings at Ostend; German aviator drops bombs on Mourmelow; French aviator drops five bombs on the buildings occupied by the German General Staff at Mazières; French aviators bombard Freiburg-in-Breisgau, killing six children, two men, and one woman, and injuring fourteen other persons, including several children; three allied aeroplanes make a flight of 170 miles over the Sinai Peninsula, aiming bombs at the tents of Turkish troops.
- April 16—Two Zeppelins attack the east coast of England in the early morning, dropping bombs at Lowestoft, at Malden, thirty miles from London, while one of the raiders is seen near Dagenham, eleven and one-half miles from London Mansion House; one woman is injured and considerable property damage is done; a German biplane flies over Kent, dropping bombs, which do little damage; at Sheerness the anti-aircraft guns open fire, but the machine escapes; a single bomb, dropped by a German Taube on Amiens, kills or wounds thirty persons, mostly civilians, while twenty-two houses are destroyed outright and many others seriously damaged; French aviators drop bombs at Leopoldshöhe, Rothwell, and Mazières-les-Metz; two civilians are killed at Rothwell; a combined attack is made by one British and five French aeroplanes on a number of Rhine towns; two allied hydroplanes fall into the Dardanelles as a result of Turkish fire; Garros kills two German aviators in their aeroplane by shooting them from his aeroplane.
- April 17—French airship bombards Strassburg, wounding civilians; two German aeroplanes drop bombs on Amiens, killing seven persons and wounding eight.
- April 18—Garros brings down, between Ypres and Dixmude, another German aeroplane, his third within a short period.
- April 19—Two French aerial squadrons attack railway positions along the Rhine, and bombard the Mülheim and Habsheim stations; at Mannheim huge forage stores are set on fire; Garros is captured by the Germans at Ingelmunster, Belgium, after being forced to alight there; German aeroplanes drop bombs in Belfort; Germans repulse French aeroplanes at Combes.
- April 20—German aeroplane squadron drops 100 bombs at Bialystok, Russian Poland, killing and wounding civilians; a Zeppelin bombards the town of Oiechanow, doing slight damage; the Rhine from Basle to Mülhausen is the scene of a considerable engagement lasting two hours, in which two French and two British aeroplanes attack a larger German squadron and are driven off; returning with reinforcements, and now outnumbering the German squadron, they drive off the Germans; no report as to losses; reports from Swiss towns around Lake Constance, on which the Zeppelin works are situated, state that Emperor William has ordered much larger Zeppelins constructed; each of the new Zeppelins, it is stated, will cost over \$600,000, and will throw bombs double the size of those now used.
- April 21—French aeroplanes bombard headquarters of General von Etrantz in the Woevre; French aeroplanes bombard German convoys in the Grand Duchy of Baden and an electric power plant at Loerrach, at the latter place injuring civilians; British aviators drop bombs on the German aviation harbor and shed at Ghent; Russian aeroplanes bombard the railroad station at Soldau.
- April 23—Russian aeroplanes drop bombs on Miawa and Plock, and bombard the German aviation field near Sanniky; Germans bring down a Russian aeroplane at Czernowitz, the pilot being killed.
- April 24—French aviator drops two bombs on Fort Kastro, at Smyrna, killing several soldiers; official German statement says a British battleship was badly damaged in the recent Zeppelin attack on the Tyne region.
- April 25—Aviators of the Allies are making daily attacks on the Germans between the Yser and Bruges; a Zeppelin throws bombs on the town of Sialvstok.

- April 26—A Zeppelin drops on Calais large bombs of a new type, with greatly increased power; thirty civilians are injured; a Russian aeroplane drops three bombs on Czernowitz, injuring children.
- April 27—British airmen bombard eight towns in Belgium occupied by Germans; Russians damage and capture two Austro-German aeroplanes; Russian aviators drop bombs on German aeroplanes at the aviation field near Sannik; French aviators drop bombs at Bollweiler, Chambley, and Arnville; French airman throws six bombs on the Mauser rifle factory at Oberdorf.
- April 28—A German aeroplane throws three bombs at the American tanker Cushing, owned by the Standard Oil Company, the attack taking place in daylight in the North Sea; the ship was flying the American flag; splinters from one bomb strike the vessel and tear the American ensign, according to the report of the Cushing's Captain; Russian giant aeroplane drops 1,200 pounds of explosives on the East Prussian town of Neidenburg; allied airmen drop bombs on Haltingen, Southern Baden; German aeroplane drops bombs on Nancy, three persons being killed and several injured; allied airmen bombard Oberdorf, killing six civilians and wounding seven; six allied aeroplanes bombard the hangars of dirigibles at Friedrichshafen; French aviators drop bombs on the station and a factory at Leopoldshöhe; French capture or destroy four German aeroplanes.
- April 29—Three German aeroplanes drop bombs on Belfort, four workmen being wounded; German aeroplanes bombard Epernay.
- April 30—A Zeppelin drops bombs on Ipswich and other places in Suffolk; no lives are reported lost, but a number of dwellings are set on fire; four Zeppelins are sighted off Wells, Norfolk; they change their course and head out to sea; French airship bombards the railway in the region of Valenciennes; a destroyed French aeroplane falls within the German lines; British bring down a German aeroplane east of Ypres.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

- April 1—Report from Prague states that something akin to a reign of terror prevails in certain parts of Austria, people being punished severely for trivial offenses.
- April 2—Czech regiment refuses to entrain for the front; most of the Czech territorials have been sent to Istria; Government issues appeal to cooks and housewives to exercise economy in foodstuffs.
- April 3—It is officially denied at Vienna that Austria has opened negotiations with Russia for a separate peace, as has been persistently reported of late.
- April 4—Budapest continues gay despite the war, and night life goes on much as usual.
- April 11—The Foreign Office publishes a second "Red Book," charging atrocities and breaches of international law against Serbia, Russia, France, and England; it is declared that there is not an article of international law which has not been violated repeatedly by the troops of the Allies.
- April 12—A law court at Vienna, in the case of Dubois, a Belgian, holds that despite the German occupation Dubois has not lost his Belgian citizenship.
- April 14—Wealthy Hungarians are preparing to flee before the Russian invasion.
- April 15—Some of the Hungarian newspapers are discussing peace.
- April 17—War Office announces that men between 18 and 50 of the untrained Landstrum will hereafter be liable for military service.
- April 18—Bread riots occur in Vienna and at points in Bohemia; Vienna is now protected by long lines of trenches on the left bank of the Danube; \$14,000,000 is said to have been spent in fortifications at Budapest and Vienna.
- April 19—The food situation in Trieste is critical.
- April 21—All Austrian subjects in Switzerland are recalled by their Government.
- April 22—Riots in Trieste are assuming a revolutionary character; "Long Live Italy!" is being shouted by the mobs; it is reported from Paris that the Hungarian Chamber at its opening session refused to vote the new military credits demanded by the General Staff.
- April 25—Anti-war riots continue at Trieste; there are also serious riots at Vienna, Goerz, Prague, and elsewhere; the Austrians have fortified the entire Italian frontier, at places having built intrenchments of concrete and cement.
- April 28—Railway service on the Austrian side of the Austro-Italian frontier has been virtually suspended for ordinary purposes; all lines are being used to carry troops to the frontier.

BELGIUM.

- April 1—The German Governor General has revived an old law which holds each community responsible for damage done during public disturbances; a Berlin newspaper charges that American passports have been used to smuggle Belgian soldiers from the Yser to Holland and thence to the Belgian Army; the Pope expresses his sympathy for Belgium's woes to the new Belgian Minister to the Vatican.
- April 3—Officials of the Belgian Public Works Department resign when ordered by the German administration to direct construction of roads designed for strategic purposes.

April 5—Gifford Pinchot, who has been superintending relief work for Northern France, has been expelled from Belgium by order of the German Governor General; the reason is that Mr. Pinchot's sister is the wife of Sir Alan Johnstone, British Minister at The Hague, with whom Mr. Pinchot stayed on his way to Belgium; Prince Leopold, elder son of King Albert, 13½ years old, joins the line regiment famous for its defense of Dixmude.

April 6—Cardinal Gasparri, Papal Secretary of State, sends a letter to Cardinal Mercier inclosing \$5,000 as a personal gift from Pope Benedict to the Belgian sufferers from the war; the letter expresses the Pope's love and pity.

April 8—President Wilson cables greetings to King Albert on his birthday.

April 13—The German Governor General orders establishment of a credit bank which will advance money on the requisition bills given in payment for goods seized by the authorities.

April 15—It is reported from Rome that the German Embassy there has asked the Belgian Government, through the Belgian Legation to the Quirinal, whether, in event of the German armies evacuating Belgian territory, Belgium would remain neutral during the remainder of the war.

April 17—The German Governor General has ordered the dissolution of the Belgian Red Cross Society, because, it is stated, the managing committee refused to participate in carrying out a systematic plan for overcoming the present distress in Belgium.

April 24—A memorial addressed to President Wilson, signed by 40,000 Belgian refugees now in Holland, expressing gratitude for the aid which the United States has extended to the Belgian war sufferers, is mailed to Washington.

BULGARIA.

April 7—Travelers from Serbia and Saloniki are barred from Bulgaria because typhus is epidemic in Serbia.

CANADA.

April 1—Canadians approve the anti-liquor stand taken by King George, and prominent men declare themselves in favor of restricting the use of alcohol in the Dominion.

April 10—Premier Borden tells Parliament that Lord Kitchener has called on Canada for a second expeditionary force; the first contingent of the first expeditionary force numbered 35,420, and the second contingent of that force 22,272.

April 15—Parliament is prorogued, the Duke of Connaught, Governor General, praising Canada's troops for "conspicuous bravery and efficiency on the field of battle."

April 25—King George cables to the Duke of Connaught an expression of his admiration of the gallant work done by the Canadian division near Ypres; General Hughes, Canadian Minister of Militia, cables the appreciation of the Dominion to General Alderson, commanding the Canadian division.

April 28—About 200 Canadian officers were put out of action in the fighting near Ypres, out of a total of 600.

April 29—Four prominent German residents of Vancouver are arrested on a charge of celebrating German successes over the Canadians near Ypres, indignation being aroused among Vancouver citizens.

EGYPT.

April 8—An attempt is made at Cairo to assassinate the Sultan of Egypt, Hussien Kamel, a native firing at him, but missing.

FRANCE.

April 1—A delegation of foreign newspaper men who have visited the prison camps say they found the German prisoners well treated and contented.

April 3—General Joffre is quoted as predicting a speedy end of the war in favor of the Allies.

April 4—The second report of the French commission appointed to investigate the treatment of French citizens by the Germans charges many acts of cruelty; 300 former captives of the Germans tell, under oath, stories contained in the report of brutality, starvation, and death in the German concentration camps.

April 5—There are insistent reports that the French have a new shell which kills by concussion; it is officially stated in an army bulletin that a new explosive recently put into use doubles the explosive force of shells of three-inch guns.

April 9—The General commanding the Vosges army has forbidden, with General Joffre's approval, the use of alcoholic drinks in the district under his command; the general movement to restrict the sale of intoxicants is growing; the municipal authorities of Paris are preparing a decree prohibiting the tango.

April 10—A court-martial acquits Captain Heral of the Eleventh Hussars, who shot and killed his wife in November because she persisted in following the army to be near him, in direct violation of orders issued by the military authorities; the President of the Touring Club of France states that the French people want American tourists as usual this Summer; the Almanach de Gotha is being boycotted by the allied royalty and nobility and a new volume, to be called the Almanach de Bruxelles, is being prepared for speedy publication in Paris.

April 11—Computation made by the Paris *Matin* shows that the total length of the battle front of the Allies is 1,656 miles, the French occupying 540 miles of trenches, the British 31, and the Belgians 17, while in the east the Russians are facing a front of 851 miles, and the Serbians and Montenegrins are fighting on a front of 217 miles.

April 12—General Pau, who has been on a mission in Russia, Italy, and the Balkan States, gets a notable reception on arriving in Paris.

April 13—President Poincaré leaves Dunkirk for Paris after three days with the French and Belgian troops; M. Poincaré had a long conference with King Albert; the War Office is organizing an expedition of cinematograph operators throughout the whole French line; it is planned to multiply and circulate the films.

April 15—An official denial of reports from Berlin that public buildings in Paris are being used as military observation posts is cabled to the French Embassy at Washington by Foreign Minister Delcassé; vital statistics for the first half of 1914, just published, show that the net diminution in the population of France was 17,000, while the population of Germany increased, in the same period, nearly 500,000; the Temps says that the problem of depopulation must receive serious consideration after the war.

April 19—A regiment of women is being formed in Paris; it is planned that they wear khaki uniforms, learn how to handle rifles, and undertake various military duties in areas back of the firing line.

April 22—General Joffre retires twenty-nine more Generals to make way for younger and more active men; the Cabinet decides that children made orphans by the death in the war of their fathers should be cared for by the State; it is decided to appoint a commission to study the question and decide what steps should be taken; "Tout Paris," the social register of the capital, contains the names of 1,500 Parisians killed in action up to Feb. 25, including 20 Generals and 193 men of title.

April 24—The famous Chambord estate is sequestered on the ground that it is the property of Austrian subjects; the Bank of France releases \$1,000,000 gold to the Bank of England for transmission to New York to assist in steadying exchange; French official circles and French newspapers are pleased with the American note to Germany in reply to the von Bernstorff memorandum on the sale of arms to the Allies, and with the expressions of German annoyance resulting from the note.

April 30—President Poincaré receives a delegation of Irish Members of the British Parliament, headed by T. P. O'Connor and Joseph Devlin, bringing addresses to the

President and Cardinal Amette, and assurance of devotion to the Allies' cause.

GERMANY.

April 1—Circular of the Minister of Agriculture says that through economical use of available grain the bread supply is assured until the next harvest; it is decided to hold horse races this season, including the German Derby; 812,808 prisoners of war are now held in Germany, 10,175 being officers.

April 3—It is reported from Königsberg, East Prussia, that along a line of 150 miles, and for a distance varying from five to fifty miles from the Russian border, there is nothing but ruins as the result of the Russian invasion; thousands of women and children are stated to have been carried off to Russia; it is learned that spotted fever has been introduced into concentration camps by Russian prisoners, but spread to the German civil population has thus far been prevented; skilled artisans, urgently needed in various lines of industrial work, are being granted furloughs from the front.

April 6—Postal officials suspend parcel post service to Argentina and several other South American countries and to Spain, Portugal, Greece, Italian colonies, and Dutch West Indies; Press Bureau of the French War Office gives out figures, compiled from official German sources, showing that the Germans have lost 31,726 officers in killed, wounded, and missing since the beginning of the war, out of a total of 52,805 who started in the war; General von Kluck is recovering from his wound and has been decorated by Emperor William.

April 8—Germans are mourning Captain Otto Weddigen of submarines U-9 and U-29, it being now accepted as a fact that the U-29, his last command, has been lost.

April 9—Official list shows that on March 1 there were in Germany 5,510 pieces of captured artillery.

April 12—The Government is making reprisals for the treatment of captured German submarine crews in England, having imprisoned thirty-nine British officers in the military detention barracks.

April 13—Germany is detaining freight cars belonging to Italian lines; semi-official statement says the passengers and crew of the steamer Falaba were given twenty-three minutes to leave the ship and were shown as much consideration as was compatible with safety to the submarine; according to a dispatch from Switzerland, there is an alarming increase of madness in the German Army.

April 14—It is reported from Switzerland that Emperor William last month paid a visit to Emperor Francis Joseph.

April 15—Several thousand parcel post packages mailed from Germany for the United States have been returned to the senders

- by Swiss postal authorities, because the French and British Governments have given notice that parcels addressed to German citizens in the United States will be seized whenever found on shipboard; the Reichsbank's statement up to April 15 shows an increase in gold of \$2,000,000.
- April 17—Ten British officers have been placed in solitary confinement in Magdeburg as a measure of reprisal for the treatment accorded captured German submarine crews by Great Britain; a letter from Dr. Bernhard Dernburg, former Colonial Secretary of Germany, who has for some time been in the United States, is read at a pro-German mass meeting in Portland, Me.; it suggests the neutralization of the high seas in time of war and makes various other proposals, which are regarded in some quarters as a possible indication that Germany is willing to discuss terms of peace; because of a shortage of rubber, the Government is arranging a special campaign to collect rubber in all shapes throughout the empire.
- April 19—The second officer and some of the crew of the German converted cruiser Prinz Eitel Friedrich, now interned at Newport News, reach Copenhagen on their way to Germany; it is stated in the Copenhagen report that they are provided with false passports describing them as Swedish subjects.
- April 20—A conference of German and Austrian Socialists in Vienna has agreed that after the war international treaties for limitation of armaments must be agreed upon, with a view to disarmament.
- April 21—All German subjects in Switzerland are recalled by their Government; reports from The Hague declare that German Socialists are trying to get a basis on which the war can be stopped; the soldiers at the front are asking for flower seeds to plant on the graves of the slain.
- April 22—During the last few days Emperor William has been visiting the German front in Alsace; he promoted Colonel Reuter of Zabern fame to the rank of Major General; the Government has sent 2,203 more maimed French officers and men to Constance, where they will be exchanged for German wounded; university courses are being conducted by Belgian professors in the prison camp at Soldau.
- April 23—The Federal Council has extended until July 31 the operation of the order which provides that claims held by foreign persons or corporations which accrue before July 31, 1914, cannot be sued upon in the German courts; many newspapers comment bitterly upon the American note replying to the Bernstorff memorandum on the sale of arms to the Allies by the United States; there is rejoicing in Berlin over German gains near Ypres.
- April 24—Dr. Dernburg, in address at Brooklyn, says that evacuation of Belgium depends on England's agreeing to the neutralization of the sea, free cable communications, revision of international law, and consent to German colonial expansion; interview printed in Paris quotes M. Zographos, Foreign Minister of Greece, as declaring that Greece is ready to unite with the Allies in the operations at the Dardanelles if invited to do so.
- April 27—Copenhagen reports that systematic efforts are being made, under instructions from Imperial Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg, to buy sufficient foodstuffs in neutral countries to last Germany for four years.
- April 28—The Supreme Military Court has confirmed the sentence of death imposed on Dec. 29 on William Lonsdale of Leeds, England, a private in the British Army, for striking a German non-commissioned officer at a military prison camp at Doeberitz.
- April 30—The subscriptions for three-quarters of the latest war loan have already been paid; the payments reach the total of \$1,687,750,000, more than twice the amount required at this time under the stipulated conditions of the issue; German Embassy at Washington states that the Emperor of Russia has ordered prisoners of war of Czech or other Slav origin treated kindly, but prisoners of German or Magyar race treated severely.

GREAT BRITAIN.

- April 1—Lord Kitchener follows the lead of King George in announcing his intention to abstain from liquor during the war; the nation is stirred by the drink question, and prominent observers believe that anti-alcohol legislation will not be necessary; 25,000 women volunteer to aid in making munitions of war.
- April 2—Text is made public of a protest by Germany, transmitted through the American Ambassador in London, against treatment of captured German submarine crews; Germany threatens reprisals in the form of harsh treatment of captured British officers; Sir Edward Grey in reply says the submarine crews have violated the laws of humanity and they are segregated in naval barracks.
- April 3—Government takes control of all motor manufacturing plants to accelerate the supplying of war material.
- April 4—The Archbishop of Canterbury in his Easter sermon dwells upon the national necessity for prohibition during the war; a band of the Irish Guards, arriving in Dublin on a recruiting tour, is enthusiastically cheered; John E. Redmond reviews at Dublin 25,000 of the Irish National Volunteers; Limerick welcomes recruiting officers; every man in the British Navy has received a pencil case, the gift

- of Queen Mary, formed of a cartridge which had been used "somewhere in France," with silver mountings.
- April 6—Official announcement states that "by the King's command no wines or spirits will be consumed in any of his Majesty's houses after today"; George M. Booth heads committee appointed by Kitchener to provide such additional labor as is needed for making sufficient war supplies.
- April 8—Official report of the bombardment of Hartlepool, Scarborough, and Whitby by a German naval squadron on Dec. 16 states that 86 civilians were killed and 424 wounded, of whom 26 have died; 7 soldiers were killed and 14 wounded; nearly all industries are working at top speed; unemployment has largely disappeared; King Albert's birthday is celebrated in London by Belgian refugees, many thousands of English joining in the observance.
- April 9—A "White Paper" is published giving correspondence which passed between the British and German Foreign Offices through the United States Ambassador regarding treatment of British prisoners of war in Germany; testimony which is included is to the effect that Germans treat British prisoners brutally; John B. Jackson of the American Embassy at Berlin, who, on behalf of the German Government, recently inspected German prison camps in England, reports that prisoners are well cared for; Captain and crew of the steamer *Vosges*, sunk in March by a German submarine, are rewarded for persistent attempt to escape the submarine; in party circles it is accepted as a fact that there will be no general election this year, and that the terms of the present Members of Parliament will be extended.
- April 11—A great campaign to obtain recruits for Kitchener's new army is begun in London, it being planned to hold 1,500 meetings.
- April 12—Government is now transferring men from the working forces of municipalities to factories making munitions of war.
- April 13—Official announcement states that 33,000 women had registered themselves up to the end of March for war service, as being ready to undertake various forms of labor in England usually done by men; the Foreign Office cables the United States State Department, asking that an investigation be started at once of Berlin reports that thirty-nine British officers have been put in a military prison as a measure of reprisal for England's declining to accord full privileges to German submarine prisoners; a serious explosion occurs at Lerwick, Shetland, in which many persons are killed; Lerwick is one of the chief stations in Scotland for the Royal Naval Reserve.
- April 14—Report from Field Marshal French on the Neuve Chapelle fight is made public; the British losses were 12,811 in killed, wounded, and missing; German losses are declared to have been several thousand more; French says his orders were badly executed in some instances, resulting in disorganization of infantry after victory was won; it is intimated that British artillery fired on British troops; Government decides against placing cotton on the contraband list; Government is making huge purchases of wheat.
- April 15—The total British casualties from the beginning of the war up to April 11 were 139,347, according to an announcement in the House of Commons by the Under Secretary for War; part of Kitchener's new army, after six months of training, is going into camp at Salisbury Plain, where it is stated that 100,000 men will soon be encamped.
- April 16—The Foreign Office is advised by Ambassador Page that press reports are correct which state that the Germans have put thirty-nine British officers in military detention barracks as a measure of reprisal for British action in refusing honors of war to crews of German submarines; the London Times states that \$9,500,000 in life insurance claims has been paid to heirs of British officers thus far killed in action.
- April 17—Wages are rising and unemployment is decreasing.
- April 18—Ten thousand Protestant churches observe "King's Pledge Sunday," thousands of persons signing a pledge to abstain from intoxicants for the rest of the war.
- April 19—English Football Association announces that with closing of present season on May 5 no more professional football games will be played during the war.
- April 20—Premier Asquith, in an appeal made at Newcastle to the workmen of the northeast coast to hasten the output of munitions of war, refrains from all mention of the drink question and declares that there has been no slackness on the part of either employes or employers, this statement being at variance with recent statements made by other Cabinet members, who have blamed tipping on the part of workmen for slow output; the Government has made an arrangement by which skilled workmen now at the front can be recalled to England to work in munition factories as needed; David Lloyd George, Chancellor of the Exchequer, says in the House of Commons that the Government does not believe that the war would be more successfully prosecuted by conscription, adding that Kitchener is gratified with the response to his appeal for volunteers; since the war began, 1,961 officers have been killed, 3,528 wounded, and 738 are missing.

April 21—Chancellor Lloyd George states in the House of Commons that the expeditionary force in France now consists of more than thirty-six divisions, or about 750,000 men; the Chancellor also states that as much ammunition was expended at Neuve Chapelle as was used during the entire Boer war, which lasted for two years and nine months.

April 22—F. T. Jane, a well-known British naval expert, in an address at Liverpool declares that the Germans tried to land an expeditionary force in England, but the vigilance of the British Navy caused the expedition to turn back.

April 24—An official list received in London of the thirty-nine British officers placed in detention barracks by the Germans in retaliation for English treatment of German submarine crews shows the names of seven Captains and thirty-two Lieutenants, included being the names of Lieutenant Goschen, son of a former Ambassador to Berlin; Robin Grey, a nephew of Sir Edward Grey, and many sons of peers.

April 25—Jamaica begins raising money to send a contingent to join Kitchener's army.

April 26—The "war babies" question is to be investigated by a committee headed by the Archbishop of York, and a report is to be made.

April 27—Lord Kitchener, speaking in the House of Commons, scores the Germans for what he declares to be their barbarous methods of conducting war; the importation of raw cotton from the United Kingdom is specifically prohibited; Lord Derby, in an address at Manchester, intimates that conscription is to come soon; British War Office states that medical examination shows that Canadian soldiers died in the Ypres fight from poisoning by gases employed by the Germans.

April 28—Clergy oppose prohibition, the lower house of the Convocation at York going on record as believing it would be unwise and would lead in the end to an excess of intemperance; opposition newspapers and politicians are criticising the conduct of affairs by Winston Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty.

April 30—Large numbers of protests from all parts of the country are being made against the proposal of Chancellor Lloyd George to increase the duty on alcoholic drinks.

GREECE.

April 4—After being repulsed in their raid on Serbia, a detachment of Bulgarian irregulars makes a raid on Dorian, Greece; the Greeks repulse them with machine guns.

HOLLAND.

April 1—More reservists are called; traffic between Holland and Germany has practically ceased.

April 10—Government has handed to Germany a note of protest on the sinking in March of the Dutch steamship Medea by a German submarine.

April 16—Intense indignation and resentment are expressed by the newspapers over the sinking of the Dutch steamer Katwyk by a German submarine; some of them talk of war.

April 21—It is reported from Amsterdam that Emperor William has sent a long personal message to Queen Wilhelmina about the sinking of the Katwyk, declaring that full compensation would be made if it is proved that the Katwyk was sunk by a German ship; arrangements have been made between the Dutch and British Governments whereby not only conditional contraband, but also goods on the contraband list of the British Government, may be given safe passage to Holland through the blockade lines.

April 27—The forty-two delegates from the United States to the International Women's Peace Congress arrive at The Hague; the congress is formally opened for a four days' session with delegates present from many neutral nations and from most of the warring nations, including England and Germany.

April 28—Miss Jane Addams presides over the Women's Peace Congress, the first business session being held.

INDIA.

April 12—Lieutenant Seybold of the Philippine Constabulary, on arriving in New York, says that the Fifth Native Light Infantry, composed of Hindus, revolted in Singapore on Feb. 15, while en route to Hongkong, and nearly 1,000 of them were killed before the mutiny was quelled; the rebellion is stated to have been fomented by agents of the German Government in Singapore; seven Germans are stated to have been executed for connection with the uprising.

April 27—Reports from the Straits Settlements state that serious disorders are taking place in various parts of India, the effect beginning to be felt of the Turko-German alliance and of the German propaganda; riots have occurred at Cawnpore and in the Central Provinces; a mutiny by native troops has taken place at Rangoon; it is reported from India that the Ameer of Afghanistan has been assassinated.

ITALY.

April 1—There is economic distress in Italy due to eight months of war; budget of the Government, which for years has show a surplus, shows a deficit of \$13,800,000 since Aug. 1.

April 5—Many Italian troops are being assembled on the Austrian frontier; great excitement prevails in Genoa in consequence of a report that a German submarine has sunk the Italian steamer Luigi

- Parodi, and strong measures are taken by the authorities to protect the German colony.
- April 6—Owner of the Luigi Perodi declares the steamer has not been lost.
- April 7—The fleet concentrates at Augusta, Sicily, and at Taranto, within a few hours of the Adriatic.
- April 11—Demonstrations at Rome in favor of Italian intervention in the war cause riots and collisions with the police.
- April 12—An order is printed in the Military Journal directing all army officers to dull the metal on their uniforms and sword scabbards; it is reported that the Pope is ready to espouse the Italian cause if the nation enters the war.
- April 14—Indignation is expressed at the Papal Court over an alleged interview with Pope Benedict recently printed in the United States, Germany, and other countries, some of the statements attributed to the Pope being characterized as false; particular exception is taken to a statement, credited to the Pope, urging President Wilson to stop exportation of munitions of war to the Allies; many telegraphic protests on the interview have reached the Vatican from Roman Catholic clergy and laity in the United States, Britain, and France.
- April 16—Italy now has 1,200,000 first-line soldiers under arms.
- April 20—Reports from Rome state that Austria is rapidly gathering troops on the Italian border; Austrians have fortified the whole line of the Isonzo River with intrenchments; it is stated that the German and Austrian Ambassadors are secretly preparing for departure; Papal Guards are enlisting in the regular army.
- April 21—Sailings of liners from Italy to the United States have been canceled; Council of Ministers is held, a report on the international situation being made by the Foreign Minister.
- April 24—It is stated in high official circles that it is becoming increasingly improbable that Italy will participate in the war, at least for some time to come; the Austrian Ambassador and the Italian Foreign Minister have a long conference; it is reported from Rome that Austria has made further concessions in an attempt to preserve Italian neutrality; nevertheless further military preparations are being made by Italy; the exodus of German families from Italy continues; French military experts estimate the full military strength of Italy at 2,000,000 men, of whom 800,000 form the active field army.
- April 25—It is reported from Rome that Austria has offered to give autonomy to Trieste; Italian opinion, as expressed in the newspapers, is that Austria must yield all the territory occupied by Italians, and must yield not only the Province

of Trent, but Pola, Fiume, and the greater part of Dalmatia.

- April 27—The Italian Ambassadors at Paris, London, Vienna, and Berlin have been summoned to Rome to confer with the Foreign Minister.
- April 29—It is reported from Rome that Italy and the Allies have reached a definite agreement concerning terms on which Italy will enter the war, if she ultimately decides to do so, and that she will become a member of a quadruple entente after the war; Prince von Bülow, German Ambassador to Italy, is stated to have failed in attempts to get Italy and Austria to come to an understanding.
- April 30—Belgian and French Cardinals, Archbishops, and Bishops have united in an appeal to Pope Benedict for the Vatican to abandon the attitude of neutrality it has maintained since the beginning of the war.

LUXEMBURG.

- April 23—Grand Duchess Marie has sent an official protest to Berlin against the methods of distributing food supplies, which is said to have brought nearly half her subjects to the verge of starvation; she says that gifts of food, money, and clothes have been sent to Luxemburg from all parts of the world, but that only a small part of these reach the civilian population.

PERSIA.

- April 24—Confirmation has been received at Dilman, Persia, of the flight of from 20,000 to 30,000 Armenian and Nestorian Christians from Azerbaijan Province; of the massacre of over 1,500 who were unable to escape; of the death of 2,000 in the compounds of the American Mission at Urumiah.

POLAND.

- April 22—It is stated in London that 7,000,000 Poles are in dire need of food.

RUMANIA.

- April 9—Artillery and supplies of ammunition are reaching Turkey through Rumania.
- April 14—The army, reported as splendidly equipped, is ready for instant action.

RUSSIA.

- April 1—Persistent rumors are current in Petrograd that Austria has opened negotiations for a separate peace; General Ruzsky, who won praise for his conduct of the Galician campaign, taking Lemberg, and also for his success at Przasnysz, retires because of ill-health.
- April 3—General Alexiev is appointed Commander in Chief of the army on the northern front in place of General Ruzsky; it is officially announced that Colonel Miassoydoff, attached as interpreter to the staff of the Tenth Army, which was badly de-

feated in the Mazurian Lake region, has been shot as a German spy.

April 4—Petrograd reports that the Russians have taken 260,000 prisoners on the Carpathian front since Jan. 21.

April 7—All towns in Russian Poland are given local municipal self-government; Petrograd reports that during the celebration of Easter, the greatest of Russian festivals, there has been an entire absence of drunkenness.

April 14—Imperial order calls up for training throughout the empire all men from twenty to thirty-five not summoned before; it is stated that the call will ultimately almost double the Russian strength; the men summoned are all untrained.

April 17—The General Anzeiger of Duisburg, Rhenish Prussia, says it learns "from an absolutely unimpeachable source" that the reported sickness of Grand Duke Nicholas, Commander in Chief of the Russian forces, was due to a shot in the abdomen fired by the late General Baron Sievers of the defeated Tenth Army, who is stated to have then committed suicide.

April 20—Orders have been issued that Austrian officers who are prisoners of war shall no longer be allowed to retain their swords, as a penalty for the cutting out of the tongue of a captured Russian scout who refused to betray the Russian position.

April 21—As a substitute for vodka shops there have been erected in open places in communities throughout Russia "people's palaces," where the public may gather for entertainment and instruction; in the Government of Poltava alone 300 of these recreative centres have been opened or are projected.

April 22—Details of an \$83,000,000 order for shrapnel and howitzer shell, placed early in April by the Russian Government with the Canadian Car and Foundry Company, show that contracts for \$21,724,400 of that amount have been sublet by the Canadian company to American manufacturers; it is also learned that the Russian Government recently placed a \$15,000,000 contract with American mills for miscellaneous artillery; a letter from an American Red Cross nurse states that she and other American Red Cross nurses were recently received by the Czar at Kiev, where he shook hands and chatted with each.

April 23—The Czar arrives at Lemberg and holds a council of war with the Grand Duke Nicholas.

April 24—Copenhagen reports that the Czar has decided to re-establish the Finnish army with the same constitution as previous to 1898; Grand Duke Nicholas has been much impressed with the brilliant strategic work done by Finnish officers serving with the Russian Army.

April 25—Army orders contain the promotion of a young woman, Alexandra Lagerev, to a Lieutenantancy; she has been fighting alongside male relatives since the beginning of the war.

SERBIA.

April 2—American sanitary experts, who will work under the direction of Dr. Richard P. Strong of Harvard, now in Europe, sail from New York on their way to Serbia, where they will fight typhus and other diseases devastating the nation.

April 3—Several thousand Bulgarian irregulars cross the Serbian frontier near Valandovo, surprising and killing the Serbian guards; Serbian reinforcements, after an all-day fight, repulse and scatter the invaders; Bulgarians lose heavily.

April 4—Serbia protests to Bulgaria because of the raid, which is said to be the fifth of the kind since the beginning of the war; the Bulgarian Minister to Rome says that the raid is the work of Macedonian revolutionists in Serbia.

April 6—Bulgarian Government disclaims responsibility for the raid on Serbia; it is stated that the invasion was initiated by Turks among the inhabitants of that part of Macedonia included in Serbia; Serbians are not satisfied and say that more attacks are being planned on Bulgarian soil, with the object of cutting off supplies from the Serbian Army.

April 10—Disease conditions are growing worse and the percentage of deaths from typhus is very high; 107 Serbian doctors out of 452 have died of typhus; the municipality of Uskub decides to name its finest street after Lady Ralph Paget, who has been working in Serbia with the Red Cross and is now convalescing from a resultant illness.

April 16—Rockefeller Foundation War Relief Commission's first installment of a report on Serbia states that disease is spreading all over the country; there are more than 25,000 cases of typhus, while other fevers are also epidemic; cholera is expected with the warm weather; the nation is declared unable to aid itself.

April 17—The Government submits to Parliament a new army credit of \$40,000,000.

April 21—Two invasions into Serbian territory are made by Bulgarian irregulars.

April 28—Serbia holds 60,000 Austrian prisoners.

SWEDEN.

April 7—Sweden makes a strong protest to Germany against seizure of the Swedish steamer England.

SWITZERLAND.

April 13—German shells fall upon Swiss territory for the third time since the war began, according to a Delemont newspaper; the shots were intended for the French, but the aim was bad and they dropped near the town of Beurnevessain.

TURKEY.

- April 1—Troops are being concentrated at Adrianople as a precaution in case war starts with Bulgaria.
- April 2—Both the Turkish and Russian Ambassadors to Italy deny a report that Turkey is seeking a separate peace.
- April 7—Field Marshal von der Goltz, in an interview in Vienna, says that Turkey is well prepared for war; she has 1,250,000 well-trained men and several hundred thousand reserves; the Sultan gives an interview at Constantinople to American newspaper men; he deplors "unjust" attack of Allies on the Dardanelles, adding that he does not believe the strait can be forced.
- April 15—Pillage and murder are reported to be rife in villages and smaller towns of the littoral near Smyrna; lives of Christians are in danger.
- April 18—Enver Pasha, War Minister and Generalissimo of the Turkish Army, in a newspaper interview lays the blame for Turkey's participation in the war on Russia and England; he says Turkey has a well-prepared army of 2,000,000.
- April 24—Refugees who have reached the Russian line near Tiflis, Transcaucasia, report that widespread massacres of Armenians are being carried out by Moham-medans; they state that all the inhabitants of ten villages near Van, in Armenia, Asiatic Turkey, have been killed.
- April 27—An appeal for relief of Armenian Christians in Turkey is made to the Turkish Government by the United States; a plot is discovered to blow up the council chamber in the Ministry of War at Constantinople during a session of the War Council.
- April 29—The War Minister has called all available men to arms; Kurds are massacring Christians in Armenia.

UNITED STATES.

- April 1—Secretary Bryan orders an inquiry into the circumstances of the arrest by the authorities in Paris of Raymond Rolfe Swoboda, stated to be an American citizen, held in connection with the recent fire on the French liner *La Touraine* in mid-ocean; the State Department is investigating the death of Leon Chester Thrasher of Hardwick, Mass., who was lost when the British steamer *Falaba* was sunk by a German submarine; information is being sought as to whether Thrasher was an American citizen at the time of his death.
- April 2—The Government is informed by the British Government, through Ambassador Page, that no trade messages can be sent over British cables if they refer to transactions in which the enemies of Britain are interested.
- April 5—Text is made public of the United States note to Germany, recently pre-

- resented by Ambassador Gerard, demanding payment by the German Government of \$228,059.54, with interest from Jan. 28, for the destruction of the American sailing ship *William P. Frye* by the German converted cruiser *Prinz Eitel Friedrich*; Secretary Bryan makes public the text of the identic notes recently sent by the United States to the British and French Governments protesting against invasion of neutral rights involved in the recent British Order in Council, establishing a long-range blockade of European waters; the note insists on the right of innocent shipments "to be freely transported to and from the United States through neutral countries to belligerent territory, without being subjected to the penalties of contraband traffic or breach of blockade, much less to detention, requisition, or confiscation"; it is reported from Washington that the reason for the order, issued a few days ago, for the recall of the five American Army officers who have been acting as military observers in Germany, is due to the growing feeling of hostility to Americans in Germany, and the belief that it is wise to withdraw the officers before they become involved in any incident that might cause embarrassment in American-German relations; Dudley Field Malone, Collector of the Port of New York, announces that he has evidence of a widespread conspiracy to violate President Wilson's neutrality proclamation through the establishment here of an agency to supply the British warships lying outside the three-mile zone with food and fuel; he asks the Government for additional warships to protect the harbor's neutrality.
- April 6—An official message from Berlin is issued by the German Embassy at Washington giving an intimation that Germany would not regard with favor the idea of paying damages for the death of Leon Chester Thrasher; the statement says that neutrals were warned not to cross the war zone; the German Embassy gives out a statement on the stopping of the German merchant ship *Odenwald*, halted by a shot across her bows when she was attempting to leave San Juan, Porto Rico, without clearance papers, on March 22; statement refers to the episode as an "attack," and says "a sharp fire" was opened, but the American official report shows that only warning shots were fired.
- April 7—British Government denies Collector Malone's charge that British warships have been receiving supplies from ports of the United States in violation of neutrality; acting upon a request of the German Ambassador, the Government is making a new investigation of the *Odenwald* case.
- April 8—Secretary Bryan makes public the reply of the German Government to the American claim for compensation for the

loss of the William P. Frye; Germany is willing to pay both for ship and cargo, basing this readiness wholly on treaties of 1799 and 1828 between the United States and Prussia, but under international law justifying the destruction of both ship and cargo; Collector Malone says investigation shows that charges that supplies have been sent to British warships from New York in violation of neutrality were part of a plot to involve this country in trouble with England.

April 11—Count von Bernstorff, the German Ambassador, makes public a memorandum, addressed to the United States Government and delivered several days ago, charging in effect that the United States is violating the true spirit of neutrality by permitting vast quantities of arms to be shipped to England, France, and Russia, and characterizing as a failure the diplomatic efforts of the United States to effect shipment of food supplies to Germany; the memorandum intimates that the United States maintained a true spirit of neutrality to Mexico in placing an embargo on arms exports to Huerta and Carranza, and quotes a statement attributed to President Wilson on the Mexican situation.

April 13—The Government War Risk Insurance Bureau settles its first claim for losses by paying \$401,000 to the owners of the American steamer Evelyn, sunk off the coast of Holland, supposedly by a mine, on Feb. 21; London reports that negotiations are under way for a short-term loan of \$100,000,000 to England by American interests.

April 14—Secretary Bryan announces that arrangements have been completed with the British Government by which two shiploads of dyestuffs may be shipped from Germany to the United States without interference from British warships.

April 15—The text is made public of a letter written by Theodore Roosevelt to Mrs. George Rublee of Washington, in opposition to the principles advanced by the Woman's Party for Constructive Peace, in which he says the platform is "both silly and base"; at a meeting in New York of the Central Federated Union a resolution is passed in favor of a general strike in those industries employed in producing munitions of war.

April 16—The American Locomotive Company has practically completed arrangements with the Russian Government for the manufacture of \$65,000,000 worth of shrapnel shells.

April 17—The Hamburg-American steamship Georgia is transferred to American registry and renamed the Housatonic.

April 20—French military authorities decide to abandon the charge of setting fire to La Touraine preferred against Raymond Swoboda, because of lack of evidence.

April 21—The Government replies to the recent memorandum from Ambassador von Bernstorff on American neutrality; the American answer regrets use of language that seems to impugn our good faith, and it restates our position; it declares that we have at no time yielded any of our rights as a neutral, and that we cannot prohibit exportation of arms to belligerents, because to do so would be an unjustifiable breach of our neutrality; the State Department has cabled the American Consul at Warsaw to report fully on the present situation of Jews in Poland.

April 23—The Telefunken wireless plant at Sayville, L. I., through which the German Government and its embassy at Washington chiefly communicate, has been trebled in power for the purpose of overcoming climatic conditions likely in Summer to be unfavorable for the handling of messages; Secretary Bryan is refusing to issue passports to Americans who wish to visit belligerent countries in Europe for sightseeing purposes.

April 23—Secretary Bryan replies to the German note on the sinking of the American ship William P. Frye; the answer declares that the destruction of the vessel was "unquestionably" a violation of existing treaties between the United States and Prussia; the answer states that the American Government does not believe the matter should go before a prize court, as suggested by the German note.

April 29—Samuel Pearson, who was a Boer General in the Boer war and is an American citizen, begins an action in Wisconsin aimed at preventing shipment of munitions of war from the United States to the enemies of Germany; a complaint is filed on Pearson's behalf under the so-called "Discovery" statute of Wisconsin, to obtain information whether the Allis-Chalmers Company and others have entered into a conspiracy with the Bethlehem Steel Company and others to manufacture and ship shrapnel shells to European belligerents contrary to Wisconsin law.

April 30—Directions are given by President Wilson for an investigation to be made of the Pearson bill of complaint; German Embassy at Washington publishes an advertisement in the newspapers declaring that "travelers sailing in the war zone on ships of Great Britain or her allies do so at their own risk."

RELIEF.

April 1—American Red Cross sends 200,000 pounds of disinfectants to Serbia for use in the fight against typhus.

April 2—Mme. Lalla Vandervelde, wife of the Belgian Minister of State, sails from New York after collecting nearly \$300,000 for relief in Belgium.

- April 3—Henryk Sienkiewicz, the Polish writer, appeals to the United States for help for Poland; it is stated that an area seven times as great as Belgium has been laid waste, 5,000 villages have been destroyed, 1,000,000 horses and 2,000,000 cattle are dead or seized by the enemy, and damage to the extent of \$600,000,000 has been done; Serbian Agricultural Relief Commission of America announces that Walter Camp will take charge of Serbian relief in the colleges and universities of the United States.
- April 6—Australians have contributed \$700,000 in four days for Belgian relief, and measures are being taken to insure \$500,000 a month from the Australian States.
- April 8—German Red Cross sends through Ambassador Gerard its thanks for gifts from the United States.
- April 9—Commission for Relief in Belgium announces the organization of a New York State Belgian Committee which will work in co-operation with the commission, Dr. John H. Finley being Chairman.
- April 10—Major Gen. Gorgas, U. S. A., has been invited to go to Serbia for the Rockefeller Commission to take charge of an attempt to stamp out typhus.
- April 12—The State of Oklahoma makes Belgian relief an official matter, and the Governor has issued a proclamation calling upon the people to do all in their power to aid.
- April 15—Three hospital trains, each consisting of an automobile with two trailers, have been presented to the Military Commander at Frankfort-on-Main as a gift "from friends of Germany in the United States"; Mme. Marcella Sembrich, President of the American Polish Relief Committee, issues an appeal to "all America" for aid for Poland; Paderewski arrives in New York to seek American help for Poland.
- April 17—Donations to the American Red Cross total to date \$1,415,000; during the last week eight steamers have sailed from the United States for Rotterdam carrying relief for Belgium; the cargoes totaled 55,000 tons, valued at \$3,000,000.
- April 21—Rockefeller Foundation gives out a report of its Relief Commission concerning Belgian refugees in Holland; up to Feb. 22 cases containing 1,386,572 articles of clothing, contributed by the neutral world, principally the United States, have been delivered in Rotterdam for the Belgians.
- April 24—Report of the American Red Cross, covering the period from Sept. 12 to April 17, shows that supplies valued at over \$1,000,000 have been sent to France, which got the largest individual share of the shipments, and to Great Britain, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Russia, Serbia, Turkey, and the Belgians; the supplies have included 600,000 pounds of absorbent cotton; surgical gauze that if stretched in a single line would reach from the Battery, New York, to Niagara Falls; 32,600 pounds of chloroform and ether; 65,000 yards of bandages, and 1,123 cases of surgical instruments.
- April 26—A new British committee, with many well-known Englishmen on it, has been organized for Belgian relief, King George heading the subscription list.
- April 27—American Red Cross ships a large consignment of supplies to the Russian Red Cross at Petrograd.

The Drink Question

[From Truth, April 7, 1915.]

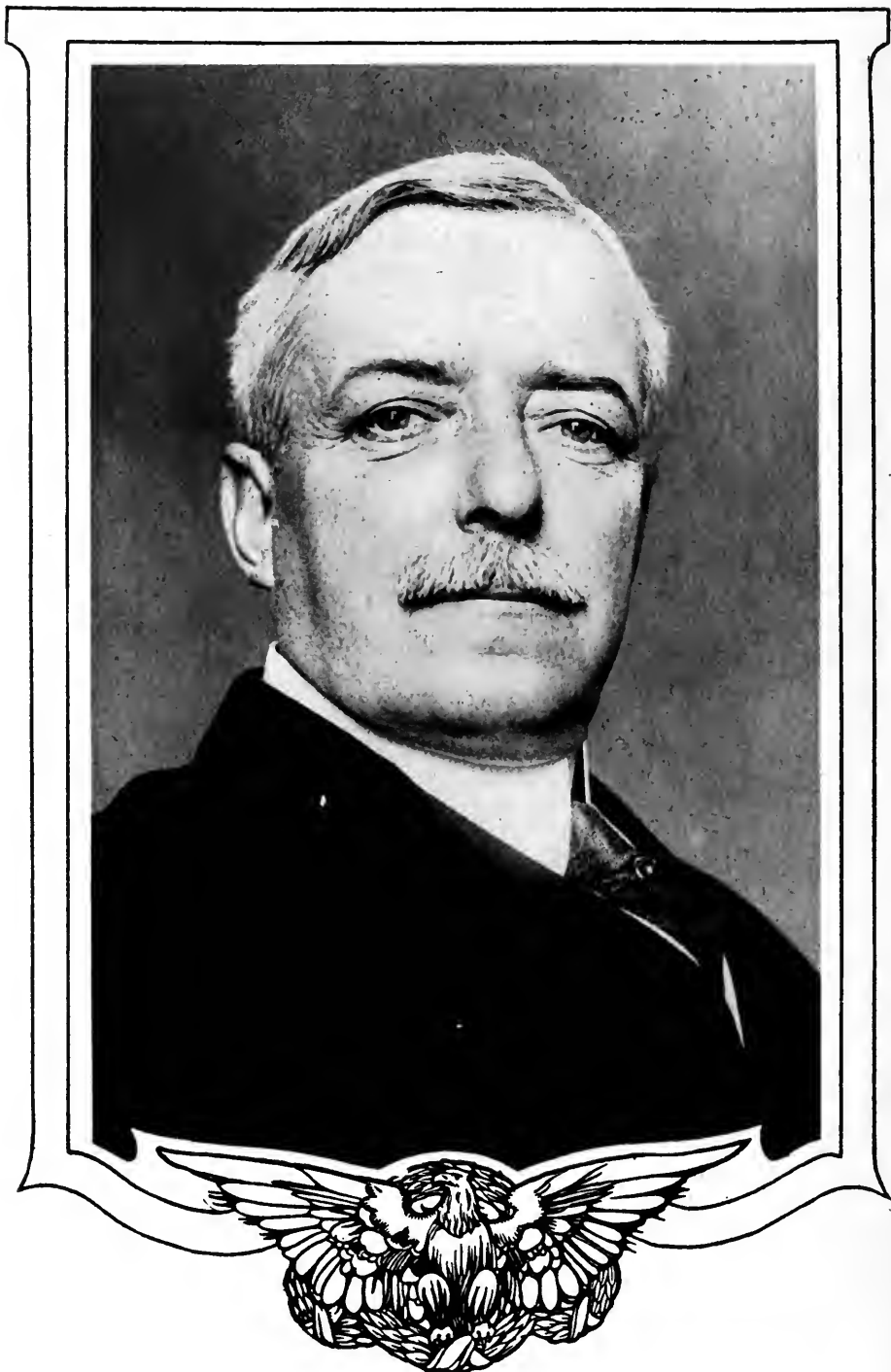
Sir Topas Port, in angry sort,
A scowl upon his forehead,
Relieved his chest, of wrath possessed,
In words distinctly torrid;
His brows were raised, his eyes they blazed,
His nose inclined to florid.

"Disgraceful state! That we must wait
For guns and ammunition,
Because—Great Scott!—men play the sot
And ruin their condition.
Low, drunken swine! If power were mine,
I'd teach 'em their position!

"I'd close the pubs and workmen's clubs—
What says that Welshman feller?
All drink tabooed? Alike preclude
Mile-Ender and Pall-Maller?
Good-bye! Can't stay. I must away
Post haste to stock my cellar."



LIEUT. GEN. COUNT CADORNA
Chief of the Italian General Staff
(Photo from Paul Thompson)



THE HON. ROBERT J. LANSING

Who Was Called by the President to Take Charge of the State Department
after Mr. Bryan's Resignation

(Photo from Paul Thompson)

The New York Times

CURRENT HISTORY

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

THE EUROPEAN WAR

JULY, 1915

THE LUSITANIA CASE

President Wilson's Reply to Germany

Account of the Resignation of William J. Bryan as American Secretary of State

True to the intimation in his note to President Wilson, Mr. Bryan has made public in full his reasons for resigning while American relations with Germany were strained. His statements are given herewith, together with comments in Europe and America on the causes and consequences of Mr. Bryan's act. The German reply to President Wilson's note of May 13 on the Lusitania case and the American rejoinder of June 9; the sending to Berlin of Dr. Anton Meyer-Gerhard, as arranged by Ambassador von Bernstorff in the White House on June 4, in order to explain more fully to the German Government the American policy and public feeling in this country; the Stahl perjury case, relating to the German charge that the Lusitania was armed; the question whether the American steamer Nebraskan was torpedoed on May 26 in the German submarine "war zone"; the controversy over exportations to the Allies of American munitions of war; the agitation for a stronger army and navy in the United States, and the meeting in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, on June 17, when 109 of the foremost men in the United States took steps toward forming a League of Peace among all the nations of the earth—these, as recorded below, form a new chapter in American history.

THE GERMAN MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR AT BERLIN.

[TELEGRAM.]

No. 2,326.]

BERLIN, May 28, 1915.

The undersigned has the honor to make the following reply to the note of his Excellency Mr. James W. Gerard, Ambassador of the United States of America, dated the fifteenth instant, on the subject of the impairment of many American interests by the German submarine war.

The Imperial Government has subjected the statements of the

Government of the United States to a careful examination and has the lively wish on its part also to contribute in a convincing and friendly manner to clear up any misunderstandings which may have entered into the relations of the two Governments through the events mentioned by the American Government.

With regard firstly to the cases of the American steamers *Cushing* and *Gulflight*, the American Embassy has already been informed that it is far from the German Government to have any intention of ordering attacks by submarines or flyers on neutral vessels in the zone which have not been guilty of any hostile act; on the contrary the most explicit instructions have been repeatedly given the German armed forces to avoid attacking such vessels. If neutral vessels have come to grief through the German submarine war during the past few months by mistake, it is a question of isolated and exceptional cases which are traceable to the misuse of flags by the British Government in connection with carelessness or suspicious actions on the part of the captains of the vessels. In all cases where a neutral vessel through no fault of its own has come to grief through the German submarines or flyers according to the facts as ascertained by the German Government, this Government has expressed its regret at the unfortunate occurrence and promised indemnification where the facts justified it. The German Government will treat the cases of the American steamers *Cushing* and *Gulflight* according to the same principles. An investigation of these cases is in progress. Its results will be communicated to the Embassy shortly.* The investigation might, if thought desirable,

*Germany's apology and offer of reparation for the attack on the *Gulflight*, together with a request for information in the case of the *Cushing*, are conveyed in the following note, which was received by the State Department in Washington from Ambassador Gerard on June 3, and laid before the Cabinet, and published on June 4:

Referring to the note of May 28, the undersigned has the honor to inform his Excellency the American Ambassador of the United States of America, Mr. James W. Gerard, that the examination undertaken on the part of the German Government concerning the American steamers *Gulflight* and *Cushing* has led to the following conclusions:

In regard to the attack on the steamer *Gulflight*, the commander of a German submarine saw on the afternoon of May 1, in the vicinity of the Scilly Islands, a large merchant steamer coming in his direction which was accompanied by two smaller vessels. These latter took such position in relation to the steamer that they formed a regulation safeguard against submarines; moreover, one of them had a wireless apparatus, which is not usual with small vessels. From this it evidently was a case of English convoy vessels. Since such vessels are frequently armed, the submarine could not approach the steamer on the surface of the water without running the danger of destruction. It was, on the other hand, to be assumed that the steamer was of

considerable value to the British Government, since it was so guarded. The commander could see no neutral markings on it of any kind—that is, distinctive marks painted on the freeboard recognizable at a distance, such as are now usual on neutral ships in the English zone of naval warfare. In consequence he arrived at the conclusion from all the circumstances that he had to deal with an English steamer, submerged, and attacked.

The torpedo came in the immediate neighborhood of one of the convoy ships, which at once rapidly approached the point of firing; that the submarine was forced to go to a great depth to avoid being rammed. The conclusion of the commander that an English convoy ship was concerned was in this way confirmed. That the attacked steamer carried the American flag was first observed at the moment of firing the shot. The fact that the steamship was pursuing a course which led neither to nor from America was a further reason why it did not occur to the commander of the submarine that he was dealing with an American steamship.

Upon scrutiny of the time and place of the occurrence described, the German Government has become convinced that the attacked steamship was actually the American steamship *Gulflight*. There can be no doubt, according to the attendant circumstances, that the attack is to be attributed to an unfortunate accident, and not to the fault of the commander. The German Government expresses its regrets

be supplemented by an International Commission of Inquiry, pursuant to Title Three of The Hague Convention of October 18, 1907, for the pacific settlement of international disputes.

In the case of the sinking of the English steamer Falaba, the commander of the German submarine had the intention of allowing passengers and crew ample opportunity to save themselves.

It was not until the captain disregarded the order to lay to and took to flight, sending up rocket signals for help, that the German commander ordered the crew and passengers by signals and megaphone to leave the ship within ten minutes. As a matter of fact he allowed them twenty-three minutes and did not fire the torpedo until suspicious steamers were hurrying to the aid of the Falaba.

With regard to the loss of life when the British passenger steamer Lusitania was sunk, the German Government has already expressed its deep regret to the neutral Governments concerned that nationals of those countries lost their lives on that occasion. The Imperial Government must state for the rest the impression that certain important facts most directly connected with the sinking of the Lusitania may have escaped the attention of the Government of the United States. It therefore considers it necessary in the interest of the clear and full understanding aimed at by either Government primarily to convince itself that the reports of the facts which are before the two Governments are complete and in agreement.

The Government of the United States proceeds on the assumption that the Lusitania is to be considered as an ordinary unarmed merchant vessel. The Imperial Government begs in this connection to point out that the Lusitania was one of the largest and fastest English commerce steamers, constructed with Government funds as auxiliary cruisers, and is expressly included in the navy list published by British Admiralty. It is moreover known to the Imperial Government from reliable information furnished by its officials and neutral passengers that for some time practically all the more valuable English merchant vessels have been provided with guns, ammunition and other weapons, and reinforced with a crew specially practiced in manning guns. Ac-

to the Government of the United States concerning this incident, and declares itself ready to furnish full recompense for the damage thereby sustained by American citizens. It is left to the discretion of the American Government to present a statement of this damage, or, if doubt may arise over individual points, to designate an expert who would have to determine, together with a German expert, the amount of damage.

It has not yet been possible by means of an inquiry to clear up fully the case of the American ship Cushing. Official reports available report only one merchant ship attacked by a German flying machine in the vicinity of Nordhind Lightship. The German aviator was forced to consider the vessel as hostile because it carried no flag, and, further, because of no recognizable neutral mark-

ings. The attack of four bombs was, of course, not aimed at any American ship.

However, that the ship attacked was the American steamer Cushing is possible, considering the time and place of the occurrences. Nevertheless, the German Government accordingly requests of the American Government that it communicate to the German Government the material which was submitted for judgment, in order that, with this as a basis, a further position can be taken in the matter.

The undersigned leaves it to the Ambassador to bring the foregoing to the immediate attention of his Government, and takes this opportunity to renew to him the assurance of his most distinguished consideration.

VON JAGOW,
Minister for Foreign Affairs.

ording to reports at hand here, the Lusitania when she left New York undoubtedly had guns on board which were mounted under decks and masked.

The Imperial Government furthermore has the honor to direct the particular attention of the American Government to the fact that the British Admiralty by a secret instruction of February of this year advised the British merchant marine not only to seek protection behind neutral flags and markings, but even when so disguised to attack German submarines by ramming them. High rewards have been offered by the British Government as a special incentive for the destruction of the submarines by merchant vessels, and such rewards have already been paid out. In view of these facts, which are satisfactorily known to it, the Imperial Government is unable to consider English merchant vessels any longer as "undefended territory" in the zone of maritime war designated by the Admiralty Staff of the Imperial German Navy, the German commanders are consequently no longer in a position to observe the rules of capture otherwise usual and with which they invariably complied before this. Lastly, the Imperial Government must specially point out that on her last trip the Lusitania, as on earlier occasions, had Canadian troops and munitions on board, including no less than 5,400 cases of ammunition destined for the destruction of brave German soldiers who are fulfilling with self-sacrifice and devotion their duty in the service of the Fatherland. The German Government believes that it acts in just self-defense when it seeks to protect the lives of its soldiers by destroying ammunition destined for the enemy with the means of war at its command. The English steamship company must have been aware of the dangers to which passengers on board the Lusitania were exposed under the circumstances. In taking them on board in spite of this the company quite deliberately tried to use the lives of American citizens as protection for the ammunition carried, and violated the clear provisions of American laws which expressly prohibit, and provide punishment for, the carrying of passengers on ships which have explosives on board. The company thereby wantonly caused the death of so many passengers. According to the express report of the submarine commander concerned, which is further confirmed by all other reports, there can be no doubt that the rapid sinking of the Lusitania was primarily due to the explosion of the cargo of ammunition caused by the torpedo. Otherwise, in all human probability, the passengers of the Lusitania would have been saved.

The Imperial Government holds the facts recited above to be of sufficient importance to recommend them to a careful examination by the American Government. The Imperial Government begs to reserve a final statement of its position with regard to the demands made in connection with the sinking of the Lusitania until a reply is received from the American Government, and believes that it should recall here

that it took note with satisfaction of the proposals of good offices submitted by the American Government in Berlin and London with a view to paving the way for a modus vivendi for the conduct of maritime war between Germany and Great Britain. The Imperial Government furnished at that time ample evidence of its good will by its willingness to consider these proposals. The realization of these proposals failed, as is known, on account of their rejection by the Government of Great Britain.

The undersigned requests his Excellency the Ambassador to bring the above to the knowledge of the American Government and avails himself of the opportunity to renew, &c.

VON JAGOW.

MR. BRYAN'S RESIGNATION

WASHINGTON, June 8, 1915.

My Dear Mr. President:

It is with sincere regret that I have reached the conclusion that I should return to you the commission of Secretary of State, with which you honored me at the beginning of your Administration.

Obedient to your sense of duty and actuated by the highest motives, you have prepared for transmission to the German Government a note in which I cannot join without violating what I deem to be an obligation to my country, and the issue involved is of such moment that to remain a member of the Cabinet would be as unfair to you as it would be to the cause which is nearest my heart; namely, the prevention of war.

I, therefore, respectfully tender my resignation, to take effect when the note is sent, unless you prefer an earlier hour.

Alike desirous of reaching a peaceful solution of the problems, arising out of the use of submarines against merchantmen, we find ourselves differing irreconcilably as to the methods which should be employed.

It falls to your lot to speak officially for the nation; I consider it to be none the less my duty to endeavor as a private citizen to promote the end which you have in view by means which you do not feel at liberty to use.*

In severing the intimate and pleasant relations which have existed between us during the past two years, permit me to acknowledge the

In Washington dispatches of June 8, 1915, Mr. Bryan was reported to have said at his home, when told of the formal announcement of his resignation:

In view of the announcement of my resignation, I will say that letters being

made public therewith state my reasons, but I will have a more complete statement that will be given out when the American reply to the German note is sent, which probably will be tomorrow. My resignation takes effect as soon as the note has been forwarded.

profound satisfaction which it has given me to be associated with you in the important work which has come before the State Department, and to thank you for the courtesies extended.

With the heartiest good wishes for your personal welfare and for the success of your Administration, I am, my dear Mr. President, very truly yours,

W. J. BRYAN.

THE PRESIDENT TO SECRETARY BRYAN.

Washington, June 8, 1915.

My Dear Mr. Bryan:

I accept your resignation only because you insist upon its acceptance; and I accept it with much more than deep regret, with a feeling of personal sorrow.

Our two years of close association have been very delightful to me. Our judgments have accorded in practically every matter of official duty and of public policy until now; your support of the work and purposes of the Administration has been generous and loyal beyond praise; your devotion to the duties of your great office and your eagerness to take advantage of every great opportunity for service it offered have been an example to the rest of us; you have earned our affectionate admiration and friendship. Even now we are not separated in the object we seek, but only in the method by which we seek it.

It is for these reasons my feeling about your retirement from the Secretaryship of State goes so much deeper than regret. I sincerely deplore it.

Our objects are the same and we ought to pursue them together. I yield to your desire only because I must and wish to bid you Godspeed in the parting. We shall continue to work for the same causes even when we do not work in the same way.

With affectionate regard,

Sincerely yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

To Hon. William Jennings Bryan,
Secretary of State.

ROBERT LANSING, SECRETARY OF STATE AD INTERIM.

The White House, Washington, June 9, 1915.

The Hon. William Jennings Bryan having resigned the office of Secretary of State, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, do hereby, in conformity with the provisions of Sections 177 and 179 of the Revised Statutes, and of the act of Congress approved February 9, 1891, authorize and direct the Hon. Robert Lansing, Counselor for the Department of State, to perform the duties of the

office of Secretary of State for a period not to exceed thirty days, until a Secretary shall have been appointed and have qualified.

WOODROW WILSON.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S REPLY TO BERLIN

No. 1803.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, June 9, 1915.

American Ambassador, Berlin:

You are instructed to deliver textually the following note to the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

In compliance with your Excellency's request I did not fail to transmit to my Government immediately upon their receipt your note of May 28 in reply to my note of May 15, and your supplementary note of June 1, setting forth the conclusions so far as reached by the Imperial German Government concerning the attacks on the American steamers *Cushing* and *Gulflight*. I am now instructed by my Government to communicate the following in reply:

The Government of the United States notes with gratification the full recognition by the Imperial German Government, in discussing the cases of the *Cushing* and the *Gulflight*, of the principle of the freedom of all parts of the open sea to neutral ships and the frank willingness of the Imperial German Government to acknowledge and meet its liability where the fact of attack upon neutral ships "which have not been guilty of any hostile act" by German aircraft or vessels of war is satisfactorily established; and the Government of the United States will in due course lay before the Imperial German Government, as it requests, full information concerning the attack on the steamer *Cushing*.

With regard to the sinking of the steamer *Falaba*, by which an American citizen lost his life, the Government of the United States is surprised to find the Imperial German Government contending that an effort on the part of a merchantman to escape capture and secure assistance alters the obligation of the officer seeking to make the capture in respect of the safety of the lives of those on board the merchantman, although the vessel had ceased her attempt to escape when torpedoed. These are not new circumstances. They have been in the minds of statesmen and of international jurists throughout the development of naval warfare, and the Government of the United States does not understand that they have ever been held to alter the principles of humanity upon which it has insisted. Nothing but actual forcible

resistance or continued efforts to escape by flight when ordered to stop for the purpose of visit on the part of the merchantman has ever been held to forfeit the lives of her passengers or crew. The Government of the United States, however, does not understand that the Imperial German Government is seeking in this case to relieve itself of liability, but only intends to set forth the circumstances which led the commander of the submarine to allow himself to be hurried into the course which he took.

Your Excellency's note, in discussing the loss of American lives resulting from the sinking of the steamship *Lusitania*, adverts at some length to certain information which the Imperial German Government has received with regard to the character and outfit of that vessel, and your Excellency expresses the fear that this information may not have been brought to the attention of the Government of the United States. It is stated in the note that the *Lusitania* was undoubtedly equipped with masked guns, supplied with trained gunners and special ammunition, transporting troops from Canada, carrying a cargo not permitted under the laws of the United States to a vessel also carrying passengers, and serving, in virtual effect, as an auxiliary to the naval forces of Great Britain. Fortunately these are matters concerning which the Government of the United States is in a position to give the Imperial German Government official information. Of the facts alleged in your Excellency's note, if true, the Government of the United States would have been bound to take official cognizance in performing its recognized duty as a neutral power and in enforcing its national laws. It was its duty to see to it that the *Lusitania* was not armed for offensive action, that she was not serving as a transport, that she did not carry a cargo prohibited by the statutes of the United States, and that, if in fact she was a naval vessel of Great Britain, she should not receive clearance as a merchantman; and it performed that duty and enforced its statutes with scrupulous vigilance through its regularly constituted officials. It is able, therefore, to assure the Imperial German Government that it has been misinformed. If the Imperial German Government should deem itself to be in possession of convincing evidence that the officials of the Government of the United States did not perform these duties with thoroughness the Government of the United States sincerely hopes that it will submit that evidence for consideration.

Whatever may be the contentions of the Imperial German Government regarding the carriage of contraband of war on board the *Lusitania* or regarding the explosion of that material by the torpedo, it need only be said that in the view of this Government these contentions are irrelevant to the question of the legality of the methods used by the German naval authorities in sinking the vessel.

But the sinking of passenger ships involves principles of humanity which throw into the background any special circumstances of detail

that may be thought to affect the cases, principles which lift it, as the Imperial German Government will no doubt be quick to recognize and acknowledge, out of the class of ordinary subjects of diplomatic discussion or of international controversy. Whatever be the other facts regarding the Lusitania, the principal fact is that a great steamer, primarily and chiefly a conveyance for passengers, and carrying more than a thousand souls who had no part or lot in the conduct of the war, was torpedoed and sunk without so much as a challenge or a warning, and that men, women, and children were sent to their death in circumstances unparalleled in modern warfare. The fact that more than one hundred American citizens were among those who perished made it the duty of the Government of the United States to speak of these things and once more, with solemn emphasis, to call the attention of the Imperial German Government to the grave responsibility which the Government of the United States conceives that it has incurred in this tragic occurrence, and to the indisputable principle upon which that responsibility rests. The Government of the United States is contending for something much greater than mere rights of property or privileges of commerce. It is contending for nothing less high and sacred than the rights of humanity, which every Government honors itself in respecting and which no Government is justified in resigning on behalf of those under its care and authority. Only her actual resistance to capture or refusal to stop when ordered to do so for the purpose of visit could have afforded the commander of the submarine any justification for so much as putting the lives of those on board the ship in jeopardy. This principle the Government of the United States understands the explicit instructions issued on August 3, 1914,* by the Imperial German Admiralty to its commanders at sea to have recognized and embodied, as do the naval codes of all other nations, and upon it every traveler and seaman had a right to depend. It is upon this principle of humanity as well as upon the law founded upon this principle that the United States must stand.

*The reference made by President Wilson in his first note of May 13 to the German Government regarding the sinking of the Lusitania to the "humane and enlightened attitude hitherto assumed by the Imperial German Government in matters of international right, and particularly with regard to the freedom of the seas," was based, it was learned in Washington on June 12, upon the instructions of Aug. 3, 1914, which the German Government sent to its naval commanders. These German rules are now in the possession of the State Department. While no mention is made in them of submarine warfare, the extent and method of the exercise of the right of search and the stoppage of ships is prescribed with great nicety, and provision is made for the safety of passengers and crew. After outlining the purpose of visiting and searching vessels, the regulations state:

All measures are to be carried out in a

form whose observance, even against the enemy, will comport with the dignity of the German Empire and with a regard for neutrals conformable to the usages of international law and the German interest.

The method of signaling ships to be halted is prescribed, and it is directed that "two successive blank charges are to be fired, and, if necessary, a shotted charge over the ship" if the signals are not obeyed. "If the ship does not then stop or makes resistance, the Captain will compel her to stop," the instructions continue. After specifying what ships may be captured and destroyed, the regulations continue:

Before destruction all persons on board, if possible with their personal effects, are to be placed in safety and all the ship's papers and other articles of evidence, which in the opinion of the interested parties are of value for the judgment of the prize court, are to be taken over by the Captain.

The Government of the United States is happy to observe that your Excellency's note closes with the intimation that the Imperial German Government is willing, now as before, to accept the good offices of the United States in an attempt to come to an understanding with the Government of Great Britain by which the character and conditions of the war upon the sea may be changed. The Government of the United States would consider it a privilege thus to serve its friends and the world. It stands ready at any time to convey to either Government any intimation or suggestion the other may be willing to have it convey and cordially invites the Imperial German Government to make use of its services in this way at its convenience. The whole world is concerned in anything that may bring about even a partial accommodation of interests or in any way mitigate the terrors of the present distressing conflict.

In the meantime, whatever arrangement may happily be made between the parties to the war, and whatever may in the opinion of the Imperial German Government have been the provocation or the circumstantial justification for the past acts of its commanders at sea, the Government of the United States confidently looks to see the justice and humanity of the Government of Germany vindicated in all cases where Americans have been wronged or their rights as neutrals invaded.

The Government of the United States therefore very earnestly and very solemnly renews the representations of its note transmitted to the Imperial German Government on the 15th of May, and relies in these representations upon the principles of humanity, the universally recognized understandings of international law, and the ancient friendship of the German Nation.

The Government of the United States cannot admit that the proclamation of a war zone from which neutral ships have been warned to keep away may be made to operate as in any degree an abbreviation of the rights either of American shipmasters or of American citizens bound on lawful errands as passengers on merchant ships of belligerent nationality. It does not understand the Imperial German Government to question those rights. It understands it, also, to accept as established beyond question the principle that the lives of non combatants cannot lawfully or rightfully be put in jeopardy by the capture or destruction of an unresisting merchantman, and to recognize the obligation to take sufficient precaution to ascertain whether a suspected merchantman is in fact of belligerent nationality or is in fact carrying contraband of war under a neutral flag. The Government of the United States therefore deems it reasonable to expect that the Imperial German Government will adopt the measures necessary to put these principles into practice in respect of the safeguarding of American lives and American ships, and asks for assurances that this will be done.

ROBERT LANSING,
Secretary of State ad Interim.

THE LUSITANIA'S "GUNS"

In a Washington dispatch of June 2, 1915, to THE NEW YORK TIMES, the following report appeared:

In his conversation with President Wilson today the German Ambassador said that he had obtained evidence through means of affidavits that the Lusitania was an armed vessel, as asserted by the German Government. The affidavits to which Count von Bernstorff referred have been placed in possession of the State Department, which has turned them over to the Department of Justice for an investigation as to the statements sworn to and the character of the individuals making them.

One of the affidavits is made by Gustav Stahl of 20 Leroy Street, New York City. He says:

On the day prior to the sailing of the Lusitania, I was asked by my friend, A. Lietch, who was employed as first cabin steward, to help him to bring his trunk aboard. In the course of the evening we went on board, without being hindered by the quartermaster on guard. After having remained some time in the "gloria," (steward's quarters,) we went to the stern main deck. About fifteen to eighteen feet from the entrance to the "gloria," on port and starboard, respectively, I saw two guns of twelve to fifteen centimeters. They were covered with leather, but the barrel was distinctly to be seen. To satisfy my curiosity I unfastened the buckles to ascertain the calibre of the guns. I could also ascertain that the guns were mounted on deck on wooden blocks. The guns were placed about three feet from the respective ship sides and the wall could be removed at that particular place.

On the foredeck there were also two guns of the same calibre and covered in the same manner. They were placed at about fifteen to twenty feet from the entrance of the crew's quarters, and four feet from the ship side, where the wall could also be removed.

Josephine Weir, who describes herself as a New York boarding house keeper, provided another affidavit. She swore that Lietch, who is named in Stahl's statement, told her he was to sail on the Lusitania as a steward, and when she spoke of the danger from German submarines, he said:

"Oh, I am not afraid. We have four big brightly polished copper guns."

A man named Grieve has an affidavit that he heard Lietch make this statement to Mrs. Weir.

In an affidavit furnished by one Bruckner it is stated that he saw a cannon on the Lusitania. He was standing on the dock in New York at the time, he avers.

The affidavits were supplied to the State Department by the German Embassy in order to support the allegation, contained in the German response to President Wilson's note of May 13, that the Lusitania was an armed vessel.

By The Associated Press.

WASHINGTON, June 2.—The four affidavits as presented to the State Department by the German Embassy alleging that guns were carried by the Lusitania are believed to constitute the evidence to which the German Government referred in its last note. Should it develop that the Foreign Office had been misinformed, German diplomatists said, an acknowledgment of the mistake would not be withheld.

These affidavits were not made public by either the embassy or the State Department, but the character of the individuals who made them and their testimony is being made the subject of a quiet investigation. Those officials who had seen the statements, however, were confident that they could not be accepted as disproving the testimony given by Inspectors whose duty it was to search for guns.

THE ARREST OF STAHL.

The following report appeared in THE NEW YORK TIMES June 11, 1915:

Gustav Stahl, the former German soldier who made an affidavit that he saw four guns mounted on the Lusitania on the night before it sailed from this port on its last voyage and who disappeared immediately after the affidavit was made public, was produced by Secret Service men before the Federal Grand Jury yes-

terday afternoon at a proceeding to determine whether Paul Koenig, alias Stemler, who is the head of the detective bureau of the Hamburg-American Line, and others unnamed, had entered into a conspiracy to defraud the United States Government. The fraud is not stated specifically, and the charge is a technical one that may cover a variety of acts.

Stahl, who speaks little English, affirmed through an interpreter to the Grand Jury that he had seen the guns on the Lusitania. He was questioned for two hours and a half and told his story with great detail.

As he was leaving the Grand Jury room he was arrested by United States Marshal Thomas B. McCarthy on a complaint made on information and belief by Assistant District Attorney Raymond H. Sarfaty that Stahl had committed perjury in his testimony before the Federal Grand Jury. Stahl was held in bail of \$10,000 by United States Commissioner Houghton and locked up in the Tombs.

Stahl was the only witness heard by the Grand Jury in the proceedings against Koenig. It was learned that Stahl had been in conference with Koenig before he made the affidavit, and that his affidavit had passed through Koenig's hands before it went to Ambassador Bernstorff, who submitted it to Secretary of State Bryan.

The proceedings against Koenig were initiated to establish the charge that Koenig used improper influence to induce Stahl to make the affidavit.

While Stahl was waiting in the Marshal's chamber in the Federal Building, after his arrest, for the arrival of Edward Sanford, a lawyer, of 27 William Street, who had been assigned to act as his counsel, he was asked, through an interpreter:

"Would you be willing to spend twenty years in jail for your Fatherland?"

"Make it a hundred!" he replied, in German, and then broke into a hearty laugh.

Stahl is about 27 years old and slightly under middle size. He has a round, somewhat rosy countenance, dark hair getting very thin in front, and parted in the middle, dark-brown eyes and a

small, closely-cropped dark mustache. He was calm and smiling, ready with his answers, and very insistent and emphatic in repeating that he had seen the guns on the Lusitania.

He was neatly dressed in a dark mixed suit, with a new straw hat, a green tie on which was a stickpin with a dog's head in porcelain, brightly polished tan shoes, and lavender socks with scarlet-embroidered flowers.

Following is the complaint on which he was held:

Raymond H. Sarfaty, being duly sworn, deposes and says that he is an Assistant United States Attorney for the Southern District of New York.

That on the 10th day of June, 1915, there was then and there pending before the Grand Jury of the United States in and for the Southern District of New York, a certain proceeding against one Paul Koenig, alias Stemler, and others, upon a charge of having conspired to defraud the United States, in violation of Section 37, U. S. C. C.; that on the said 10th day of June, 1915, the foreman of said Grand Jury, Frederick M. Delano, an officer duly empowered and qualified to administer oaths in the proceedings before said Grand Jury, duly administered an oath to the said Gustav Stahl, that he would testify to the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, with respect to the aforesaid matter then being presented before the said Grand Jury; that the said Gustav Stahl, at the time and place aforesaid, and within the district aforesaid, and within the jurisdiction of this court, after said oath was administered, knowingly and fraudulently committed perjury, in that he testified in part, in substance, and effect as follows:

That on the 30th day of April, 1915, the said Gustav Stahl went aboard the steamship Lusitania at the City of New York, in the Southern District of New York, with one Neal J. Leach; that while on said steamship he saw four guns on one of the decks of said steamship, two forward and two aft; that the said guns were mounted on wooden blocks; that the said guns were covered with leather.

That affiant is informed and believes, and therefore avers, that, whereas, in truth and in fact, the said Gustav Stahl did not, on the 30th day of April, 1915, go aboard the steamship Lusitania at the City of New York, in the Southern District of New York, with one Neal J. Leach, nor did he, the said Gustav Stahl, go aboard the steamship Lusitania on said last mentioned date; and the said Gustav Stahl did not see four guns on the deck of the said steamship, two forward

and two aft, nor did he, the said Gustav Stahl, see four guns on the deck of said steamship mounted on wooden blocks; nor did he, the said Gustav Stahl, see four guns on the deck of said steamship covered with leather.

That the said matters testified to before the said Grand Jury by the said Gustav Stahl, as aforesaid, were material matters in the investigation aforesaid; against the peace of the United States and their dignity, and contrary to the form of the statute of the United States in such case made and provided.

That to disclose the source of affiant's information at this time might defeat the ends of justice.

Wherefore, affiant prays that said Gustav Stahl may be arrested and imprisoned, or bailed, as the case may be.

This complaint was read to Stahl when he was taken before Commissioner Houghton, being interpreted for him, sentence by sentence. When the name of Neal J. Leach was read as the alleged steward who had taken him aboard the Lusitania, Stahl exclaimed: "Not Neal." In his affidavit he had described the steward as "A. Leach." A steward named Neal J. Leach went down when the Lusitania was torpedoed.

When that part of the complaint was read which said that Stahl had not seen guns on the Lusitania, he exclaimed in German:

"Yes, I did see them."

After the complaint had been read, Commissioner Houghton asked about bail. Assistant District Attorney Roger B. Wood, who conducted the proceedings before the Grand Jury, said:

"Ten thousand dollars, not a cent less."

Commissioner Houghton fixed bail at that figure. He then asked Stahl if he had anything to say, and the prisoner replied:

"Before I say anything I would like to see several gentlemen."

Commissioner Houghton then asked if he had a lawyer. Stahl replied that he had not, and that he had no means to employ one.

"Shall I assign one for you?" asked the Commissioner.

"No," replied Stahl; "I should like to have Mr. Sandford, who acted for me yesterday and the day before."

He referred to Edward Sandford of 27

William Street, who was counsel for Carl Buenz, a Director of the Hamburg-American Line, and for other officials of that line, who were indicted by the Federal Grand Jury on March 1 on the charge of conspiring against the United States by making out false clearance papers and false manifests for the collection of customs in connection with the steamships Fram, Somerstadt, Lorenzo, and Berwind, which were loaded with coal and provisions intended for the German cruiser Karlsruhe and the auxiliary cruiser Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse.

Commissioner Houghton assigned Mr. Sandford as counsel for Stahl. The Commissioner then asked Stahl if he had any friends in the room, to which Stahl with a smile, replied in the negative.

"I would like to have the date of June 24 set for the hearing," said Assistant District Attorney Wood. "The Grand Jury which is now holding this investigation will probably continue its hearings until then."

Commissioner Houghton fixed the date accordingly.

After the hearing adjourned Stahl was asked where he had been since his disappearance. He replied in German:

"I told the Grand Jury all I have to say."

He was asked where he would live if he got bail.

"I don't want anybody to know," he said. "I have had so many visitors in the past few days that I don't want any more, if I can help it."

He was asked if he was a German reservist, and he replied that that was his business. Other questions got the same response. He denied that he knew Paul Koenig, the Hamburg-American detective, but he admitted he knew Stemler, which is a name sometimes used by the detective. When he was informed that he was to spend the night in the Tombs he said:

"Will Stemler be with me?"

He seemed disappointed when he was told that he would have to go there alone. Stahl was asked if Josephine Weir, who had signed a corroborative affidavit, knew of his whereabouts during his hiding. He refused to answer this question,

but of Josephine Weir he said in English:

"Oh, that's a nice girl."

Stahl sat smoking a cigar and laughing in the best of temper until a flashlight powder was exploded unexpectedly. He put both hands to his face and hid in a corner made by a wall and a filing cabinet, but when he realized that his picture had been taken he ran to a man whom he thought to be a Federal employe, and protested in German. A little later Mr. Sandford arrived with another interpreter and went into consultation with his client.

Stahl went to Albany on June 4, the day after his affidavit was made public. While a search was being conducted in this city and surrounding cities by Federal agents and newspapers, Stahl was in hiding in Albany, his expenses there being paid for him by a confidential adviser sent with him.

Instead of relaxing after a few days, the search for Stahl grew more rigorous. When it was seen that there was little chance of keeping Stahl in permanent seclusion and that the extraordinary character of the disappearance of the German Ambassador's chief witness against the Lusitania was arousing intense nationwide interest, Paul Koenig, the Secret Service man of the Hamburg-American Line, decided that it would be better if he were found at once.

On Monday of this week Koenig and Mr. Sandford called on Inspector Lamb of the Customs Service and told him that Stahl was at Albany and would be available if the Federal officials wanted him. Superintendent William M. Offley, of the special agents of the Department of Justice, had at that time some strong clues as to Stahl's whereabouts.

On Tuesday Stahl and his personal conductor arrived in this city from Albany and were met by Superintendent Offley and Special Agents Adams and Pignuolo. Stahl was taken to the office of Superintendent Offley in the presence of Mr. Sandford, who was asked to take part in the proceedings in the interests of fair play, although he was not then Stahl's lawyer.

At this examination and at a second

one held on Wednesday, Stahl repeated his charge that he had seen guns on the Lusitania. He showed great familiarity with the details of the construction of the Lusitania.

At the end of the examination it was urged by representatives of the Hamburg-American Line that Stahl should stay under the watch of the Federal agents in order that, if he told a different story later, there could be no charge that outsiders had tampered with him. Stahl remained with the Government detectives on Tuesday, Wednesday and yesterday, although he was not under arrest. When he appeared yesterday before the Grand Jury it was under a subpoena.

Assistant District Attorney Wood said yesterday that the charge of perjury had been lodged against Stahl on the strength of the statement by the Collector of the Port, Dudley Field Malone, that there were no guns aboard the Lusitania.

"We can bring fifty witnesses," he said, "to prove that the Lusitania had no guns on board and that Stahl is guilty of perjury."

Mr. Wood was asked if there was any evidence that Stahl had ever been in the employ of the German Consul-General at this port or of Captain Boy-Ed, Naval Attaché of the German Embassy, who is said to be the head of the German Secret Service here. Mr. Wood refused to discuss either question. When he was asked if the investigation promised to involve any man of importance, he said:

"I don't know. We are holding the Grand Jury investigation to find out all that we can about the case."

After consulting with Stahl, Mr. Sandford said that he would not represent the prisoner but would seek to get a good lawyer for him at once. When asked if he represented Koenig, he refused to say. He was asked if he knew anything about the charge against Koenig. He said:

"No. The charge of attempting to defraud the Government is a charge on

which the Government can get anybody at any time for anything."

CAPT. TURNER'S DENIAL.

A London cable dispatch of June 15 to THE NEW YORK TIMES said:

At the opening of the Court of Inquiry today into the torpedoing of the steamship Lusitania on May 7, two outstanding points were vividly impressed. One was that the Cunarder was unarmed. The other was that the ship was proceeding at reduced speed, eighteen knots an hour, only nineteen of her twenty-five boilers being used, the result of her effort to save in coal and labor.

Sir Edward Carson, the Attorney General, in outlining the evidence in the hands of the Crown, adverted impressively to President Wilson's note to Germany on the sinking of the Lusitania in which the President informed the German Government that it was wrong in assuming that the Lusitania was equipped with masked guns and manned by trained gunners. "We have ample evidence to disprove the German lie that the Lusitania was armed," said the Attorney General. "Aside from the word of witnesses we have that of President Wilson in his recent note to Germany, based upon investigation made by officials under him. The sinking of the Lusitania was murder."

Sir Edward lifted a newspaper clipping of the President's note from the table and slowly read the passage disposing of the German allegation that the Lusitania was an armed auxiliary.

Captain W. T. Turner, who seemed slightly grayer than before the Lusitania was torpedoed, in that way alone showing the strain under which he has been since his ship was sunk under him, gave evidence that there was not one gun on the Lusitania's deck, and declared that the German assertion that the steamer was armed was a "sheer lie."

STAHL INDICTED FOR PERJURY.

In THE NEW YORK TIMES of June 19 appeared the following report of the Grand Jury's indictment of Stahl on a charge of perjury and the announcement that the Federal investigation will be continued:

Gustav Stahl, the alleged German reservist, who made an affidavit that he had seen guns on board the Lusitania on the day before she sailed on her last voyage, was indicted on a charge of perjury by the Federal Grand Jury yesterday. The perjury charge is based on his testimony before the Grand Jury, during which examination he repeated that he had seen the guns on the Lusitania as set forth in his affidavit filed by the German Embassy in Washington and now in the hands of the State Department.

The name of Paul Koenig, who, it is said, was known to Stahl as Stemler, and who is the chief of the secret service of the Hamburg-American Line, is mentioned by name in the indictment. The indictment sets forth that on June 10 there was pending before the Grand Jury an investigation concerning Koenig and others and that Stahl was among the witnesses called in the course of that investigation. It then goes on to say that Stahl testified in substance and to the effect that on April 30 he went aboard the Lusitania, then with one Leach, and that while on the vessel he saw four guns on one of the decks of the steamship, two forward and two aft, and all mounted on wooden blocks and covered with leather. The indictment further charges that at the time of so swearing Stahl did not believe it to be true that he had been on board the Lusitania and had seen the four guns.

The indictment, in conclusion, charges that there were no guns upon the decks of the Lusitania on April 30. "Therefore," the Grand Jury charges, "that Stahl, after taking an oath before a competent officer to truly depose and testify, did willfully, knowingly and feloniously and contrary to his said oath, depose and state material matters which were not true and which he did not then believe to be true, and thereby did commit willful and corrupt perjury against the peace of the United States and their dignity and contrary to the form of the statute of the United States in such cases made and provided."

Stahl will be arraigned before Judge Russell in the criminal branch of the United States District Court on Monday.

He is now in the Tombs in default of \$10,000 bail. Should he be convicted of perjury he may be sentenced to prison for five years or fined \$10,000, or both.

The indictment of Stahl does not mean that the Government's investigation of the Lusitania affidavits, and the way in which they were procured, is at an end. On the other hand it is proceeding vigorously. Three witnesses, all Government officials, were before the Grand Jury yesterday in connection with the case. Heinz Hardenberg, who was found in Cincinnati a week ago today and brought here to be examined by the Grand Jury, has not yet appeared before that body, although the Government agents insist they can produce him when his testimony is desired.

THE NEBRASKAN CASE.

An Associated Press dispatch dated at London on May 26, 1915, reported:

The American steamer Nebraskan, Captain Green, from Liverpool May 24 for Delaware Breakwater, was torpedoed yesterday evening by a submarine at a point forty miles west-southwest of Fastnet, off the south coast of Ireland. [Captain Green's report, given below, says the Nebraskan was "struck by either mine or torpedo."]

The sea was calm at the time. The crew at once took to the boats and stood by the steamer. It was soon ascertained that the Nebraskan was not seriously damaged, but she had been struck forward, and her foreholds were full of water.

The crew returned on board and got the vessel under way. No lives were lost among the crew. The Nebraskan did not carry any passengers.

This information was received at the British Admiralty in London, and it was at once communicated to the American Embassy.

Immediately she was struck the Nebraskan began calling for help by wireless. Brow Head received the wireless communication at 9 P. M. yesterday from Crookhaven.

A message to Lloyd's from Kinsale, Ireland, says that the Nebraskan passed that point at 11 o'clock this morning.

She was down at the bows, but was proceeding under her own steam, and flying the signal: "I am not under control."

The vessel passed Queenstown in the afternoon on the way to Liverpool. She was proceeding at eight knots.

A message to The Star from Liverpool says that the name and nationality of the Nebraskan were painted in large letters on her sides. She was in water ballast.

A message to Lloyd's says that an armed trawler went to the assistance of the Nebraskan and stood by her all night.

The report that the Nebraskan had been torpedoed caused surprise to American officials here. Apparently the affair occurred before 9 o'clock last night.

Last evening was clear, and the period between 8 and 9 o'clock is the twilight hour in the British islands at this season.

The German submarine campaign is continuing actively. Dispatches from Norway state that the people of that country have been aroused by the sinking last week of the Norwegian steamer Minerva and the attempt to torpedo the Iris, which went to her assistance.

The steamer Cromer, loaded with passengers, had a narrow escape from being torpedoed while bound for Rotterdam yesterday. A submarine fired a torpedo without warning. It missed the ship by only fifteen yards. According to the Captain's story, told to Rotterdam correspondents, the periscope was seen 500 yards distant, and then the wash of the torpedo, which was moving so rapidly that nothing could be done to avoid it. The attack occurred at a point four miles north of North Hinder Lightship.

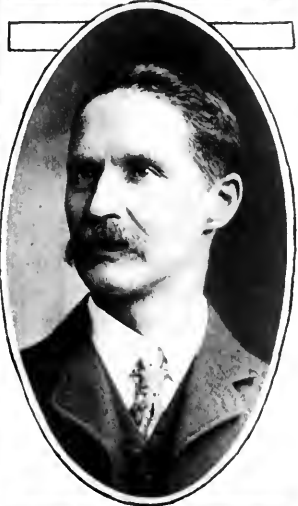
The first news of the Nebraskan having been disabled off the southwest coast of Ireland was received on May 26, at the office of the American-Hawaiian Line in a message from the Captain, which read:

Struck by either mine or torpedo, forty-eight miles west of Fastnet. Am steaming under convoy to Liverpool. Water in lower hold. No one injured.

GREENE.

Three dispatches concerning the Nebraskan incident were received at the State Department at Washington on

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Secretary of State for War

SIR EDWARD GREY
Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs

BARON BUCKMASTER
Lord High Chancellor

MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE
Minister Without Portfolio

H. H. ASQUITH
Prime Minister

ARTHUR J. BALFOUR
First Lord of the Admiralty

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President of the Local Government Board

DAVID LLOYD GEORGE
Minister of Munitions

ANDREW BONAR LAW
Secretary for the Colonies

WINSTON S. CHURCHILL
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster

THE NEW BRITISH COALITION CABINET



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SIR EDWARD CARSON
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AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN
Secretary for India
LEWIS HARCOURT
First Commissioner of Works
WALTER RUNCIMAN
President of the Board of
Trade
EARL OF SELBORNE
President of the Board of
Agriculture

MARQUESS OF CREWE
Lord President of the Council
SIR JOHN SIMON
Secretary of State for Home
Affairs
ARTHUR HENDERSON
President of the Board of
Education
EARL CURZON
Lord Privy Seal



Map indicating sites of attacks on American ships or American lives in the German submarine war zone. The damage to the Nebraskan was sustained on May 25, last.

May 26—one from Walter H. Page, the American Ambassador in London, and two from Robert P. Skinner, the United States Consul General in London. The dispatch from the Ambassador said:

Urgent. Report at midnight last night to British Admiralty from Lands End states that American steamer Nebraskan torpedoed forty-five miles south by west of Southcliffe, crew taking to boats. British trawler standing by now reports Nebraskan still afloat and making for Liverpool with four holds full of water. No lives reported lost.

The first dispatch from Consul General Skinner was as follows:

Admiralty reports American steamer Nebraskan, Liverpool for Delaware Breakwater, torpedoed forty miles south by west of Fastnet. Crew in boats. Standing by. Weather fine.

The following cablegram came from the Consul General:

Nebraskan proceeding to Liverpool under own steam about 8½ knots, crew having returned on board. Apparently no lives lost. Extent of damage unknown.

In an Associated Press dispatch from Crookhaven, Ireland, on May 26, this report appeared:

It was learned today that a submarine

was seen last night off the southern coast of Ireland. She was sighted soon after 9 P. M., near Barley Cove, which is about ten miles from Fastnet. The mishap to the steamer Nebraskan is reported to have occurred shortly before 9 o'clock, about forty miles from Fastnet.

A steamer was seen outside Crookhaven, which lies just north of Barley Cove, at about 9 o'clock last night. As she approached in the direction of Fastnet Lighthouse two loud reports of a gun were heard. A boat in Crookhaven Harbor went in the direction of the steamer which put about and was lost to sight.

Several residents of Crookhaven turned out and went along the shore, keeping a sharp lookout. They sighted a submarine off Cove, near the mouth of a little creek. One of the men on shore fired two shots with a rifle at the man in the conning tower of the submarine. The submarine dived immediately, but soon rose again further out. Three more shots were fired at her and she again disappeared.

The detailed report on the Nebraskan incident by Lieutenant Towers of the American Embassy in London, as submitted by Ambassador Gerard to the State Department, is thus described in a Washington dispatch to THE NEW YORK TIMES of June 16, 1915:

Evidence indicating that the American steamer Nebraskan was torpedoed by a German submarine on May 25, was obtained by the State Department today when it received a long mail report from Ambassador Page at London containing the results of the investigation conducted by the American Consul General at Liverpool upon the arrival of the Nebraskan at that port.

Ambassador Page's mail report contained the detailed report made by Lieutenant John H. Towers, Naval Attaché of the American Embassy at London, who made a technical and expert examination of the Nebraskan in drydock at Liverpool. Lieutenant Towers's report contained a number of photographs of the shattered fore section of the hull of the Nebraskan, but the most interesting feature of the report consisted of exhibits in

the form of what Secretary Lansing described as "fragments of metal."

While officials would not make known the character of these fragments or the details of the report until they had opportunity to carefully examine the data, it was learned tonight that the report indicated that the Nebraskan was torpedoed, and that the fragments sent with the report consisted of portions of the shell of a torpedo, which were found in the hull of the Nebraskan.

The report also contained the depositions of three of the officers of the Nebraskan, taken by the Consul at Liverpool, including the statement of the Captain and the Chief Engineer. The latter stated that at 8:24 o'clock on the night of May 25, after the flag of the Nebraskan had been hauled down, he observed a white streak in the water perpendicular to the ship on the starboard side and a severe shock was almost instantly felt, followed by a violent explosion abreast of No. 1 hold.

The report of Lieutenant Towers showed that the hatch covers of No. 1 hold were blown off, also the cargo booms above it, and that the bottom plating and pieces of the side of the ship were blown up through two decks of the ship.

THE "FRAGMENTS OF METAL"

The following appeared as a special dispatch from Washington to THE NEW YORK TIMES, dated June 17:

Despite the extreme secrecy of officials, indications were abundant in Washington tonight that the case of the American steamer Nebraskan, believed to have been torpedoed by a German submarine, was assuming great importance in the eyes of the United States Government. One evidence of this is found in the unusual pains that are being taken to determine by indisputable evidence whether the Nebraskan, which was damaged by an external explosion off Fastnet Rock, on May 25, was the victim of a torpedo or a mine.

Despite the reports forwarded by Ambassador Page, the Administration is unwilling to base its conclusions in the Ne-

braskan case on the verbal evidence it already possesses. It has determined upon an independent expert, technical, and scientific examination of the "fragments of metal" that have been sent by Ambassador Page, in conjunction with the photographs that have been received. This investigation is being conducted by experts of the Navy Department, and will probably take about ten days. Robert Lansing, the Secretary of State ad interim, refused tonight to discuss the "fragments of metal" received from Ambassador Page in connection with the Nebraskan case further than to say that the reports received yesterday, with the photographs and accompanying exhibits, had been referred to the Navy Department. Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy, said tonight that the report had been referred to experts of the Navy Department for a confidential report to be submitted to the State Department.

Neither at the State Department nor from any official or officer of the Navy Department was it possible to obtain any further clue as to the character of the reports.

It was learned that the reports accompanying the set of photographs and "fragments of metal" were not the original reports on the Nebraskan case, made by Lieutenants Towers and McBride, which were received by the State Department last week, but were in the nature of a second set of supplementary reports, based on actual examination of the battered bow of the Nebraskan and the technical examination of the interior of her forward compartment. This examination was made by Lieutenants Towers and McBride, while the Nebraskan was in a drydock at Liverpool. Photographs of the interior and exterior of the steamer's hull were taken by the naval experts.

The "fragments" in question will be analyzed metallurgically for the purpose of ascertaining precisely what metal they contain. Generally speaking, tor-

pedoes are made of a higher grade of metal, within and without, than that used in the construction of mines. The exterior metal of torpedoes consists of nickel steel and copper, and the interior mechanism includes the same kinds of metal and brass. The exterior shell of a mine is generally made of less expensive material, such as galvanized iron, but the interior mechanism and clockwork are of finer metal.

In the examination being conducted by the Navy Department the metallurgical nature of the fragments will be ascertained after their size, shape, contour and character have been very carefully studied by a large number of naval experts who will endeavor to ascertain not only the character of the naval engine of destruction these fragments once fitted, but also the particular portion of torpedo or mine the fragments constituted. These studies and tests are to be conducted partly in the Navy Department, partly at the Washington Navy Yard, partly at the naval proving grounds at Indian Head, Md., and partly at the experimental station at the Naval Academy at Annapolis.

All the naval experts in Washington qualified to have a hand in the tests will be utilized. There are some naval experts outside of Washington, within a few days' reach of the city, who will be summoned here to participate in the examination. It is understood the examination will continue about ten days before any report can be formulated for submission to the State Department.

While this unusual care is being exercised in the tests of the fragments, it is understood that there is nothing in the conclusions thus far drawn in the reports to indicate that the fragments were once part of a mine, and that the reports as they stand indicate that the Nebraskan was hit by a torpedo. This is the conclusion the Administration is expected to draw from the evidence unless the technical examination of the fragments nullifies this evidence.

Dr. Meyer-Gerhard's Mission

In a cable dispatch from Berlin, via London, dated June 2, 1915, the following complaint of lack of official news from Washington and of means for obtaining it was made known by the German Government:

The German Foreign Office is unable to communicate with Count von Bernstorff, the Ambassador at Washington, except by wireless in plain language, and even this mode of communication is uncertain during periods when the static conditions of the atmosphere are unfavorable.

Reports which reach the newspapers are regarded with suspicion, not only because they come exclusively through British channels, but on account of their contradictory character.

One set of reports intimates that the German counter-proposals have been found to harmonize with Mr. Bryan's plan of providing for a period of investigation in cases of international conflict, while other advices reproduce various American editorials, declaring that the German note is utterly unacceptable, and demanding that steps of varying degrees of aggressiveness be taken.

While waiting, the time is being utilized by some of the more aggressive German newspapers and writers of the type of Reventlow to launch abusive articles against the United States and President Wilson's policy, but the press and public generally seem desirous of avoiding anything which might increase the tension between the two Governments while the German note is under consideration. In this they are acting in complete accord with the Foreign Office, which apparently is sincerely anxious to preserve friendly relations with the United States and deprecates any publication which would tend to inflame the feelings either in Germany or America.

There seems to be no doubt that the Foreign Office would rejoice at a solu-

tion consistent with German interests, and it is considered here that one of the unfortunate features of the situation is the inability of the Foreign Office to cope with the chronic firebrands of the press.

This complaint was followed by the news, published by The Chicago Herald on June 4, that a special arrangement had been effected by Ambassador Bernstorff in his conference with President Wilson on June 2, as follows:

With the approval of the President of the United States, Count von Bernstorff, the German Ambassador in Washington, has sent a special agent to Berlin to discuss the American view of the Lusitania tragedy with the German Government.

The agent is Dr. Anton Meyer-Gerhard. He sailed today for Denmark. It is not believed that his voyage will be interfered with. Mr. Gerhard's connection with the great question between the United States and Germany has been guarded with the utmost secrecy. It leaked out only when inquiries were made regarding his departure in such a hurry. Mr. Gerhard himself could not be seen.

The suggestion that Mr. Gerhard go to Berlin was made by Count von Bernstorff to the President at the White House conference on Wednesday. The Ambassador described to the President the difficulties he experienced in transmitting information to his Government. He cannot use the cables, which are in the possession of the Allies. So far as wireless is concerned, conditions make it almost impossible to send anything but the briefest dispatches. As a result, Germany is not well informed in regard to the reasons controlling the policy of the Administration or the state of public sentiment. If his Government were adequately informed the Ambassador is

confident that it would look at the demands of the United States in a different fashion.

The President apparently appreciated the view presented by the Ambassador. In any event, he authorized him to send an agent to Berlin, and it is presumed that thereupon he was apprised of the identity of the man selected. Count von Bernstorff vouched for Mr. Gerhard as thoroughly informed on the entire diplomatic situation as well as upon the condition of public sentiment. In addition, he is carrying full explanatory reports from the Ambassador himself.

[Dr. Meyer-Gerhard arrived in Berlin

via Copenhagen on June 16 and reported at the German Colonial Office. While en route The Providence Journal and The New York Tribune published stories, varying in detail, to the effect that the United States Government had been hoaxed into obtaining safe conduct into Germany for a Dr. Alfred Meyer, reported to be a German buyer of munitions of war in this country, either under the name of Dr. Anton Meyer-Gerhard, falsely given, or under Meyer-Gerhard's protection. On receiving assurances to the contrary from Count von Bernstorff, Secretary Lansing announced on June 18 that the charge was false.]

Germany's Press Opinion

Editorial comment of the German newspapers on President Wilson's note of June 9 was reported by THE TIMES staff correspondent in Berlin on June 12 as being "surprisingly restrained and optimistic." Captain L. Persius, the naval critic of the Berliner Tageblatt, which is close to Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg, writing under the caption, "On the Way to an Understanding," said:

An agreement is possible and the Washington Government shows an honest desire to arrive at an agreement. This is characteristic of the American note. There is no evidence of rattling the sabre, as those who viewed American statesmen and American conditions rightly anticipated. The hopes of our enemies who have already rejoiced at the thought that the Stars and Stripes soon would be floating beside the union jack and the tricolor are proved false, and one can anticipate that the answer of our Government will put aside that last stumbling block to doing away with all differences. The note indicates that America by no means takes the position that the German Admiralty must issue an order to end the submarine warfare before any negotiations can be entered

upon. Giving up submarine warfare is only hinted at by implication. Germany's humanity is appealed to entirely in general terms and merely the expectation is expressed that the lives of American citizens and their property will be spared in the future.

A willingness is expressed to help make England give up the plan to starve out Germany. The giving up of the attempt to starve Germany out on the part of England is the most important point for us. The main interest will centre in future upon it. Will England declare herself ready to return to the basis of the London Declaration? Will she no longer place any difficulties in the way of neutral commerce, and in particular will she remove the declaration of the North Sea as a war zone? We will wait and see if the English statesmen have learned that Germany can't be starved. We can await Great Britain's decision with quietness.

The evening edition of the Vossische Zeitung said:

President Wilson's note creates no new situation between Germany and America, but its honorable and carefully weighed

tone will help to clear up the existing situation. There can be no difference of opinion about Mr. Wilson's final aim—that the lives of peaceful neutrals must be kept out of danger. What we can do and what America must do to achieve this will require negotiations between us and America, which must be conducted with every effort toward being just and by maintaining our standpoint in the friendliest spirit.

The Lokalanzeiger commented:

The colored reports spread by our enemies are not borne out by the text, which contains no trace of an ultimatum. The tone is friendly and free from all brusqueness. The contents are only a re-writing of the earlier standpoint, and it will be a matter for further negotiations to state again the arguments advanced by Germany and to justify them. It would be premature to comment on individual points, particularly those of a technical nature. One can rejoice, however, that the Wilson note is so couched as not to preclude a possibility for further negotiations promising success.

He gives the German Government an opportunity to send further proofs in the Lusitania case and declares his willingness to negotiate between Germany and England relative to mutual concessions having a bearing on submarine warfare. This offer, to be sure, would have been decidedly more valuable if he had expressed a willingness to take the initiative. But be that as it may, in the further negotiations America will see that on the German side exists an honorable desire to deal with friendly suggestions in a friendly spirit. In any event, the situation resulting from the American note is such that it is apparent that in the statement trumpeted abroad that America had also entered the ranks of our enemies the wish was father to the thought.

The widely read Mittag Zeitung said of the note:

The alarming messages which the Reuter Bureau appended to the Bryan resignation must be all taken back today. There is neither an ultimatum nor

any threatening language toward Germany in the note. To be sure, the difference between America's and Germany's conception of the submarine warfare remain. The Americans for the present simply will not see that the best protection against endangering the lives of American citizens is for Americans not to go aboard English ships.

Over the question of whether the Lusitania carried ammunition or not, which for us is not in question, the present inquiry will throw some light. In any case, the English hope and prophecy that the new note would mean a rupture in the German-American negotiations have not been fulfilled. For everything else we can wait with calmness.

The morning edition of the Vossische Zeitung, commenting on the summary, merely said:

The contents and tone of this note make it inexplicable that the break between Wilson and Bryan was on its account. After Bryan's declarations we had expected a note which might conjure up danger of a German-American war. Mr. Bryan, who heads all the American peace associations and likes to hear himself popularly referred to as the Prince of Peace, apparently wants to appear as the savior from this danger for reasons of internal politics, so as to win peace friends among the German-Americans, Irish, and Jews with a view to the Democratic Presidential nomination. Mr. Wilson, on the other hand, hopes as negotiator between England and Germany to play the rôle of arbiter mundi and through a great success in foreign politics assure his position at home. The new Secretary, Mr. Lansing, has been long considered a coming man. He has by no means been considered an out-and-out friend of England.

The Morgen Post, in a particularly sane two-column editorial, expresses Germany's genuine satisfaction over America's hearty offer of good offices, and says:

There is no tinge of threat or high-handed tone toward Germany in the note. On the contrary, its tone is quiet though earnest throughout, and in several places

it strikes a note of whole-hearted friendship and seeks to leave a way open for further friendly negotiations. No doubt the German Government will accept America's proffered good offices with pleasure. It will be interesting to see what attitude the English will now take. If they will revise the contraband list set up by themselves and desist from making difficulties for neutral commerce with Germany, and, above all, let foodstuffs and textile raw materials through unhindered to Germany, then so far as we are concerned the submarine warfare can cease.

Let the English continue to violate international law whereby they forced us to resort to the use of the submarine as a weapon against their commerce, and we will never allow ourselves to be persuaded to give up this weapon, the only one we have to protect us against violation at the hands of England and with which we can punish England for her unlawful conduct. Should America's good offices prove to be in vain it will be not ours but England's fault, and the Americans will then readily understand that the reproach of an inhuman mode of warfare must be laid at the doors of England and not Germany.

It will soon be seen whether President Wilson employs the same measure of energy against the English as against us. We sincerely hope so because of the friendly, hearty tone of his note. "The American Government cannot admit that the proclamation of a war zone may be made to abbreviate the rights of American citizens?" Really not? We recall that at the beginning of the war England declared the whole North Sea as a war zone and the Americans did not get excited at that time. We had a right to protest bitterly at America's attitude then, but we will forget about it at the present moment. America has proffered her good offices, and we will not doubt that her intentions are honorable and meant in good faith.

Paul Michaelis, in the Tageblatt, said:

It is certain that the note does not simplify the serious situation, and it is equally certain that it does not com-

pletely bar the way to a peaceful and friendly understanding. The American Government holds fast to the principle that submarine warfare on merchantmen is inconsistent with the principles of justice and humanity, but the German Government has never left the slightest doubt that it only decided on the submarine warfare because the English method of scorning all previous rules of naval warfare forced Germany to a counter-war on commerce with the submarine.

But there seems to be no reason why the German and American Governments should not get together in a joint discussion looking toward some other form of naval warfare. This presupposes that England, which took the first step in the commerce war, also takes the first step to end it. At the same time the question must be investigated of how ammunition shipments to our enemies can be reconciled with the eternal principles of humanity featured by the American note.

While there may be some practical difficulties, there can be no doubt of Germany's willingness to help to bring about a modification of the naval war along more humane lines. The answer to the American note must, of course, take most carefully into account all the diplomatic, political, and military exigencies, and it will be several weeks before it is ready to be handed to the American Ambassador, especially as we must wait to hear Dr. Meyer-Gerhard.

But it must be said now that the German people, now, as formerly, lay great value on a continuation of unclouded relations with the United States, whose war for freedom it once greeted with rejoicing, and within whose borders millions of Germans have found a new home.

Count Reventlow, Germany's "enfant terrible," who has been a consistent thorn in the flesh of the German Foreign Office because of his anti-American utterances, struck a surprisingly restrained and moderate tone in the Tageszeitung:

The question is not how it may be possible to do away with all differences of opinion under all circumstances, but

whether it is at all possible to do away with them without rendering the submarine war impotent. This standpoint contains nothing unfriendly, nothing brusque against the United States. The practical question remains whether we can preserve our German standpoint and still come to an understanding with America. If Mr. Wilson holds to his non-recognition of the war zone, with all its corollaries, then we cannot see how we can possibly come to a real understanding.

On the other hand, the question arises whether President Wilson would continue to cling to that standpoint if certain modifications and mutual guarantees could be brought about which under certain circumstances would render American passenger traffic safe.

A newspaper war between advocates of a friendly settlement and the "no compromise" representatives soon began to rage. Naval writers in particular urged that Germany could not afford to yield an iota regarding the principles and practice of submarine warfare, but the very violence of their attacks upon the advocates of an understanding indicates that the latter are not without influence.

The Cologne Gazette points out editorially that the German press in general has shown satisfaction that President Wilson's communication offers opportunity for an understanding, and expresses the belief that diplomacy on both sides of the Atlantic will work with zeal and good-will to this end. It adds:

It is quite certain the German Government, at least, will do this, and will be generally supported therein by the people. It would be pure imbecility to seek to drag in without necessity a ninth or tenth enemy for ourselves, even though its participation in the war should be limited to supplying the Quadruple Alliance with money and munitions. We say without necessity; for recognition of the fact that Germany is acting in self-defense in using the torpedoes of its submarines against hostile merchantmen so long as England maintains its business blockade against us should, we believe, be a condition which the United States

should recognize as preliminary to negotiations.

In a leading article entitled "Bad Advice" the Cologne Gazette takes the Lokalanzeiger to task for attempting to palliate the British "starving-out policy" and exportations from America of war supplies. Conceding that the cutting off of supplies is an accepted method of warfare, it states that international law provides expressly that this weapon may be used only in the form of an effective blockade. It holds that no effective blockade of the German coasts has been declared, however, and that Germany therefore is deprived of the possibility of taking action against blockading ships.

Regarding the exportation of munitions from the United States, the Gazette adopts the argument of Philip Zorn, German member of The Hague Tribunals, that, although the convention adopted at The Hague justifies sales by private firms, a neutral State is bound to prohibit sales of this nature when the commerce in arms assumes such magnitude that continuation of war is directly dependent thereon. He says:

"That the German representatives [at The Hague] voted in favor of permission to deliver arms is incontestable," the article continues, "but there is a great difference between stamping every sale of arms by a private firm in a neutral State as a violation of international law—this was what the German representatives objected to—and arguing that to supply enormous quantities to one group of belligerents alone, and to devote practically the entire available industry of a country thereto, is consonant with the spirit of true neutrality."

Captain von Kuehlwetter, the naval expert of the Tag, points out that the American note passes over in silence the German representations regarding the British Admiralty's instructions to merchantmen to seek cover under neutral flags and to attack submarines under this cover. He declares this is the kernel of the whole argument and the justification for the German policy. He adds:

If a submarine attacks such a ship there is an outcry about barbarians who violate international law and endanger innocent neutral passengers, but if a

ship attacks a submarine then it is a brave act of a daring shipper, to whom is given a commission, a gold watch, and a diploma.

Press Opinion of the Allies

BRITISH COMMENT.

A. G. Gardiner, editor of *The London Daily News*, writing in that paper on June 12, says the rupture between President Wilson and Mr. Bryan is one of the great landmarks of the war. He goes on:

Whatever other significance the event may have, it is conclusive evidence of the failure of German diplomacy in America. The Kaiser has made many miscalculations about nations and about men, but no greater miscalculation than that which he has made in regard to President Wilson and the United States.

He is not alone in that. There has been a good deal of ignorance on the same subject in this country. In the early stages of the war there was a mischievous clamor against the United States in a section of the press, which has never quite got rid of the idea that America is only a rather rebellious member of our own household, to be patronized when it does what we want and lectured like a disobedient child when it does not.

President Wilson has assumed in these ill-informed quarters to be a timid academic person, so different from that magnificent tub thumper, Roosevelt, who would have been at war with Mexico in a trice, and would, it was believed, have plunged into the European struggle with or without an excuse.

If there was misunderstanding here on this subject, we cannot be surprised that the Kaiser blundered so badly. He, too, believed in the schoolmaster view of Woodrow Wilson. A man who had refused such a golden opportunity of annexing Mexico must be a timid, invertebrate person, who had only to be bullied in order to do what he was told. More-

over, was there not a great German population to serve as a whip for the Presidential blank and see that he did not send the polite, the gracious, the supple Prince von Bülow to Washington?

That courtly gentleman was dispatched to Italy to charm the Italian Nation into quiescence. For the Americans he needed another style of diplomacy, and he sent thither the stout and rather stupid Dernburg to let President Wilson and the Americans know that Germany was a very rough customer and would stand no nonsense from anybody.

It was a fatal blunder, the blunder of a people who had been so blinded by materialism that they do not seem to have so much as the consciousness that there is such a thing as moral strength on earth. No one who had followed with intelligent understanding the career of President Wilson could have doubted that he had to deal with a man of iron, a man with a moral passion as fervid as that of his colleague Bryan, but with that passion informed by wide knowledge and controlled by a masterful will, a quiet, still man, who does not live with his ear to the ground and his eye on the weathercock, who refuses to buy popularity by infinite handshaking and robustous speech, but comes out to action from a sanctuary of his own thoughts, where principle and not expediency is his counselor.

It is because no man in a conspicuous position of the democratic world today is so entirely governed by principle and by moral sanctions that President Wilson is not merely the first citizen of the United States, but the first citizen of the world.

The Daily Chronicle says:

President Wilson's note gives Germany

every opportunity of saving her face if she desires to do so. Not only is it phrased in the most friendly terms, but it invites a submission of further evidence regarding the Lusitania's alleged guns and even the resumption of negotiations with Great Britain through American intermediacy. Here are the vistas of a negotiation which might keep the diplomatists of Berlin and Washington happily employed till the war is over; only the President insists once more that the submarine outrages must stop while the negotiations are in progress. It is this last point, firmly submitted at the end of the note, which gives significance to the whole. Obviously, without it the note would be nothing but an abdication on the part of the United States, and it is because it is not that Mr. Bryan disapproves it.

We do not question the sincerity of Mr. Bryan's attachment to the cause of arbitration; but it is strange that he does not see what a disservice he does to arbitration by accepting and preaching a travesty of it. When there is litiigation between individuals over an alleged wrong, the first condition is that the wrong shall stop for the interim—a result effected through an interim injunction between nations. There is no judge to grant such an injunction. It has to be obtained by mutual consent unless it is obtained by arbitration. It simply means a license to the wrongdoer to continue his wrongdoing for as long as he can make the arbitration last, which, where the time is important, will be all that he wants. To accept such a doctrine, as Mr. Bryan apparently does, is simply to put a premium on the wrongdoing and a very heavy discount on arbitration.

The Morning Post comments as follows:

Mr. Bryan resigned, according to his own explanation, because he thought President Wilson's note to Germany would endanger the cause of peace. It might, therefore, have been supposed that the American note was to be a departure from the previous American policy; but now that President Wilson's

note is published we are puzzled to find the reason for Mr. Bryan's action. The note contains nothing new; it merely affirms in a friendly manner the position taken up by the United States—a position founded upon the generally accepted principles of international law. It testates the claim which America has always made, that a belligerent has no right to sink a presumably innocent merchantman and endanger the lives of its crew and passengers, but must first determine the character of its cargo and establish its contraband nature and must secure the safety of the people on board. This is obviously a stand in the cause of humanity. We might call it the irreducible minimum of the rights of neutrals; for it is clear that, if a Government allows its subjects to be slain in cold blood and its ships to be destroyed, it abandons the primary function of a Government.

The Daily Mail says:

The first impression made upon most readers of the new American note to Germany will be, we suspect, that it is extremely polite and quite harmless. They will ask in wonder what Mr. Bryan could have found in it sufficiently menacing to call for his resignation. To many people it will seem that Mr. Bryan altogether misjudged the effect of the American reply. They will find it difficult to believe that any diplomatic dispatch could in the circumstances be more courteous or more restrained. It observes all the forms of international politeness, with, if anything, almost exaggerated punctiliousness.

Yet it is possible that Mr. Bryan is an nearly right as he ever is. The vital passages in the note are those in which the United States Government "very earnestly and very solemnly renews the representations of its note" of May 15, and again asks for assurances that American lives and American ships shall not be endangered on the high seas. In other words, the United States still presses for an official disavowal of the acts of German submarine commanders, still demands reparation for the American lives lost in the Lusitania, and

still calls for a promise that no similar outrage will be perpetrated in future.

The Daily Telegraph says:

The note presented to Germany on behalf of the United States Government is a firm and courteous document—the courtesy at least as obvious as the firmness—stating the position of the President very much on the lines expected, and leaving us to wonder even more than we did before why Bryan thought it necessary to resign his Secretaryship. The spirit of the second note is exactly that of the first.

Following is The London Times comment:

The gist of President Wilson's note lies in the last half dozen words and proceeds. It remains to be seen what answer will be made to this categorical demand. The general opinion in the United States appears to be that it will not be a refusal. Germany, it is thought, will begin by making concessions enough to prevent the abrupt conclusion of conversations, and will finally extend them sufficiently to preserve friendly relations with the Republic.

It would be rash to express a decided view, but we shall not be surprised should this forecast prove to be correct. The feeling in Germany is very bitter against the Government and people of the United States; but it seems unlikely that the Government in Berlin will allow the ill-temper of the public to influence its conduct. The semi-official *Lokalanzeiger* is already deprecating an unfriendly attitude toward the United States. There is nothing in the note to suggest that a policy such as the American newspapers seem to expect from Germany would be doomed to failure. The American people, we are told, are determined to attain their ends, but they welcome every prospect of attaining them by peaceful means.

The note, it is observed, not only does not shut out further conversations, but gives a distinct opening for them by its treatment of von Jagow's renewed intimation that Germany would gladly accept American good offices in negotia-

tions with this country as to the character and conditions of maritime war. The Wilhelmstrasse can discover in this and some other passages material for procrastination if it so desires.

PRAISE FROM CANADA.

The Daily Standard of Kingston, Ont., commenting on June 11, says:

President Wilson's second message to Germany will rank with his first one as a document that at once convinces and convicts—convinces of the sincerity of the President that he is "contending for nothing less high and sacred than the rights of humanity," and convicts the nation to whom it is addressed of being responsible for the fact that the men, women, and children on the *Lusitania* were sent to their death under circumstances "unparalleled in modern warfare."

The note is not only dignified and statesmanlike, but it breathes a spirit of tolerance and Christianity that is as noteworthy as it is admirable. There is in it not even a suggestion of a threat, no word of bluster, no breath of jingoism. It is sound, sensible, firm, resolute, self-contained, magnanimous even. It does not incite to war, but, instead, appeals to the highest principles of justice and right.

But though the words are conciliatory and the spirit admirable, there is not the least abatement of the insistence upon the principles which the President formulated in his earlier message and laid down for the guidance of Germany and for the protection of the American people. The way is now open to Germany either for peace or for war. The decision is left with her.

FRENCH COMMENT.

The Temps of June 12 says:

Germany must choose between having the services of America in proposing to the Allies a moderation of their blockade, conducted with the strictest humanity, and the cessation of torpedoing neutral ships, the continuation of which exposes Germany to a diplomatic rupture with the United States, if not to

war. Assuredly this prospect caused Bryan's resignation.

La Liberté says of the note:

It is in every way worthy of a great country conscious of its dignity, its rights, and its duties. It has not the tone of an ultimatum, since it is couched in courteous terms, but it is energetic, and it requires Germany finally to cease recourse to false expedients.

The Journal des Débats, in discussing the note, says:

The United States, representing in this case the civilized world, places the sacred rights of humanity above considerations of the military order, to which Germany subordinates everything. They are resolved, so far as concerns American subjects, to have those rights respected.

The essence of the note is, first, measures required by humanity must be taken, and afterward, if desired, will come discussions of a new regulation of naval warfare. If Germany insists on putting herself outside the pale of humanity she will suffer the consequences.

ITALIAN COMMENT.

The Corriere della Sera of June 12 compares the attitude of Secretary Bryan to that of former Premier Giolitti, leader of the party which sought to prevent war with Austria. It says Mr. Bryan's action probably will have the same effect in America that Signor Giolitti's intervention had in Italy, and that it will

strengthen public opinion in favor of President Wilson.

It will give him greater power in this important moment, defeating men who are ready to lower the prestige and honor of the country.

The Tribuna says:

The United States, the greatest neutral nation, has with this document assumed a special rôle, that is, the defense not of a particular group or interest, but the interest of civil humanity; to guard those principles of common right which above any particular right constitute the sacred patrimony of humanity. She raises her voice, whose firmness is not diminished by the courtesy of the language.

We do not know if Germany will be able to understand the significance, but if she does not she will commit a grave error—the gravest perhaps in the immense series made by her in this war. Mr. Wilson seems to persevere in the hope that Germany will listen to the American admonition. Germany must not forget that the longer she hopes the more violent will be the reaction.

The Idea Nazionale says:

The note is not only not a declaration of war or the prelude to a declaration of war, but a species midway of humanitarian sentimentalism and lawyerlike arguments which can have, at least for the present, but one consequence, that of encouraging Germany in intransigence—that is, the maintenance of her point of view regarding naval warfare.

American Comment on Mr. Bryan's Resignation

THE NEW YORK TIMES of June 14, 1915, presented the following condensed quotations condemning unsparingly Mr. Bryan's retirement from the Secretaryship of State, gathered from newspapers throughout the United States, and classi-

fied according to their professions of political faith:

DEMOCRATIC NEWSPAPERS.

From The New York World.

Unspeakeable treachery, not only to the President, but to the nation.

From The Buffalo Enquirer.

If Mr. Bryan goes on, he will share the detestation of the most despised character in American history.

From The Buffalo Courier.

The new note to Germany puts Emperor William and former Secretary Bryan in the same hole.

From The Utica Observer.

He turns tail in the face of a crisis and seeks refuge by counseling dishonor.

*From The Louisville Courier-Journal,
(Henry Watterson.)*

Treason to the country, treachery to his party and its official head.

From The Portland (Me.) Eastern Argus.

Bryan's announced campaign has something of the character of submarine warfare.

From The Helena (Mon.) Independent.

As much mistaken in this instance as in years gone by.

From The Lexington (Ky.) Herald.

His propaganda is designed and intended "to defeat the measures of the Government of the United States" in violation of Section 5, [of the law of treason.]

From The Mobile Register.

If Germany is misled into actions still further violative of our rights, the resultant hostility will be very largely attributable to Mr. Bryan.

From The Columbia (S. C.) State.

The President's clear head may now be trusted the more that his methods of thinking are relieved of opposition in the Cabinet.

From The Montgomery Advertiser.

He will go back to his first love, agitation.

From The Richmond Times-Dispatch.

Wilson, not Bryan, strikes the note to which the hearts of the American people respond.

From The Savannah News.

The people are following the President and not Mr. Bryan.

From The Austin (Texas) Statesman.

Mr. Bryan's diplomacy has not been of the type that has inspired the confidence of the American people.

From The Charleston News and Courier.

The bald and ugly fact will remain—he deserted his chief and his Government in the midst of an international crisis.

From The Memphis Commercial-Appeal.

Mr. Bryan's views, turned into a national policy, would mean national suicide.

From The Brooklyn Eagle.

An obstacle has seen fit to remove itself; it has substituted harmony for discordance.

From The Boston Post.

Mr. Bryan has shabbily infringed that good American doctrine that politics should end at the water's edge.

From The Baltimore Sun.

The Germans torpedo one "Nebraskan." Oh, for a "Busy Bertha" that could effectually dispose of the other one!

From The Charlotte Observer.

The country simply was afraid of him.

From The Cleveland Plain Dealer.

He is a preacher of disloyalty.

From The Chattanooga Times.

The reason given for his resignation * * * approximates disloyalty, if nothing else; a monstrous statement.

From The New Orleans Times-Picayune.

His voluntary resignation will give satisfaction.

REPUBLICAN NEWSPAPERS.

From The New York Tribune.

A man with such a cheaply commercial conception of the post held by so long a line of American statesmen was by nature disqualified for it.

From The New York Globe.

Instead of promoting a peaceful settlement, Mr. Bryan practically throws his influence in the other balance.

From The Syracuse Post-Standard.

Billy Sunday in the wrong niche.

From The Rochester Post-Express.

Amazement and contempt for him grow.

From The Pittsburgh Gazette Times.

He has not filled the place with dignity, ability, or satisfaction, nor yet with fidelity; a cheap imitation.

From The Pittsburgh Chronicle Telegraph.

The peace-piffle and grape-juice statesman.

From The Philadelphia Inquirer.

A peace-at-any-price man.

From The Wilkes-Barre Record.

An amazing, an astounding blunder.

From The Cincinnati Commercial Tribune.

The seriousness of the situation is all that prevents Mr. Bryan's foreign policy from being laughable.

From The Baltimore American.

The country wants no more vapid theorizing; it wants no more Bryanism.

From The Hartford Courant.

Those newspapers that said Mr. Bryan was in bad taste made a slight mistake. He is a bad taste.

From The Augusta (Me.) Kennebec Journal.

Impossible for a man of Mr. Bryan's ability and love of the limelight to remain longer wholly obscure in this national crisis.

From The Portsmouth (N. H.) Chronicle.

Childish policies and small politics, even if the Nobel Peace Prize is at stake, must not be considered by an American statesman.

From The Portland (Me.) Press.

There was nothing to do but get out and shut up.

From The Paterson Press.

He has dealt his country a stunning blow.

From The Lincoln (Neb.) State Journal.

It is characteristic of Mr. Bryan to shut his eyes to arguments and facts when he reaches the ecstasy of sentimental conviction.

From The Omaha Bee.

His action may have a weakening effect on our position.

From The Nebraska City (Neb.) Press.

Knowing his disposition to watch out for the main chance * * * that Mr. Bryan will be a candidate for the Senate from Nebraska is almost a foregone conclusion.

From The Topeka Capital.

Represents only the personal idiosyncrasies of William J. Bryan.

From The Milwaukee Sentinel.

Calculated to create prejudice and misgiving against the American note and to mislead foreign opinion.

From The St. Louis Globe-Democrat.

Mr. Bryan could have found no better way of causing the President embarrassment at this crisis.

From The Minneapolis Tribune.

President Wilson has had his own way in State Department affairs, to the minimization of Secretary Bryan, almost at times to the point of humiliation.

From The Seattle Post-Intelligencer.

A pacifist temporarily bereft of reason and lost to sense of patriotic duty; a misplaced figurehead.

From The Portland Oregonian.

The archpriest of the peace-at-any-price party * * * a poor staff to lean upon.

From The Albany Knickerbocker-Press.

Mr. Bryan must Chautauquahoot, as the rooster must crow.

From The Scranton Republican.

Prompt acceptance of his resignation was the proper thing.

From The Los Angeles Times.

The inefficiency and ineptness of the Secretary of State have been a reproach to the country.

From The Wilmington (Del.) News.

Far better if Mr. Bryan had retired long ago.

From The St. Paul Pioneer Press.

His retirement was merely a matter of time.

PROGRESSIVE NEWSPAPERS.

From The New York Press.

A sorry misfit in our Government—mortifyingly, dangerously so.

From The Boston Journal.

He appoints himself, though now a private citizen, the director of the nation.

From The Washington Times.

The only person who has been talking war and giving out the impression that he thought this note meant war.

INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPERS.

From The New York Evening Post.

How far he will carry his treachery by actual machinations against Mr. Wilson remains to be seen.

From The New York Sun.

Sulked and ran away when honor and patriotism should have kept him at his post.

From The New York Herald.

His convictions are all wrong; his retirement should be heartily welcomed by the country.

From The Philadelphia Public Ledger.

How much longer, as Cicero asked Catiline, does he intend to abuse our patience?

From The Pittsburgh Dispatch.

Bryan's obsession by the peace-at-any-price propaganda bordered on the fanatical.

From The Baltimore News.

A surrender to opportunism such as calls for a nation's contempt.

From The Chicago Herald.

As a private citizen he will be less a menace to the peace of the nation than he has been as Secretary of State.

From The Denver Post.

His services can be most satisfactorily dispensed with.

From The Kansas City Star.

Has not impressed the country as a practical man in dealing with large affairs.

From The Toledo Times.

He should support the President.

From The Terre Haute Star.

Now free to pursue the prohibition propaganda.

From The Newark (N. J.) Star.

The statement [Bryan's] is simply an effort to corral for himself a large voting element in the population.

From The Newark Evening News.

His narrow vision has overcome him.

From The Boston Traveler.

If war does come Mr. Bryan will be the one American held most responsible for the trouble.

From The Boston Globe.

Mr. Wilson has been relieved of one of his many problems.

From The Boston Herald.

Is certainly not inspired by a sense of loyalty to the party or the country.

From The Lowell Courier-Citizen.

Lagged superfluous on a stage in which he played no part beyond that of an amanuensis, and hardly even that.

From The Manchester (N. H.) Union.

Should mark the end of Bryanism in American politics.

From The Providence Journal.

He has bowed himself into oblivion.

GERMAN-AMERICAN PRESS.

Under the caption, "He Kept His Vow," the evening edition of the New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung, which for months had been referring to Secretary Bryan as "Secretary Bryan Stumping," as opposed to "Secretary Lansing Acting," said on June 9:

As unreservedly as we believe that he [Mr. Bryan] is sacrificing high office to a principle—something that seems to be incomprehensible not alone to American politicians; readily as we pay him tribute that a man in public life has again had the courage to act, despite the machinations of editorial offices, pulpits, and the counting rooms of money agents; clearly as we see again his latest act, the old Bryan, who can sacrifice nothing to utilitarianism, everything to an idea, no matter how fantastic it may be, nevertheless it must not be left unmen-

tioned that his exit out of the Wilson Cabinet was under all circumstances only a question of time. Bryan may want to be a candidate in 1916, a rival of Wilson; there may be a political motive at the bottom of the dramatically staged resignation; the fact remains that two hard heads, Wilson and Bryan, could not permanently agree. One had to yield; one had to go. Just as Bismarck had to go when Wilhelm II. felt himself safe in the saddle, so Bryan had to yield as soon as Woodrow Wilson himself took the reins, all the reins, into his hand.

Whether the departure of Bryan will exercise great influence on the course of events, so far as relations with Germany are concerned, is an open question. At all events, the peace party in Congress and in the country as a whole has found a leader who is a fighter, who today still has a large following in Congress and out of it. And in Congress, through the masses, the question must finally be decided. Meanwhile, is it to be assumed without further ado that President Wilson himself stands diametrically opposed to the peace views of Bryan? We do not believe that. We are even today still of the opinion that Wilson desires war with Germany as little as does Bryan, the friend of peace, who has just let his deeds follow his words.

From the St. Paul Daily Volks Zeitung.

Bryan's stand for fair play forces his resignation. Bryan's resignation at this critical moment is the greatest service the Commoner has ever rendered his country, because it has aroused the people to see the danger of the foreign policy now pursued by the President.

From the Minneapolis Freie Presse Herald.

It is evident that Mr. Bryan, believing that Wilson and Roosevelt will be the next Presidential nominees, now sees the opportunity to secure the German vote for himself, but Mr. Bryan's hypocrisy will fool no one, particularly the Germans.

From Alex E. Oberlander, Editor the Syracuse Union.

Mr. Bryan will be a greater power for

peace out of the Cabinet than in it. As a member of the Cabinet diplomacy muzzled him, but now as a private citizen he can and will be outspoken, and his voice for peace will carry far more weight than the manufacturers of war munitions, Wall Street, would-be Generals, Colonels, and Captains, and the jingo press.

From Paul F. Mueller, Editor Abendpost of Chicago.

The people will choose Mr. Bryan's side if the President persists on a way which may lead to war and must lead to dishonor.

From Horace L. Brand, Publisher Illinois Staats-Zeitung.

Mr. Bryan will have the support of all sane Americans on any reasonable proposition which will keep this country out of war. Mr. Bryan, with all his faults, evidently has his principles.

From the Waechter und Anzeiger of Cleveland, Ohio.

He would not be a man had he signed the death warrant for what he regarded as the crowning deed and success of his life's work. And, because this was asked of him, many a person will say the Scotch in the President's veins did not deny itself in the manner which compelled Mr. Bryan's resignation, although keeping up the appearance that it came of Bryan's own free will because of a disagreement over principles.

From the Colorado Herald of Denver.

Bryan's resignation comes as the biggest surprise of the year to all those of pro-German proclivities who were heretofore laboring under the impression that Bryan represented the spirit in the Cabinet that savored of anything but a square deal for Germany.

From the Illinois Staats-Zeitung of Chicago.

Mr. William Jennings Bryan, by his resignation and by his reasons of his resignation, caused us fear that President Wilson's second note to Germany would be full of thunder and lightning, and would lead at best to a severance of the diplomatic relations between the two



CAPTAIN WILLIAM T. TURNER, R. N. R.
Commander of the R. M. S. Lusitania
(Photo from Underwood & Underwood)



H. M. GEORGE V.

King of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions
Beyond the Seas, Emperor of India

(Photo from W. & D. Downey)

countries, the friendship of which grew almost to be a tradition.

Our surprise is just as great as it is pleasant. The note of the President is in its tone sound and friendly, and excludes the possibility of hostilities. Germany, though she had many reasons to complain about a hostile disposition on the part of the people, the press, and the Government of the United States, will readily admit that our Government is in duty bound to protect American lives and American property, even though she should have been justified in torpedoing the Lusitania. President Wilson seems to be willing to admit such justification and invites Germany to submit her evidence. This means an invitation

to further negotiations, to which President Wilson was apparently opposed in his first note.

From Charles Neumeyer, Editor the Louisville Anzeiger.

It is inexplicable why Bryan could reconcile the signing of the first note, which was of a much more assertive tone, with his sentiments and principles, and then refuse his assent to this one, characterized by dignified friendliness. Mr. Bryan must either have become extremely touchy and particular over night, or somebody must have been fooling somebody else. At any rate, the American note is a guarantee of continued peace as to the issues now pending.

Mr. Bryan's Defense

In a statement headed "The Real Issue" and addressed "To the the American People," issued on June 10, 1915; in a second statement, appealing "To the German-Americans," on June 11; in a third, issued June 12, on the "First and Second German Notes," and in a series of utterances put forth on three successive days, beginning June 16, Mr. Bryan justified his resignation and offered what he styled a practical working solution of the problem of bringing peace to Europe. These statements were preceded by a formal utterance about his resignation, published on June 10. Their texts are presented below.

THE REASON FOR RESIGNING.

Washington, June 9, 1915.

My reason for resigning is clearly stated in my letter of resignation, namely, that I may employ, as a private citizen, the means which the President does not feel at liberty to employ. I honor him for doing what he believes to be right, and I am sure that he desires, as I do, to find a peaceful solution of the problem which has been created by the action of the submarines.

Two of the points on which we differ, each conscientious in his conviction, are:

First, as to the suggestion of investigation by an international commission, and,

Second, as to warning Americans against traveling on belligerent vessels or with cargoes of ammunition.

I believe that this nation should frankly state to Germany that we are willing to apply in this case the principle which

we are bound by treaty to apply to disputes between the United States and thirty countries with which we have made treaties, providing for investigation of all disputes of every character and nature.

These treaties, negotiated under this Administration, make war practically impossible between this country and these thirty Governments, representing nearly three-fourths of all the people of the world.

Among the nations with which we have these treaties are Great Britain, France, and Russia. No matter what disputes may arise between us and these treaty nations, we agree that there shall be no declaration and no commencement of hostilities until the matters in dispute have been investigated by an international commission, and a year's time is allowed for investigation and report. This plan was offered to all the nations

without any exceptions whatever, and Germany was one of the nations that accepted the principle, being the twelfth, I think, to accept.

No treaty was actually entered into with Germany, but I cannot see that that should stand in the way when both nations indorsed the principle. I do not know whether Germany would accept the offer, but our country should, in my judgment, make the offer. Such an offer, if accepted, would at once relieve the tension and silence all the jingoes who are demanding war.

Germany has always been a friendly nation, and a great many of our people are of German ancestry. Why should we not deal with Germany according to this plan to which the nation has pledged its support?

The second point of difference is as to the course which should be pursued in regard to Americans traveling on belligerent ships or with cargoes of ammunition.

Why should an American citizen be permitted to involve his country in war by traveling upon a belligerent ship, when he knows that the ship will pass through a danger zone? The question is not whether an American citizen has a right, under international law, to travel on a belligerent ship; the question is whether he ought not, out of consideration for his country, if not for his own safety, avoid danger when avoidance is possible.

It is a very one-sided citizenship that compels a Government to go to war over a citizen's rights and yet relieve the citizen of all obligations to consider his nation's welfare. I do not know just how far the President can legally go in actually preventing Americans from traveling on belligerent ships, but I believe the Government should go as far as it can, and that in case of doubt it should give the benefit of the doubt to the Government.

But even if the Government could not legally prevent citizens from traveling on belligerent ships, it could, and in my judgment should, earnestly advise Amer-

ican citizens not to risk themselves or the peace of their country, and I have no doubt that these warnings would be heeded.

President Taft advised Americans to leave Mexico when insurrection broke out there, and President Wilson has repeated the advice. This advice, in my judgment, was eminently wise, and I think the same course should be followed in regard to warning Americans to keep off vessels subject to attack.

I think, too, that American passenger ships should be prohibited from carrying ammunition. The lives of passengers ought not to be endangered by cargoes of ammunition, whether that danger comes from possible explosions within or from possible attacks from without. Passengers and ammunition should not travel together. The attempt to prevent American citizens from incurring these risks is entirely consistent with the effort which our Government is making to prevent attacks from submarines.

The use of one remedy does not exclude the use of the other. The most familiar illustration is to be found in the action taken by municipal authorities during a riot. It is the duty of the Mayor to suppress the mob and to prevent violence, but he does not hesitate to warn citizens to keep off the streets during the riots. He does not question their right to use the streets, but for their own protection and in the interest of order he warns them not to incur the risks involved in going upon the streets when men are shooting at each other.

The President does not feel justified in taking the action above stated. That is, he does not feel justified, first, in suggesting the submission of the controversy to investigation, or, second, in warning the people not to incur the extra hazards in traveling on belligerent ships or on ships carrying ammunition. And he may be right in the position he has taken, but, as a private citizen, I am free to urge both of these propositions and to call public attention to these remedies, in the hope of securing such an expression of public sentiment as will support the Pres-

ident in employing these remedies if in the future he finds it consistent with his sense of duty to favor them.

W. J. BRYAN.

"THE REAL ISSUE."

Washington, June 10, 1915.

To the American people:

You now have before you the text of the note to Germany—the note which it would have been my official duty to sign had I remained Secretary of State. I ask you to sit in judgment upon my decision to resign rather than to share responsibility for it.

I am sure you will credit me with honorable motives, but that is not enough. Good intentions could not atone for a mistake at such a time, on such a subject, and under such circumstances. If your verdict is against me, I ask no mercy; I desire none if I have acted unwisely.

A man in public life must act according to his conscience, but, however conscientiously he acts, he must be prepared to accept without complaint any condemnation which his own errors may bring upon him; he must be willing to bear any deserved punishment, from ostracism to execution. But hear me before you pass sentence.

The President and I agree in purpose; we desire a peaceful solution of the dispute which has arisen between the United States and Germany. We not only desire it, but, with equal fervor, we pray for it; but we differ irreconcilably as to the means of securing it.

If it were merely a personal difference, it would be a matter of little moment, for all the presumptions are on his side—the presumptions that go with power and authority. He is your President, I am a private citizen without office or title—but one of the one hundred million of inhabitants.

But the real issue is not between persons, it is between systems, and I rely for vindication wholly upon the strength of the position taken.

Among the influences which Governments employ in dealing with each other there are two which are pre-

eminent and antagonistic—force and persuasion. Force speaks with firmness and acts through the ultimatum; persuasion employs argument, courts investigation, and depends upon negotiation. Force represents the old system—the system that must pass away; persuasion represents the new system—the system that has been growing, all too slowly, it is true, but growing for 1,900 years. In the old system war is the chief cornerstone—war, which at its best is little better than war at its worst; the new system contemplates a universal brotherhood established through the uplifting power of example.

If I correctly interpret the note to Germany, it conforms to the standards of the old system rather than to the rules of the new, and I cheerfully admit that it is abundantly supported by precedents—precedents written in characters of blood upon almost every page of human history. Austria furnishes the most recent precedent; it was Austria's firmness that dictated the ultimatum against Serbia, which set the world at war.

Every ruler now participating in this unparalleled conflict has proclaimed his desire for peace and denied responsibility for the war, and it is only charitable that we should credit all of them with good faith. They desired peace, but they sought it according to the rules of the old system. They believed that firmness would give the best assurance of the maintenance of peace, and, faithfully following precedent, they went so near the fire that they were, one after another, sucked into the contest.

Never before have the frightful follies of this fatal system been so clearly revealed as now. The most civilized and enlightened—aye, the most Christian—of the nations of Europe are grappling with each other as if in a death struggle. They are sacrificing the best and bravest of their sons on the battlefield; they are converting their gardens into cemeteries and their homes into houses of mourning; they are taxing the wealth of today and laying a burden of debt on the toil of the future; they have filled the air with thunderbolts more deadly than those of

Jove, and they have multiplied the perils of the deep.

Adding fresh fuel to the flame of hate, they have daily devised new horrors, until one side is endeavoring to drown noncombatant men, women, and children at sea, while the other side seeks to starve noncombatant men, women, and children on land. And they are so absorbed in alternate retaliations and in competitive cruelties that they seem, for the time being, blind to the rights of neutrals and deaf to the appeals of humanity. A tree is known by its fruit. The war in Europe is the ripened fruit of the old system.

This is what firmness, supported by force, has done in the Old World; shall we invite it to cross the Atlantic? Already the jingoes of our own country have caught the rabies from the dogs of war; shall the opponents of organized slaughter be silent while the disease spreads?

As a humble follower of the Prince of Peace, as a devoted believer in the prophecy that "they that take the sword shall perish with the sword," I beg to be counted among those who earnestly urge the adoption of a course in this matter which will leave no doubt of our Government's willingness to continue negotiations with Germany until an amicable understanding is reached, or at least until, the stress of war over, we can appeal from Philip drunk with carnage to Philip sobered by the memories of a historic friendship and by a recollection of the innumerable ties of kinship that bind the Fatherland to the United States.

Some nation must lead the world out of the black night of war into the light of that day when "swords shall be beaten into plowshares." Why not make that honor ours? Some day—why not now?—the nations will learn that enduring peace cannot be built upon fear—that good-will does not grow upon the stalks of violence. Some day the nations will place their trust in love, the weapon for which there is no shield; in love, that suffereth long and is kind; in love, that is not easily provoked, that beareth all things, believeth all things,

hopeth all things, endureth all things; in love, which, though despised as weakness by the worshippers of Mars, abideth when all else fails. W. J. BRYAN.

THE GERMAN-AMERICANS.

Washington, June 11, 1915.

To the German-Americans:

Permit me to address a word to you, as one American citizen speaking to fellow-citizens in whose patriotism he has entire confidence. It is natural that in a contest between your Fatherland and other European nations your sympathies should be with the country of your birth. It is no cause for censure that this is true. It would be a reflection upon you if it were not true. Do not the sons of Great Britain sympathize with their mother country? Do not the sons of France sympathize with theirs? Is not the same true of Russia and of Italy? Why should it not be true of those who are born in Germany or Austria? The trouble is that the extremists on both sides have mistaken a natural attachment felt for birthplace for disloyalty to this country.

The President has been unjustly criticized by the partisans of both sides—the very best evidence of his neutrality. If he had so conducted the Government as to wholly please either side it would excite not only astonishment, but misgivings, for partisans cannot give an unbiased judgment; they will of necessity look at the question from their own point of view, giving praise or blame, according as the act, regardless of its real character, helps or hurts the side with which they have aligned themselves.

The fact that the Administration has received more criticism from German-Americans than from those in sympathy with the Allies is due to the fact that, while both sides are at liberty under international law to purchase ammunition in the United States, the Allies, because of their control of the seas, have the advantage of being able to export it.

It is unfortunate that partisan supporters of Germany should have overlooked the legal requirements of the situation and have thus misunderstood the

position of the Administration. The Administration's position has not only been perfectly neutral, but it could not have been otherwise without a palpable and intentional violation of the rules governing neutrality.

This Government is not at liberty to materially change the rules of international law during the war, because every change suggested is discussed, not upon its merits as an abstract proposition, but according to the effect it will have upon the contest. Those who wanted to lay an embargo upon the shipments of arms defended their position on the ground that it would hasten peace, but it is strange that they could have overlooked the fact that the only way in which such action on our part could hasten peace would have been by helping one side to overcome the other.

While the attacks made upon the President by the extremists of both sides were very unjust, it was equally unjust to suspect the patriotism of those who took sides. I feel well enough acquainted with the European-born Americans to believe that in a war between this country and any European power the naturalized citizens from that country would be as quick to enlist as native-born citizens.

As I am now speaking to German-Americans, I am glad to repeat in public what I have often said in private, and would have said in public before but for the fact that it would not have been proper for one in my official position to do so—namely, that in case of war between the United States and Germany—if so improbable a supposition can be considered—German-Americans would be as prompt to enlist and as faithful to the flag as any other portion of our people. What I have said in regard to German-Americans is an introduction to an appeal which I feel it my duty to make to them.

First, if any of them have ever in a moment of passion or excitement suspected the President of lack of friendship toward the German Government and the German people, let that thought be forgotten, never again to be recalled. I have, since my resignation, received numerous telegrams from German-Ameri-

cans and German-American societies commending my action. I think the senders of these telegrams understand my position; but that no one may mistake it let me restate it. The President is not only desirous of peace, but he hopes for it, and he has adopted the methods which he thinks most likely to contribute toward peace.

My difference from him is as to method, not as to purpose, and my utterances since resigning have been intended to crystallize public sentiment in support of his efforts to maintain peace, or, to use a similar phrase, "Peace with Honor." But remember that when I use the phrase "Peace with Honor" I do not use it in the same sense that those do who regard every opponent of war as favoring "peace at any price." Peace at any price is an epithet, not a true statement of any one's position or of the policy of any group. The words are employed by jingoes as an expression of contempt, and are applied indiscriminately to all who have faith in the nation's ability to find a peaceful way out of every difficulty, so long as both nations want peace.

The alarmists of the country have had control of the metropolitan press, and they have loudly proclaimed that the prolongation of negotiations or the suggestion of international investigation would be a sign of weakness—and everything is weakness that does not contain a hint of war. The jingo sees in the rainbow of promise only one color—red.

Second—Knowing that the President desires peace, it is our duty to help him secure it. And how? By exerting your influence to convince the German Government of this fact and to persuade that Government to take no steps that would lead in the direction of war. My fear has been that the German Government might, despairing of a friendly settlement, break off diplomatic relations, and thus create a condition out of which war might come without the intention of either country.

I do not ask you to minimize the earnestness of the President's statement—that would be unfair, both to him and to Germany. The sinking of the Lusitania

cannot be defended upon the facts as we understand them. The killing of innocent women and children cannot be justified, whether the killing is by drowning or starving.

No nation can successfully plead the inhumanity of her enemies as an excuse for inhumanity on her own part. While it is true that cruelty is apt to beget cruelty, it cannot be said that "like cures like." Even in war, we are not absolved from the obligation to remedy evils by the influence of a good example. "Let your light so shine" is a precept that knows no times nor seasons as it knows neither latitude nor longitude.

Third—Do not attempt to connect the negotiations which are going on between the United States and Germany with those between the United States and Great Britain. The cases are different, but, even if they were the same, it would be necessary to treat with each nation separately. My personal preference has been to repeat our insistence that the Allies shall not interfere with our commerce with neutral countries, but the difference on this point was a matter of judgment and not a matter of principle. In the note to Great Britain, dated March 30, this Government said:

In view of these assurances formally given to this Government, it is confidently expected that the extensive powers conferred by the Order in Council on the executive officers of the Crown will be restricted by "orders issued by the Government" directing the exercise of their discretionary powers in such a manner as to modify in practical application those provisions of the Order in Council which, if strictly enforced, would violate neutral rights and interrupt legitimate trade. Relying on the faithful performance of these voluntary assurances by his Majesty's Government the United States takes it for granted that the approach of American merchantmen to neutral ports situated upon the long line of coast affected by the Order in Council will not be interfered with, when it is known that they do not carry goods which are contraband of war or goods destined to or proceeding from ports within the belligerent territory affected.

There is no doubt that our Government will insist upon this position—that is an important thing, the exact date of the note is not material. My reason for de-

siring to have the matter presented to Great Britain at once was not that Germany had any right to ask it, but because I was anxious to make it as easy as possible for Germany to accept the demands of the United States and cease to employ submarines against merchantmen.

There is no reason why any German-Americans should doubt the President's intentions in this matter. I am sure that every one upon reflection recognizes that our duty to prevent loss of life is more urgent than our duty to prevent interference with trade—loss of trade can be compensated for with money, but no settlement that the United States and Germany may reach can call back to life those who went down with the Lusitania—and war would be the most expensive of all settlements because it would enormously add to the number of the dead.

Fourth—I hope that Germany will acquiesce in the demands that have been made, and I hope that she will acquiesce in them without conditions. She can trust the United States to deal justly with her in the consideration of any changes that she may propose in the international rules that govern the taking of prizes. The more generously she acts in this matter the greater will be the glory which she will derive from it. She has raised a question which is now receiving serious consideration, namely, whether the introduction of the submarine necessitates any change in the rules governing the capture of prizes. The position seemingly taken by Germany, namely, that she is entitled to drown noncombatants because they ride with contraband, is an untenable position. The most that she could insist upon is that, in view of the introduction of this new weapon of warfare, new rules should be adopted, separating passengers from objectionable cargo.

If the use of the submarine justifies such a change in the law of blockade as will permit the cordon to be withdrawn far enough from the shore to avoid the danger of submarine attack, may it not be found possible to secure an interna-

tional agreement by which passengers will be excluded from ships carrying contraband, or, at least, from those carrying ammunition?

It would require but a slight change in the shipping laws to make this separation, and belligerent nations might be restrained from unnecessarily increasing the contraband list if they were compelled to carry contraband on transports as they now carry troops.

Personally, I would like to see the use of submarines abandoned entirely, just as I would like to see an abandonment of the use of aeroplanes and Zeppelins for the carrying of explosives, but I am not sanguine enough to believe that any effective instrument of warfare will be abandoned as long as war continues.

The very arguments which the advocates of peace advance against the submarine, the aeroplane, and the Zeppelin are advanced for them by those who conduct war. The more fatal a weapon is the more it is in demand, and it is not an unusual thing to see a new instrument of destruction denounced as inhuman by those against whom it is employed, only to be employed later by those who only a little while before denounced it.

The above suggestions are respectfully submitted to those of German birth or descent, and they are submitted in the same spirit to naturalized citizens from other countries. To the naturalized citizen this is the land of adoption, but in one sense it may be nearer to him than it is to us who are native born, for those who come here are citizens by voluntary choice, while we are here by accident of birth. They may be said to have paid a higher compliment to the United States than we who first saw the light under the Stars and Stripes. But, more than that, it is the land of their children and their children's children, no matter for what reason they crossed the ocean. They not only share with us the shaping of our nation's destiny, but their descendants have a part with ours in all the blessings which the present generation can, by wise and patriotic action, bequeath to the generations that are to follow.

W. J. BRYAN.

SEES CHANGE IN TONE OF PRESS.

On the same day with this outgiving Mr. Bryan issued a statement expressing his gratification over what he termed a change in the tone of the press regarding the note. The statement follows:

I am glad to note the change in the tone of the press in regard to the note to Germany. From the time the papers began to publish forecasts down to yesterday the jingo editors have been predicting that the matter would be dealt with with "great firmness"; that Germany would be told that there must be no more delay in the acceptance of this country's demands, &c.

Instead of waiting until the note was issued they put their own construction upon it in advance, and colored it to suit their own purposes. It is a relief to find the papers now emphasizing the friendly tone of the note, and pointing out that it does not necessarily mean war.

Something has been gained if the warrior journalists at last realize that the country does not want war, but that, on the contrary, it will support the President in his efforts to find a peaceful solution of the difficult problem raised by the use of the submarine against merchantmen.

In giving out his statement Mr. Bryan supplemented it with the following anecdote:

A Congressman replying to a jingo speech recently said:

"While I am personally against war, I am in favor of the country having what it wants. If the country wants war, let it have war, but let it first find out if the country does want war. If it becomes necessary to ascertain the sentiment of the country, I suggest that a ballot be taken; let those who want war vote for war and those opposed to war vote against it, and let the vote be taken with the understanding that those who vote for war will enlist for war and that those who vote against war will not be called upon until after those who want war have exhausted their efforts."

"I still believe," added Mr. Bryan, "in the right of the people to rule, and think

the Congressman's suggestion might insure deliberate action on the part of the voters."

Mr. Bryan was reminded of the suggestion of some of his friends that in case of war he would be one of the first to enlist.²⁰ He replied:

I do not want to talk about war, but on one occasion I enlisted to defend my country on the first day war was declared.

GERMAN-AMERICAN OPINION.

Commenting on Mr. Bryan's appeal, the evening edition of the *New Yorker Herald* on June 12 said:

The arguments which Mr. Bryan dishes up will not be agreed to by most citizens of German descent, but the open discussion of the various points can only be useful.

So far as influencing the German Government is concerned, we are convinced that in Berlin they will not forget for an instant how terrible a warlike conflict between the two countries would be, particularly for the Germans in America. In view of the many bonds of blood that link the German population of our country with the old Fatherland, a war with the United States would be regarded practically as fratricidal, as a calamity which, if in any way possible, must be avoided. Mr. Bryan may rest assured of this.

The influence of the German-Americans is required less in Germany than here, at this point and place, in the United States. Here the jingo press is raging and seeking to fire minds to war, not in Germany.

From the Detroit Abendpost.

Mr. Bryan's proclamation will disappoint only those who hailed him when he published his reasons for leaving the Cabinet; but we find in his last document the confirmation of what we have always thought of the man and the politician Bryan, namely, that he considers all means right if they suit his political intentions.

From Charles Neumeyer, Editor Louisville Anzeiger.

Mr. Bryan's appeal directed chiefly to

American citizens of German birth exhibits an astonishing lack of tact as well as lack of judgment. The former Secretary of State seems to be going on the presumption, like many other native Americans not actuated by a feeling of prejudice or race hatred, that German-Americans have left their hearts behind them in the old country and are, therefore, unable to feel as true American citizens should feel toward their country and everything involving its destiny.

Mr. Bryan's appeal, especially the one directed to German-Americans, will not, can not, and should not meet with the slightest response.

From the Colorado Herald of Denver.

Bryan's appeal to the Germans, while it may be classed as patriotic, was unnecessary, and Dr. Dernburg, Germany's special envoy, practically voiced the same sentiments in his farewell address in New York Friday night. Bryan's well-known prohibition tendencies, however, preclude the idea that he was bidding for German-American votes.

From the Waechter und Anzeiger of Cleveland, Ohio.

Mr. Bryan might well have abstained from issuing his statement to the German-Americans. To make any impression he should have explained why he now thinks it the duty of neutrality to furnish contraband to England, when in 1914 he stated in his Commoner that the President had blazed a new way when he, without conference with other nations, committed this nation to the policy that furnishing the "contraband of money" was inconsistent with the spirit of neutrality. What are the influences that have now changed his views? Mr. Bryan is neither frank nor consistent, hence not impressive.

A "SOFTENED" NOTE.

[The First and Second German Notes.]

Washington, June 12, 1915.

My attention has been called to a number of newspaper editorials and articles which, in varying language, asks the question, "Why did Mr. Bryan sign the first note to Germany, and then refuse to sign the second?" The argument

presented in the question is based on the supposition that the two notes were substantially the same and that the second note simply reiterates the demands contained in the first. They then declare it inconsistent to sign one and refuse to sign the other. The difference between the two cases would seem obvious enough to make an answer unnecessary, but, lest silence on the subject be taken as an admission of inconsistency, the following explanation is given:

The notes must be considered in connection with the conditions under which they were sent. The first note presented the case of this Government upon such evidence as we then had. It was like the plaintiff's statement in a case, his claim being based on the facts as he presents them. I did not agree entirely with the language of the first note, but the difference was not so material as to justify a refusal to sign it. Then, too, I was at that time hoping that certain things would be done which would make it easier for Germany to acquiesce in our demands.

The three things which I had in mind which, in my judgment, would have helped the situation were: First, an announcement of a willingness upon our part to employ the principle of investigation, embodied in our thirty peace treaties; second, action which would prevent American citizens from traveling on belligerent ships or on American ships carrying contraband, especially if that contraband consisted of ammunition; and, third, further insistence upon our protest against interference of our trade with neutrals. I thought that these three things were within the range of possibilities, and that two, or at least one was probable.

Some weeks have elapsed since the first note was sent, and we have not only failed to do any of these things hoped for, but Germany has in the meantime answered and in her answer has not only presented a number of alleged facts which, in her judgment, justified the deviation which she has made from the ordinary rules applicable to prize cases, but she

has suggested arbitration. A rejection of the arguments which she presented and of the allegations made, together with a reiteration of the original demands, creates a very different situation from that which existed when the first demand was made.

As I have before stated, my fear has been that, owing to the feeling existing in Germany, the Government might, upon receipt of such a note under such circumstances, break off diplomatic relations and thus create a situation out of which war might come without the intention of either side. I am sure that the President does not want war and I am confident that our people do not want war; I have no reason to believe that either the German Government or the German people desire war.

But war, a calamity at any time, is especially to be avoided now because our nation is relied upon by both neutrals and belligerents as the one nation which can exert most influence toward bringing this war to an end. If we were, by accident, to be drawn into the conflict, we would not only surrender the opportunity to act as a mediator, but we might become responsible for drawing other nations into this contest. When we see how one nation after another has been dragged into this war we cannot have confidence in the ability of any one to calculate with certainty upon the results that might follow if we became embroiled in the war.

No one would be happier than I if the President's plan results in a peaceful settlement, but no one was in position to say what effect our note would have upon Germany, or what results would follow if she, in anger, broke off diplomatic relations, and I was not only unwilling to assume the responsibility for the risks incurred—risks which no one could with any degree of accuracy measure—but I felt that, having done all I could in the Cabinet, it was my duty to undertake, outside the Cabinet, the work upon which I have entered.

I have no doubt that the country will unanimously support the President during the war, if so great a misfortune

should overtake us, but I believe that the chances of war will be lessened in proportion as the country expresses itself in favor of peace—not "peace at any price"—but peace in preference to a war waged for the redress of such grievances as we have against Germany—at least against war until we have given to Germany the opportunity which we are pledged to give to Great Britain, France, and Russia—to have every difference of every character submitted to an international commission of investigation.

I would contend as earnestly for the application of the treaty principle to the Allies as I contend for it in the case of Germany. If the principle is sound, it ought to be applied to every country with which we have a difference, and if it ought to be applied at all I think it is better to suggest it in the beginning than to accept it later after a seeming reluctance to apply it.

I understand that Secretary Lansing has already given out a statement, correcting an inaccuracy which appeared in this morning's paper. I appreciate his kindness.

It is true that I saw the final draft of the note just before my resignation took effect, but it contained an important change. I had no knowledge of this change at the time my resignation was tendered and accepted. This change, while very much softening the note, was not, however, sufficient, in my judgment, to justify me in asking permission to withdraw my resignation.

As Germany had suggested arbitration, I felt that we could not do less than reply to this offer by expressing a willingness to apply the principle of the peace treaties to the case. These treaties, while providing for investigation of all questions, leave the nations free to act independently after the international commission has concluded the investigation.

W. J. BRYAN.

STATEMENTS ON THE WAR IN EUROPE.

Mr. Bryan on June 16 gave out the first of three statements about the present war, and in it he predicts that a

conference will be held at the close of the conflict to revise the rules of international law. The present rules, in Mr. Bryan's opinion, "seem to have been made for the nations at war rather than for the nations at peace."

*The statement contains a hint to President Wilson in the concluding paragraph which says that "in all history no other peacemaker has ever been in position to claim so rich a blessing as that which will be pronounced on our President when the time for mediation comes—*as come it must.*" Its text follows:*

Washington, June 16, 1915.

I shall tomorrow discuss the origin of the war and the reasons which led the nations of Europe to march, as if blindfolded, into the bloody conflict which now rests like a pall over the fairest parts of the Old World; today let us consider the war as it is and the injury it is doing to the neutral nations.

The war is without a precedent in the populations represented, in the number of combatants in the field, in daily expenditures, in the effectiveness of the implements employed, in the lists of dead and wounded, in the widespread suffering caused and in the intensity of the hatreds aroused.

No class or condition is exempt from the burdens which this war imposes. The rich bear excessive taxation and the poor are sorely oppressed; the resources of today are devoured and the products of tomorrow are mortgaged. No age is immune. The first draft was upon the strong and vigorous, but the Governments are already calling for those above and below the ordinary enlistment zone.

The war's afflictions are visited upon women as well as upon men—upon wives who await in vain a husband's return, and upon mothers who must surrender up the sons whose support is the natural reliance of declining years. Even children are its victims—children innocent of wrong and incapable of doing harm. By war's dread decree babes come into the world fatherless at their birth, while the bodies of their sires are burned like worthless stubble in the fields over which the Grim Reaper has passed.

The most extreme illustrations collected from history to prove the loathsomeness of war are overshadowed by new indictments written daily; the most distressing pictures drawn by the imagination are surpassed by the realities of this indescribable contest. Surely we behold "the pestilence that walketh in darkness and the destruction that wasteth at noonday."

Neutral nations cannot look on with indifference—the ties that bind them together are too strong, the relationship too intimate. This is especially true of the United States. We have a composite population, every nation of Europe having contributed liberally to our citizenship. These our countrymen, themselves born abroad or immediately descended from foreign-born ancestors, cannot but take a likely interest in the conduct as well as in the results of the war, and a still larger circle shares the concern of those directly connected. Not a soldier falls on either side but the sorrow expressed in his home finds an echo at some fireside in the United States.

But, aside from sentimental considerations, neutral nations suffer serious disturbances because of the war. Duelists, when dueling was in fashion, were careful to select a place where they could settle their personal differences without harm to unoffending bystanders, but warring nations cannot, no matter how earnestly they try, avoid injury to neutrals. As the nauseous odors of a slaughterhouse, carried on the breeze, pollute the air in every direction, so the evil influences emanating from these wide-extended battlefields taint the atmosphere of the whole political world. War is an international nuisance. Nearly every neutral nation finds new domestic problems thrust upon it and old problems made more difficult.

No American citizen can note without deep concern the manner in which war questions have intruded themselves into our politics—overshadowing economic issues and stimulating agitation in favor of enlarged appropriations for military and naval purposes. Business is deranged and expensive readjustments

made necessary, while commerce with foreign nations is seriously interrupted. Fluctuations in price abroad are reflected in the markets of the United States. A fall of one cent in the price of cotton means tens of millions of dollars to our producers and merchants. Added to this, freight rates and insurance premiums have been increased to cover the greater risks incident to war.

Scarcity of ships is one of the greatest commercial embarrassments caused by the war. We have depended largely upon foreign ships to carry our commerce, and we could not but suffer when the merchantmen of one side were driven from the sea and a part of the merchant fleet of the other side was withdrawn for Government use.

The neutral nations are put to a great expense to preserve neutrality and are constantly in danger of being embroiled in the war without intention or fault on their part.

The rules of international law seem to have been made for the nations at war rather than for the nations at peace. It is almost impossible to alter these rules during the war, because any material change, affecting as it would the interests of belligerents, would be a seeming violation of neutrality. As soon as peace returns there will be a demand for an international conference on the subject. The presumption should then be given to peace, for peace, not war, is the normal condition. If nations are determined to fight they should, as far as possible, bear their burden themselves and not be permitted to transfer it to the nations which avoid war by resorting to reason instead of force.

Under the stress and strain of the titanic struggle in which they are engaged, each side has felt itself justified in encroaching upon the rights of neutrals. The ocean highways, the common property of all, have been to some extent appropriated for war purposes, and delicate diplomatic questions are forced upon the neutral nations. Just at this time, when these questions are most acute, the belligerent Governments are least able to deal with them with the

calmness and poise which their great importance demands.

No wonder every neutral nation is increasingly anxious for the war to end; but of all the neutral nations ours has the most reason for the return of peace—most reason to set its face resolutely against participation in this war. This nation, the head of the neutral group and the sincere friend of all the belligerents, is in duty bound to set an example in patience and self-restraint.

In all history no such opportunity has ever come to any other nation as that which is destined to come to the United States. In all history no other peacemaker has ever been in a position to claim so rich a blessing as that which will be pronounced upon our President when the time for mediation comes—as come it must.

W. J. BRYAN.

“PREPAREDNESS” AND WAR.

That military preparedness provokes war is the conclusion drawn by Mr. Bryan in the second utterance in his series of three concerning the European conflict and war in general. It reads:

Washington, June 17, 1915.

The conflict now raging in Europe has been described as “The Causeless War,” but since no one would be bold enough to lay the blame for such an unholy situation upon an overruling Providence, it must find its origin in acts for which man, and man alone, is responsible.

It is not a race war; on the contrary, the races are quite inexplicably mixed. Latin joins with Saxon; the Frank is the ally of the Slav; while in the opposing ranks Teuton and Turk fight side by side.

Neither is it a religious war. On the Bosphorus the Cross and the Crescent make common cause; Protestant Kaiser and Catholic Emperor have linked their fortunes together and hurl their veteran legions against an army in which are indiscriminately mingled communicants of the Greek Church, of the Church of Rome, and of the Church of England.

Nor yet is it a rivalry between families. The leading actors in this unprecedented tragedy are related by blood, but

kinship seems to be a negligible factor—it explains neither friendships nor enmities.

No. Race, religion, and family, each with many wars to answer for, can plead not guilty in the present inquiry. So far as can be judged, there appears upon the surface no cause that by any known standard can be regarded as adequate for such a cataclysm as we are now witnessing.

The notes that passed from chancellery to chancellery were couched in most friendly language. These notes could not have been intended to deceive. Sovereigns visited each other and were received with every evidence of cordiality and good-will. This hospitality could not have been insincere.

Each ruler declared that he did not wish war; would they all say this if an adequate cause for war had actually existed? They have all denied responsibility for the war—would they have done so if they had regarded the war as either necessary or desirable?

But there is even better proof, aye, indisputable proof, that no sufficient cause existed, viz., the conclusion to be drawn from inaction.

Would not these rulers have busied themselves trying to save their subjects by the eradication of the cause had they known of the existence of such a cause? Would they have spent their time in social festivities and in exchanging compliments had they known that they were on the brink of war? It is inconceivable! It would be a gross libel on them, one and all, to charge such a wanton disregard of their sacred duty.

What, then, was the cause? If I have correctly analyzed the situation, the war is the natural result of a false philosophy. Theories of life are invisible, but they control for good or for evil. They enter our very being, and may be as deadly to the moral man as germs of disease, taken into the body, are deadly to the physical man. The fundamental precept of this false philosophy is that “might makes right.” It is not proclaimed now as loudly as it once was, but it is often acted upon in particular cases

by those who would be unwilling to indorse it as a general principle.

The individual makes this maxim his excuse for violating three commandments that stand in his way; this maxim also leads nations to violate these same three commandments for the same purpose, but on a larger scale.

Strange that men should fail to apply to nations the moral principles which are now so generally applied to the individual units of a nation!

The tendency is to condemn the violation of these commandments, not in proportion to the injury done, but rather in inverse proportion. No one will dispute the validity of the injunction against covetousness as long as the object coveted is of little value or not greatly desired, but the last and all-inclusive specifications, viz., "or anything that is thy neighbor's," is sometimes interpreted by nations to except a neighbor's vineyard or a neighbor's territory. Covetousness turns to might as the principle to be invoked, and the greater the unlawful desire the firmer the faith in the false principle.

Conquest is the word used to describe the means employed for securing the thing desired, if the force is employed by a nation, and conquest violates the commandments Thou Shalt Not Steal and Thou Shalt Not Kill.

By what sophistry can rulers convince themselves that, while petit larceny is criminal, grand larceny is patriotic; that, while it is reprehensible for one man to kill another for his money, it is glorious for one nation to put to the sword the inhabitants of another nation in order to extend boundaries?

It is a mockery of moral distinctions to hang one man for taking the life of another, either for money or in revenge, and then make a hero of another man who wades "through slaughter to a throne, and shut the doors of mercy on mankind."

As in the case of the individual, the violation of the commandments Thou Shall Not Covet, Thou Shalt Not Steal, and Thou Shalt Not Kill, are usually traceable to the violation of the first great commandment—Thou Shalt Have

No Other Gods Before Me—that is, to the putting of self before service of the Creator.

The violation of these commandments by nations is not always, but usually, due to selfishness—the putting of supposed material advantages before obedience to the Divine Law.

War is occasionally altruistic in purpose and the soldier always exhibits unselfishness of high order, but, as a rule, conflicts are waged for selfish ends.

The individual finds that Jehovah's justice cannot be evaded; for wrongdoing works its own punishment on the wrongdoer in the form of perverted character when he escapes the penalties of human law. The nation is as powerless to repeal or to ignore with impunity the laws of God—"Though hand join in hand they shall not be unpunished."

If I have made it clear that the doctrine that might makes right is the most common cause of war, we may pass to the consideration of a maxim quite sure to be applied in war, namely, that "like cures like"—the theory upon which retaliation rests.

The two are so closely allied that it is almost inevitable that those who indorse the former will resort to the latter—one representing the spirit of will, the other its most familiar manifestation. Rivalry for rivalry in wrongdoing—a neck-and-neck race to the bottomless pit. And yet there are many believers in the gospel of force, who have brought themselves to think that cruelty can be cured by greater cruelty—that the only way to win an antagonist away from inhuman acts is to surpass him in inhumanities. Absurdity of absurdities!

But might must find a pretext for arming itself; and what is the pretext? There was a time when men openly advocated war as a thing to be desired; commended it to each generation as a sort of tonic to tone up the moral system and prevent degeneracy, but we have passed that day.

Now all join in the chorus for peace. And how, according to the jingoes, shall peace be insured? "By preparedness," say these sons of Mars. Prepare, all

prepare; equip yourselves with the most modern implements of destruction; arm, drill, get ready, and then stand with fingers on a barrel of a musket and preserve peace—you preserve it until some one, by accident or design, gives the signal—then all fall upon each other with cries for blood. Preparedness is the kindling; opportunity is the match.

We dare not trust the peace of the world to those who spend their time in getting ready for wars that should never come. Half the energy employed in preparing for war would effectually prevent war if used in propagating the principles which make for peace.

Instead of preventing war, preparedness provokes war, because it is impossible to coerce the people into bearing the burdens incident to continuous and increasing preparation without cultivating hatred as if it were a national virtue. There must be some one to fear; some other preparing nation that must be represented as plotting for war.

Hate sets up sham standards of honor and converts every wound into a festering sore; hate misunderstands; hate misinterprets; hate maligns its supposed adversary, while every contractor, battleship builder, and manufacturer of munitions of war applauds.

How can preparedness prevent war, if all prepared? Each step taken by one nation toward more complete preparedness excites the other nations to additional purchases and new levies, until all have exhausted their productive industries and menaced their moral progress.

The doctrine that preparedness will prevent war will not stand the test of logic, and the conflagration in Europe shows that it fails when tested by experience.

If any nation is without excuse for entering into a mad rivalry with the belligerent nations in preparation for war it is the United States. We are protected on either side by thousands of miles of ocean, and this protection is worth more to us than any number of battleships. We have an additional pro-

tection in the fact—known to every one—that we have the men with whom to form an army of defense if we are ever attacked, and it is known also that we have the money, too—more money than we would have if the surplus earnings of the people had been invested in armament. We not only do not need additional preparation, but we are fortunate in not having it, as now it seems impossible for a nation to have what is called preparedness on slight notification.

The leading participants in the present war are the nations that were best prepared, and I fear it would have been difficult for us to keep out of this war if we had been as well prepared as they.

Happily for our nation, we have in the White House at this time a President who believes in setting the Old World an example instead of following the bad example which it has set in this matter. What an unspeakable misfortune it would have been if in such an hour as this the nation had been under the leadership of a President inflamed by the false philosophy which has plunged Europe into the abyss of war.

W. J. BRYAN.

HOW TO END THE WAR.

The concluding argument of ex-Secretary Bryan for permanent peace among the great powers was published on June 18, 1915. The statement follows:

Washington, June 18, 1915.

Having considered the war as it is and the injury which it does neutrals, and then the origin of the war and the causes which led up to it, we are now ready to make inquiry as to the way out—that is, the means by which hostilities can be brought to an end and permanent peace restored. To state in a sentence the propositions which I shall proceed to elaborate: Mediation is the means, provided by international agreement, through which the belligerent nations can be brought into conference; time for the investigation of all disputes is the means by which future wars can be averted, and the cultivation of international friendship is the

means by which the desire for war can be rooted out.

What are the nations fighting about? No one seems to know, or if any one does know, he has not taken the public into his confidence. We have been told, in a general way, that the Allies are fighting against "militarism" and in defense of "popular government," and that Germany is fighting in defense of "German culture" and for the nation's right to "a place in the sun." But these generalities are so differently interpreted as not to convey a definite idea. When the President offered mediation at the very beginning of the struggle the answers which he received from the various rulers were so much alike that one telegram might have served for all. The substance of each answer was, "I did not want war and I am not to blame for the war that now exists." But that was ten months ago; the question now is not whether those in authority in the belligerent nations did or did not want war then; we may accept their answers as given in good faith, but the important question is still unanswered. "I did not want war" may have been deemed sufficient at the time the answers were given, but the real question is, "Do you want war now? If not, why not say so?"

The months have dragged their bloody length along—each more terrible than the month before—and yet the crimson line of battle sways to and fro, each movement marked by dreadful loss of life. While warriors die and widows weep, the sovereign rulers of the warring powers withhold the word that would stop the war. No Chief of State has yet said, "I do not want war." No one in authority has yet publicly declared his willingness to state the terms upon which his nation is ready to negotiate peace. Are not these dying men and these sorrowing women entitled to know definitely for what their nation is fighting? Is it territory? Then how much territory, and where is it located? Is it the avenging of a wrong done? Then how much more blood must be spilled to make atonement for the blood already shed? Some day accumulated

suffering will reach its limit; some day the pent-up anguish which this war is causing will find a voice. Then, if not before, the rulers in the war zone will pause to listen to the stern question, "Why do we die?"—the question which shakes thrones and marks the furthest limits of arbitrary power.

And is not the outside world entitled to know the price of peace? Must the neutrals bear the penalties which war necessarily visits upon them, and yet remain in ignorance as to the issues at stake? Their trade is interrupted, their citizens are drowned, they are the victims of stray bullets—have they no right to know what it is that, being done, will draw down the curtain of this dark tragedy? Has any nation a purpose for continuing this war which it does not dare to state to the world, or even to its own people?

Surely neither side thinks it can annihilate the other. Great nations cannot be exterminated—population cannot be wiped out by the sword. The combatants, even though the war may have made them heartless, will shrink from the task of carrying this slaughter beyond the point necessary to win a victory. And it must be remembered that war plans often miscarry. Predictions made at the beginning of the war have not been fulfilled. The British did not destroy the German fleet in a month, and Germany did not take Paris in two months, and the Russian Army did not eat Christmas dinner in Berlin. But even if extermination were possible, it would be a crime against civilization which no nation or group of nations could afford to commit. If it is vandalism to destroy the finest specimens of man's workmanship, is it not sacrilege to engage in the wholesale destruction of human beings—the supreme example of God's handiwork? We may find cases of seeming total depravity among individuals, but not in a nation or in a race. The future has use for the peoples now at war; they have a necessary part in that destiny which mankind must work out together regardless of these ebullitions of anger. The Lord might have

made all flowers of one kind, of one color and alike in fragrance—but He did not. And because He did not, the world is more beautiful. Variety, not uniformity, is the law among men as well as among the flowers. The nations which are actively participating in this war are what they are because of struggles that have lasted for centuries. They differ in language, in institutions, in race characteristics, and in national history, but together they constitute a great living bouquet that is of surpassing beauty.

We may put aside, therefore, as wholly impracticable, if not inconceivable, the thought that this war can continue until one side has annihilated the other. What, then, can be the purpose? The complete domination of Europe by one nation or group of nations? The absurdity of such a plan is only second to the absurdity of the thought that either side can annihilate the other. The world is not looking for a master; the day of the despot is gone. The future will be gloomy indeed if the smaller nations must pass under the yoke of any power or combination of powers. The question is not who shall dictate on land, or who shall dominate upon the sea. These questions are not practical ones. The real question is, not how a few can lay burdens upon the rest, but how all can work together as comrades and brothers.

Even if it were possible for one side to force the other side to its knees in supplication, even if it were possible for one side to write the terms of the treaty in blood and compel the other side to sign it, face downward and prostrate on the ground, it could not afford to do so; and unless the belligerents have read history to no purpose, they will not desire to do so. Time and again some nation, boastful of its strength, has thought itself invincible, but the ruins of these mistaken and misguided nations line the pathway along which the masses have marched to higher ground. Despotism has in it the seeds of death; the spirit that leads a nation to aspire to a supremacy based on force is the spirit that destroys its hope of immortality. Only

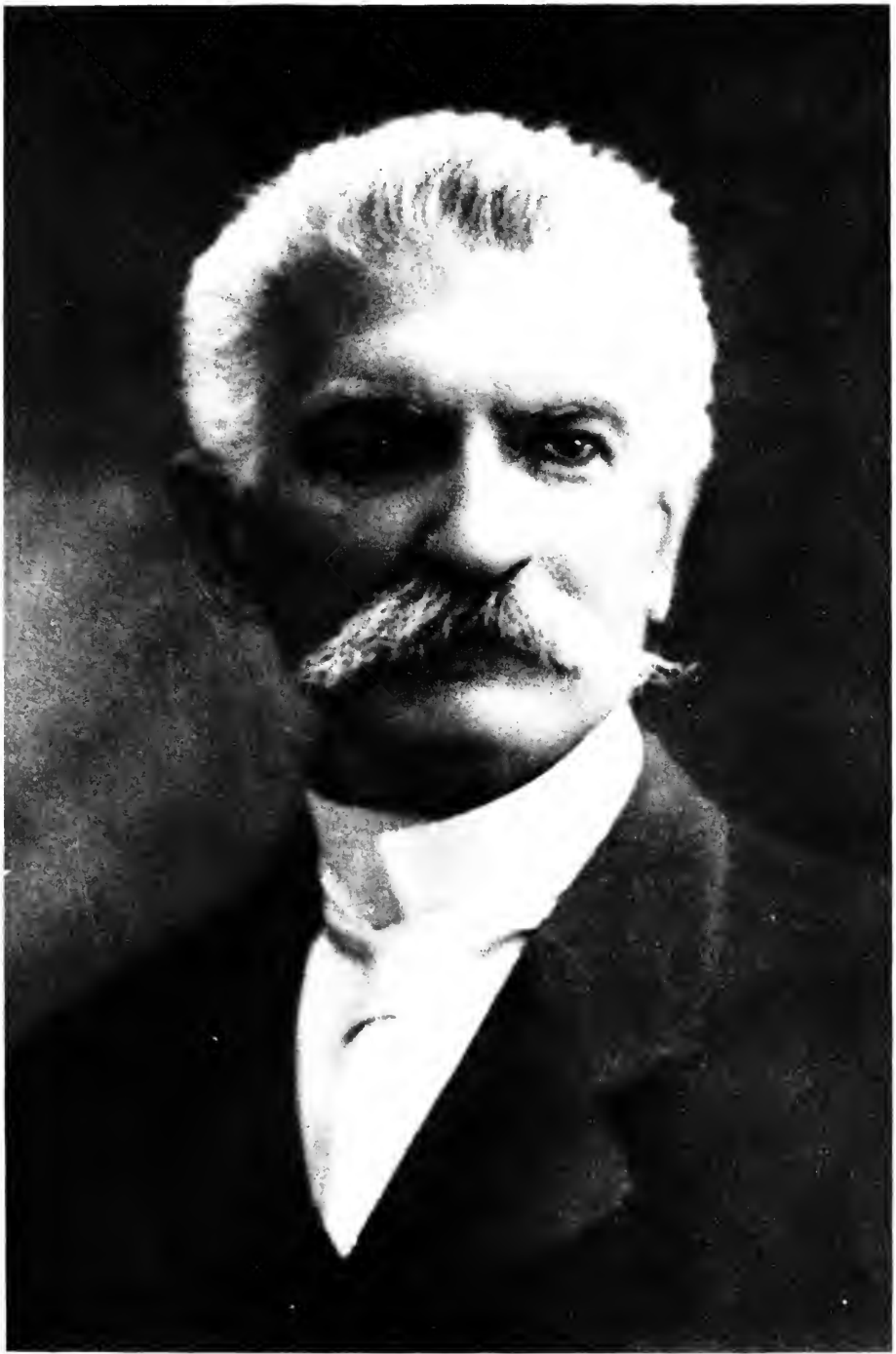
those who are unacquainted with the larger influences can place their sole reliance on the weapons used in physical warfare. They see only the things that are transient and ephemeral; they do not comprehend the higher truth that "the things that are seen are temporal; the things that are unseen are eternal."

Christian nations need to read again Christ's prayer upon the Cross, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." All the participants in this war have sinned enough to make them anxious to exhibit that forgiving spirit which is the measure of the forgiveness which can be claimed.

When can peace be restored? Any time—now, if the participants are really weary of this war and ready for it to end. If any nation is not ready, let its ruler state in clear, distinct, and definite terms the conditions upon which it is willing to agree to peace; then if an agreement is not reached the blame for the continuance of the war will be upon those who make unreasonable demands.

What can be done by the advocates of peace? First, they can crystallize the sentiment in favor of peace into a coercive force, for public opinion at last controls the world. There is a work which the neutrals can do; they can offer mediation, jointly or severally. It is not an act of hostility, but an act of friendship. The Hague Convention, to which all the Governments are parties, expressly declares that the offer of mediation shall not be considered an unfriendly act. The duty of offering mediation may seem to rest primarily upon the United States, the largest of the neutral nations, and the one most intimately bound by ties of blood to all the belligerents. The United States did make an offer immediately after the war began. But why not again and again and again, until our offer or some other offer is accepted? Why not stand at the door and knock, as we would at the door of a friend if we felt that the friend was in need and that we could render a service?

But our action or failure to act need not deter any other neutral country from acting. This is not a time to stand on



BARON SYDNEY SONNINO
Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs
(Photo from Paul Thompson)



FIELD MARSHAL VON MACKENSEN
Who Commanded the Victorious Teutonic Forces Against the Russians
in the Southeast

ceremony; if any other country, for any reason, no matter what that reason may be, is in a better position than we to tender its good offices, it should not delay for a moment. It is for the belligerents to decide which offer, if any, they will accept. I am sure they will not complain if, following the promptings of our hearts, we beseech them to let us help them back to the paths of peace.

Will they object on the ground that they will not consent to any peace until they have assurances that it will be a permanent peace? That suggestion has been made—I think both sides have expressed a desire that the peace, when secured, shall be permanent—but who can give a pledge as to the future? If fear that the peace may not be permanent is given as the reason for refusal it is not a sufficient reason. While no one can stand surety for what may come, it is not difficult to adopt measures which will give far greater assurance of permanent peace than the world has ever known before.

Second—The treaty in which they join should provide for investigation by a permanent international commission of every dispute that may arise, no matter what its character or nature. The United States has already made thirty treaties embodying this principle, and these thirty treaties link our country to nearly three-quarters of all the inhabitants of the world. We have such a treaty in force between the United States and four of the countries now at war—Great Britain, France, Russia, and Italy. The principle of this treaty has been accepted by three other belligerents—Germany, Austria, and Belgium—although treaties with these nations have not yet been negotiated. These seven warring nations have indorsed the principle embodied in these treaties, namely, that there shall be no declaration of war or commencement of hostilities until the subject in dispute has been investigated by an international commission. Why cannot they apply the principle as between themselves? What cause of war is of such magnitude that nations can afford to commence shooting at each

other before the cause is investigated? A treaty such as those which now protect the peace of the United States would give a year's time for investigation and report, and who doubts that a year's time would be sufficient to reach an amicable settlement of almost every difficulty?

Does any one suppose that the present war would have been begun if a year's time had been taken to investigate the dispute between Austria and Serbia? It will be remembered that Serbia had only twenty-four hours in which to reply, and it will also be remembered that during this brief time the rulers of the Old World endeavored to find a means of preventing war. If they had only had some machinery which they could have employed to avert war, how gladly would they have availed themselves of it! The machinery provided by treaty can be resorted to with honor—yes, with honor—no matter how high a sense of honor the nation has. The trouble has been that, while the nations were abundantly provided with machinery for conducting war, they possessed no machinery for the promotion of peace. A year's time allows passion to subside and reason to resume its sway. It allows man to act when he is calm instead of having to act when he is angry. When a man is angry he swaggers around and talks about what he can do, and he often overestimates his strength; when he is calm he considers what he ought to do. When he is angry he hears the rumbling of earthquakes and the sweep of the hurricane; when he is calm he listens to the still small voice of conscience.

Third—While the period of investigation provided for in our treaties will go far toward preventing war, still even a year's deliberation does not give complete protection. In order to secure the investigation of all questions without exception it was necessary to reserve to the contracting parties liberty of action at the conclusion of the investigation. War is thus reduced from a probability to a mere possibility, and this is an immeasurable advance; but the assurance of permanent peace cannot be given un-

til the desire for war is eradicated from the human heart. Compulsory periods of investigation supply the machinery by which nations can maintain peace with honor if they so desire; but the final work of the advocates of peace is educational—it is the cultivation of the spirit of brotherhood condensed into the commandment "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." Is it impossible to imagine a civilization in which greatness will be measured by service and in which the rivalry will be a rivalry in doing good? No one doubts that the lot of each member of society would be infinitely better under such conditions; why not strive to bring about such conditions? Is it visionary to hope and labor for this end? "Where there is no vision the people perish." It is a "death grapple in the darkness 'twixt old systems and the Word." The old system has broken down; it can let loose the furies, but it cannot bind them; it is impotent to save. The question is not whether

the Word will triumph—that is certain—but when? And after what sufferings?

Thomas Carlyle, his voice rising clear and strong above the babble of Mammon, asked, in the closing chapters of his French Revolution:

"Hast thou considered how Thought is stronger than Artillery Parks, and (were it fifty years after death and martyrdom, or were it two thousand years) writes and unwrites Acts of Parliament, removes mountains, models the World like soft clay? Also how the beginning of all Thought worth the name is Love."

The truth which he uttered is still truth, and no matter who uttered it, the thought is the thought of Him who spake as never man spake; who was described in prophecy as the Prince of Peace; whose coming was greeted with the song of "Peace on earth; good-will to men," and whose teachings, when applied, will usher in the enduring peace of a universal brotherhood. W. J. BRYAN.

Bryan, Idealist and Average Man

By Charles Willis Thompson

The subjoined estimate of William J. Bryan's character and public career, which appeared in THE NEW YORK TIMES of June 9, 1915, is by the hand of one of its staff writers who has specialized in American national politics.

THE plain man of the prairie became Secretary of State when William J. Bryan did; the prairie then entered diplomacy, international controversy. The secret of all that has puzzled the land in his behavior lies in that fact. His hold on the West lies in the fact that he is in himself the average man of that country, with that man's ideals, aspirations, defects, and drawbacks. There seems nothing strange or funny in a Secretary of State who goes to New York and signs temperance pledges, or holds Billy Sunday's platform in Philadelphia, when you get a few miles away from the cities; and if it seems a little queer to New York to find

the Secretary of State undertaking to demolish the Darwinian theory, there are plenty of regions where the Darwinian theory is regarded as a device of the devil to upset the Mosaic cosmogony. Chesterton says that Dickens never wrote down to the mob, because he was himself the mob; and Bryan never talked down to the men of the prairie for the same reason.

He is not a man of culture, nor of reading. He has been around the world, but when he came back the books and articles he wrote were such as might have been published as guide books or in encyclopedias; he could have written them without leaving home. Travel had

no broadening or polishing effect upon his mind.

The vast influence he still has is due to the fact that the common man, with all his mistakes and gaucheries, speaks in him, and that when the common man hears his own thoughts spoken in Bryan's voice he knows that the accent is sincere. Bryan may have taken up this or that particular issue because it sounded like a vote-maker, but none of them represented the least divergence from his course as a whole, which has always been honestly bent in a certain plain direction. He never hesitated to be in a minority and never dodged a fight. He is an innocent theorist, who frequently goes wrong because of the simplicity of his mental processes; but he acts upon his theories, right or wrong, with an intrepidity and a whole-hearted courage in which the ordinary man sees the qualities he himself would like to have, and dreams he has. His mind is not broad, but it is strong; he is always sure he is right, and always ready to fight for his beliefs, and he keeps his hold upon his followers because he is not below them, and not much above them, and because they know he is honest and sincere.

In 1906, the Democratic Party, picking itself out of the wreckage of Parker's defeat, was yearning to reunite. "Big business," assaulted and bruised and banged about by President Roosevelt, was ready to come into line. Roosevelt or his candidate could be defeated in 1908 only by Democratic harmony. Bryan was abroad, traveling, and somehow his distant figure looked less appalling than the near-by figure in the White House. The East did not ask him to recant his radicalism, but only not to talk about it. He arrived in New York, and business went to hear him make a harmony speech. If he made it, business would support him for President. He made the speech; he declared for Government ownership of railroads. Business, roaring with pain, fell back into the Republican arms, and Bryan was defeated for President. No, Bryan is not an opportunist—not in things that really matter.

William Bayard Hale once accurately described him as "essentially a preacher, a high-class exhorter, a glorified circuit rider." There are vast spaces of our country still populated by men and women of the old-fashioned kind; Chesterton describes them as "full of stale culture and ancestral simplicity." They are the descendants of the Puritans—intellectually, at any rate—they look askance on cards, dancing, and the stage; they are the kind of folks who peopled the Mississippi Valley in Lincoln's day and Massachusetts in John Hancock's. Bryan does not talk down to that type for votes; he is that type. Colonel George Harvey, with sarcastic intent, alleged that Bryan became a white-ribboner after hearing a little girl recite "The Lips That Touch Liquor Shall Never Touch Mine." There are regions which would accept that parable as Gospel truth, and much to Bryan's credit.

Salem, Ill., is a little town which fairly shrieks at you its pre-eminence as a picture of that type. As you pass through its orderly little streets, with its little frame houses, all of the same kind and all neat and unassuming, with its dirt roads and its typical Town Hall, set correctly back behind a correct little patch of grass in a neat square, you feel instinctively that the Darwinian theory must be avoided in your Salem conversation. You know at once that the same families have lived there for generations. So they have; one of them was Bryan's, and he was born there on March 19, 1860.

Of course, he was the valedictorian of his class—Illinois College, 1881. Of course, he became a lawyer; and, of course, in the Middle West, that involved politics. He lived now in Lincoln, Neb., in a Republican district, but he was a Democrat. There was a landslide in 1890. The whole country went Democratic, and many a forlorn hope leader in some hide-bound Republican district was swept into Congress, Bryan among them. He made a great speech on the tariff, which won him instantly a national reputation; but Lincoln had recovered its Republican poise, and he did not go back to Con-

gress. He added to his reputation in his own State, however, as editor of its chief Democratic organ, *The Omaha World-Herald*, and went to Chicago as the head of its delegation to the National Convention of 1896.

At a moment when David B. Hill's masterly presentation of the gold-standards case and Tillman's failure in his effort at rejoinder had thrown a wet blanket over the silverites, Bryan came forward with his "Cross of Gold" speech. The cheering delegations carried him around the hall on their shoulders. None of the candidates before the convention was dominating or really of Presidential size; the convention was deadlocked for many ballots, and at last it turned to Bryan and nominated him.

His defeat by McKinley really marked the beginning of his career as a national leader. Despite the accident which had made him the Democracy's nominal leader, he demonstrated that he was the ablest of the radicals into whose hands it had fallen, and his nominal chieftainship became a real one. It was evident from the beginning that he would be re-nominated in 1900. When the Spanish war broke out he offered his services and became Colonel of the Third Nebraska Regiment. The Republican Administration was taking no chances on his getting any military glory, and it marooned him in Florida till after the war. He returned good for evil by going to Washington, uniform and all, and dragooning reluctant Democratic Senators into voting for the treaty with Spain whereby we acquired the Philippines. This was one of his incidental opportunisms; he believed it would give the Democrats a winning issue, that of imperialism. The cast of Bryan's mind is such that he always gets his winning issues on wrong end foremost; it gave the Republicans a winning issue, that of imperialism.

Bryan went down to defeat again in 1900, on this new issue, and as usual epitaphs were written over his political grave. It is a favorite parlor game; but Bryan never stays dead, because there is something enduring in him. What is it? That same spokesmanship for the aver-

age man of many regions, the man of the little parlor with the melodeon or parlor organ, the plush-bound photograph album and the "History of the San Francisco Earthquake" bought by subscription from a book agent, and the grandfather's clock in the corner of the hall.

But in 1904 the Democratic leaders, tired of defeat, turned desperately to the opposite wing of the party. The radical leaders, really opportunists, forswore or hid their convictions for the sake of victory, tried to teach their unskillful tongues the language of conservatism, and joined in with the conservatives in the nomination of Parker. But Bryan did not yield; he forswore nothing, hid nothing, and he fought a lonely fight, the bravest of his life.

His fight was of one man against a multitude. Alone, he had to be everywhere; he was in the Committee on Resolutions, in the Committee on Credentials, on the floor of the convention, speaking, fighting, working, twenty hours a day. He had no one to help him; all his fellows were on the other side, strangling their convictions and fighting against him. He was insulted on the platform, even by fellow-radicals; he was elbowed aside and snarled at by men who had been more radical than himself; attempts were made to deny him a hearing. Nothing could daunt him or perturb him; he fought on until Parker was nominated, went to his hotel at dawn as the convention adjourned, and fell into his bed in utter collapse. A doctor was summoned, who said that Bryan must instantly give up all work and undergo treatment.

That evening the news came that Parker had refused to run unless the word "gold" was written into the platform; the convention was thrown into panic; the sick man rose from his bed and entered the wild and turbulent hall, white-faced, breathing with difficulty, sweat pouring down his face, and there took up the work again, single-handed still. He fought on all night, was defeated again, and went under the doctor's hands. Those speeches in that convention were really the greatest of his

life, though they may not read as well as others; each of them was a battle.

Parker's defeat by Roosevelt again erased that ever-recurring epitaph over Bryan's political grave. It was evident at once that nothing could prevent him from being again the candidate in 1908. Again he was defeated, and again the epitaph was jubilantly rewritten. He was extinguished, he would never again be an influence in the party; it was, to use the phrase of 1896, 1900, and 1904, "the end of Bryan."

Again the epitaph had to be erased. He was so far from being extinguished that he became the dominating force of the convention of 1912. There is no doubt in the mind of the writer, who was there, that Bryan had given up all hope of running for President, because, as he expressed it in a thrilling midnight speech at that convention, he recognized at last that he had too many enemies ever to expect to win. But he did determine to be a king-maker if he could not be a king, and king-maker he was.

Not even the convention of 1904 showed Bryan in better light as a fighter than that of 1912. He was determined that the reactionaries should not control the convention. At the beginning he was defeated, but defeat never affected Bryan in the least in all his life, and this time, as usual, he only went on fighting. When the convention rejected him for Temporary Chairman and elected Parker, the embodiment of all he opposed, he merely took a fresh hold and fought harder.

When he swung Nebraska from Champ Clark to Wilson he had won, and thereafter Wilson's nomination was only a question of time. He was the centre of violent scenes, as when maddened men swept down upon him and shook their standards in his face and seemed on the verge of assaulting him. When he tried to get a hearing and the opposition shouted him down, he simply climbed up on the platform beside the Chairman and forced them to hear. Once, while the whole convention seemed to be yelling at him, and he stood in the midst of a whirlwind of angry noise, ex-Gov-

ernor McCorkle of West Virginia, jumping up and facing him, shrieked in a voice heard above the cyclone: "Are you a Democrat?"

"My Democracy has been certified to by six and a half million voters. But," pointing his palm-leaf fan at McCorkle, with magnificent contempt, "I will ask the secretary to record one vote in the negative if the gentleman will give me his name."

He won; Wilson was nominated. He brought his great following into line for an Eastern man, and Wilson was elected. The new President, following a precedent set by Taylor, Garfield, and Harrison, made him Secretary of State.

Then Bryan showed a new side of his character to the country. He effaced himself in Wilson's interest; he became a loyal subordinate, accepting a minor place cheerfully and laboring with might and main to make the Administration a success. It is chiefly due to his efforts that it was one for its first two years. The new President was unknown to most of his party, and the legislation he recommended would have met with internal opposition but for Bryan. The Secretary whipped his followers into line even for legislation so repugnant to them as the Currency bill, and the Presidential program went through. In two years Mr. Wilson had become a definite personality to the country, and had a following of his own; but his initial success was due to Bryan, and but for Bryan Mr. Wilson might have had to face a party as divided as did Cleveland, and might have seen his Administration wrecked as Cleveland's was.

Mr. Bryan hoped to make an enduring name for himself as Secretary of State. In the years that had elapsed since he was Colonel of the Third Nebraska he had become an ardent pacifist, and he dreamed of going into history with a title greater than that of any other statesman who ever lived—for such, surely, would have been the meed of the man who abolished war. That mind of his, honest as the day, but far from great; strong but not broad, sees everything as simple, not as complex. Is there

a wrong? Why, then, abolish it; it is as simple as A B C. War is wrong; therefore let us stop it. How? Why, get everybody to agree not to fight without taking a year to look into the thing. And he busied himself drafting and negotiating treaties with all the world to get it to agree to this simple but certain remedy. The "glorified circuit rider" was at the head of the Department of State of the United States. If anybody had suggested to him that there were nations which no treaty could bind, he would have answered, in the style of the prayer-meeting exhorter, "Ah! I have a higher faith in human nature." So he worked busily, building himself his niche in the temple of fame, and meanwhile the greatest war in history broke out.

With such a mind as has been described, it is evident that this event could not shake Mr. Bryan's confidence in himself or his remedies. To him it was obvious that the war came because the nations involved had not signed his treaty; if they had, Germany would have abided by it; would not have dreamed of treating it as a scrap of paper; would have waited the prescribed year, and Austria would have given Serbia the same time to reply to her ultimatum. The mischief was done, but he set about heroically to repair it; he sought to have the United States intervene as a peacemaker; he sought to prevent the

United States from protecting its citizens on the high seas, since that seemed likely to lead to war; and at last, finding his efforts of no avail, he resigned.

No one who had seen him in his unequal fights for his principles on less momentous occasions could doubt that he would fight for them to the end on this greatest one. There is no parallel to his action in American history. So far as its political aspects are concerned, the nearest thing to it is Blaine's resignation from Harrison's Cabinet in 1892; but that only faintly resembles it. Blaine did not resign because of any difference in principles, but because he wanted to fight the Administration; and the superficial resemblance lies only in the similarity of the relations of the two Presidents to their Secretaries of State.

Bryan leaves the Cabinet saddened, but not disillusioned. When he had been Secretary of State two months he said that he would not have taken office "if I thought there was to be a war during my tenure." "I believe," he added, "there will be no war while I am Secretary of State, and I believe there will be no war so long as I live." It has not come out that way; it might have so easily come out that way if only Germany had signed that treaty of his! But he is not disillusioned; nothing can disillusion him; his ideal is still only a day or two ahead of him, and he resigns to fight for it, since fight for it in the Cabinet he cannot any longer.

In the Name of Peace.

By LAVINIA V. WHITNEY.

(After Kipling.)

When the last of the soldiers has fallen, and the cannons lie twisted aside,
When the last of all homes has been ruined, and the heart of the youngest girl bride,
We shall wake from our terrible madness, and pause for an eon or two,
Till the Master of all the good soldiers shall call us to battle anew.

Then those that were brave shall be braver—they shall love with a love more fair;
They shall hear, o'er a worldwide battlefield, the Voice of their God in the air;
They shall have the real saints for their comrades—Magdalene, Peter, and Paul;
They shall fight unembittered, and never again shall be weary at all.

And only the Master shall praise us, for only the Master shall lead;
And no one shall fight for his country, and none for his honor or creed;
But each for the Master Who loves him, and Teuton and Briton and all
Shall fight, each the cause of the other, for the God of the Love of us All!

A World League to Enforce Peace

By William Howard Taft, ex-President of the United States.

President Wilson on June 15 denied the statement, cabled from Europe, that the United States was the only great neutral Government that had not encouraged the movement among neutral nations looking to a conference of neutrals to end the European conflict. To this Government, said the President, answering a direct inquiry, had been given no more opportunity than everybody knew in furthering a neutral movement for peace. He stated that this Government had supported everything of the sort as far as it could legitimately. It had done everything that was for peace and accommodation, he added. But the great drawback has been that none of the warring Governments has directly, that is officially, indicated that it would respond sympathetically to any suggestion that it become a party to a movement to end the war. The idea of a league of neutral nations, having for its object a concerted effort to bring about peace, is reported to be in the back of the President's mind, and members of the Cabinet have given some thought to the suggestion, which might contemplate the firm maintenance of neutral rights if peace could not be obtained, but the situation has not developed to a point where the American Government is ready to make a definite move.

Meanwhile, as the outgrowth of a series of meetings held in the Century Club, New York, terminating in a call for a conference signed by a National Provisional Committee of 109 members headed by ex-President Taft, an organization known as the League to Enforce Peace, American Branch, was formed on June 17, 1915, in Independence Hall, Philadelphia. The purpose of the conference was explained by Mr. Taft in his address as President, which appears in full below.

MY fellow-seekers after peace, we thank you for your cordial greeting. In calling this meeting my associates and I have not been unaware that we might be likened to the tailors of Tooley Street, who mistook themselves for the people of England. We wish first to say that we do not represent anybody but ourselves. We are not national legislators, nor do we control the foreign policy of this Government. A number of us were invited to dinner at the Century Club (New York) by four generous hosts, who were deeply interested in devising a plan for an international agreement by which, when this present war shall cease, a recurrence of such a war will be made less probable.

We are not here to suggest a means of bringing this war to an end; much as that is to be desired and much as we would be willing to do to obtain peace, that is not within the project of the present meeting.

We hope and pray for peace, and our hope of its coming in the near future is sufficient to make us think that the present is a good time to discuss and formulate a series of proposals to which the assent of a number of the great powers

could be secured. *We think a League of Peace could be formed that would enable nations to avoid war by furnishing a practical means of settling international quarrels, or suspending them until the blinding heat of passion had cooled.*

When the World Conference is held our country will have its official representatives to speak for us. "We, Tailors of Tooley Street," will not be there, but if, in our sartorial leisure, we shall have discussed and framed a practical plan for a league of peace, our official representatives will be aided and may in their discretion accept it and present it to the conference as their own.

There are Tooley Streets in every nation today and the minds of earnest men are being stirred with the same thought and the same purpose. We have heard from them through various channels. The denizens of those Tooley Streets will have their influence upon their respective official representatives. No man can measure the effect upon the peoples of the belligerent countries and upon the peoples of the neutral countries—the horrors and exhaustion that this unprecedented war is going to have. It is certain they all will look with much more

favorable eye to leagues for the preservation of peace than ever before.

In no war has the direct interest that neutrals have in preventing a war between neighbors been so closely made known.

This interest of neutrals has been so forced upon them that it would require only a slight development and growth in the law of international relations to develop that interest into a right to be consulted before such a war among neighbors can be begun. This step we hope to have taken by the formation of a Peace League of the Great Powers, whose primary and fundamental principle shall be that no war can take place between any two members of the league until they have resorted to the machinery that the league proposes to furnish to settle the controversy likely to lead to war.

If any member refuses to use this machinery and attacks another member of the league in breach of his league obligation, all members of the league agree to defend the members attacked by force.

We do not think the ultimate resort to force can be safely omitted from an effective League of Peace. We sincerely hope that it may never become necessary, and that the deterrent effect of its inevitable use in case of a breach of the league obligation will help materially to give sanction to the laws of the league and to render a resort to force avoidable.

We are not peace-at-any-price men, because we do not think we have reached the time when a plan based on the complete abolition of war is impracticable. So long as nations partake of the frailties of men who compose them, war is a possibility, and that possibility should not be ignored in any League of Peace that is to be useful. We do not think it necessary to call peace-at-any-price men cowards or apply other epithets to them. We have known in history the most noble characters who adhered to such a view and yet whose physical and moral courage is a heritage of mankind.

To those who differ with us in our view of the necessity for this feature of possible force in our plan, we say we re-

spect your attitude. We admit your claim to sincere patriotism to be as just as ours. We do not ascribe your desire to avoid war to be a fear of death to yourselves or your sons; but rather to your sense of the horrors, injustice, and ineffectiveness of settling any international issue by such a brutal arbitrament. Nevertheless, we differ with you in judgment that, in the world of nations as they are, war can be completely avoided.

We believe it is still necessary to use a threat of overwhelming force of a great league with a willingness to make the threat good in order to frighten nations into a use of rational and peaceful means to settle their issues with their associates of the league. Nor are we militarists or jingoes. We are trying to follow a middle path.

Now what is the machinery, a resort to which we wish to force an intending belligerent of the league—it consists of two tribunals, to one of which every issue must be submitted. Issues between nations are of two classes:

First—Issues that can be decided on principles of international law and equity, called justiciable.

Second—Issues that cannot be decided on such principles of law and equity, but which might be quite as irritating and provocative of war, called non-justiciable.

The questions of the Alaskan boundary, of the Bering Sea seal fishing, and of the Alabama Claims were justiciable issues that could be settled by a court, exactly as the Supreme Court would settle claims between States. The questions whether the Japanese should be naturalized, whether all American citizens should be admitted to Russia as merchants without regard to religious faith, are capable of causing great irritation against the nation denying the privilege, and yet such nations, in the absence of a treaty on the subject, are completely within their international right, and the real essence of the trouble cannot be aided by a resort to a court. The trouble is non-justiciable.

We propose that for justiciable questions we shall have an impartial court

to which all questions arising between members of the league shall be submitted. If the court finds the question justiciable, it shall decide it. If it does not, it shall refer it to a Commission of Conciliation to investigate, confer, hear argument, and recommend a compromise.

We do not propose to enforce compliance either with the court's judgment or the Conciliation Commission's recommendations. We feel that we ought not to attempt too much—we believe that the forced submission and the truce taken to investigate the judicial decision or the conciliatory compromise recommended will form a material inducement to peace. It will cool the heat of passion, and will give the men of peace in each nation time to still the jingoes.

The League of Peace will furnish a great opportunity for more definite formulation of the principles of international law. The arbitral court will amplify it and enrich it in their application of its general principles to particular cases. They will create a body of Judge-made law of the highest value. Then the existence of the league will lead to ever-recurring congresses of the league, which, acting in a quasi-legislative capacity, may widen the scope of international law in a way that a court may not feel able or competent to do.

This is our plan. It is not so complicated—at least, in statement. In its practical application difficulties now unforeseen may arise, but we believe it offers a working hypothesis upon which a successful arrangement can be made.

We are greeted first by the objection that no treaties can prevent war. We are not called upon to deny this in order

to justify or vindicate our proposals as useful. We realize that nations sometimes are utterly immoral in breaking treaties and shamelessly bold in avowing their right to do so on the ground of necessity; but this is not always the case. We cannot give up treaties because sometimes they are broken any more than we can give up commercial contracts because men sometimes dishonor themselves in breaking them. We decline to assume that all nations always are dishonorable, or that a solemn treaty obligation will not have some deterrent effect upon a nation that has plighted its faith to prevent its breach. *When we add to this the sanction of an agreement by a number of powerful nations to enforce the obligation of the recalcitrant and faithless member, we think we have a treaty that is much more than a "scrap of paper"—and we base our faith in this on a common-sense view of human nature.*

It is objected that we propose only to include the more powerful nations. We'll gladly include them all. But we don't propose to have the constitution of our court complicated by a demand for equal representation of the many smaller nations. We believe that when we have a league of larger powers the smaller powers will be glad to come in and enjoy the protection that the league will afford against the unjust aggression of the strong against the weak.

It is suggested that we invite a conference of neutral nations to bring about measures for present peace and to formulate demands as to the protection of neutral rights. This may be a good plan, but, as Kipling says, that is another story.

The League to Enforce Peace

Personnel and Text of the Resolutions Adopted

RESOLUTIONS.

[Adopted in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, June 17, 1915.]

Throughout 5,000 years of recorded his-

tory, peace, here and there established, has been kept, and its area has been widened, in one way only. Individuals have combined their efforts to suppress violence in the local community. Com-

munities have co-operated to maintain the authoritative state and to preserve peace within its borders. States have formed leagues or confederations or have otherwise co-operated to establish peace among themselves. Always peace has been made and kept, when made and kept at all, by the superior power of superior numbers acting in unity for the common good.

Mindful of this teaching of experience, we believe and solemnly urge that the time has come to devise and to create a working union of sovereign nations to establish peace among themselves and to guarantee it by all known and available sanctions at their command, to the end that civilization may be conserved, and the progress of mankind in comfort, enlightenment, and happiness may continue.

We, therefore, believe it to be desirable for the United States to join a league of nations binding the signatories to the following:

1. All justiciable questions arising between the signatory powers, not settled by negotiations, shall, subject to the limitations of treaties, be submitted to a judicial tribunal for hearing and judgment, both upon the merits and upon any issue as to its jurisdiction of the question.

2. All other questions arising between the signatories and not settled by negotiation shall be submitted to a Council of Conciliation for hearing, consideration, and recommendation.

3. The signatory powers shall jointly use forthwith both their economic and military forces against any one of their number that goes to war, or commits acts of hostility, against another of the signatories before any question arising shall be submitted as provided in the foregoing.

4. Conferences between the signatory powers shall be held from time to time to formulate and codify rules of international law, which, unless some signatory shall signify its dissent within a stated period, shall thereafter govern the decision of the judicial tribunal mentioned in Article 1.

There were half a dozen brief speeches in favor of the report. John Wanamaker did not think the report went far enough. He had hoped the conference would send out a message to the warring nations that would make them pause and think. He could not help but favor the report, he added, but felt that it, standing alone without any further action, would be laughed at by those on the other side of the Atlantic.

It is expected the Executive Committee will meet in the near future to adopt plans to carry out the objects of the league. One of the things that probably will be done, according to members of the Executive Committee, will be to start a propaganda in this country with a view to having the United States Senate adopt measures in line with the object of the league. Mr. Taft said today that, judging by its action in rejecting treaties in the past, the chief stumbling block to the aspirations of the league would be the Senate. Steps will also be taken to get European countries interested in the league.

ORGANIZATION.

President.

William Howard Taft.

Vice Presidents.

Lyman Abbott,	W. A. White,
Edwin A. Alderman,	George G. Wilson,
A. Graham Bell,	Luther B. Wilson,
R. Blankenburg,	Oliver Wilson,
Charles R. Brown,	Stephen S. Wise,
Francis E. Clark,	T. S. Woolsey,
John H. Finley,	James L. Slayden,
W. D. Foulke,	David H. Greer,
James Cardinal Gibbons,	Bernard N. Baker,
W. Gladden,	Victor L. Berger,
George Gray,	Edward Bok,
Myron T. Herrick,	Arthur J. Brown,
John G. Hibben,	Edward O. Browne,
George C. Holt,	R. Fulton Cutting,
D. P. Kingsley,	John F. Fort,
S. W. McCall,	A. W. Harris,
J. B. McCreary,	L. L. Hobbs,
Victor H. Metcalf,	George H. Lorimer,
John Mitchell,	Edgar O. Lovett,
John B. Moore,	S. B. McCormick,
Alton B. Parker,	Martin B. Madden,
George H. Prouty,	Charles Nagel,
Jacob H. Schiff,	George A. Plimpton,
John C. Schaffer,	Isaac Sharpless,
Robert Sharp,	William F. Slocum,
Edgar F. Smith,	Dan Smiley,
C. R. Van Hise,	F. H. Strawbridge,
B. I. Wheeler,	Joseph Swain,
Harry A. Wheeler,	Edwin Warfield,
Andrew D. White,	H. St. G. Tucker.

Executive Committee.

W. H. Mann,	Hamilton Holt,
John B. Clark,	Theodore Marburg,
J. M. Dickinson,	W. B. Howland,
Austen G. Fox,	John H. Hammond,
Henry C. Morris,	W. H. Short,
Leo S. Rowe,	A. L. Lowell,
Oscar S. Straus,	John A. Stewart,
Thomas R. White,	William H. Taft.

German-American Dissent

By Hugo Muensterberg.

The subjoined letter from Hugo Muensterberg, Professor of Psychology at Harvard University, is addressed to Augustus J. Cadwalader, Secretary of the National Provisional Committee for the League to Enforce Peace.

Clifton, Mass., June 9, 1915.

Dear Sir: I beg to express my thanks for the courtesy of the invitation to attend the conference of the League of Peace in Independence Hall under the Presidency of the Hon. W. H. Taft. I feel myself, of course, in deepest sympathy with the spirit of justice and peacefulness which has suggested the foundation of such a league. Nevertheless, I beg to be excused from attendance, as I am convinced that this time of international excitement and prejudice is unfit for the crystallization of new forms for the common life of the nations.

I venture, however, to add that I feel in any case grave doubts of the value of any plans which aim to secure future peace by the traditional type of agreements and treaties. We live in the midst of a war in which one belligerent nation after another has felt obliged to disregard treaties and to interpret agreements in a one-sided way. Only yesterday Italy, without any reason of vital necessity, annulled an agreement and a treaty which had appeared the firmest in European politics, and which yet failed in the first hour of clashing interests. A psychologist has no right to expect that the national temper of the future will be different.

Moreover, the Supreme Court of the United States has sanctioned the idea, which is shared practically by all nations, that treaties are no longer binding when a situation has changed so that the fulfillment of the agreement would be against the vital interests of the nation. We have learned during the last ten months how easily such disburdening changes can be discovered as soon as the national passions are awakened.

The new plan depends upon only one new feature by which the mutual agreement is to be fortified against the demands of national excitement. The plan of the League of Peace promises the joint use of military forces in case that one nation is unwilling to yield. But the world witnesses today the clear proof that even the greatest combination of fighting forces may be unable to subdue by mere number a nation which is ready to make any sacrifice for its convictions. One hundred and fifty millions are attacked by eight hundred and fifty millions, by joint forces from five continents, which moreover are backed by the economic forces of the richest country in the world; and yet after ten months of fighting one million prisoners, but no other hostile soldiers, stand on German soil. After this practical example the plan merely to join the military forces will less than ever appear a convincing argument in an hour in which a nation feels its existence or its honor threatened. For a long time we heard the claim that the Socialists and the bankers would now make great wars impossible; both prophecies have failed. The threat that the warring nation will have to face the world in arms will be no less futile. But the failure in this case will be disastrous, as the terms of such an agreement would draw many nations into the whirlpool which would have no reason of their own for entering the war.

The interests of strong growing nations will lead in the future as in the past to conflicts in which both sides are morally in the right and in which one must yield. We have no right to hope that after this war the nations will be more willing to give up their chances

in such conflicts without having appealed to force. On the contrary, the world has now become accustomed to war and will therefore more easily return to the trenches. The break between England and Russia and finally the threatening cloud of world conflict between Occident and Orient can already be seen on the horizon; the battles of today may be only the preamble. In such tremendous hours the new-fashioned agreements would be cobwebs which surely could not bind the arms of any energetic nation.

But, worst of all, they would not only be ineffective—they would awake a treacherous confidence. The nations would deceive themselves with a feeling of safety, while all true protection would be lacking. The first step forward toward our common goal must be to learn the two lessons of the war of today and to face them unflinchingly; mere agreements do not and can not bind any nation on the globe in an hour of vital need, and the mere joining of

forces widens and protracts a war, but does not hinder it. We must learn that success for peace endeavors can be secured only from efforts to avert war which are fundamentally different from the old patterns of pledges and threats. These old means were negative; we need positive ones.

If a psychologist can contribute anything to the progress of mankind, he must, first of all, offer the advice not to rely on plans by which the attention is focused on the disasters which are to be avoided. Education by forbidding the wrong action instead of awaking the impulses toward the right one is as unpromising for peoples as it is for individuals. We must truly build up from within. But a time in which the war news of every hour appeals to sympathies and antipathies is hardly the time to begin this sacred work, which alone could bring us the blessed age of our vision, the United States of the World.

HUGO MUENSTERBERG.

Chant of Loyalty.

By ELIAS LIEBERMAN.

Firm as the furnace heat
Rivets the bars of steel,
Thus to thy destiny,
Flag, are we plighted;
One are the hearts that beat,
One is the throb we feel,
One in our loyalty,
Stand we united.

Many a folk have brought
Sinew and brawn to thee;
Many an ancient wrong
Well hast thou righted;
Here in the land we sought,
Stanchly, from sea to sea,
Here, where our hearts belong,
Stand we united.

Ask us to pay the price,
All that we have to give,
Nothing shall be denied,
All be required;
Ready for sacrifice,
Ready for thee to live,
Over the country wide,
Stand we united.

One under palm and pine,
One in the prairie sun,
One on the rock-bound shore,
Liberty-sighted;
All that we have is thine,
Thine, who hast made us one,
True to thee evermore,
Stand we united.

American Munition Supplies

The Alleged German Plot to Buy Control of Their Sources

The following dispatch from Washington, dated June 8, 1915, appeared in The Chicago Herald:

President Wilson and his Cabinet considered today the known fact that German interests, reported backed by the German Government, are negotiating for the purchase of the great gun and munition of war plants in this country.

Secretary McAdoo of the Treasury laid the matter before the Cabinet. He had information from Secret Service agents of the Government who have been following these German activities for some weeks. It is reported today, confirming The Herald dispatch of last night, that the plants for which negotiations are on include that of Charles M. Schwab at Bethlehem, Penn.; the Remington small arms works at Hartford, Conn., and the Cramp works at Philadelphia, which, it is said, Schwab is about to acquire; the Metallic Cartridge Company, the Remington Company, and other munition and small arms works.

Included in the Schwab plant holdings are the Fore River Shipbuilding Company, Massachusetts, and the Union Iron Works, San Francisco, where it is reported parts of submarines are being made for English contract, shipment being made through Canada.

This new move of the Germans involves the outlay of hundreds of millions, a gigantic financial operation in the face of war needs and conditions. It is one of the most sensational developments of the present conflict in connection with the United States. Its consummation inevitably would lead this country into serious disagreement, if not conflict, with Great Britain and the Allies.

The latter will demand the fulfillment of their contracts with these concerns.

The German move is to prevent this delivery of munitions of war. With the consummation of the purchases, the German owners could refuse to fill these contracts. They will not fear suits for broken contracts.

The whole matter is fraught with such possibilities of danger to this country that Attorney General Gregory and the experts of the Department of Justice have taken up the question with a view to interposing legal obstacles. It may become necessary, it was suggested today, to prevent such a sale on the grounds of public welfare because of strained relations with Germany.

Secretary McAdoo will not disclose who are the agents for the German interests seeking to purchase the munitions plants, or who are the financial backers. The Secret Service men are believed to know these details, having been on the investigation for three weeks. Rich Germans in the United States are believed to be interested.

Charles M. Schwab, head of the Bethlehem Company, came here two weeks ago in response to an urgent summons. He saw Secretary McAdoo, Secretary Daniels, and other officials. At that time it was given out that he was conferring as to details of supplies to be furnished this Government under contracts for new warship construction about to be awarded. It is now understood that Secretary McAdoo sought information as to the negotiations under way at that time for the purchase of the munitions plants in this country by the German interests.

The report of Secretary McAdoo today stirred the Cabinet as deeply almost as the resignation of Secretary of State Bryan. Complete reports were asked and the Secret Service arm of the Government will be required to fur-

nish immediately more complete and detailed information.

Of the efforts to obtain control of the munitions companies, The Providence Journal of June 9, 1915, reported:

Acting under the personal instructions of the German Ambassador, several German bankers of New York have been working together for the last week on preliminary negotiations for the purchase of every large plant they can lay their hands on which is now engaged in turning out munitions of war for the Allies.

Count von Bernstorff, Dr. Dernburg, and two well-known German bankers held a conference at the German Embassy in Washington on Tuesday, June 1. At that conference the Ambassador outlined in detail instructions he had received the day before from Berlin to proceed with this propaganda, and he declared to the three men there present that his Government considered the success of the plan as of vital importance, superseding every other phase of the war situation.

The bankers at once returned to New York, and at a meeting next day with Captain Boy-Ed and several other men at the German Club outlined their plan of campaign.

For months past the German Ambassador has been in possession of a list of factories all over the country engaged in turning out munitions of war for the Allies. Last Saturday a concerted movement was begun toward securing a majority control of many of these plants.

When one of the bankers at the conference in Washington asked the Ambassador if he had any conception of the magnitude of the financial problems involved in the scheme he replied that his Government was fully prepared to pay everything necessary, and repeated that the fate of the empire might rest on the success or failure of the plan. He then added these words:

"There is no limit, gentlemen, to the amount of money available."

The activities of the representatives of Count von Bernstorff in this matter

have already brought them up to the point of negotiation, or attempted negotiation, with the Fore River Shipbuilding Company, the Remington Arms Company, the Bethlehem Steel Company, and the Union Metallic Cartridge Company.

Government officials, when notified of this new propaganda yesterday, were a unit in declaring it was impossible to believe that such a scheme could be carried through successfully. In the first place, they pointed out that activity of this kind would be a direct violation of the Sherman act, and, secondly, a case of conspiracy would lie against individuals attempting such a movement for wholesale violation of contracts, which would become necessary in order to carry the plan to its successful conclusion.

The moment the German agents in New York began to disclose their purpose, several cunning individuals who have had some slight connection with the contracts for supplying the Allies with various materials have deliberately put themselves in the path of these agents under the pretext that they already had contracts, or were about to be given contracts, and have already mulcted the German Government of many thousands of dollars.

In two specific cases men have talked of having contracts for picric acid—the manufacture of which necessitates the most skilled training, with most expensive and complicated machinery, and which is only being attempted in four places in this country, and were promptly paid off, on their pledge that they would violate these alleged agreements. One of these deals was made in the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel last Saturday.

Another case, which is fully authenticated, is that of a Western dealer in horses, who delivered 1,500 horses to the port of New Orleans for the British Government last January. As soon as he ascertained what the German agents were doing, he produced his receipt for delivery of his first and only order, and declared he was now searching for 5,000 horses, in addition, for the British Government. On his pledge to abandon this

search, he was given \$2,500 by German agents.

The keen anxiety of the German Government, acting through the embassy in Washington, to deprive the Allies of any shipments of war materials that they can possibly stop is based on the result of calculations made in Berlin and forwarded to this country two weeks ago, which profess to show that the Allies cannot possibly arm their increasing forces or secure ammunition for their great numbers of large guns from their own resources, and that they must have the help of this country in order to accomplish their purpose. The German representatives also thoroughly believe that without this assistance the Allies cannot continue and complete an aggressive campaign, driving the Kaiser's armies out of Belgium and France.

In THE NEW YORK TIMES of June 9, 1915, appeared the following statement of counter-negotiations to checkmate the German operators in America:

Negotiations for the purchase of arms and ammunition manufactories in this country have been under way for some little time, it is asserted, but so quietly have they been conducted that no hint of them became public until yesterday. Yet, coincident with their disclosure, came yesterday, also, announcement of a contract for the manufacture for the Allies of shrapnel and high explosive shells on the greatest scale yet undertaken by an American corporation, which revealed as could nothing else how carefully these supposedly secret dealings had been discovered, watched, and checkmated by the Allies.

This contract, all but the smallest details of which are said to be settled, is to be taken by the General Electric Company, directors of which admitted that the total involved would be at least \$100,000,000 and might run far in excess of this figure. In fact, the order was spoken of as limited more by the capacity of the General Electric's plants than by any restricting order of the Allies.

The significance of this contract does not lie wholly, or even chiefly, in its size,

for the American Locomotive Company recently closed a \$65,000,000 contract with the Allies for shells. What is considered of especial note is that less than a week ago an official of the General Electric stated emphatically that his company had not taken any orders and was not negotiating for any despite the fact that for some time a proposal to specialize in war orders had been under consideration. Less than a week ago the company had reached a negative decision and less than a week ago there was no reason to suppose that it would rescind this decision.

J. P. Morgan & Co., fiscal agents for Great Britain and France in the matter of war supplies, then entered the field. Charles Steele, a partner in the banking house, is a Director of the General Electric Company and negotiations went forward rapidly. These were conducted with a secrecy which exceeded that even of the German interests with the other arms and ammunition companies, but there are several factors which, it is known, were of prime importance in effecting the General Electric's change of policy.

In the past much valuable time has been lost in the distribution of orders among a score or so of concerns which have had facilities for making shells, ordnance, and so forth. Competitive bidding for parts of contracts has held back the finished product and successful bidders have frequently been handicapped by inability to obtain necessary machinery.

Now plans for accelerating manufacture in all war lines have been launched by David Lloyd George, the new British Minister of Munitions, and in the shadow of his influence J. P. Morgan & Co. have practically brought to a conclusion plans to centre future war orders in a few great companies, with the General Electric Company as the dominant unit.

The extent to which the banking house used its tremendous influence is problematical, but it is history that Mr. Lloyd George has been bringing all pressure to bear to increase England's supplies, and with them the supplies of the re-

maining allies, since British purchasing agents are, to a large extent, looking after the interests of France and Russia, and it may be inferred that the Morgan firm has been as active as possible in carrying out the wishes of the European nations.

Persons in touch with the progress being made in war orders state that the British authorities have become greatly concerned over their supplies of ammunition at hand and in process of manufacture. While orders aggregating many hundreds of millions of dollars have been placed in this country and Canada, deliveries have been disappointing. Canadian plants got to work early in the war, but the delay in ordering supplies in the United States and other neutral countries has seriously affected the efficiency of the allied armies in France and Poland, it is said.

The experience of the American Locomotive Company is typical of the situation. After negotiations which covered several weeks, the company procured a contract which is said to amount to approximately \$65,000,000 for shells. During the discussion of terms, and even before, the Locomotive officials were busy buying the necessary lathes and other machinery, but installation of equipment and the training of men could not be done in a few days. The contract was definitely closed six weeks ago, but the company has only begun to turn out the shells at its Richmond plant, and it was said in authoritative quarters that several weeks more would pass before anything like a substantial output would be possible.

The centring of manufacture in a single, or a few, great plants carries the additional and chief advantage to Great Britain and the Allies, that no efforts of Germany can now cut off their ammunition supply. The stoppage of this supply has been one of Germany's chief concerns since the war began, and by embargo propaganda here and by the attempt to create sentiment she has tried to cut down the supplies reaching the Allies from this country.

Well-founded gossip in Wall Street has had it that early rises in the stocks of

munition-making concerns were occasioned not so much by the acquisition of war orders as by efforts of German agents quietly to buy up control of these companies in the open market. These devices failing, it is said, orders for ammunition and other supplies have been placed by Germany with no hope of receiving the goods, but merely to clog the channels against the Allies. With the General Electric and other co-operating companies pledged to the Allies this danger will cease to exist.

The concerns selected to join with the General Electric for what will thus amount practically to a combination of resources for rapid manufacture will be those whose equipment, with a few alterations, can be adapted to the new work.

The General Electric Company, according to a Director, is in a position to begin turning out shells at a high daily rate, and, under present plans, the company will not sublet any of the \$100,000,000 order. There are facilities available in the plants at Schenectady, Lynn, Harrison, Pittsfield, and Fort Wayne to carry on the work rapidly and without interfering with the ordinary electrical manufacture now being conducted.

Wall Street offered one of the first evidences that things of moment were occurring in the war supply situation. Bethlehem Steel shot forward 10 points, to 165, a new high record, although Mr. Schwab's company was not mentioned in connection with fresh contracts.

It is believed that when the proposed concentration of munition making occurs the Bethlehem Steel Corporation and other companies which already have booked sufficient contracts to keep them busy for some time will not be included.

Stock of the Studebaker Corporation was in large demand as the result of reports that about \$7,000,000 of additional war orders had been taken for artillery wheels, motor trucks, and harness. Tennessee Copper shares were strong after it became known definitely that the concern had arranged with the du Pont Powder Company for an increased monthly supply of sulphuric acid. Toward the close of business stocks generally re-



GENERAL KONRAD VON HOETZENDORFF
On the Staff of the Archduke Eugene in the Campaign Against Italy



GENERAL GOURAND

Commander of the French Land Forces Operating Against the Dardanelles
(Photo from Mcdem)

acted, being influenced by the desire of many traders to keep out of the market until the tenor of President Wilson's note to Germany was known.

But despite the many physical manifestations of unusual activity, officers and Directors of the companies mentioned as those on which Germany had set her eyes were uniformly non-committal when they did not positively deny that there was truth in the story.

William J. Bruff, who is President of the Union Metallic Cartridge Company and a Director of the Remington Arms and Ammunition Company, said:

"I don't think there is any truth in it. Yes, I am certain that no offer of any kind has been made by Germany to buy the two companies. I would know if such offers had been made and I haven't heard of them, except such reports as I have read in the newspapers."

Henry Bronner, a Director of the Bethlehem Steel Company, said:

"I have not heard that Germany or any one else has offered to buy the Bethlehem Steel Company. If such an offer were made, Charles M. Schwab would be the man who would know it."

THE NEW YORK TIMES of June 10, 1915, included this report of Charles M. Schwab's purposes with respect to the control of the Bethlehem Steel Company:

There is not the least danger of German interests getting control of the Bethlehem Steel Company, and breaking the concern's contracts with the British for arms and ammunition, it was made known yesterday from an authoritative source. This same authority had no information that, as alleged by The Chicago Herald and The Providence Journal, and quoted in THE NEW YORK TIMES yesterday, the same interests were seeking to obtain control of other companies

What blocks the attempts of the German agents, in the case of the Bethlehem Steel Company, for one thing, is that the majority of the stock of the concern is not in the market. Contrary to rumors that have lately been floating about hotel corridors and into and out of the brokers' offices adjacent to them, Charles M. Schwab still owns the

majority of stock. This much Mr. Schwab emphatically confirmed to a TIMES reporter yesterday at the St. Regis. That he had no intention of selling he asserted just as emphatically.

At the same time the information is authoritative that agents representing the German Government or German interests have approached Mr. Schwab, not once, but several times, since the beginning of the war, asking that negotiations be opened. It has been intimated that interests, private or Governmental, were willing to pay any price that Mr. Schwab would name for his controlling interest.

Figures running into scores of millions have been named in offers, it being the understanding that the prospective owners simply wished to buy the big plant—the only one in the world that now compares with that of the Krupps, with the possible exception of that of the Schneiders at Creusot—and shut it up, in order to stop the vast sales of munitions of war to the Allies, and the filling of contracts so big that their delivery has hardly begun. Mr. Schwab, it is understood, could get today \$100,000,000 or more for his stock in the Bethlehem Company.

It was established yesterday that more or less directly the visit of Mr. Schwab to England last Fall, on the Olympic, was due to the activity of German agents in this country in their efforts to buy the Bethlehem Steel Company.

Word of the attempts of the German agents to obtain control of the Bethlehem Company soon found its way to England, and the result was that Mr. Schwab was invited to London for a special conference with the War Office. He renewed his acquaintance with Lord Kitchener, and his previously formed intention not to sell out was fortified with a guarantee of orders large enough to keep the big plant at Bethlehem going steadily for eighteen months or more.

When rumors were prevalent about New York that the visit of Sir Trevor Dawson, head of a great English steel concern, had as its object an attempt to obtain control of the Bethlehem Company so as to insure that it would con-

tinue turning out supplies for the Allies, the German agents here were making a strong bid for the control of the concern, and their efforts have since continued.

A TIMES reporter put to Mr. Schwab yesterday the direct question as to whether he was in actual control of the Bethlehem Steel Company.

"Absolutely," he said. "The only way anybody else could obtain control would be to get my interest. I would never sell my interest without making for the men who stood by me with their support when I was struggling to put the Bethlehem Company where it is today the same terms that would be offered for my share. As a matter of fact, my interest in the Bethlehem Company is not for sale. Indeed, I could not sell. I have contracts that I cannot break."

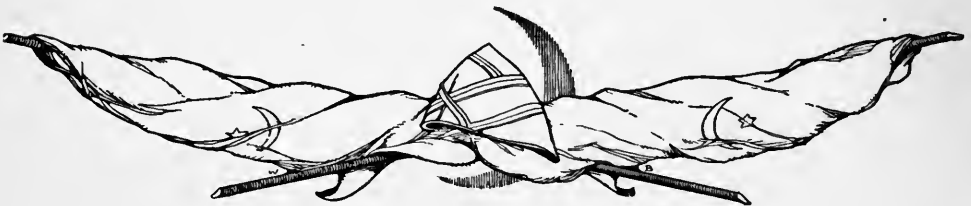
It was said yesterday that the Germans had been trying to conduct their negotiations for the Bethlehem Company in much the same fashion as they recently had employed in their diplomatic negotiations, and that if they had been successful in getting the Bethlehem Company they would have found themselves with contracts on their hands which they would have had to carry out. The mere closing of the plant and the refusal to continue the further manufacture and delivery of munitions of war already contracted for would not save them from a situation which would be the equivalent of jumping from the frying pan into the fire.

Not only the courts would be promptly

invoked to see that legal contracts were carried out, but, if necessary, the Federal Government could step in and insist that the manufacture and delivery of supplies contracted for be continued, in order to prevent a breach of neutrality. Then would be presented the spectacle of German interests turning out vast quantities of guns, shells, and shrapnel to be sent to Europe to be used in fighting their own troops.

According to the authority already mentioned, the Bethlehem Steel Company is the only plant in the United States that can turn out shrapnel shell complete. Most of the contracts that have been given here have been taken for various parts of the ammunition by different firms. One thing necessary for the turning out of shrapnel and shells is a twelve-mile proving ground, and the only privately owned range of the kind in this country is that of the Bethlehem Company.

Mr. Schwab has insisted to his friends who have questioned him about the rise in Bethlehem stock that the only valid reason, aside from whatever might be the intrinsic value of the property, is the tremendous war orders that have been obtained. On this account, as well as on account of his knowledge that the majority of the stock was safe in his possession, he was able to enjoy his trip to the Pacific Coast regardless of rumors at one time prevalent that a big market operator, who was supposed to retain an ancient grudge against him, was trying to wrest from him the control of the company he had built up.



A League for Preparedness

By Theodore Roosevelt, ex-President of the United States,

and

George L. von Meyer, ex-Secretary of the Navy.

It was ascertained in Washington on June 1, 1915, that the Atlantic battleship fleet would remain in Atlantic Ocean waters indefinitely. The plan to send the fleet through the canal in July for participation in the Panama-Pacific Exposition at San Francisco had been abandoned, and Admiral Fletcher's ships would not cross the Isthmus this year. The decision to hold the fleet in Atlantic waters is predicated on two principle factors. These are: First, there undoubtedly will be another great slide in Culebra Cut in the Panama Canal some time this Summer, and it would be considered highly undesirable to have the fleet on the Pacific Coast with such a slide interposed between Admiral Fletcher's vessels and the Atlantic waters. Second, the general situation of American foreign affairs growing out of relations with Germany is such that it is considered unwise to send the fleet to the west coast and leave the Atlantic Coast unguarded. This is the extent, at present, of national preparation against war.

The Peace and Preparation Conference, called in the name of the National Security League to discuss the military needs of the nation, began on the evening of June 14, 1915, with the opening to the public of the Army and Navy Exhibit in the Hotel Astor, where there were to be seen numerous placards which gave in figures and words information as to the situation of the United States so far as military preparedness is concerned.

General Luke E. Wright of Memphis, who was Secretary of War the latter part of the second Roosevelt Administration, was among the visitors to the conference, and said he was in thorough sympathy with the aims of the National Security League. In his opinion the American first line of defense, to be immediately available for service, should be at least 300,000 men.

An audience composed of nearly as many women as men heard in Carnegie Hall, on the evening of June 15, the arguments of Alton B. Parker, Dr. Lyman Abbott, Henry L. Stimson, ex-Secretary of War; Charles J. Bonaparte, ex-Attorney General, and Jacob M. Dickinson, ex-Secretary of War, advocating immediate increases in the army and navy as the best safeguard against war. Ex-Judge Parker, who was Chairman of the meeting, struck the keynote of the conference in these words:

"We want to arouse the people of the United States from the Atlantic to the Pacific, to the end that they shall let Congress know that they have made up their minds to spend a little of that \$187,000,000,000 of which we boast in order that our wives and our children and our grandchildren shall not be visited with the calamity which has befallen Belgium."

Two features of the conference were the reading of a letter to Hudson Maxim from ex-President Theodore Roosevelt and a speech on naval unpreparedness by George von L. Meyer, ex-Secretary of the Navy. The speech is reproduced below in part, and the letter from Mr. Roosevelt in full, together with the resolution of the conference.

MR. ROOSEVELT'S LETTER.

My Dear Mr. Maxim:

I thank you heartily for your book on "Defenseless America." It is a capital book and I believe it is safe to say that no wise and patriotic American can fail to recognize the service that you have rendered in writing it. I hope it will have the widest possible circulation throughout our country.

I was glad to see the first-class letters that have been written you by such good Americans as Oscar Straus, Garrett P. Serviss, Rear Admiral W. W. Kimball, C.

P. Gray, Holman Day, and the others. On the other hand, I was saddened by the extraordinary letter sent you by the three young men who purported to speak for the senior class of the college of which they are members. The course of conduct which these men and those like them advocate for the nation would, of course, not only mean a peculiar craven avoidance of national duty by our people at this time, but would also inevitably tend permanently to encourage the spirit of individual cowardice no less than of national cowardice.

The professional pacifists, the pro-

fessional peace-at-any-price men, who during the last five years have been so active, who have pushed the mischievous all-arbitration treaties at Washington, who have condoned our criminal inactivity as regards Mexico and, above all, as regards the questions raised by the great world war now raging, and who have applauded our abject failure to live up to the obligations imposed upon us as a signatory power of The Hague Convention, are, at best, an unlovely body of men, and taken as a whole are probably the most undesirable citizens that this country contains.

But it is less shocking to see such sentiments developed among old men than among young men. The college students who organize or join these peace-at-any-price leagues are engaged, according to their feeble abilities, in cultivating a standard of manhood which, if logically applied, would make them desire to "arbitrate" with any tough individual who slapped the sister or sweetheart of one of them in the face.

Well-meaning people, as we all know, sometimes advocate a course of action which is infamous; and, as was proved by the great Copperhead Party fifty years ago, there are always some brave men to be found condoning or advocating deeds of national cowardice. But the fact remains that the advocates of pacifism who have been most prominent in our country during the past five years have been preaching poltroonery.

Such preaching, if persevered in long enough, softens the fibre of any nation, and, above all, of those preaching it; and if it is reduced to practice it is ruinous to national character. These men have been doing their best to make us the China of the Occident, and the college students, such as those of whom you speak, have already reached a level considerably below that to which the higher type of Chinaman has now struggled on his upward path.

On the whole, for the nation as for the individual, the most contemptible of all sins is the sin of cowardice; and while there are other sins as base there are none baser. The prime duty for this na-

tion is to prepare itself so that it can protect itself—and this is the duty that you are preaching in your admirable volume. It is only when this duty has been accomplished that we shall be able to perform the further duty of helping the cause of the world righteousness by backing the cause of the international peace of justice (the only kind of peace worth having) not merely by words but by deeds.

A peace conference such as that which some of our countrymen propose at the moment to hold is purely noxious, until as a preliminary we put ourselves in such shape that what we say will excite the respect and not the derision of foreign nations; and, furthermore, until we have by practical action shown that we are heartily ashamed of ourselves for our craven abandonment of duty in not daring to say a word when The Hague Conventions were ruthlessly violated before our eyes.

Righteousness must be put before peace, and peace must be recognized as of value only when it is the hand-maiden of justice. The doctrine of national or individual neutrality between right and wrong is an ignoble doctrine, unworthy the support of any brave or honorable man. It is wicked to be neutral between right and wrong, and this statement can be successfully refuted only by men who are prepared to hold up Pontius Pilate, the arch-typical neutral of all time, as worthy of our admiration.

An ignoble peace may be the worst crime against humanity, and righteous war may represent the greatest service a nation can at a given moment render to itself and to mankind.

Our people also need to come to their senses about the manufacture and sale of arms and ammunition. Of course, the same moral law applies here between nations as between individuals within a nation. There is not the slightest difference between selling ammunition in time of war and in time of peace, because when sold in time of peace it is only sold with a view to possibility or likelihood of war. It should never be sold to people who will make bad use of it, and it should

be freely sold at all times to those who will use it for a proper purpose.

It is absolutely essential that we should have stores where citizens of a nation can buy arms and ammunition. It is a service to good citizenship to sell a revolver to an honest householder for use against burglars or to a policeman for use against "gunmen." It is an outrage against humanity knowingly to sell such a revolver to a burglar or a "gunman." The morality of the sale depends upon the purpose and the probable use. This is true among individuals. It is no less true among nations.

I am speaking of the moral right. Our legal right to sell ammunition to the Allies is, of course, perfect, just as Germany, the greatest trader in ammunition to other nations in the past, had an entire legal right to sell guns and ammunition to Turkey, for instance. But, in addition to our legal right to sell ammunition to those engaged in trying to restore Belgium to her own people, it is also our moral duty to do so, precisely as it is a moral duty to sell arms to policemen for use against "gunmen."

Wishing you all possible success, I am, faithfully yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Hudson Maxim, Esq., Lansing, N. J.

MR. MEYER'S SPEECH.

The National Security League brought its two-day Peace and Preparation Conference to a close on June 15, 1915, with a luncheon in the Hotel Astor at which more than 1,000 men and women listened to George von L. Meyer, ex-Secretary of the Navy, as he announced that the navy of the United States was utterly unfit for war with any first-class nation. Mr. Meyer was interrupted many times by applause, and the loudest outburst came when he placed the blame for what he termed the present demoralized state of the navy squarely up to Secretary Joseph Daniels. He said, in part:

In calling attention to these defects I have not done so from a desire to criticise the present head of the navy, although I do believe that he is responsible for the demoralized condition of

the personnel and the decreased efficiency of the navy.

In advancing his argument for a greater navy Mr. Meyer contended that such a step would be the best safeguard against war. He asserted that we would have had no war with Spain in 1908 if we had had four more ships like the Oregon. With such a powerful fighting force, he argued, no nation at that time would have dared to meet us. Spain would have yielded without a fight, and this country would have saved \$500,000,000. He continued:

The only attack we need consider is an attack from some great naval power, and for that reason we need an adequate navy because it tends toward peace, because it discourages attack and serves the best interests of the country, while an inadequate navy is a vast expense to the country and does not serve as a protection.

Of the thirty-five battleships that we have today only twenty-one are in commission and ready for emergency. Of those twenty-one, three have broken shafts, and the fourth is a turbine battleship which was put out of commission because it needs to be thoroughly overhauled. In addition to that, there are seventy fighting vessels which are not ready to be called upon for an emergency because they are out of commission and would require a long overhauling. We lack battle cruisers, scout cruisers, aeroplanes, and armed airships.

Our submarine fleet is in a critical condition. The complement of torpedo vessels has been reduced from 15 to 25 per cent. to get men to commission new boats. This reduction in personnel is a serious handicap, reduces the efficiency of the destroyers, affects contentment, and prevents the boats being kept in good condition. The Atlantic fleet needs 5,000 men, according to the evidence of the Commander in Chief of that fleet. The reserve fleet at Philadelphia was largely depleted in order to get a new crew for the Alabama when she was ordered to Hampton Roads to enforce neutrality; and the naval force of Hampton Roads was a pitifully weak one: One

small submarine, one little torpedo destroyer diverted from Annapolis, and one reserve battleship, of which the fleet in Philadelphia had been robbed in order to put her in commission.

The review in New York this year was a poor imitation of previous reviews, in that the reserve fleet was absent. It was a mere parade, not a mobilization. It did not indicate the true condition of the fleet, because the people did not know the whole truth. For lack of men, ships are laid up in navy yards, where they rapidly deteriorate, like a vacant house.

All small ships and all cruisers now laid up for lack of men are needed in Mexico and elsewhere, and should be ready for an emergency call. The complement of enlisted men at shore stations and training stations has been kept down, with a decided loss of efficiency and greatly to the discontent and discomfort of the men. A navy with an insufficient and disgruntled personnel cannot be efficient, and its morale must necessarily be disastrously affected.

It would take 18,000 men in order to put the vessels that are fit for war service into commission, Mr. Meyer asserted. Congress was to blame for not having established a national council of defense, a general staff, and a national reserve of 50,000 efficient men. He added:

It is the lack of any definite naval policy and the failure of Congress to recognize the necessity for such a policy that has placed us in a position of inferiority, which may lead us to war or cause us great embarrassment as well as discredit to the country.

Mr. Meyer urged an investigation by Congress of our national defense, to the end that a comprehensive plan should be adopted for the future. He declared further:

This investigation has been denied to

the people by the leaders of the party in power, and it is deplorable that there should be an attempt to deceive the people in a matter of such vital importance.

OFFICIAL RESOLUTION.

Here is the resolution of the league, which was later ratified by the official delegates and forwarded to the White House at Washington:

Whereas, The events of the past year have demonstrated the fact that war, no matter how greatly it may be deplored, may suddenly and unexpectedly occur, notwithstanding the existence of treaties of peace and amity, and have also shown that nations who were unprepared have paid and are paying the price of their lack of foresight;

And, Whereas, The reports of our military and naval experts have made clear that the defensive forces of the country are inadequate for the proper protection of our coasts and to enable our Government to maintain its accepted policies and to fulfill its obligations to other States, and to exert in the adjustment of international questions the influence in which the Republic is entitled;

Therefore, be it Resolved

That we appeal to the President, if consistent with the public interest, to call the early attention of Congress to the pressing need of prompt and efficient action so that the resources of our great country can be utilized for the proper defense of the Republic;

And, Resolved, That the National Security League, under whose auspices this Peace and Preparation Conference has been held, be urged to continue the work which it has already undertaken, of bringing the American people to a full realization of our deplorable state of unpreparedness and of the necessity of action by Congress.

Przemysl and Lemberg

German Reports of Mackensen's Victorious Thrust in Galicia

Przemysl fell to the German arms on June 3, 1915, ten weeks after the Russians had captured the fortress and its Austrian garrison following a six months' investment. The campaign which meant as its first result the recapture of this great fortress of nineteen modern forts and sixteen field fortifications, with innumerable trenches, was continued by the renewal of the "thrust" of General von Mackensen toward Lemberg, the capital of Galicia. Semi-official figures published in Berlin estimated the Russian losses from May 1 to June 18, when the victorious German armies were approaching the gates of Lemberg, at 400,000 dead and wounded and 300,000 prisoners, besides 100,000 lost before Field Marshal von Hindenburg's forces in Poland and Courland. On June 22 Berlin reported five Austro-German armies shelling the last lines of the Russian defenses before Lemberg, which fell on June 23.

The admitted weakness of Russia in this campaign was the exhaustion of her ammunition supplies. The intent of the German thrust was to drive the Russians far back and establish easily defended positions from which the Germans might detach forces for operations against Italy and the Allies in the west. Political consequences, also, were expected from German success in Galicia in deterring Bulgaria and Rumania from entering the war.

On June 21 advices reaching Tokio from Vladivostok indicated that heavy shipments of munitions of war intended for use by Russia's armies had arrived at that seaport, in such quantities that facilities were lacking to forward them by rail through Siberia.

THE WEST GALICIAN "DRIVE."

(Wolff Telegraphic Bureau, Berlin, May 6, 1915.)

From the Great Headquarters we have received the following in regard to the "drive" in West Galicia:

To the complete surprise of the enemy, large movements of troops into West Galicia had been completed by the end of April. These troops, subject to the orders of General von Mackensen, had been assigned the task in conjunction with the neighboring armies of our Austrian ally of breaking through the Russian front between the crest of the Carpathians and the middle Dunajee. It was a new problem and no easy undertaking. The heavens granted our troops wonderful sunshine and dry roads. Thus fliers and artillery could come into full activity and the difficulties of the terrain, which here has the character of the approaches of the German Alps, or the Hørsal hills in Thuringia, could be overcome. At several points ammunition had to be transported amid the greatest hardships on pack animals and the marching columns and batteries had to be moved forward over corduroy roads,

(artificial roads made of logs.) All the accumulation of information and preparations necessary for breaking through the enemy's line had been quietly and secretly accomplished. On the first of May in the afternoon the artillery began its fire on the Russian positions. These in some five months had been perfected according to all the rules of the art of fortification. In stories they lay one over the other along the steep heights, whose slopes had been furnished with obstacles. At some points of special importance to the Russians they consisted of as many as seven rows of trenches, one behind the other. The works were very skillfully placed, and were adopted to flanking one another. The infantry of the allied [Teutonic] troops in the nights preceding the attack had pushed forward closer to the enemy and had assumed positions in readiness for the forward rush. In the night from May 1 to 2 the artillery fired in slow rhythm at the enemy's positions. Pauses in the fire served the pioneers for cutting the wire entanglements. On the 2d of May at 6 A. M. an overwhelming artillery fire, including field guns and running up

to the heaviest calibres, was begun on the front many miles in extent selected for the effort to break through. This was maintained unbroken for four hours.

At 10 o'clock in the morning these hundreds of fire-spouting tubes suddenly ceased and the same moment the swarming lines and attacking columns of the assailants threw themselves upon the hostile positions. The enemy had been so shaken by the heavy artillery fire that his resistance at many points was very slight. In headlong flight he left his defenses, when the infantry of the [Teutonic] allies appeared before his trenches, throwing away rifles and cooking utensils and leaving immense quantities of infantry ammunition and dead. At one point the Russians themselves cut the wire entanglements to surrender themselves to the Germans. Frequently the enemy made no further resistance in his second and third positions. On the other hand, at certain other points of the front he defended himself stubbornly, making an embittered fight and holding the neighborhood. With the Austrian troops, the Bavarian regiments attacked Mount Zameczyka, lying 250 meters above their positions, a veritable fortress. A Bavarian infantry regiment here won incomparable laurels. To the left of the Bavarians Silesian regiments stormed the heights of Sekowa and Sakol. Young regiments tore from the enemy the desperately defended cemetery height of Gorlise and the persistently held railway embankment at Kennenitz. Among the Austrian troops Galician battalions had stormed the steep heights of the Pustki Hill, Hungarian troops having taken in fierce fighting the Wiatrowka heights. Prussian guard regiments threw the enemy out of his elevated positions east of Biala and at Staszkowka stormed seven successive Russian lines which were stubbornly held. Either kindled by the Russians or hit by a shell, a naphtha well behind Gorlise burst into flames. Higher than the houses the flames struck up into the sky and pillars of smoke rose to hundreds of yards.

On the evening of the 2d of May, when

the warm Spring sun had begun to yield to the coolness of night the first main position in its whole depth and extent, a distance of some sixteen kilometers had been broken through and a gain of ground of some four kilometers had been attained. At least 20,000 prisoners, dozens of cannon and fifty machine guns remained in the hands of the allied troops that in the battle had competed with one another for the palm of victory. In addition, an amount of booty to be readily estimated, in the shape of war materials of all sorts, including great masses of rifles and ammunition, had been secured.

WORK OF GERMAN ARTILLERY.
(German Press Headquarters in Galicia,

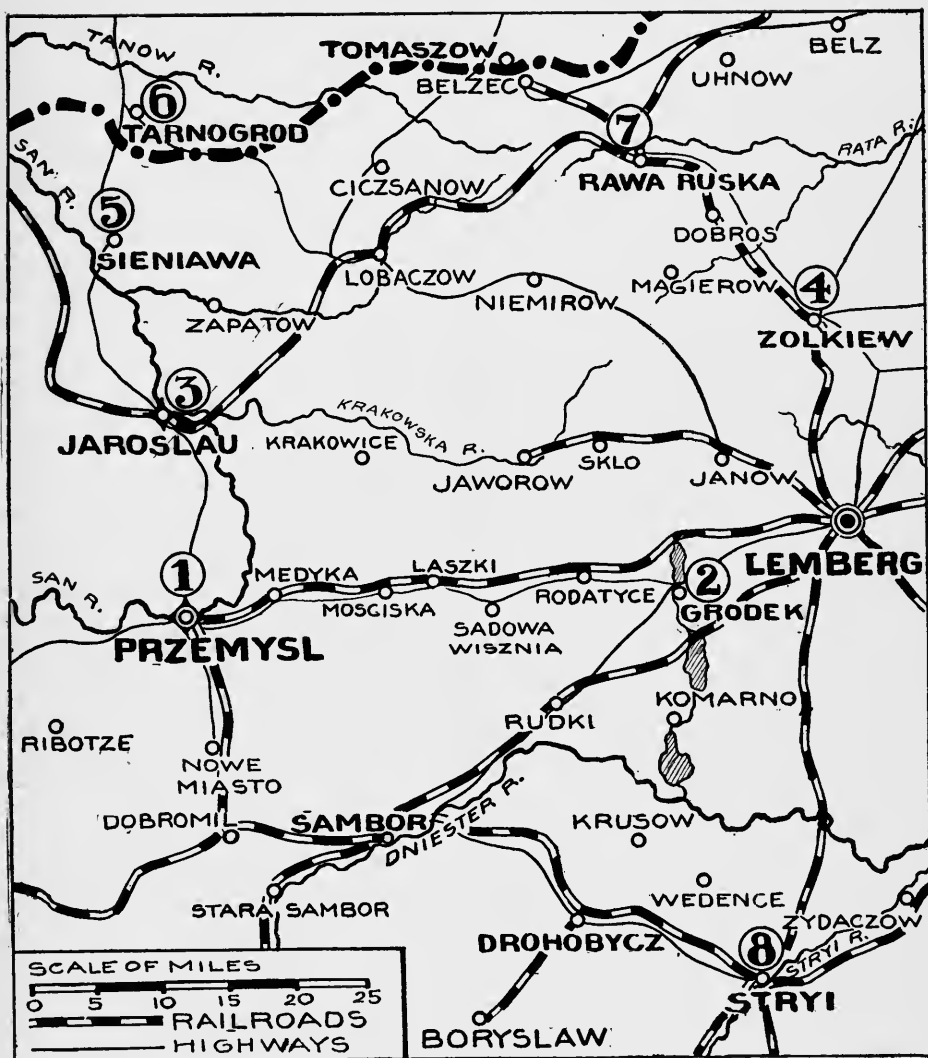
May 4, 1915.)

Reports of prisoners are unanimous in describing the effect of the artillery fire of the Teutonic allies as more terrible than the imagination can picture. The men, who were with difficulty recovering from the sufferings and exertions they had undergone, agreed that they could not imagine conditions worse in hell than they had been for four hours in the trenches. Corps, divisions, brigades, and regiments melted away as though in the heat of a furnace. In no direction was escape possible, for there was no spot of ground on which the four hundred guns of the Teutonic allies had not exerted themselves. All the Generals and Staff Officers of one Russian division were killed or wounded. Moreover, insanity raged in the ranks of the Russians, and from all sides hysterical cries could be heard rising above the roar of our guns, too strong for human nerves. Over the remnants of the Russians who crowded in terror into the remotest corners of their trenches there broke the mighty rush of our masses of infantry, before which also the Russian reserves, hurrying forward, crumbled away.

GERMAN TEAM WORK.
(Wolff Telegraphic Bureau, Vienna, May 7, 1915.)

From a well-informed source at the Royal and Imperial Chief Command, the

The Routes to Lemberg



At least four Austro-German armies were operating toward Lemberg, the capital of Eastern Galicia, which Grand Duke Nicholas, Commander in Chief of the Russian Army, evacuated on June 23 to escape being surrounded. After the recapture of Przemyśl (1) one army advanced along the railroad to Lemberg and captured Grodek, (2,) where the Russians were expected to make a possibly successful stand at the line of the lakes. Another, advancing along the railroad from Jaroslau, (3,) took Krakowice, Jaworow, Skio, Janow, and Zolkiew (4). A third, advancing from Sieniawa, (5,) apparently was joined by forces which took Tarnograd (6) and on June 21 captured Rawa Ruska, (7,) thus cutting the Russian communications and line of retreat to the north. Finally an army, operating from Stryi, (8,) drove the Russians across the Dniester.

War Press Bureau has received the following communication:

While by those concerned in conducting the operations of the armies individual achievements and isolated developments of distinction are regarded as excluded from particular mention, in the public press not infrequently certain successes are assigned to certain personalities. This, too, has been the case frequently with reference to the recent happenings in Galicia. The suggestions and plans made in the war are always the result of the co-operation of a number of persons. The Commander in Chief then assumes the responsibility for them. So far as the present operations in Galicia are concerned, these had in March already been similarly planned, and at that time such forces as were available were put into position for a penetrating thrust in the direction, by way of Gorlice, through the chain of valleys toward Zmygrod. These forces, however, proved to be numerically too weak, in spite of initial successes at Senkorva and Gorlice, to break through the enemy's stubbornly defended front. Only the proposal made by General von Falkenhayn and sanctioned by the German chief command, to bring up further strong German forces for a forward drive, supplied the foundation for the brilliant success of May 1 by the armies of Mackensen, Archdukes Joseph and Frederick and Borevic.

ADVANCE IN MIDDLE GALICIA.

(Wolff Telegraphic Bureau, Berlin, May 26, 1915.)

We learn from the Great Headquarters the following concerning the progress of the operations of the Teutonic allies in Middle Galicia:

In barely fourteen days the army of Mackensen has carried its offensive forward from Gorlice to Jaroslau. With daily fighting, for the most part against fortified positions, it has crossed the line of three rivers and gained in territory more than 100 kilometers in an air-line. On the evening of the fourteenth day, with the taking of the city and bridge-head, Jaroslau, they won access to the lower San. It was now necessary

to cross this stream on a broad front. The enemy, though, still held before Radymo and in the angle of San-Wislok with two strongly fortified bridge-heads the west bank of this river. For the rest he confined himself to the frontal defense of the east bank.

While troops of the guard in close touch with Austrian regiments gained, fighting, the crossing of the river at Jaroslau, and continued to throw the enemy, who was daily receiving reinforcements, continually further toward the east and northeast, Hanoverian regiments forced the passage of the river several kilometers further down stream. Brunswickers, by the storming of the heights of Wiazowinca, opened the way and thereby won the obstinately defended San crossing. Further to the north the San angle was cleared of the enemy that had still held on there. One Colonel, fifteen officers, 7,800 prisoners, four cannon, twenty-eight machine guns, thirteen ammunition wagons, and a field kitchen fell into our hands. The rest found themselves obliged to make a hasty retreat to the east bank.

These battles and successes took place on the 17th of May in the presence of the German Emperor, who, on the same day, conferred upon the Chief of Staff of the army here engaged, Colonel von Seeckt, the order *pour le mérite*, the commander of the army, General von Mackensen, having already received special honors. The Emperor had hurried forward to his troops by automobile. On the way he was greeted with loud hurrahs by the wounded riding back in wagons. On the heights of Jaroslau the Emperor met Prince Eitel Friedrich, and then, from several points of observation, for hours followed with keen attention the progress of the battle for the crossing.

In the days from the 18th to the 20th of May the Teutonic allies pressed on further toward the east, northeast, and north, threw the enemy out of Sieniawa and took up positions on the east bank of the river upon a front of twenty or thirty kilometers. The enemy withdrew behind the Lerbaczowa stream. All his attempts to win back the lost ground were unsuccessful, although in the days

from the 13th to the 20th of May he brought on no less than six fresh divisions to stem our advance at and beyond Jaroslau.

Altogether, the Russian command had since the beginning of the operation thrown seven army corps from other areas of the war against the front of the army of von Mackensen and against the centre and right wing of the army of Archduke Joseph Ferdinand. These were the Third Caucasian, the Fifteenth, and a combined army corps, six individual infantry regiments, the Thirty-fourth, Forty-fifth, Fifty-eighth, Sixty-second, Sixty-third, Seventy-seventh, and Eighty-first Infantry, and the Thirteenth Siberian division, not counting a cavalry division, which entered the field already in the earliest days. With the combined army corps there appeared a Caucasian infantry division, the Third, made up of Armenians and Grusinians, which till January had fought in Persia, was transferred in April to Kars, and later to Odessa, where it formed part of the so-called Army of the Bosphorus. Before our front now also appeared Cossacks on foot, a special militia formation, which hitherto had fought in the Caucasus. Finally, there came on the outermost left wing of the Russians the Trans-Amoor border guards, a troop designed purely for protection of the railway in North Manchuria, whose use in this part of the area of war was probably not foreseen even in Russia.

Yet the Russians still held along the lower San the bridge-head of Radymo on the west bank. The problem of the next ensuing battles was to drive him also from this point.

APPROACHING PRZEMYSL.

(By The Associated Press.)

VIENNA, June 1, (via Amsterdam and London.)—The following official communication was issued today:

East of the San our troops were attacked Monday night along the entire front by strong Russian forces. This was especially true on the lower Lubaczowka, where superior forces attempted to advance. All the attacks were repulsed with severe losses to the enemy,

who at some points retreated in disorder.

On the lower San, below Sieniawa, Russian attacks also failed.

On the north front of Przemyśl Bavarian troops stormed three defenses of the circle of forts, capturing 1,400 prisoners and 28 heavy guns.

South of the Dniester the allied troops penetrated the enemy's defensive position, defeated the Russians and conquered Stry, the enemy retreating toward the Dniester. We captured 53 officers and over 9,000 prisoners, 8 cannon, and 15 machine guns.

On the Pruth and in Poland the situation is unchanged.

BERLIN, June 1, (via London.)—The German General Staff gave out the following report today on the operations in the eastern theatre of war:

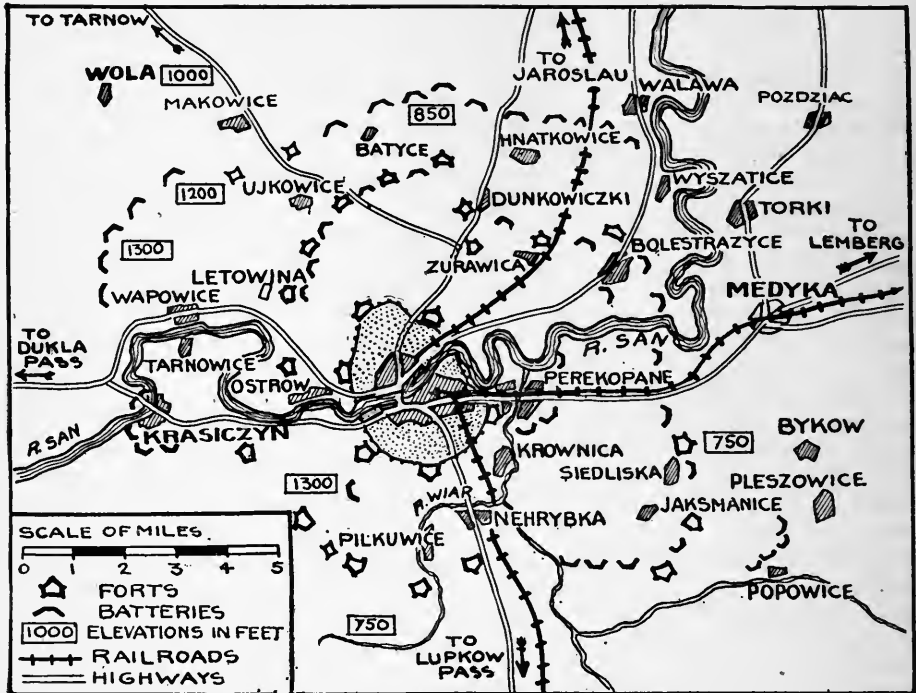
In the eastern theatre of war, near Amboten, fifty kilometers, (about thirty miles,) east of Libau, (Courland,) German cavalry defeated the Russian Fourth Regiment of Dragoons. Near Shavli, hostile attacks were unsuccessful.

Our booty in the month of May, north of the Niemen River, amounts to 24,700 prisoners, seventeen cannon, and forty-seven machine guns; south of the Niemen and the Pilica, 6,943 prisoners, eleven machine guns, and one aeroplane.

In the southeastern theatre of war: In front of Przemyśl Bavarian troops yesterday stormed Forts 10-A, 11-A, and 12, west of Dunkowiczki, capturing the remainder of a garrison of 1,400 men, with eighteen heavy and five light cannon. The Russians attempted to escape their fate by an attack in masses against our positions east of Jaroslau, but failed, an enormous number of dead covering the battlefield before our front.

The conquerors of Zwinin (a ridge in the Carpathians)—the Prussian Guard under command of the Bavarian General, Count Bothmer—stormed a strongly fortified place on the Stry, and broke through Russian positions near and northwest of Stry. Up to the present time we have captured in this region fifty-three officers, 9,183 men, eight cannon, and fifteen machine guns.

According to an unofficial report from



Map of Przemysl and its defenses.

Piotrkow, Russian Poland, the Russians have evacuated Radom, in Poland, to the south of Warsaw.

MORE DEFENSES TAKEN.

VIENNA, June 2, (via Amsterdam and London.)—The official statement issued by the Austrian War Office tonight reads as follows:

The Russians have renewed their strong attacks against the allied troops on the eastern bank of the San. Desperate attacks everywhere have been repulsed with heavy Russian losses.

On the northern front of Przemysl two additional fortifications have been taken by storm, and we have maintained the conquered ground.

South of the Dniester our attacks are making successful progress. Hostile positions between Stry and Drohobycz were stormed yesterday.

Strong Russian forces, which yesterday attacked our position near Solowina, in South Galicia, suffered severe losses. They retreated and, at some points, took to flight.

Besides the booty mentioned in the German communication as having been captured during the month of May from the Russians we took 189 ammunition wagons and a quantity of other war material, such as 8,500 rounds of artillery ammunition, 5,500,000 cartridges, and 32,000 rifles.

BERLIN, June 2, (via London.)—The following report on the operations in the eastern theatre of war was issued today by the German General Staff:

Successful engagements occurred against minor Russian divisions at Neuhausen, fifty kilometers (about thirty miles) northeast of Libau, and at Shidiki, sixty-nine kilometers (about forty miles) southeast of Libau. The same thing happened further south in the district of Shavli, and on the Dubysa, southeast of Kielmy and between Ugiamy and Ejar-gola. At Shavli we took 500 prisoners.

Further Russian intrenchments situated around Dunkowiozki (near Przemysl) were taken by storm yesterday. After the victory at Stry the allied troops

advanced yesterday in the direction of Medenice.

In the month of May 863 officers and 268,869 men were taken prisoners in the southeastern theatre of war, while 251 cannon and 576 machine guns were captured. Of these numbers, the capturing of 400 officers, including two Generals, 153,254 men, 160 cannon, including twenty-eight heavy ones, and 403 machine guns, is to the credit of the troops under General Mackensen.

Including prisoners taken in the eastern theatre of war, as well as those announced yesterday, the total number of Russians who have fallen into the hands of the Germanic allied troops during the month of May amounts to about 1,000 officers and more than 300,000 men.

PRZEMYSL RECAPTURED.

VIENNA, June 3, (via Amsterdam and London.)—The following official communication on the Przemysl victory was issued in Vienna today:

In the Russian war theatre the German troops last night stormed the last positions on the north front of Przemysl and entered the town at 3:30 o'clock this morning from the north.

Our Tenth Corps entered the town from the west and south and reached the centre of the town soon after 6 o'clock.

The importance of this success cannot yet be estimated.

The attack of the allied troops in the sector north of Stry is making successful progress.

Following is the Berlin official announcement of the fall of Przemysl, dated June 3:

The fortified town of Przemysl was taken by us early this morning, after the fortifications on the northern front, which still held out, had been stormed during the night. The amount of booty taken has not yet been ascertained.

PETROGRAD ADMITS DEFEAT.

PETROGRAD, June 3.—Petrograd admits the loss of the fortress in the following official bulletin:

As Przemysl, in view of the state of its artillery and its works, which were

destroyed by the Austrians before their capitulation, was recognized as incapable of defending itself, its maintenance in our hands only served our purpose until such time as our possession of positions surrounding the town on the northwest facilitated our operations on the San.

The enemy having captured Jaroslau and Radymno and begun to spread along the right bank of the river, the maintenance of these positions forced our troops to fight on an unequal and very difficult front, increasing it by thirty-five versts, (about twenty-four miles,) and subjecting the troops occupying these positions to the concentrated fire of the enemy's numerous guns.

Przemysl was bombarded with heavy guns up to 16-inch calibre, and the enemy delivered his principal attack against the north front in the region of Forts 10 and 11, which the Austrians had almost completely demolished before the surrender of the fortress.

When we repulsed these attacks the enemy succeeded in taking several of our guns, which had bombarded the enemy's columns until the latter were close to the muzzles, and the last shell was spent. According to supplementary information we took two hundred prisoners and eight quick-firers.

In Galicia on Monday between the Vistula and Przemysl stubborn fighting developed, our troops gaining somewhat important successes on the left bank of the lower San, taking several villages, some with the bayonet. On the right bank of the same river we were successful near the village of Kalukouve, taking a base south of the village, capturing 1,200 prisoners, including twenty-two officers and eight quick-firers.

RUSSIAN RETREAT FROM PRZEMYSL.

VIENNA, (via London,) June 4.—The Austrian War Office this evening issued the following official communication announcing the retreat of the Russians from Przemysl, their stand at Medyka, ten miles to the east, and their defeat at other points:

During the day Przemysl was cleared

of the enemy, who is retreating in an easterly direction, offering resistance on the height southwest of Medyka. The allied troops there are attacking.

Meanwhile the army of the Austrian General Eduard von Boehm-Ermolli has succeeded in breaking through the Russian defensive positions from the south, and advanced in the direction of Mosciska, on the railroad to Lemberg, ten miles beyond Medyka, within a short distance of which our troops now hold positions. In these engagements we have captured numerous prisoners.

The army under General Alexander Linsingen also has achieved fresh successes, and the Russians are in full retreat before him.

On the Pruth line, in consequence of the events on the San and the upper Dniester, further fighting has developed. Wherever the enemy attempts an attack he is repulsed with severe losses. We have captured 900 men.

Otherwise the situation on the lower San and in Poland is unchanged.

AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN FIELD HEADQUARTERS, (via London,) June 5.

—According to information given out by the Austro-Hungarian military authorities to representatives of the press, heavy fighting is now in progress along virtually the entire Galician front, and the general situation is very favorable to the Austro-Germans. A decisive conclusion to the entire Russian campaign in Galicia is in sight.

Przemysl's recapture by Austrian and Bavarian troops, according to details received from the front, resulted from the taking of five forts in the northern sector and the simultaneous threatening of the forts on the south and west fronts.

With the forts on the north side in the possession of the besiegers, with a Bavarian corps pressing impetuously through the breach against the city, and with the Austrian Tenth Army Corps within storming distance of the southern and western forts, which artillery fire already had reduced sufficiently for attack, the Russians decided to evacuate the town and all the forts except those on the eastern and southeastern sectors.

This movement was executed Wednesday night.

The Bavarians resumed their attack at dawn on Thursday, and entered Przemysl upon the heels of the retiring Russians.

The Austrian Tenth Army Corps simultaneously started toward the west and south fronts, but found the forts there had been evacuated. An attack now is in progress against the forts still held by the Russians, those positions being defended apparently with the object of covering the latter's retirement.

"The Russian rear guards," the statement to the press says, "are fighting delaying actions south of the Dniester River against the Austro-German forces advancing from Stry to cover the passage of the river. The Russians north of Przemysl are launching a series of the most desperate attacks against General von Mackensen's army. Here they are making use of new reserves, and at the same time they are exerting heavy pressure against the troops commanded by Archduke Joseph Ferdinand in the triangle between the River San and the River Vistula.

"The Russian offensive in Southeastern Galicia, designed to relieve this situation, has been a complete failure"

BERLIN, (via London,) June 4.—The following official communication on the Eastern fighting was issued here today:

Our troops, after much fighting, reached the line east of Przemysl and to the northeast thereof, to Bolestayzce, Ormis, Poodziao, and Tarzawa. The booty taken at Przemysl has not yet been ascertained. According to statements made by prisoners of the most varied descriptions, the Russians during the night of June 2-3, during which Przemysl was taken by storm, had prepared a general attack over the whole front against the army under General von Mackensen. This offensive broke down completely at the outset. Twenty-two kilometers (about 13½ miles) east of Przemysl German troops under General von Marwitz are fighting on the heights on both sides of Myslatyze.

The army of General von Linsingen is about to cross the lower crossing of the Stry, northeast of the town of the same name.

Our cavalry has driven Russian divisions out of the villages of Lenen and Schrudnen, sixty kilometers, (thirty-seven miles,) and seventy kilometers, (forty-three miles,) east of Libau Courland. In the district of Rawcliany, west of Kurschany and near Sredniki, on the Dubysa, attacks by the enemy failed.

GERMAN THRUST TOWARD LEMBERG.

[By The Associated Press.]

VIENNA, June 3, (via London, Friday, June 4.)—The German and Austrian forces which broke the Russian lines at Stry are moving northward rapidly. The Russians are apparently unable to make a stand in the plains, and the chances of doing so north of the river are regarded as problematical.

Now that Przemysl has fallen, rendering it possible for General Mackensen to continue his movement eastward, he would naturally meet a check at the Russian fortified positions partly composed of a chain of lakes extending north and south, about eighteen miles west of Lemberg. It is thought, however, that these positions will prove untenable, because General Linsingen, having crossed the Dniester to the west of Mikolajow, will likely cut the communications with Lemberg. The Austro-German plan of operations against Lemberg apparently is the same as against Przemysl. The assailants are expected to throw columns on both sides of the city and then press together some distance beyond it. In the meantime this movement seems to threaten the Russians fighting around Nadworna with a loss of contact with the main body.

In view of the double success at Przemysl and Stry, it is expected in Vienna that the Galician campaign will move at an accelerated pace the next few days.

AN ENCIRCLING MOVEMENT.

LONDON, June 5.—Heavy fighting is still in progress in Galicia, where the Austro-Germans are attempting an en-

circling movement against Lemberg such as proved successful at Przemysl. The following statement was given out today at the War Office in Vienna:

East of Przemysl, near Medkya, the Russians have been unable to resist a further advance of the Teutonic allies toward Mosziska.

In the district of the Lower San the enemy's attacks were repulsed. From the west Austro-German troops approached the district near Kalusz and Zurawna.

On the Pruth fighting is proceeding. The enemy obstinately attacked here at several points but was driven back to the river.

The following is the official report from Berlin:

In connection with the Russian attacks repulsed yesterday at Rawdejany and Sawdyniki, our troops have made further advances and have driven off their opponents who held the bridgehead at Sawdyniki. They made 1,970 prisoners. Further north cavalry engagements took place yesterday in the region of Fokeljanij with good results for us.

To the east of Jaroslaw the situation remains unchanged. South of Przemysl our troops, under General Marwitz, together with Austro-Hungarian troops, are advancing in the direction of Mosziska. The army under General von Linsingen has driven the enemy back in the direction of Kalusz and Zurawno on the Dniester.

SIXTH WEEK OF THE "THRUST."

BERLIN, June 7, (via London.)—Everything indicates that the Teutonic allies are beginning the sixth week of their Galician campaign with a promising outlook. The Russians have lost their line on the River San, and they appear also about to lose their positions on the River Dniester. These same advices indicate further that the Russians to the east and northeast of Czernowitz already have begun to retreat. The following bulletin was issued by the War Office today:

During the battles at Przemysl 33,805 prisoners were taken. East of Przemysl

the troops of the Teutonic allies continued their victorious battle. They drove back the enemy toward Wysznia, to the northwest of Mosciska.

Part of the army under General von Linsingen has crossed the Dniester at Zurawna, and has taken the hill to the north of the eastern bank by storm. Further south the pursuit reached the Nowica-Kalusz-Tomaszow line. The number of prisoners taken has been increased to more than 13,000.

In addition to crossing the Dniester, which was accomplished by General von Linsingen's army through a feint attack on Zurawna, the Austro-German forces also were victors at Klusz, forty-five miles southeast of Drohobycz, where they took many prisoners

VIENNA, (via London,) June 7.—*The following official statement was issued tonight by the Austrian War Office:*

After the severe defeat at Przemysl the Russian Army command, during the last few days, has made strong efforts to break our line by attacks against our positions on the Pruth, especially against the district of Kolomea and Delatyn, where the enemy continues to push forward masses of fresh troops

While all these attacks were being put down by the tenacious bravery of General Pflanzer's army, through which the Russians suffered severely, allied forces under General Linsingen were approaching from the west. Yesterday they captured Kalusz, the district north of Kalusz and the heights on the left bank of the Dniester, north of Zurawna. Between Nadowna, near the Bystrica, and the Lomnica, our troops joined in the attack.

Battles to the east of Przemysl and Jaroslau continue. North of Mosciska the enemy has been forced to evacuate Sieniawa. Isolated weak counter-attacks by the Russians collapsed.

Near Przemysl we have captured since June 1 33,805 prisoners.

LINSINGEN AT LUBACZOW.

BERLIN, June 8, (via London.)—*General von Linsingen, in his advance*

from Przemysl in the direction of Lemberg, has reached Lubaczow, forty-five miles northeast of Przemysl. This information was contained in the following official report given out at German Army Headquarters today:

Eastern Theatre of War—Our offensive movement in the Shavli district and east of the Dubsa is taking its course. Southwest of Plodock an enemy aeroplane was captured.

Southeastern Theatre of War—East of Przemysl the general situation is the same. The number of prisoners taken by the army under General von Mackensen since June 1 amounts to more than 20,000. In the hills near Nowoszyn, northeast of Zuralt, the troops under General Linsingen again defeated the enemy. The pursuit reached the line of Lubaczow.

South of the Dniester River we crossed the Lukew River and reached Byslow, east of Kalusz, Wojnilow, Feredne, and Kolodziejow. The booty taken this day amounts to 4,300 prisoners, four cannon, and twelve machine guns.

VIENNA, June 8. (via London.)—*At Army Headquarters today the following statement was given out:*

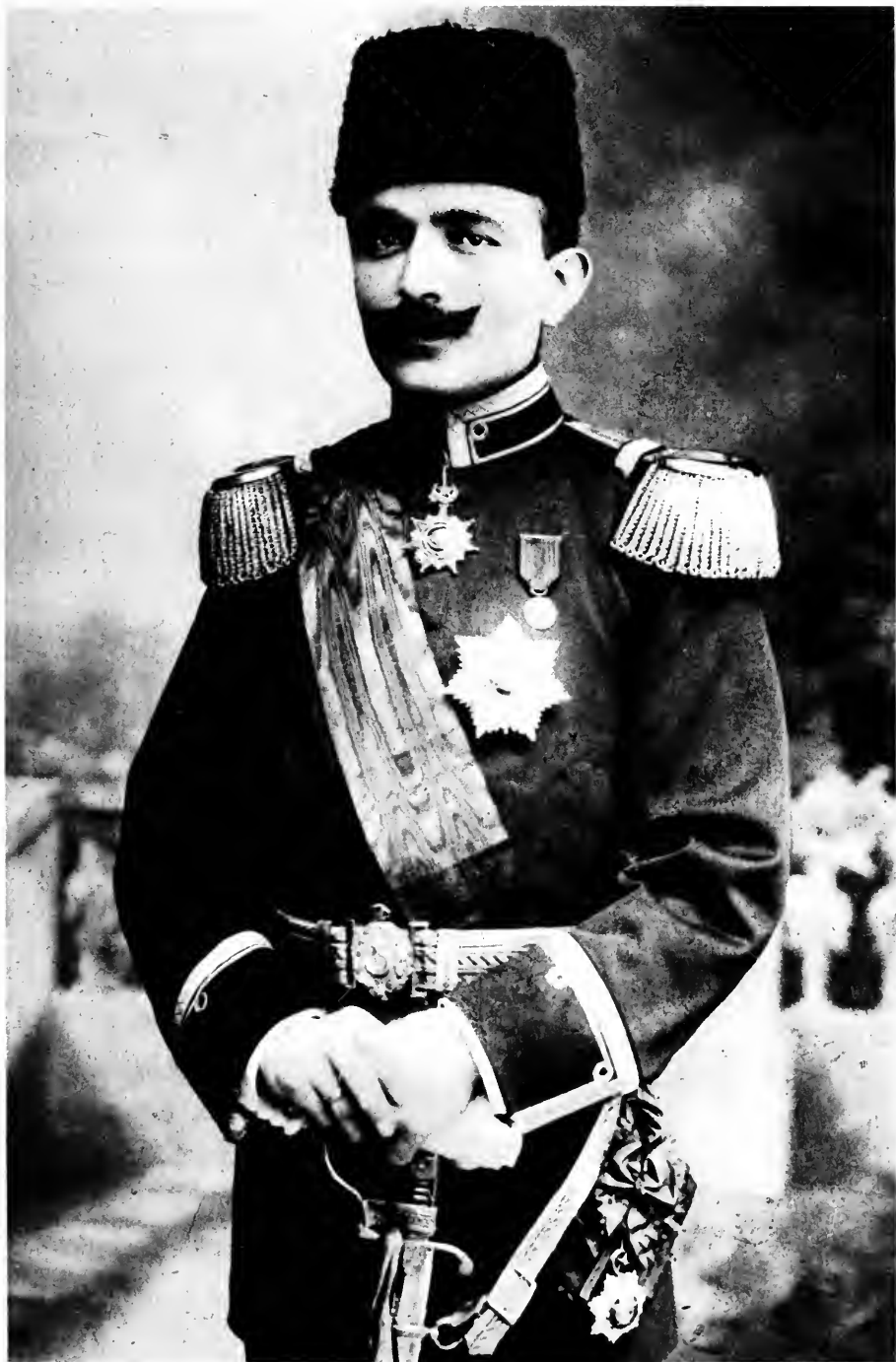
In the districts of the Pruth and Dniester (Galicia) the troops of the Teutonic allies yesterday prosecuted an attack along the Lanozyn-Nadowna-Kalusz line and pushed back the enemy toward Stanislaw and Halicz. Further progress was made on the left bank of the Dniester, east and north of Zurawna, 6,200 Russians being captured. Otherwise the situation is unchanged.

STANISLAU TAKEN.

BERLIN, June 9, (via London.)—*Following is the bulletin concerning the operations issued today by the War Office:*

unchanged. To the northeast of Zurawna troops under General Linsingen brought the Russian counter-attack to a standstill. Further to the south fighting is in progress for possession of the hills to the east of Kalusz and west of Jezuwoł.

Stanislaw already is in our possession.



ENVER PASHA

The All-Powerful Turkish Minister of War



PRINCE SAID HALIM
The Grand Vizier of Turkey

We took 4,500 men prisoners and captured thirteen machine guns.

BERLIN, June 9, (by Wireless to Sayville.)—Included in the items given out today by the Overseas News Agency is the following:

The army under General von Linsingen has succeeded in crossing the Dniester River, in Galicia, with the purpose of cutting communications to the Russian armies in Bukowina and Galicia.

VIENNA, June 9, (via London.)—The Austrian War Office issued the following official communication tonight:

South of the Dniester the Russians have again lost ground. After many victorious engagements the [Teutonic] allies yesterday reached, to the north of Kolomea, the Kulacz-Kowcekorzow line and occupied the heights of Otnia. In the evening they occupied Stanislaw, and made a further advance toward Halicz. The day's captures amounted to 5,570 prisoners

No important events have occurred on the remainder of the front in Poland and Galicia.

GERMAN SETBACK IN THE NORTH.

BERLIN, (via London,) June 10.—An official announcement from Army Headquarters today states that the German forces which invaded the Baltic provinces of Russia have retreated. Following is the text of the statement:

To the southeast of Shavli the Russians offered strong resistance yesterday to our advance. Minor progress was made. The booty taken by us in the last two days in this district amounts to 2,250 prisoners and two machine guns.

The enemy brought forward reinforcements from a northeasterly direction in opposition to our encircling movement on the east of the Dubysa. On account of this menace our wing was withdrawn toward the line of Beisagola-Zoginie without being interfered with by the enemy.

South of the Niemen River we took 3,200 Russian prisoners, while in pursuit of the enemy since June 6. We also

captured two flags, twelve machine guns, and many field kitchens and carts.

In the southeastern theatre the situation to the east of Przemysl remains unchanged.

Fresh Russian forces advanced from the region of Mikolaiow and Rohatyn, to the south and the southeast of Lemberg, respectively. Their attack was repulsed by parts of the army under General Linsingen on the line of Lityma, northeast of Drohobac, and Zurawna, in the Dniester section.

East of Stanislaw and at Kaledniz battles and pursuit continue.

NORTH OF SHAVLI.

BERLIN, June 13, (via London.)—The following report of the operations on the Russian front was issued by the War Office today:

In the eastern theatre our attack northwest of Shavli made good progress. Kuzie was taken by storm. Enemy counter-attacks failed. Eight officers and 3,350 men and eight machine guns were captured.

Southeast of the Mariampol-Kovno Road battles against Russian reinforcements arriving from the south have commenced.

North of Przasnysz another 150 prisoners were made.

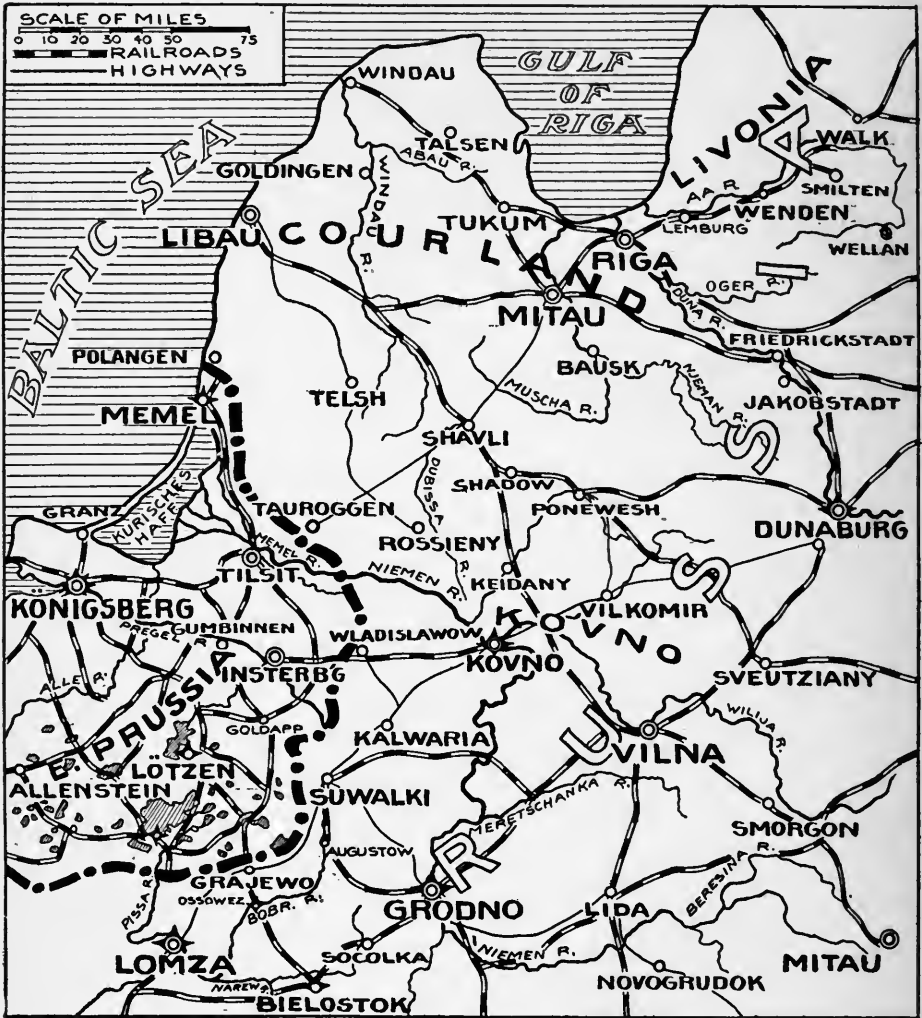
Our invasion into the enemy lines south of Bolimow was followed in the night by Russian counter-attacks, all of which were unsuccessful. The gained positions are firmly in our hands. Our booty in this sector has been increased to 1,600 prisoners, eight cannon, two of which are of heavy calibre, and nine machine guns.

DRIVING NEAR MOSCISKA.

VIENNA, June 14, (via London.)—The following official statement was issued today from General Headquarters:

In the Russian war theatre the allied armies again attacked yesterday in Middle Galicia. After stubborn fighting the Russian front to the east and southeast of Jaroslau was broken and the enemy was forced to retreat with very heavy losses.

Since last night the Russians have



Scene of General von Hindenburg's operation in Courland.

also been retreating near Mosciska and to the southeast of that place. We captured yesterday 10,000 Russians.

Battles south of the Dniester are continuing. Near Derzow, south of Mikolaiow, our troops repulsed four strong attacks. The enemy was routed from the battlefield.

Northeast of Zurawna the allied troops advanced against Zydaczow yesterday and captured it after heavy fighting. North of Tlamez an attack is also in progress. Many prisoners, the number

of whom has not yet been fixed, have fallen into our hands.

North of Zale Szczyky the Russians attacked, after 11 o'clock at night, on a front of three kilometers, (nearly two miles,) but the attack failed under losses to the enemy

BERLIN, June 14, (via London.)—The following official announcement was issued here today:

Eastern Theatre of War: In the neighborhood of Kuzie, northwest of Shavli, (Baltic provinces,) a few enemy

positions were taken. Three officers and 300 men were taken prisoners. South-east of the road from Mariampol to Kovno our troops took the first Russian line by storm. Three officers and 313 men were captured.

Southeast Theatre of War: General von Mackensen began an attack over a line extending seventy kilometers, (forty-three miles.) Starting from their positions at Cyerniawa, northwest of Mosciska, and at Sieniawa, the enemy's positions have been taken along the entire length of this front. Sixteen thousand prisoners fell into our hands yesterday.

Attacks by the troops under General von Linsingen and General von der Marwitz also made progress.

LEMBERG IN DANGER.

VIENNA, June 15, (via London.)—The following official communication was issued today:

There is heavy fighting along the entire Galician front.

The army of Archduke Joseph Ferdinand, after the capture of Sieniawa, on the east bank of the San, has advanced in a northern and northeastern direction. The castle and farm of Piskorvice were stormed yesterday and numerous prisoners captured.

Fighting heavily, the army of General Mackensen is advancing on both sides of Krakowiec (southeast of Jaroslau) and toward Oleszyce (northeast of Jaroslau.)

Southeast of Mosciska the troops of General Soehm-Ermolli are attacking fresh hostile positions covering the road to Grodek (on the railroad between Mosciska and Lemberg.)

On the upper Dniester strong Russian forces are defending the bridge-head at Mikolajow against the advancing allies under General Linsingen, while further down the river the troops of General Pflanzner and General Baltin are standing before Nizniow (south of Maryampol) and Czernelica, maintaining the captured town of Zale Szczyky against all Russian attacks. Portions of this army again have forced the Russian troops making a stand in Bessarabia, between the Dniester and the Pruth Rivers, to re-

treat, driving them toward Chotin and along the Pruth.

The number of prisoners taken in Galicia since June 12 has been increased by several thousands.

BERLIN, June 15. — Official announcement that the Austro-German forces operating in Galicia had captured the town of Mosciska was made in the following bulletin issued from Army Headquarters today:

The enemy, who was defeated on the 13th and 14th of June by the army of General von Mackensen, has been unable to regain a footing in the positions prepared by him. To the northeast of Jaworow the enemy was driven back from the position at which he had stopped, the booty increasing.

The Russian forces south of the Przemysl-Lemberg Railway have been forced to retreat. The troops of General von der Marwitz yesterday took Mosciska. The right wing of the army of General von Linsingen stormed the heights east of Zekel. Our cavalry reached the district south of Maryampol.

Of the operations in the Baltic Provinces and in Poland the bulletin says:

East of Shavli German troops stormed the village of Danksze and took 1,660 prisoners. The positions recently won southwest and east of the Maryampol-Kovno Road were repeatedly attacked yesterday by a strong force of the enemy, which had no success. Our troops advanced on the Lipowo-Kalwarya front, pressed back the Russian line, and captured the Russian advanced trenches.

On the River Orzyc our attacking troops stormed and took the village of Gednoroczec, southeast of Chorzetten, and Czerwonagora and the bridges there, as well as the bridges east of this place. The booty taken at this place amounts to 365 Russian prisoners. Attacks by the enemy against the point at which we broke through north of Bolimow failed.

122,408 PRISONERS.

The following official report of the operations was issued today by the War Office:

The defeated Russian armies in Ga-

licia attempted on Tuesday along the whole front between the River San, north of Sieniawa and the Dniester marshes to bring the Teutonic allies to a standstill. In the evening the Russians everywhere had been driven from their positions near Cieplice, north of Sieniawa, in the Lubswow-Zuwadowka sector, southwest of Niemierow and west of Sadowa-Wiszienia. The enemy is being pursued.

General Mackensen's army has captured upward of 40,000 men and sixty-nine machine guns since June 12.

Between the Dniester marshes and Zurawna the Russians have gained some ground, but the general situation there has not changed.

Of the operations in the north the bulletin says:

Russian attacks against the German positions southeast of Mariampol, east of Augustowa, and north of Bolimow all were repulsed. Our attacks along the Lipowo-Kalwarya front gained further ground, several positions being recaptured. We made 2,040 Russian prisoners and captured three machine guns.

On the north of the Upper Vistula our troops repulsed an attack on the positions we took from the Russians on Monday.

VIENNA, June 16, (via London.)—The following official communication was issued today:

In Galicia the Russians, despite their obstinate resistance, could not withstand the general attack by the allied armies. Hotly pursued by our victorious troops the remainder of the defeated Russian corps are retreating across the Newkow, Lubaczow and Jaworow.

South of the Lemberg Railroad the army of General Boehm-Ermolli Tuesday night stormed the Russian positions on the entire front, driving the enemy across the Sadowa, Wyszna, and Rudki.

South of the Dniester the fighting is proceeding before the bridge head. The troops of General Pflanzer yesterday captured Nijnihoff.

From June 1 to June 15 our total war booty has been 108 officers and 122,300 men, 53 cannon, 187 machine guns, and 58 munition wagons.

LEMBERG'S LAST DEFENSES.

BERLIN, (via London,) June 18.—The following official report on the operations was issued today by the War Office:

In the Eastern Theatre—An advancing Russian division was driven back by German cavalry across the Szymeza branch. At a point to the east of the highroad between Cycowyany and Shavli an attack by the enemy in strong force against the Dawina line was repulsed.

In the Southeastern Theatre—On both sides of Tarnograd Austro-German troops yesterday drove the enemy back toward a branch of the Tanew River. Later during the night these defeated Russians were driven still further back by the army under General von Mackensen. They retreated as far as the prepared positions at Grodek, which are on the line running from the Narol and Wereszyca brooks to their junction with the River Dniester.

On the Dniester front, northeast of Stry, the situation remains unchanged.

VIENNA, June 18, (via London.)—The Austro-German troops in pursuit of the retreating Russians have crossed the Galician border to the north of Sieniawa and occupied the Russian town of Tarnograd, according to an official communication issued by the War Office tonight. The communication says:

North of Sieniawa our pursuing troops have penetrated Russian territory and reached the heights north of Krezow and occupied Tarnograd.

The Russian forces between the Lower San and the Vistula have retired at several points. The heights north of Cieszanow (ten miles north of Lubaczow) have been taken. In the mountainous region east of Niemirow and in the rear of Jaworow, strong Russian forces have appeared.

On the Wereszyca River the fighting continues. Our troops have gained a footing at some points eastward of the river.

South of the Upper Dniester the Russians, after hard fighting, were compelled to retire from positions near



The dotted line shows the approximate position of the Austro-German battle line in the middle of February, when the drive at Lemberg, supported with enormous reinforcements which had been concentrated at Cracow, began. The heavy black line shows the approximate position of the victorious armies bent on driving the Russians out of the corner of Galicia still remaining in their possession. The frontier is indicated by the line of dots and dashes.

Litynia toward Kolodrub. Our pursuing troops have reached the mouth of the Wereszyca. Elsewhere the situation along the Dniester is unchanged.

The eastern groups of General Pflanzer's army yesterday repulsed three Russian storming attacks. The enemy making desperate attempts to throw our troops back in Bukowina, suffered heavy losses from our artillery and retired quickly. Eight officers and 1,000 men and three machine guns were captured.

GRODEK POSITION CAPTURED.

BERLIN, (via London,) June 20.—The armies under General von Mackensen are continuing their advance upon Lemberg, the Galician capital, after capturing Grodek, and have taken Russian trenches, one after another, along a front

of almost twenty-four miles to the north-west of the city, where the Muscovites are making a desperate stand, according to a statement issued today at the headquarters of the German Army Staff. The statement says:

Eastern Theatre—Russian attacks against our lines in the vicinity of Szawle and Augustowo were beaten off. Our advance in small divisions resulted in the capture of advanced positions of the enemy near Budtbrzysieki and Zalesie, east of the Przasnysz-Myszyniec Road.

Southeastern Theatre—South of the Pilica, troops under General von Woyrich have taken several advanced enemy positions during the last few days.

The armies under General von Mackensen have taken the Grodek position.

Early yesterday morning German troops and the corps of Field Marshal von Arz commenced an attack upon strongly entrenched enemy lines. After stubborn fighting, lasting until afternoon, enemy trenches, one behind the other, almost along the entire front, extending over a distance of thirty-five kilometers (twenty-four miles) north of Janow (eleven miles northwest of Lemberg,) Bisputa, and Obedynski, and southeast of Rawa Ruska, (thirty-two miles northwest of Lemberg,) had been stormed. In the evening the enemy was thrown back behind the high road to Zolkiew, north of Lemberg and Rawa Ruska.

Under pressure of this defeat the enemy also is weakened in his communication. Between Grodek and the Dniester marshes the enemy is hard pressed by Austro-Hungarian troops.

Between the Dniester marshes and the mouth of the River Stry the enemy has evacuated the southern bank of the Dniester.

KAISER WILHELM AT THE FRONT.

BERLIN, (via London,) June 21.—Emperor William, it was announced officially by the German War Department today, was present at the battle of Beskid for possession of the Grodek line. These Russian positions are to the west of Lemberg, the Galician capital.

The rapidity of the Austro-German success excites astonishment here. It was believed that the Russians would be able to check the allies' advance for some days on the Grodek line; hence the bulletins issued today recorded results far exceeding the expectations of the most optimistic observers.

Special dispatches from the front describe the Russian retreat from Grodek and the Russian resistance from the Tanew River to the mouth of the Wereszyca. Air scouts report that the Russians have fallen back upon their last line of defenses protecting Lemberg, which is nine miles west of the city limits.

The situation at Lemberg is evidently precarious, as General von Mackensen today seized the railway between Lemberg and Rawa Ruska, which is the main line of travel northward. This, it is con-

sidered, gives the Russians the alternative of preparing for speedy evacuation or of trying to hold the city, with the risk of being enveloped by von Mackensen's army sweeping around southeastward and forming a junction with General Linsingen's forces.

Grand Duke Nicholas, the Russian Commander in Chief, apparently has begun to realize the threatening dangers, for he has ordered the withdrawal of all Russian forces from the south bank of the Dniester. Military opinion here is that he cannot extricate his huge armies without heavy losses in men and material.

FALL OF LEMBERG.

BERLIN, June 23, (by Wireless Telegraphy to Sayville, N. Y.)—Lemberg has been conquered after a very severe battle, according to an official report received here from the headquarters of the Austro-Hungarian Army. The Galician capital fell before the advance of the Second Army.

The news that Lemberg has been carried by Austrian and Hungarian troops is received today with great jubilation in Berlin. Throngs of people crowd the public squares and the parks, flags are displayed from windows, and bands are playing patriotic airs. Extra editions of the newspapers are being shouted on the streets, and the church bells are ringing. Everybody seems to feel that another great step in the direction of final victory has been gained.

A correspondent of the Cologne Gazette telegraphs that the Russians, before the general retreat began, hurriedly sent back all the artillery they could move. This was done instead of endeavoring to cover the retreat of the artillery and saving all of it. Part of the cannon were useless, on account of poor ammunition. Continuing, the correspondent says:

"It was after the artillery had been sent to the rear that the panic-stricken troops began their flight. Wagons and supply trains blocked the roads. Men detached the horses from these vehicles and rode away on them, heedless of the crowd of soldiers of all arms crowding

back to the rear. Generals and Colonels were helplessly carried away. Units were disbanded, and the army became a mere mob. It was readily to be seen that catastrophe was unavoidable."

A report given out today sets forth that, since June 12, 60,000 Russian soldiers and nine Russian guns have been captured.

LONDON ACCEPTS THE STATEMENT.

LONDON, June 23, 12:10 P. M.—The statement from Austrian headquarters that Lemberg had fallen before the advance of the forces of Austria and Ger-

many was received in London without surprise. It was known that the Germanic allies were within artillery range of the Galician capital, and capitulation was regarded as a question only of days. Nothing has been heard yet from Petrograd, but there is no disposition to doubt the accuracy of the Austrian claim.

ARCHDUKE FREDERICK HONORED.

VIENNA, June 23, (via London,) 5:42 P. M.—Emperor William has given Archduke Frederick of Austria the rank of Field Marshal in the Prussian Army in recognition of his services in the campaign which resulted in the fall of Lemberg.

BELGIUM.

By LEONID ANDREYEV.

[Translated from the Russian by Leo Pasvolksky.]

I AM Belgium!

Oh, look at me, kind men! I am clothed in snow-white robes, for I am innocent before the God of peace and love; it was not I that cast into the world the torch of strife, not I that lit the horrid flame of conflagration, not I that caused hot tears to stream from mothers', widows' eyes.

Oh, look at me, kind men! Look at this scarlet blot upon my bosom that burns so vividly upon my snow-white robe—Oh, 'tis my wounded heart, from which red blood is gushing forth! The traitor pierced me to the heart, he plunged his sword into my bosom. Ah, what a cruel blow!

On through this field I marched in peace, bearing these flowers, listening to the songsters' choirs on high, and praising God, who made the beautiful flowers. Who coveted this path of mine, that wound 'midst flowers and songs? The traitor pierced my very heart, and the white petals lifeless hang, o'er-sprinkled with red blood.

White rose! My gentle, dear white rose!

Oh, look at me, kind men! 'Tis not a crown upon my head, 'tis waterplants, the greenish grass of ocean fields, with which the sea had clad me. What could I do? So once again I sought my dear, old sea, I knelt before its mighty waves, I prayed: "Oh, cover me, my dear, old sea, for nowhere else can I seek aid. The cruel stranger rules my home; my gentle children lifeless lie. And dost thou see those horrid flames, that rise where once my temples stood? Oh, cover me, protect me, my dear, my dear, old sea, for nowhere else can I seek aid!"

'Twas thus I spoke and wept in grief. And lo! the kindly sea gave me protection.

And out of the sea I came again, I came to tell you that I live.

Oh, look at me, kind men! For I am Belgium, and I live. My King, my Albert is alive; my Belgian people lives.

No, these are not tears that glisten in my eyes. Enough of tears! A holy wrath inflames my heart!

No, this is not a wound upon my bosom, 'tis a red, red rose, the quenchless flame of war, my sacred oath!

Red rose! My terrible red rose!

No, this wreath upon my head is not of waterplants, no, 'tis the crown of Belgium, the crown of a free nation!

Where is my sword?

In the name of Justice and of Freedom, in my King's name I raise the sword.

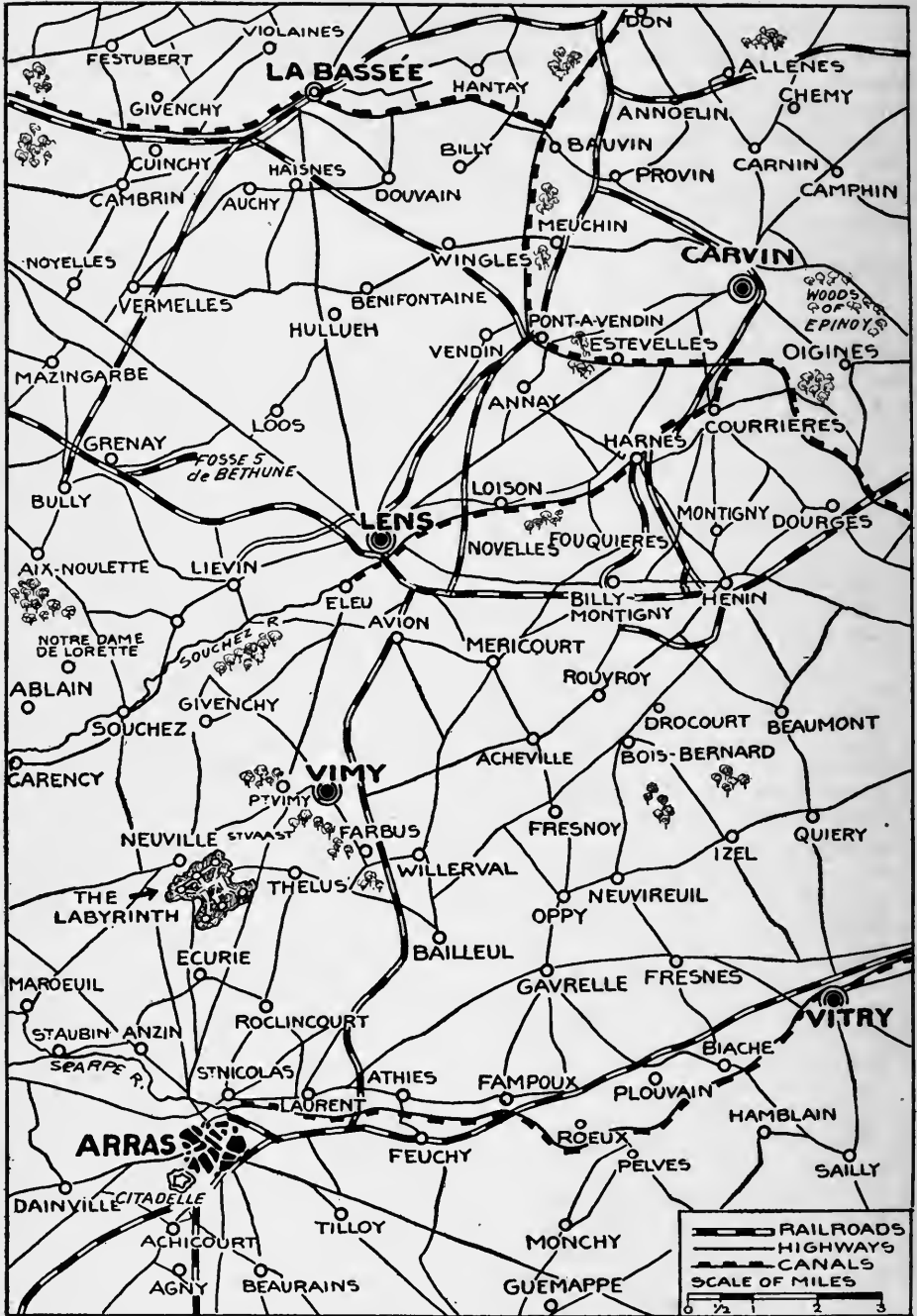
To Belgium's aid, O Nations!

God save the Czar and Russia, that gave her blood for me!

God save the King and Britain, that shed her blood for me!

Forward, fair France's children! Form your battalions, hasten, hasten!

To Belgium's aid, O Nations!



Map showing where the French were trying on June 20, 1915, to capture the German lateral lines of communications about Arras and Lens in their steady forward drive in the north of France. The "Labyrinth" appears in the lower left section.

Battle of the Labyrinth

France's Victory in the Chief Western Operation Since the Marne

The Battle of the Labyrinth, technically described in French communiqués as "operations in the section north of Arras," really began in October, 1914, when General de Maud-Huy stopped the Prussian Guard before Arras. Because of their great strength the labyrinth of German trenches and fortifications southeast of Neuville-St. Vaast formed a dangerous salient which the French troops had to dispose of before they could make progress eastward from north and south of that point. The decisive part of the battle—or series of battles extending over fifty miles of front—is described in the brief review of the French official observer at the front, and in the two accounts by Wythe Williams cabled to THE NEW YORK TIMES after a trip to the front specially arranged for him and three editors of Paris newspapers by the French War Ministry.

By The Associated Press.

Account of the French Official Observer At the Front

PARIS, June 22.—*A terrific combat from May 30 to June 19 has resulted in the conquest by the French of the formidable system of works and trenches called the "Labyrinth." The operations are described today in a dispatch from an official observer at the front.*

The Labyrinth, lying between Neuville St. Vaast and Ecurie, formed a salient of the German line, and its position, a strong one, had been greatly reinforced from time to time. The "Observer" writes:

French attacks on May 9 and days thereafter failed to modify the situation. At the end of May the French decided to finish things, and the order was given to take the Labyrinth inch by inch.

This meant an operation of two principal phases of different nature. It was necessary, first, by well-prepared and vigorous assaults, to get a footing in the enemy organization, and then to progress to the interior of the communicating trenches, repulsing the enemy step by step. These two operations lasted more than three weeks and resulted in complete success.

The debouch must have been difficult, as numerous German batteries, composed of 77-millimeter guns, the 150, 210, 280, and even 305 millimeter guns, concen-

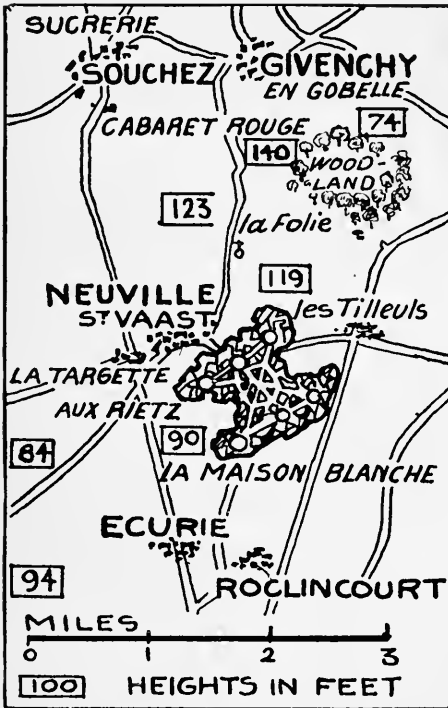
trated their fire on us. They were stationed at Givenchy, La Folie, Thelus, Farbus, and Beaurains, south of Arras. Nevertheless, our men understood, and prepared to do their duty.

It was on May 30 that the assaults began, our regiments marching out from different points. Their ardor was admirable.

Everywhere, except on the right, we captured the first line. Behind this were a great number of barricades and fortlets. We took some of these, while others stopped us. One hundred and fifty prisoners, surprised in their holes by the furious charge of the French infantry, fell into our hands.

From this moment the war of the communicating trenches began. There were the trenches of von Kluck, Eulenburg, and the Salle des Fêtes, without counting innumerable numbered works, giving a feeling of unheard-of difficulties which our troops had to overcome.

Without a stop, from May 30 to June 17, they fought on this ground, full of big holes and filled with dead. The combat never ceased, either day or night. The attacking elements, constantly renewed, crushed the Germans with hand grenades and demolished their earth barricades. There was not an hour of truce nor an instant of repose. The men were



"The Labyrinth"

under a sun so hot in the trenches that they fought bareheaded and in their shirtsleeves.

On each of these bloody days there were acts of incomparable heroism. From three sides at a time we made way where the Germans had dug formidable shelters, ten meters under ground. The enemy artillery continued firing on our line without interruption.

Our reserves suffered, for in this upturned earth, where every blow from the pickaxe would disinter a body, one can prepare but slowly the deep shelters which the situation demands.

We lost many men, but the morale of the others was unshaken. The men asked only one thing—to go forward to fight with grenades, instead of waiting, gun in hand, the unceasing fall of shells.

They were hard days, and it was necessary constantly to carry to the fighting men munitions and food, and especially water. Everybody did his best, and we continued our success. Little by little our progress, indicated by a cloud of dust,

resulting from the combat of the grenades, brought us to an extremity north of the Labyrinth. The fighting continued in the Eulenburg and other trenches daily, and ultimately the Labyrinth belonged to us.

The Germans lost an entire regiment. We took a thousand prisoners. The rest were killed. A Bavarian regiment also was cut to pieces.

Our losses were 2,000 men, among whom many were slightly wounded.

The resistance was as fierce as the attack. Despite the nature of the ground and the organized defenses, which had been in preparation for seven months, and despite the artillery, the bomb-throwers, and the quick-firers, we remained the victors.

THE FRENCH "CURTAIN OF IRON."

By Wythe Williams.

[Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.]

PARIS, June 1.—I have just completed another trip to the front, probably the most important one accorded any correspondent since the war began. For several days, in the company of three Paris editors, I was escorted by an officer of the General Staff through the entire sector north of Arras where the French have been making brilliant gains in the last few weeks.

The trip was arranged suddenly by the War Ministry in order to prove the truth of the French official communiqués and the falsity of the German reports. I was the only neutral in the party. In fact, the day before we started I was informed that trips to the front had temporarily been abandoned because the fighting was too hot to take correspondents to any place on the line. During the entire time I was under heavy artillery fire and got more intimately acquainted with modern war than on all my previous trips to the front. I was especially fortunate to be picked out by the War Office over all competitors as the single foreigner permitted to go, for it so happened that we covered the same sector of fighting as that traversed last February on my first officially authorized visit to the battle zone. Thus I was able to make comprehensive comparisons

of just what had been accomplished since that time.

On this trip I covered a large stretch of territory that until a few weeks ago—some places only a few days ago—Germany had claimed as her own by right of conquest. I walked through miles of trenches that only last February I peered at from other trenches through a periscope; cautiously, because they were then occupied by Germans; fearfully, because any instant the periscope was likely to be struck from my eyes and shattered by a hostile bullet.

The result of this long walk taught me many things. First in importance was that my confidence in the superiority of German trenches had been sadly misplaced. Since the trench fighting began after the battle of the Marne we have been regaled in Paris with stories of the marvelous German trenches. Humorists went so far as to have them installed with baths and electric lights, but we have all believed them to be dry, cement lined, with weather-proof tops and comfortable sleeping quarters, and as hygienically perfect as the German organization has ever made anything. This belief for me had been borne out in accounts of the German trench life reported for American newspapers and magazines.

What I can now say is that the correspondents who permitted this legend to go over the world must have been grandly entertained by the Germans in special sections of their trenches set aside as quarters for the officers. I believe that these trenches, which I saw on this trip, must compare favorably with any they hold, for they form part of what is called "the labyrinth." Some of the most desperate fighting of the war is still going on there, with the French literally blasting the Germans out yard by yard, trench by trench. In fact, this trench line was to have formed part of the new boundary line of Germany—they dug themselves in to stay.

I entered these trenches following a long passage leading from the rear of the original French lines. I thought I was still in the French trenches, when suddenly I found myself in a mud ditch, much narrower than any I had ever

traversed. The bottom, instead of being corduroy lined, was rough and uneven, making very hard walking. I said to the Major with me, "You must have made these trenches in a hurry; they are not so good as your others." He replied, "We did not make them. The Germans are responsible."

Then we came to a wide place where a sign announced the headquarters of the German commandant. The sides of his underground cavern were all solid concrete, with cement inner walls separating four rooms. Paper and artistic burlap covering covered the walls and ceilings, and rugs were on the floors. The furniture was all that could be desired. There was a good iron bed, an excellent mattress, a dresser with a pier glass, and solid tables and chairs. The rooms consisted of an office, dining room, bedroom, and a kitchen, with offshoots for wine, and sleeping quarters for the orderlies and cook. Kultur demanded that the Kaiser's office should have the best accommodation transportable to the firing line, but the fare of the common soldier, I should judge, averaged quite a third below that of the French—both privates and officers, all of whom share the common lot, with straw for bedding and either mud or stars for the roof.

Leaving this commandant's late magnificence, we soon found ourselves in another wide, corduroy-lined trench, with straw dugouts. My Major, without attempting any comparison, but merely to get my geography right, said quite simply: "We are now in the parallel French trench to that German one we just visited."

All this particular bit of trenches was where the Germans cleared out precipitately after French night attacks, and without waiting for the fearful "rideau de fer," or iron curtain, with which the French usually devastate everything before advancing. Littered through them were hundreds of unused cartridges, rifles, knapsacks, bayonets, and clothing of every description. The dead had been taken away just before our arrival. The prisoners—hundreds of them—we met going to the rear.

The second great lesson I learned on

this trip I already had a good understanding of from my previous trip. It is that the "rideau de fer" is the most terrible thing ever devised by man to devastate not only men but every single object upon which it descends.

This time I saw the results of the "rideau de fer" on another long stretch of what had lately been German trenches. The "rideau de fer" is simply the French method of converging artillery fire upon a single point where they intend to attack or where they are being attacked. The fact that it is possible is due to the enormous number of guns and the unlimited supply of high explosive shells.

Behind the entire infantry lines there seems to be an endless row of batteries of "seventy-fives," close up to the trenches. These terrible little destroyers can whirl in any direction at will, so when the order comes for the "rideau de fer" at any point, literally hundreds of guns within a few seconds are converging their fire there, dropping a metal curtain through which no mortal enemy can advance.

In this section the French dropped nearly a quarter of a million shells in one day. Unlike the English shrapnel, which makes little impression against earthworks, the French use explosive shells almost entirely.

As I walked over this section after the curtain had been lifted, I was absolutely baffled for descriptive words. All the earth in that vicinity seemed battered out of shape. The dead needed no burial there. Down under the wreck and ruin the dead all lie covered just where they fell.

Among the places I either visited or at least was able to see plainly, all of which were held by the Germans at the time of my last trip, were Saint Elci, Carrency, Notre Dame de Lorette, Souchez, and Neuville Saint Vaast, where the fighting still continues from house to house.

I found the same efficient, imperturbable army that I discovered previously, all absolutely sure of complete victory not very far off. I got an illustration on this trip of the imperturbability of the

French soldier in such a way as I never before believed existed. We were walking along a country lane to a turning where a trench boyau began. Just at the turning the nose of a "seventy-five" poked across the path. Although the gun was speaking at its high record of twenty shots per minute, several soldiers lolled idly about within a few yards, smoking cigarettes. We stood off at an angle slightly in front, but about thirty yards away.

It was evening. We could see the spurt of flame from the mouth of the gun as the shell departed to the distant Germans.

Across the road in the direction the gun pointed was a field. There, almost in the path of the gun, which, instead of being raised at an angle, was pointed horizontally, and only fifteen yards away, I saw a man grubbing in the soil. He seemed so directly in the path of the shells that I don't believe they missed blowing off his head by more than two feet. But he just grubbed away, almost on his hands and knees. If the gunners saw him they paid not the slightest attention, but just calmly went on firing.

One of our party called the situation to the attention of an officer, who immediately began dancing up and down, calling to the man to "Come out of that before you are killed."

The man then raised his head and looked our way. He was a soldier. His cap was slanted over one eye, his pipe dangled from his mouth, and his face wore an expression of irritation. Seeing the officer, he saluted, but did not trouble to stand up.

"What are you doing there?" the officer called. The man raised his dirty fist to his cap, and said, "Digging carrots."

As we gasped our astonishment he calmly went back to his grubbing, this time, it seemed, slightly nearer to the flash of the cannon than before.

Another impressive sight afforded me was the manoeuvres behind the lines. I do not mean strategic manoeuvres bearing upon real operations, but manoeuvres such as were held in pre-manouvres such as were held in pre-

vious years—mimic warfare within the sound of real war and only a couple of miles away. Approaching the front, we were continually passing through these manoeuvres. I calculated that I saw thousands of soldiers playing at war and snapping empty rifles who the day before stood in the trenches firing bullets, and who will do it again tomorrow. The manoeuvres come during "days of repose" from the trenches, when the men know they at least have that day more to live. Every field, every road was full of them.

We motored along country lanes preferably to the main highways, where our autos would be more easily discerned by the German aeroplanes constantly hovering about. In these lanes we found lines of men sneaking along, sometimes crawling inch by inch, to surprise an imaginary enemy down around the bend. In the fields we saw charges and counter-charges from trench to trench. We saw cavalry manoeuvres across the open country and cavalry on foot facing each other in long lines along the roadsides, fighting desperately with lance and clubbed carbine.

Occasionally a real shell would come popping over from somewhere to tear a hole in the roadside to make our automobiling more difficult. In fact, we discovered that during "Joffre's offensive" days of repose mean drill, drill, and more drill, and when the men are not drilling many of them are guarding prisoners.

Along other roadsides we saw hundreds of prisoners, usually in charge of a cavalry company marching them to the rear. At one place we stopped and talked with them—several could speak French. There were many well set up, fine-looking fellows, who seemed perfectly content to do no more fighting. About a dozen under one guard were across the road in a meadow, tossing a tennis ball about, laughing and joking. Others were eating luncheon. It was just 1 o'clock. They had the same fare as their captors, the only difference in service being that the captors got theirs first.

Our officer talked to the Captain of the guard, who explained that his lot of

about 400 had just been taken at Neuville Saint Vaast. Our officers then talked to the prisoners. I was surprised to note the extraordinary decency of their attitude and conversation. There was no boasting, no arrogance, no animosity. On the contrary, I heard one Captain telling the prisoners considerable they apparently did not know about the progress of the fighting in that neighborhood. He smiled as he talked, and concluded by telling the men they would be well fed and well treated.

I also noted the attitude of the prisoners. As a French officer approached the German soldier, true to his years of iron discipline, leaped to his feet and stood rigid as a poker through the talk, but never the raising of a hand to cap, never the salute to the Frenchman.

I strolled down the road and found another with whom I was able to talk. He was a non-commissioned officer, young and very intelligent. I told him I was an American, which aroused his interest. He wanted to talk about America. He had friends there. I asked him:

"How long do you think Germany can hold out against so many enemies?"

He stood very straight, looked me directly in the eye, and said: "Germany knows she is beaten, but she will fight to the last cartridge."

He spoke French. His final words, "La dernière cartouche," rang out. His eyes flashed. Several others crowded about.

Just then a company of Spahis cavalry came clattering down the road—a more ferocious-looking lot I have never seen—and disappeared in a cloud of dust. All of us turned to look, the prisoner remarking: "I'll say one thing, though: we never thought we would have to fight men like those."

Coming from the trenches at night, we waited in a little hamlet about a kilometer in the rear for our automobiles. About 1,000 soldiers were there, waiting to return to the trenches in the morning. They completely surrounded us, singling me out for observation on account of my khaki clothes. I heard one ask our Captain about me. The Cap-

tain replied that I was a correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES. Many had never seen an American before. I was conscious that I was an object of intense curiosity.

I saw one little chap pushing through the crowd. He stood before me and thrust out his hand. "Hello!" he said. I thought his "Hello!" might be French quite as easily as American, so I merely returned his handshake. He grinned, and then said in perfectly good "American": "You forget me, huh?" I admitted my shortcoming in memory; but his beard was very thick and stubby and his uniform was very dirty. I complimented his linguistic ability. He waved his arms, saying: "Huh, didn't I live eight years in little old New York?" Then he came still nearer, saying: "You don't remember me, and I have served you many a cocktail. I don't know your name; but I am sure."

After something like a jar I gasped out, "Where?"

"Five years ago, at Mouquin's," he replied, and then I did remember him, and while the others stood about marveling at their "educated" comrade who could actually converse with the American, we talked about many of the old newspaper crowd in New York who frequented that restaurant. He had sailed on Aug. 4 to rejoin his regiment.

The automobiles arrived, and I climbed aboard. He reached up his hand.

"Tell those folks back in America that we are all doing fine," he said. Then his voice sank to an impressive whisper: "And take it from me, you can say we are giving the Germans hell now."

As our automobile jerked suddenly away into the night I could hear my ex-waiter excitedly introducing American journalism, particularly THE NEW YORK TIMES, to his regiment on the battlefield.

WYTHE WILLIAMS.

THE LABYRINTH.

[Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.]

PARIS, June 2.—This is a story about what, in the minds of the French military authorities, ranks as the greatest battle of the war in the western theatre

of operations, excepting the battle of the Marne, which has already taken its place among the decisive battles of the world's history. This battle is still raging, although its first stages have been definitely settled in favor of the French, who are continuing their progress with less and less opposition.

So far the battle has received no name. The French official communiqués laconically refer to it as "operations in the section north of Arras."

I cannot minutely describe the conflict; no one can do that at this stage. I can, however, write about it and tell what I have seen these past few days when the Ministry of War authorized me to accompany a special mission there, to which I was the only foreigner accredited. I purpose to call this struggle the battle of the Labyrinth, for "labyrinth" is the name applied to the vast system of intrenchments all through that region, and from which the Germans are being literally blasted almost foot by foot by an extravagant use of French melinite.

There have been successive chapters by different writers describing and disposing of as finished—though it is not finished—still another battle which, from the English point of view, takes top rank, namely, the battle of Ypres. While a British defeat at Ypres might mean the loss of Dunkirk and possibly of Calais, a French defeat at the Labyrinth would allow the Germans to sweep clear across Northern France, cutting all communication with England.

The battle of the Labyrinth really began last October, when General de Maud-Huy stopped the Prussian Guard before Arras with his motley array of tired Territorials, whom he gathered together in a mighty rush northward after the battle of the Marne. The crack Guards regiments afterward took on the job at Ypres, while the Crown Prince of Bavaria assumed the vain task of attempting to break the more southward passage to the sea.

All the Winter de Maud-Huy worried him, not seeking to make a big advance, but contenting himself with the record of never having lost a single trench.

With the return of warm weather, just after the big French advance in Champagne, this sector was chosen by Joffre as the place in which to take the heart out of his enemy by the delivery of a mighty blow.

The Germans probably thought that the French intended to concentrate in the Vosges, as next door to Champagne; so they carted all their poison gases there and to Ypres, where their ambition still maintains ascendancy over their good sense. But where the Germans think Joffre is likely to strike is usually the place furthest from his thoughts. Activities in the Arras sector were begun under the personal command of the Commander in Chief, who was still personally directing operations during my visit only two days ago.

I doubt whether, until the war is over, it will be possible adequately to describe the battle, or rather, the series of battles extending along this particular front of about fifty miles. "Labyrinth" certainly is the fittest word to call it. I always had a fairly accurate sense of direction; but, standing in many places in this giant battlefield, it was impossible for me to say where were the Germans and where the French, so completely was I turned around on account of the constant zigzag of the trench lines. Sometimes, when I was positive that a furious cannonade coming from a certain position was German, it turned out to be French. At other times, when I thought I was safely going in the direction of the French, I was hauled back by officers, who told me I was heading directly into the German line of fire. I sometimes felt that the German lines were on three sides, and often I was quite correct. On the other hand, the French lines often almost completely surrounded the German positions.

One could not tell from the nearness of the artillery fire whether it was from friend or foe. Artillery makes three different noises; first, the sharp report followed by detonations like thunder, when the shell first leaves the gun; second, the rushing sound of the shell passing high overhead; third, the shrill whistle, followed by the crash when it finally ex-

plodes. In the Labyrinth the detonations which usually indicated the French fire might be from the German batteries stationed quite near us, but where they could not get the range on us, and firing at a section of the French lines some miles away. I finally determined that when a battery fired fast it was French; for the German fire is becoming more intermittent every day.

I shall attempt to give some idea of what this fighting looks like. Late one afternoon, coming out of a trench into a green meadow, I suddenly found myself planted against a mudbank made of the dirt taken from the trenches. We were just at the crest of a hill. In khaki clothes I was of the same color as the mudbank; so an officer told me I was in a fairly safe position.

Modern war becomes quite an ordinary—often even a sedate, methodical—affair after the first impressions have been rubbed off.

We flattened ourselves casually against our mudbank, carefully adjusting our glasses, turned them toward the valley before us, whence came the sound of exploding shells, and calmly watched a village developing into nothingness in the sunset. It was only about a thousand yards away—I didn't even bother to ask whether it was in French or German possession. There was a loud explosion, a roll of dense smoke, which was penetrated quickly enough by the long, horizontal rays of the descending sun to permit the sight of tumbling roofs and crumbling walls. After a few seconds' intermission there was another explosion, and what looked like a public school in the main street sagged suddenly in the centre. With no *entre-acte* came a succession of explosions, and the building was prone upon the ground—just a jagged pile of broken stones.

We turned our glasses on the other end of the village. A column of black smoke was rising where the church had caught fire. We watched it awhile in silence. Ruins were getting very common. I swept the glasses away from the hamlet altogether and pointed out over the distant fields to the left.

"Where are the German trenches?"

I rather uninterestedly asked the Major.

"I'll show you—just a moment!" he answered, and at the same time signaling to a soldier squatting in the entrance to a trench near by, he ordered the man to convey a message to the telephone station which connected with a "seventy-five" battery at our rear. I was on the point of telling the officer not to bother about it. The words were on my lips. Then I thought "Oh, never mind! I might as well know where the trenches are, now that I have asked."

The soldier disappeared. "Watch!" said the officer. We looked intently across the field to the left. In less than a minute there were two sharp explosions behind us, two puffs of smoke out on the horizon before us, about a mile away.

"That's where they are!" the officer said. "Both shells went right in them."

"Ah! Very interesting!" I replied.

Away to the right of the village, now reduced to ruins, was another larger village; we squared around on our mud bank to look at that. This town was more important; it was Neuville-St. Vaast, which is still occupied by both French and Germans, the former slowly retaking it, house by house. We were about half a mile away. We could see little; for, strangely, in this business of house-to-house occupation, most of the fighting is in the cellars. But I could well imagine what was going on, for I had already walked through the ruins of Vermelles, another town now entirely in French possession, but taken in the same fashion after two months' dogged inch-by-inch advances.

So, when looking at Neuville-St. Vaast, I suddenly heard a tremendous explosion and saw a great mass of masonry and débris of all descriptions flying high in the air, I knew just what had happened. The French—for it is always the French who do it—had burrowed, sapped and dug themselves laboriously, patiently, slowly, by tortuous, narrow underground routes from one row of houses under the foundations, gardens, backyards, and streets to beneath the foundations of the

next row of houses. There they had planted mines. The explosion I had just witnessed was of a mine. Much of the débris I saw flying through space had been German soldiers a few seconds before.

Before the smoke died away we heard a savage yell. That was the French cry of victory. Then we heard a rapid crackling of rifles. That was the sign that the French had advanced across the space between the houses to finish the work their mine had left undone. When one goes to view the work of those mines afterward all that one sees is a great, round, smooth hole in the ground—sometimes thirty feet deep, often twice that in diameter. Above it might have been either a château or a stable; unless one has an old resident for guide it is impossible to know.

It takes many days and nights to prepare these mines. It takes careful mathematical precision to determine that they are correctly placed. It takes morale, judgment, courage, and intelligence—this fighting from house to house. And yet the French are called a frivolous people!

A cry from a soldier warned us of a German aeroplane directly overhead; so we stopped gazing at Neuville-St. Vaast. A French aeroplane soon appeared, and the German made off rapidly. They usually do, as the majority of German aeronauts carry only rifles; the French now all have mitrailleuses. A fight between them is unequal, and the inequality is not easily overcome, for the German machines are too light for mitrailleuses.

Four French machines were now circling above, and the German batteries opened fire on them. It was a beautiful sight. There was not a cloud in the sky, and the sun had not yet gone. We could not hear the shells explode, but we could see little feathery white clouds suddenly appear as if some giant invisible hand had just put them there—high up in the sky. Another appeared, and another. There were several dozen little white clouds vividly outlined against the blue before the French machines, all un-

touched, turned back toward their own lines.

Again our thoughts and actions were rudely disturbed by the soldier with us, who suddenly threw himself face down on the ground. Before we had time to wonder why a German shell tore a hole in the field before us, less than a hundred yards away. I asked the officer if we had been seen, and if they were firing at us. He said he did not think so, but we had perhaps better move. As a matter of fact, they were hunting the battery that had so accurately shown us their trenches a short time before.

Instead of returning to the point where we had left our motors by the trench, we walked across an open field in quite another direction than I thought was the correct one. All the time we heard, high overhead, that rushing sound as of giant wings. Occasionally, when a shell struck in the neighborhood, we

heard the shrill whistling sound, and half a dozen times in the course of the walk great holes were torn in our field, sometimes quite near. But artillery does not cause fear easily; it is rifles that accomplish that. The sharp hissing of the bullet that resembles so much the sound of a spitting cat seems so personal—as if it was intended just for you.

Artillery is entirely impersonal; you know that the gunners do not see you; that they are firing by arithmetic at a certain range; that their shell is not intended for anyone in particular. So you walk on striking idly with your stick at the daisies and buttercups that border your path. You calculate, almost indifferently, the distance between you and the bursting shell. You somehow feel that nothing will harm you. You are not afraid; and if you are lucky, as we were, you will find the automobiles waiting for you just over there beyond the brow of the hill.

The Modern Plataea

By Frederick Pollock

[From King Albert's Book.]

NEARLY 2,400 years ago the Boeotian city of Plataea was one among the many lesser Greek republics. Her citizens earned immortal fame by taking part with the leading States of Athens and Sparta in the decisive battles, fought on their own territory, which delivered Greece from the fear of Persian conquest and saved the light of Greek freedom and civilization from being extinguished. To this day the name of Plataea is held in honor throughout the world; for many years that honor was unique. Belgium has now done and dared for the freedom of modern Europe as much as Plataea did of old; she has, unhappily, suffered far more. As her valor has been equal and her suffering greater her reward will be no less immortal. Belgium will be remembered with Plataea centuries after the military tyranny of the Hohenzollerns has vanished like an evil dream.

A British Call For Recruits

Is Your Conscience Clear?

Ask your conscience why you are staying comfortably at home instead of doing your share for your King and Country.

1. Are you too old?

The only man who is too old is the man who is over 38.

2. Are you physically fit?

The only man who can say honestly that he is not physically fit is the man who has been told so by a Medical Officer.

3. Do you suggest you cannot leave your business?

In this great crisis the only man who cannot leave his business is the man who is himself actually doing work for the Government.

If your conscience is not clear on these three points your duty is plain.

ENLIST TO-DAY.

God Save the King.

This advertisement, occupying full pages, was recently run in the British press.

The British Army in France

Richebourg, La Quinque Rue, Festubert, and Ypres

By the Official "Eyewitness" and Sir John French

SAXONS SLAIN BY PRUSSIANS.

Under date of May 21, 1915, an Eyewitness with the British Headquarters in France, continues and supplements his narrative of operations:

The ground our troops were holding on Monday, May 17, projected as two salients into the enemy's territory, one south of Richebourg-L'Avoue and the other to the north of Festubert. The purpose of the operations undertaken on Monday was to connect up the space which lay between them. In this we were successful.

At about 9:30 A. M. on Monday, May 17, our forces attacked the enemy occupying this area, from north and south, and gradually drove him from all his intrenchments within it. The Germans here, pressed on three sides, subjected to a cross-fire from several directions and to continuous bombing, reached the limits of their endurance during the morning, and over 300 surrendered.

After this area had been made good by us fighting continued throughout the day, and our troops, having joined hands, pressed the enemy still further eastward, forcing them out of one post after another. As the afternoon wore on more prisoners fell into our hands, entire groups of men giving themselves up.

The centres of the hostile resistance in this quarter were the clusters of buildings which were very strongly held and surrounded by networks of trenches dotted with numerous machine gun posts, and in front of one of the nests of works near the Ferme Cour de L'Avoue, between La Quinque Rue and Richebourg-L'Avoue, a horrible scene was witnessed by our troops during the day.

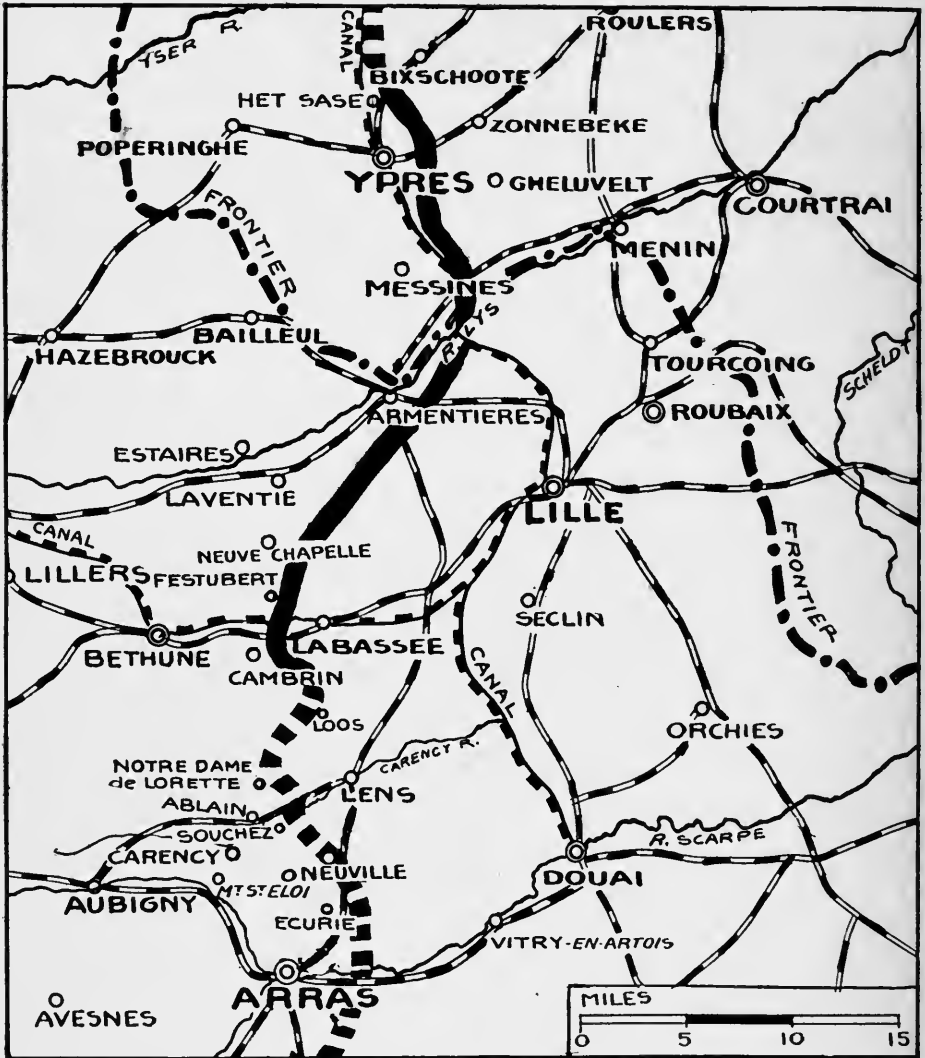
Desperate fighting was going on in front of this farm when the remains of a battalion of Saxons, which, it ap-

pears, had been hastily brought down from further north and thrown into the fight, having decided to surrender en bloc, advanced toward our line. Not knowing what the movement of this mass of men implied, our infantry poured a hail of bullets into them, whereupon the survivors, some hundreds strong, halted, threw down their rifles, and held up their hands, and one of their number waved a white rag tied to a stick.

Our guns continued to fire from the rear, and whether our infantry, who, by this time, have had some experience of the treachery of the enemy, would have paid any attention to these signals is uncertain, but the matter was taken out of their hands, for as soon as the Prussian infantry on the north of this point realized what their Saxon comrades were trying to do, they opened rapid fire from the flank, enfilading the mass. It appears also that the news of what was happening must have been telephoned back to the German artillery further east—which was also probably Prussian, since its guns suddenly opened on the Saxon infantry, and under this combined fire most of the latter were very soon accounted for.

Among the many scenes of the war there has probably been no more strange spectacle than that of the masses of gray-coated soldiers standing out in the open, hands raised, amidst the dead and dying, being butchered by their own comrades before the eyes of the British infantry. The fact that the victims of this slaughter were Saxons was a source of regret to us, since the Saxons have always proved themselves more chivalrous and less brutal than either the Prussians or the Bavarians—in fact, cleaner fighters in every way.

While we were thus pressing forward



Map of the British position. The solid line represents the territory held by the British, the dotted line to the north showing the position of the Franco-Belgian Army, and the dotted line to the south the position of the French Army.

gradually on the section of front between our two original points of penetration, our troops on the right in front of Festubert were making good progress southward along the German trenches. Their attack began at 11:30 A. M., and the Germans were soon cleared out of their line in this quarter up to a point a short distance south of Festubert, where they

made a strong resistance and checked our further lateral progress.

The fighting here was made up of a series of isolated and desperate hand-to-hand combats with bayonet and hand grenades, and, since the Germans were, at many points, outflanked and enfiladed, their losses were very heavy, for in the narrow trenches there was often no

room for escape, and the only alternative was death or surrender. In some places the trenches presented a horrible sight, being heaped with German corpses, many of whom had been blown to pieces by our bombardment carried out previous to the original attack. By about noon the total number of prisoners captured since the commencement of the attack on Sunday had increased to 550.

On the extreme right the Germans were pressed back along their communication trenches in such large numbers that they occasionally formed an excellent mark for the machine guns in our own line to the north of Givenchy, which were able to do great execution at certain points.

By midday the total front of the "bite" taken by us out of the enemy's position was almost exactly two miles long; but, as trenches and isolated posts were taken and retaken several times, the exact situation at any moment, as is usual in such cases, is somewhat obscure. Further progress was made to the south during the afternoon and after dark, and various posts and breastworks east of La Quinque Rue, from which we had withdrawn the previous night, again fell into our hands, although the enemy continued to hold some trenches in rear of them. But they again formed an exposed salient, and were once more temporarily evacuated by us.

At nightfall we held a continuous line embracing the whole of the German original front trenches from the south of Festubert to Richebourg-L'Avoue, and, in many places, were in possession of the whole series of hostile entrenchments, with the exception of a few supporting points and machine-gun posts in rear of the zone.

EAST OF FESTUBERT.

The following dispatch was received on May 26, 1915, from Field Marshal Sir John French, commanding in chief the British Army in the field:

The First Army continues to make progress east of Festubert. A territorial division carried last night a group of German trenches, capturing thirty-five prisoners, and this morning it captured

one officer, twenty-one men, and a machine gun.

Since May 16 the First Army has pierced the enemy's line on a total front of over three miles. Of this the entire hostile front line system of trenches has been captured on a front of 3,200 yards, and of the remaining portion the first and second lines of trenches are in our possession.

The total number of prisoners taken is 8 officers and 777 of other ranks. Ten machine guns in all have fallen into our possession, as well as a considerable quantity of material and equipment, particulars of which are not yet available.

GERMAN GAS WARFARE AGAIN.

Under date of May 28, an Eyewitness with the British Headquarters in France continues and supplements his narrative as follows:

Monday, May 24, witnessed a fresh development in the situation in our front. It was a most brilliant May day, the heat of the sun being tempered by a light breeze, which had blown from the northeast during the night, and in the course of the morning had veered round toward the north. This breeze gave the enemy the opportunity they awaited of repeating their gas tactics against our position in front of Ypres, which, though reduced in prominence, was still a salient in the general line.

Between 2 and 3 o'clock in the morning a violent bombardment with gas shells was started against a section of our line about two and three-quarters miles long, and divided into four approximately equal parts by the roads from Ypres to St. Julien and Moorslede and the railway from Ypres to Roulers. The supply of gas available must have been great, for it continued to pour southwestward for some hours in great volume, in some places reaching to a height of several feet. Owing to the direction of the wind, also, it swept southward along our line as well as penetrating behind it.

The manner in which such an attack develops with a favoring wind cannot better be described than by the reports of its progress brought in on Monday

morning by our aerial reconnaissances. One observer who crossed the opposing front in this quarter shortly after dawn reported when he came back that a thick cloud of what looked like smoke outlined the whole of the German trenches. The next observing officer, who arrived some time afterward, stated that to the west and southwest of the German line he could see a broad band of yellow grass and trees which looked as if they had been bleached. A third, who came in later, stated that the whole area behind our line was covered by a mist so thick as to interfere with observation.

This attempt to asphyxiate was of course preliminary to an assault against the salient, for which infantry had been massing on the east. It was carried out from three directions, being pushed forward under cover of a heavy bombardment against the northern face from the neighborhood of St. Julien, against the northeast face from Zonnebeke along the Roulers Railway, and against the west direct from the Polygon Wood. On the greater part of the front assailed our troops were able to stand their ground, and to maintain their positions in spite of the poisonous fumes, but in certain sections they were forced to evacuate the trenches, and the German infantry succeeded in getting a footing in our front line near the farm to the north of Wieltje, for some distance astride the Roulers Railway, and to the north and south of the Menin Road on the south of the Bellewaarde Lake.

In doing this the enemy lost considerably both from our artillery fire and the rifle fire of the sections of the defense which were able to maintain their position. Counter-attacks were organized during the morning, and by about mid-day our infantry had succeeded in reoccupying our former line to the north of the railway. By evening there were no Germans west of our original position on the south of the Menin Road, though we had not been able to reoccupy our line in that quarter, nor near Wieltje. The advance of the enemy, however, had been stopped. In the neighborhood of Hill 60 a party of our infantry during the night bombed their way for some forty yards

up a trench which the Germans had taken from us, destroyed the enemy's barricade, reconstructed it, and held the trench.

In the centre, near Bois Grenier, a slight success was gained in the evening, our troops seizing some ground between our front line and that of the Germans near the Bois Grenier—Bridoux Road. This ground had been partially entrenched during the previous night, and at 8:50 P. M. the infantry advanced under cover of our artillery and established themselves in the new line.

On our right, in the neighborhood of Festubert, our troops continued their pressure, gaining one or two points in the maze of trenches and defended houses here and there, in spite of the heavy artillery and machine-gun fire to which they were subjected. Before dark the German infantry was observed to be massing opposite Festubert, as if to counter-attack in force; but their two offensive efforts made during the night were not serious, and were easily beaten back.

On Tuesday matters were quieter. On our left the German infantry attacking the Ypres salient did not, in the face of our resistance, attempt to push on further, nor was gas employed, but the bombardment of our positions was maintained. Except where he had retained or regained our original line our position was established behind the portions which the Germans had succeeded in occupying.

A GAIN AT GIVENCHY.

The following dispatch was received on June 4, 1915, from Field Marshal Sir John French, commanding in chief the British Army in the field:

On the night of the 30th of May we seized some outbuildings in the grounds of a ruined chateau at Hooge. Since then our trenches there have been subjected to a heavy bombardment.

Fighting on a small scale has been continuous. At one time we were forced to evacuate the buildings, taken by us, but last night we recaptured them.

Northeast of Givenchy last night we expelled the enemy from his trenches

on a front of 200 yards, taking forty-eight prisoners. Our infantry, however, was unable to remain in occupation of these trenches after daylight, owing to the enemy fire.

Field Marshal Sir John French in a report, dated June 8, on the fighting along the British line, says:

The situation on our front has not changed since the last communication of June 4. There has been less activity on the part of the artillery.

On the 6th, in front of the Plogsteert wood, we successfully exploded a mine under the German trenches, destroying thirty yards of the parapet.

We have brought down two German aeroplanes, one opposite our right by gunfire, and the other in the neighborhood of Ypres, as the result of an engagement in the air with one of our aeroplanes.

AN ADVANCE NEAR YPRES.

Sir John French's report of June 16—the first since that of June 8—said:

Last week there was no change in the situation. The enemy exploded five mines on different parts of our front, but none of these caused any damage to our trenches, and only one caused any casualties.

Yesterday evening we captured the German front-line trenches east of Festubert on a mile front, but failed to hold them during the night against strong counter-attacks.

Early this morning in the neighbor-

hood of Ypres we successfully attacked the enemy's positions north of Hooge, (to the east of Ypres.) We occupied the whole of his first line of trenches on a front of 1,000 yards, and also parts of his second line.

By noon today 157 prisoners had passed to our rear. The German counter-attack has been repulsed with heavy losses.

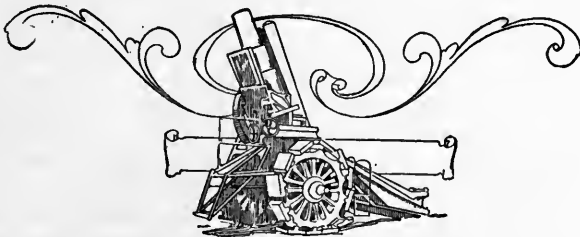
ALLIES IN CONCERTED ATTACK.

Field Marshal French's report of June 18 indicates that a strong, concerted attack was then being made by British and French troops upon the German front from east of Ypres to south of Arras. This report preceded the French announcement of victory in the battle of the Labyrinth, an account of which appears elsewhere. It says:

The fighting in the northern and southern portions of our front continued throughout June 16 in co-operation with the attack of our ally about Arras.

East of Ypres all the German first-line trenches which we captured remain in our hands, in spite of two counter-attacks, which were repulsed with heavy loss to the enemy. We were, however, unable to retain those of the enemy's second-line trenches which we had occupied in the morning.

East of Festubert, as a result of a further attack on the afternoon of the 16th, we made a slight advance and, judging by the number of dead Germans in the trenches entered by us, our artillery fire was very effective.



The Dardanelle's Campaign

Progress of the Allies in June Slow and Difficult

In his speech at Dundee on June 5, from which the passage concerning the Dardanelles is reproduced below, Winston Spencer Churchill's reference to "losses of ships" constituted the official comment on the sinking by submarine attack on May 26 and 27 of the British battleships *Triumph* in the Gulf of Saros, and *Majestic* off *Sedd-el-Bahr*. That increased to six the sum of battleships lost to the Allies in the Dardanelles operations. The review of the operations from May 15 to June 17, shows a development of slow trench warfare on land, which postpones the attainment of a few miles to a victory confidently predicted by Mr. Churchill.

A FEW MILES FROM VICTORY.

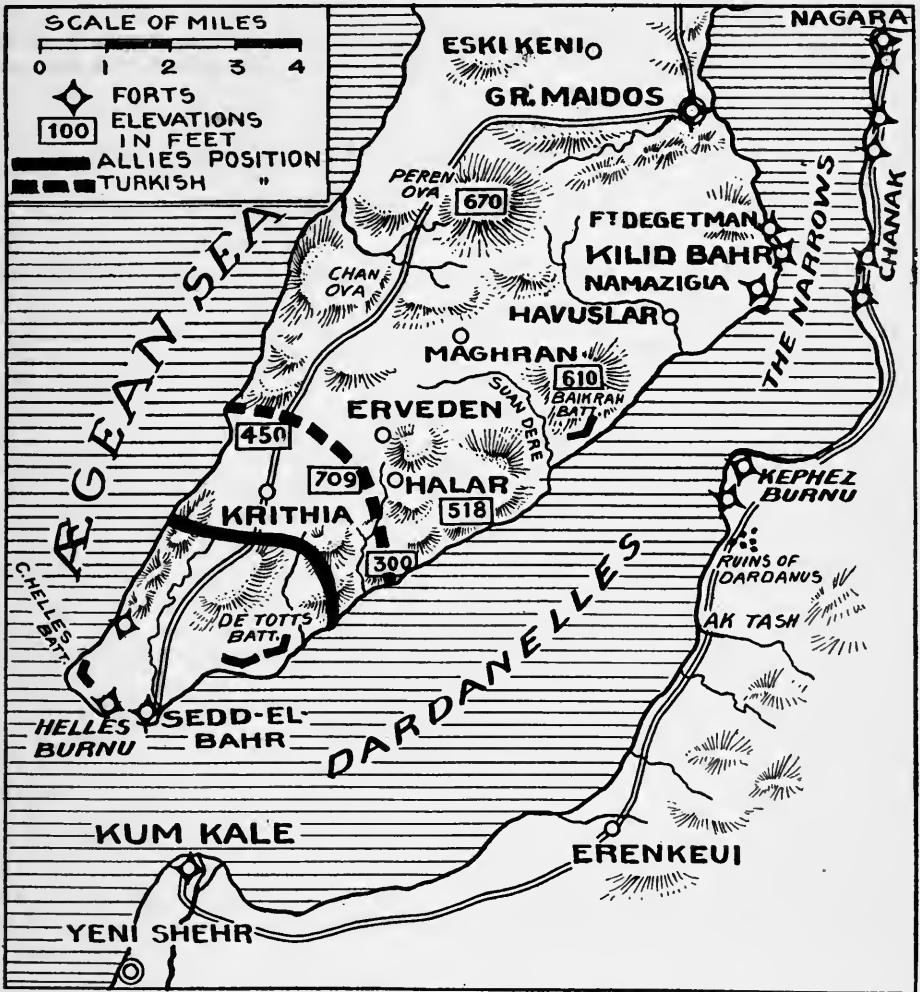
In the course of his speech at Dundee on June 5, 1915, Winston Spencer Churchill said:

The operations which are now proceeding at the Dardanelles will give him (Mr. Balfour) the opportunity of using that quality of cool, calm courage and inflexibility which fifteen years ago prevented Ladysmith from being left to its fate and surrendered to the enemy. I have two things to say to you about the Dardanelles.

First, you must expect losses both by land and sea. But the fleet you are employing there is your surplus fleet, after all other needs have been provided for. Had it not been used in this great enterprise it would have been lying idle in your southern ports. A large number of the old vessels, of which it is composed, have to be laid up in any case before the end of the year, because their crews are wanted for the enormous reinforcements of new ships which the industry of your worksheds is hurrying into the water. Losses of ships, therefore, as long as the precious lives of the officers and men are saved—which in nearly every case they have been—losses of that kind, I say, may easily be exaggerated in the minds both of friend and foe. Military operations will also be costly, but those who suppose that Lord Kitchener—(loud cheers)—has embarked upon them without narrowly and carefully considering their requirements in relation to all other needs and in relation to the par-

amount need of our army in France and Flanders—such people are mistaken, and not only mistaken, they are presumptuous.

My second point is this. In looking at your losses squarely and soberly you must not forget at the same time the prize for which you are contending. The army of Sir Ian Hamilton, the fleet of Admiral de Robeck are separated only by a few miles from a victory such as this war has not yet seen. When I speak of victory I am not referring to those victories which crowd the daily placards of any newspapers. I am speaking of victory in the sense of a brilliant and formidable fact shaping the destinies of nations and shortening the duration of the war. Beyond those few miles of ridge and scrub on which our soldiers, our French comrades, our gallant Australian and New Zealand fellow-subjects are now battling, lie the downfall of a hostile empire, the destruction of an enemy's fleet and army, the fall of a world-famous capital, and probably the accession of powerful allies. The struggle will be heavy, the risks numerous, the losses cruel, but victory when it comes will make amend for all. There never was a great subsidiary operation of war in which a more complete harmony of strategic, political, and economic advantages were combined, or which stood in truer relation to the main decision, which is in the central theatre. Through the Narrows of the Dardanelles and across the ridges of the Gallipoli Peninsula lie



Scene of the Dardanelles operations. The black line marks the approximate allied position, the dotted line the approximate Turkish position, on June 18, 1915.

some of the shortest paths to a triumphant peace.

TWO WEEKS' FIGHTING.

By The Associated Press.

PARIS, June 14.—An official note given out today presents a summary of the operations in the Dardanelles from May 15 to June 1 as follows:

Heavy fighting has taken place during this time. Today our progress is somewhat slower than it was in the beginning, but every inch of ground gained

has been organized in such a manner as to permit the repelling of counter-attacks, and each advance has been held. The physical aspects of the country make fighting extremely difficult and dangerous, as the battle front presents the form of a triangle

During the second half of May there were attacks on the Turkish line of intrenchments in front of Kereves Dere and the redoubt called the 'Bouchet,' which we took May 8. All the Turkish counter-attacks failed completely.

Our position being assured here, we

endeavored to capture a small fortress situated on the extreme left of the enemy's line. On account of the strategic position of this fortress it was impossible to take it in the ordinary way by an artillery attack, followed by a bayonet charge; such a method would have resulted in heavy loss of life. The attack had to be a surprise. On the night of May 28 a mixed company composed of thirty-four white and thirty-two negro troops, all volunteers, under the command of a Lieutenant, received orders to slip out of our first trench one by one and crawl on their hands and knees to the opposing trench. Here they were to surprise the occupants and kill them without a shot. Two other companies bringing up the rear were to go at once to the assistance of the first company if the plan failed.

At 11:45 P. M. our men, having gone forward in accordance with instructions, rushed over the embankments of the enemy trenches. The Turks were completely surprised. They discharged their guns into the air and immediately took to flight. Thanks to the rapidity of our attack our only casualties were one Sergeant and two men wounded.

The Turks attacked twice without success, and dawn saw us firmly established in our new positions.

A GENERAL ASSAULT.

LONDON, June 6.—Official announcement was made tonight that the British troops at the Dardanelles, as a result of their new offensive movement last week, captured two lines of Turkish trenches along a three-mile front. The statement follows:

On the night of June 3-4 the Turks, having heavily bombarded a small fort in front of the extreme right French position, which previously had been captured, launched an infantry attack against it which was repulsed with heavy loss to the enemy. At the same time the Turks set fire to scrub in front of the left centre of the position occupied by the British division and attacked, but with no success.

On the morning of the 4th of June Sir

Ian Hamilton ordered a general attack on the Turkish trenches in the southern area of the Gallipoli Peninsula, preceded by a heavy bombardment by all guns, assisted by battleships, cruisers, and destroyers.

At a given signal the troops rushed forward with the bayonet. They were immediately successful all along the line except in one spot, where the heavy wire entanglement was not destroyed by the bombardment.

Indian troops on our extreme left made a magnificent advance. They captured two lines of trenches, but, owing to the fact that the troops on their right were hung up by this wire entanglement, they were obliged to retire to their original line. The regular division made good progress on the left centre, capturing a strong redoubt and two lines of trenches beyond it, about 500 yards in advance of their original line.

The Territorial Division on our centre did brilliantly, advancing 600 yards and capturing three lines of trenches, but though the advanced captured trench was held all day and half of the ensuing night, they had to be ordered back in the morning to the second captured line, as both their flanks were exposed.

The Naval Division on our right centre captured a redoubt and a formidable line of trenches constructed in three tiers 300 yards to their front, but they, too, had to be ordered back, owing to the heavy enfilading fire.

The French Second Division advanced with great gallantry and élan. They retook for the fourth time that deadly redoubt they call 'Le Haricot,' but unfortunately the Turks developed heavy counter-attacks through prepared communication trenches, and under cover of an accurate shell fire were able to recapture it.

On the French extreme right the French captured a strong line of trenches which, though heavily counter-attacked twice during the night, they still occupy.

We captured 400 prisoners, including ten officers. Among the prisoners were five Germans, the remains of a volunteer machine gun detachment from the Goeben (the Turkish cruiser Sultan Se-

lim). Their officer was killed and the machine gun was destroyed.

During the night information was received that enemy reinforcements were advancing from the direction of Maidos toward Kithia. Thereupon Lieutenant General Birdwood arranged to attack the trenches in front of Quinn's post at 10 P. M., which was successfully carried out, and the captured trenches held throughout the night. The Turkish casualties were heavy.

At 6:30 A. M. the enemy heavily counter-attacked, and by means of heavy bombs forced our men out of the most forward trench, though we still hold communication trenches made during the night.

The result of these operations is that we have made an advance of 500 yards, which includes two lines of Turkish trenches along a front of nearly three miles. We are now consolidating our new positions and strengthening the lines."

MR. ASQUITH'S PREDICTION.

LONDON, June 15.—*There have been so many rumors recently that the Allies had forced the Dardanelles that Sir James H. Dalziel asked Premier Asquith this afternoon in the House of Commons if there was any truth in such reports.*

"None whatever," was the reply. The Premier said that it was not in the public interest to say anything now about the Dardanelles. "The operations are of the highest importance," he added, "and they will be pushed to a successful conclusion."

The following announcement concerning the operations was given out officially today:

The situation on the Gallipoli Peninsula has developed into trench warfare. After our success on the 4th instant the Turks have evinced a great respect for our offensive, and by day and by night they have to submit to captures of trenches.

On the night of the 11th-12th of June two regiments of a British regular brigade made a simultaneous attack on the

advanced Turkish trenches, and after severe fighting, which included the killing of many snipers, succeeded in maintaining themselves, in spite of bombs, in the captured position.

On the morning of the 13th a counter-attack was made by the Turks, who rushed forward with bombs, but coming under the fire of the naval machine gun squadron were annihilated. Of the fifty who attacked, thirty dead bodies were counted in front of that part of our trenches.

The situation is favorable to our forces, but is necessarily slow on account of the difficulties of the ground. The Turkish offensive has sensibly weakened.

FROM THE TURKISH SIDE.

[Staff Correspondence of The Brooklyn Eagle.]

CONSTANTINOPLE, June 5, (by Courier to Berlin and Wireless to Sayville, L. I.)—The forces of the Allies on the Gallipoli Peninsula at Ari Burnu and Sedd-el-Bahr are in the greatest danger, as a result of the withdrawal of the bombarding fleets—made necessary by the activity of German submarines—and the consequent difficulty of maintaining communications over sea from the Aegean Islands.

The English position is at present desperate.

The inability to land heavy artillery was at first compensated for by the protection given by the guns of the fleet, but the withdrawal of the ships from Ari Burnu leaves the shore forces resting almost on the water's edge without means of meeting attacks.

Heavy Turkish batteries are mounted on the surrounding heights.

These statements are made after a week spent in the Turkish field under the first personal pass issued to a newspaper correspondent by Field Marshal Liman von Sanders, the Commander in Chief of the Turkish Army.

The Turks are fighting confidently, aided by a few German machine gun squads.

The farthest advance made by the English at Ari Burnu is 1,000 yards

from shore; at Sedd-el-Bahr, about two miles.

Have seen Forts Chanak and Kalid Bahr, and find they are still intact.

The net results of the English attempt to force the Dardanelles are at present almost nil.

The general impression at Constantinople and Berlin is that the attack as at present conducted is a failure.

The bombardment of March 18 was ineffectual, owing to the inadequacy of the landing forces, and the failure of the Entente powers to embroil Bulgaria against Turkey.

[By The Associated Press.]

KRITHIA, Dardanelles, June 17, (via London, June 19.)—The allied troops who landed at Sedd-el-Bahr, on the Gallipoli Peninsula, hold about ten square miles of the extreme southern part of the peninsula, the occupancy of which is maintained with the greatest difficulties.

The ground held by the Allies consists principally of a small plateau to the north of Sedd-el-Bahr and two adjoining ridges to the northwest, between which the Turks are pushing advance trenches.

The Associated Press correspondent, who spent two days in the trenches, found the Turkish troops in excellent condition and spirits, in spite of the fact that the Allies were using every conceivable means to carry on the operations, including bombs thrown from catapults and from aeroplanes.

From the Turkish station of artillery fire control the effect of the Turkish fire upon the allied trenches could be observed today, and the shells were reaching the mark. The sanitary and supply services of the Turks are being carried on efficiently. The number of wounded at the hospital bases at the

front was small, although the fighting during the night had been fairly severe.

During the daytime both sides are usually inactive, the Turks preferring night bayonet attacks. Many Turkish batteries are in position, but the nearness of the opposing trenches makes their work difficult, and for the most part they are directing their attention to the reserves of the Allies and to changing shifts which are exposed at certain points. The Turks, in this, have the support of their heavy batteries on the Asiatic side, which, since the retirement of the allied fleet, work without fear of being molested, bombarding chiefly the allied right wing, composed of French, home, and Colonial troops.

Weber Pasha, the German General commanding the south group, gave the correspondent every opportunity to visit the Sedd-el-Bahr district, placing no restrictions whatever upon his movements. The result was a thorough inspection of the ground. Weber Pasha made no comment on the situation himself beyond saying that "the failure of the Allies to consummate their plan of forcing the Dardanelles is too obvious for discussion."

Weber Pasha, who is a member of the German military mission which undertook the improvement of the Ottoman Army organization, is fully confident that the Turks will be able to meet the Gallipoli situation, and that the Allies will never advance against the Dardanelles forts.

It has been ascertained that only a few German officers are active in the south group. German privates are employed in special lines.

Krithia, once a thriving village of about 4,000 inhabitants, is probably the most ruined place in all Europe. The Allies left no house standing during their bombardment.

THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[American Cartoon]

An Old Time Aeronaut



—From *The Plain Dealer*, Cleveland.

Poor Darius Green, he tried to fly.

A Parthian Brick



—From *The World*, New York.

“God Bless You.”

The Benevolent Assassin



—From *The Sun*, New York.

“Et tu, Brute!”

The Black Flag



—From *The Herald*, New York.

Will He Haul It Down?

A Statesman's Exit



—From *The Evening Sun*, New York.

The White Feather.

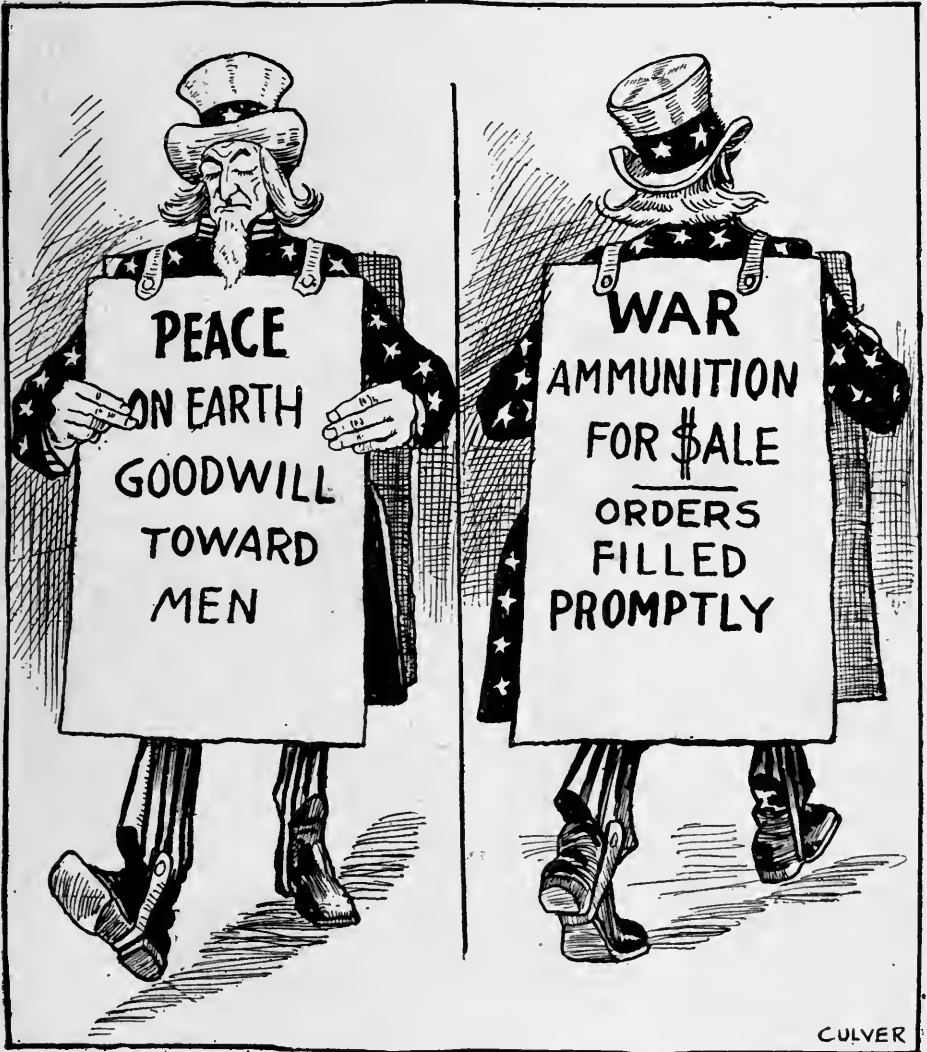
“My Heart Bleeds for Karlsruhe”



—From *The Sun*, New York.

“Emperor William has telegraphed his deep indignation at the wicked attack upon beloved Karlsruhe. The poor innocent victims among civilians have greatly affected him.”—Berlin Press Dispatch.

The Sandwich Man



—From *The Express*, Los Angeles.

Peace and Prosperity.

[English Cartoon]

The Two-handed Sword



—From *Punch*, London.

[The allusion is to the New British Coalition Cabinet.]

Wilson's Wrapping Paper



—From *Simplificissimus*, Munich.

“Here is a sample of a new shell. It is wrapped up in a little bit of a protest—but you needn’t take that very seriously.”

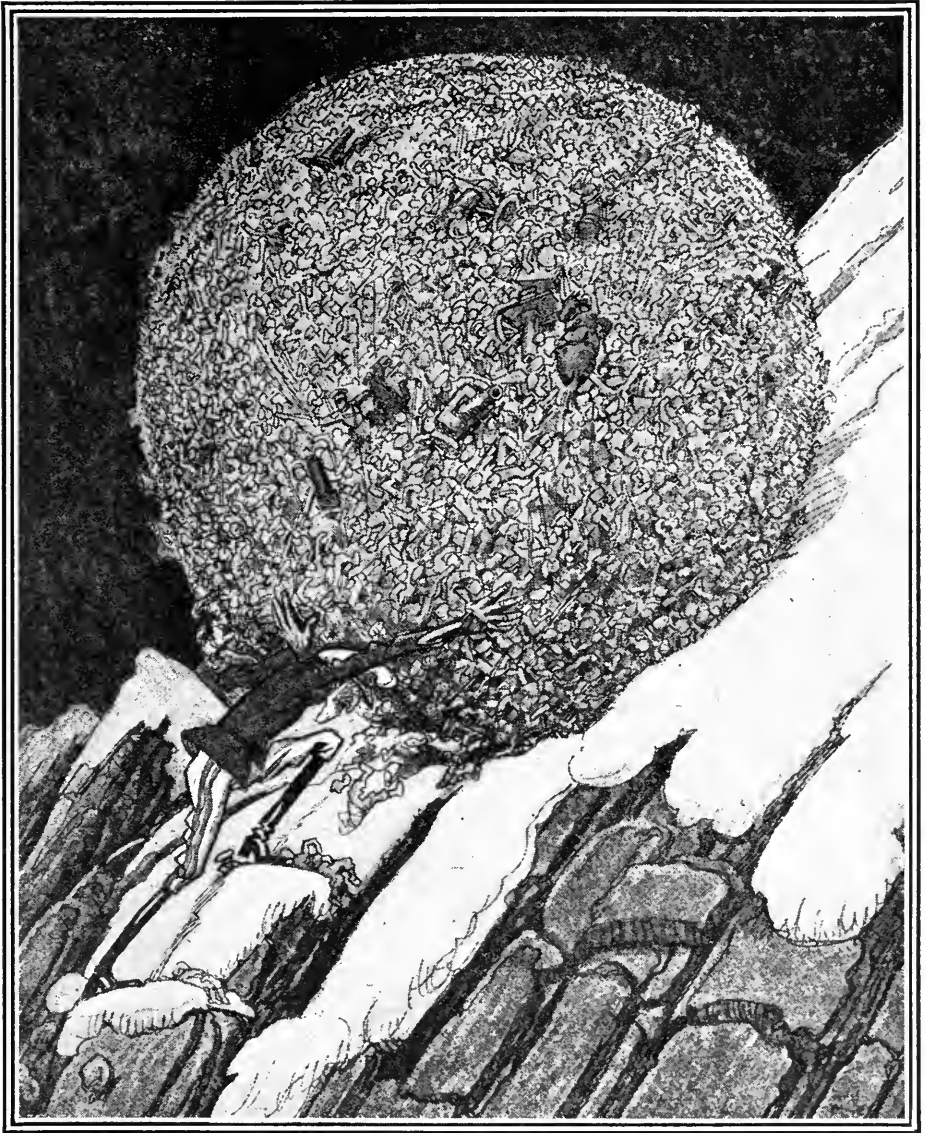
A Haul of U-Boats



—From *The Sketch*, London.

The British Sea Lion returns from Shrimping.

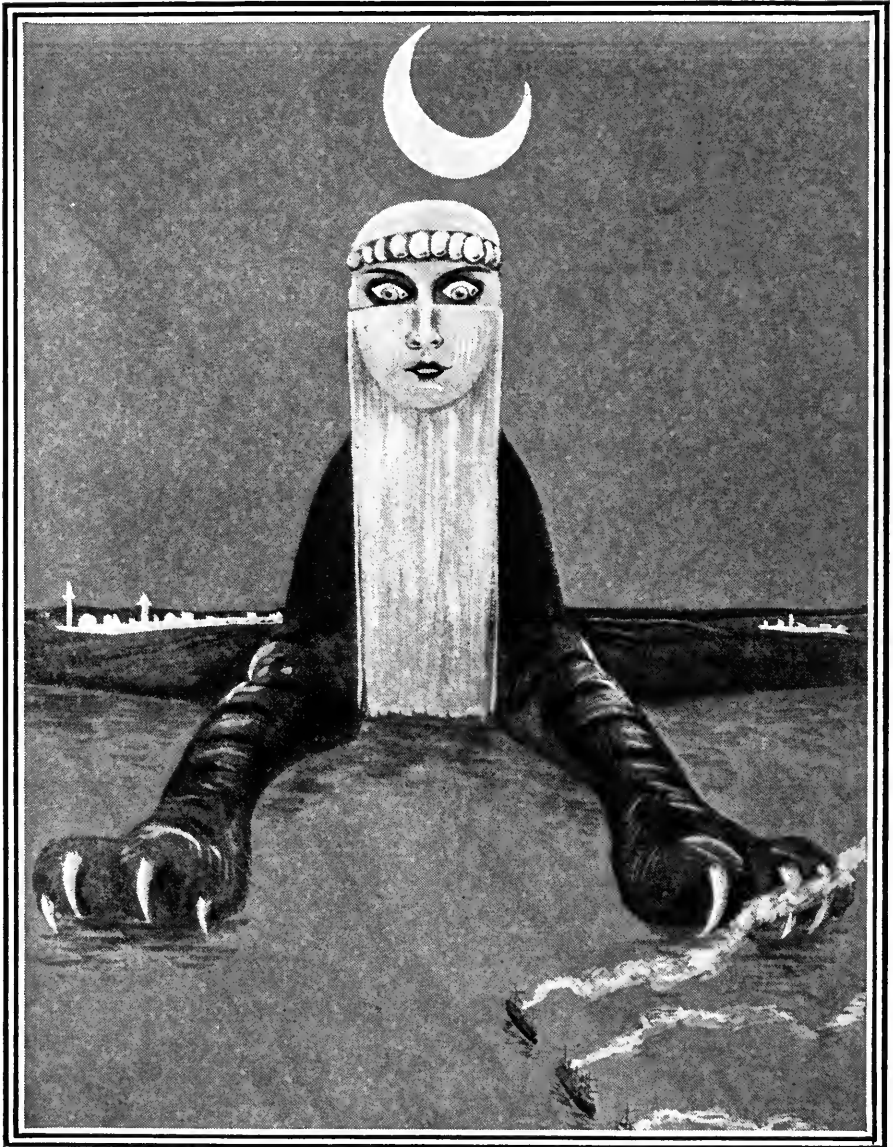
In the Carpathians



—From *Lustige Blaetter*, Berlin.

Look out Sisyphus, the fall may be a terrible one!

The Sphinx on the Bosphorus



—From *Lustige Blätter*, Berlin.

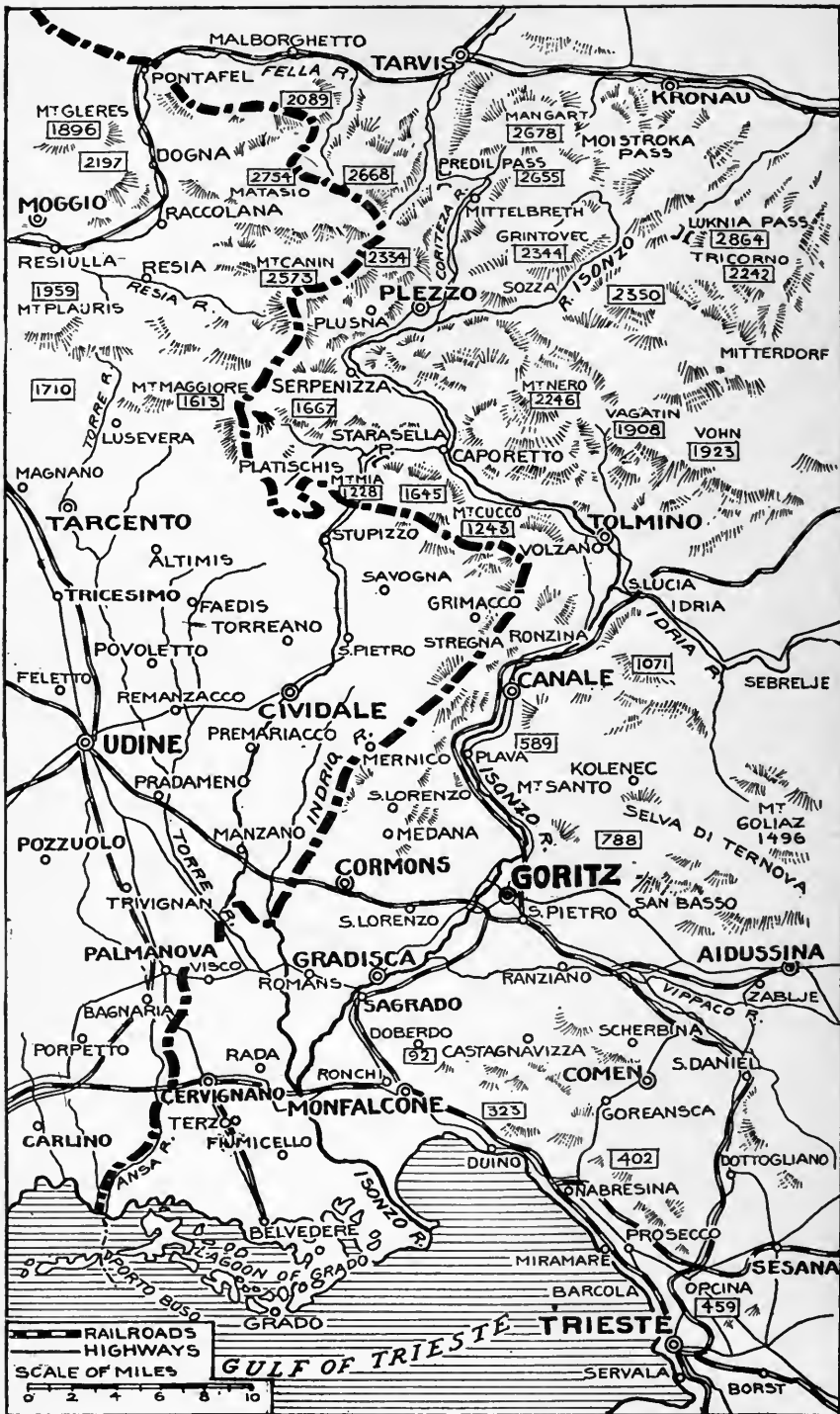
“Come in, little boats! But you’ll never get out again!”

Twice Bitten—Thrice Shy



—From *The Bystander*, London.

Bulgaria contemplates the outlook with some trepidation.



Map of the frontier between Italy and Austria where the Italians were advancing on June 18, 1915, to capture Trieste. The boxed numbers indicate altitudes in meters.

Italy vs. Austria-Hungary

The Italian Invasion and Italo-Germanic Differences

Official reviews of the first month, ending June 23, of Italy's war with Austria-Hungary are still lacking.* On May 24 it was officially reported in London that Italy had given her adhesion to the agreement, already signed by the allied powers, not to conclude a separate peace. Active war operations were begun by Austria on the same day; bombs were dropped on Venice and five other Adriatic ports, shelled from air and some from sea. The attackers were driven off.

The rapid advance of the Italian armies which invaded Austria on the east had by May 27 carried part of the forces across the Isonzo River to Monfalcone, sixteen miles northwest of Trieste. Another force penetrated further to the north in the Crownland of Goritz and Gradisca. On June 4 the censored news from Udine, Italy, reported that encounters with the enemy thus far had been merely outpost skirmishes, but had allowed Italy to occupy advantageous positions in Austrian territory. The first important battle of the Italian campaign, for the possession of Tolmino, was reported on June 7.

A general Italian advance took place on June 7 across the Isonzo River from Caporetto to the sea, a distance of about forty miles. On June 12 reports from the Trentino indicated an Italian advance on Rovereto in Tyrol, thirteen miles southwest of Trent, and upon Mori, near by. Monfalcone was taken by the Italians on June 10—the first serious blow against Trieste—as Monfalcone is a railway junction and its electrical works operate the light and power of Trieste. In the extreme north, on the threshold of the Carnic Alps, after three days' fighting it was reported on June 10 that the Italians had swept the Austrians from Monte Croce and possessed themselves of Freikofel. The Austrian city of Gradisca was reported taken on June 11, as indicated in an official statement signed by Lieut. Gen. Count Cadorna, Chief of Staff of the Italian Army. The defenses of Goritz were shelled by the Italian artillery on June 13, and on June 14 the Italian eastern army had pushed forward along the Gulf of Trieste toward the town of Nabresina, nine miles from Trieste.

The Italian advance was checked—but not until June 16, more than three weeks after the beginning of the war—by an elaborate system of intrenchments prepared by the Austrians along the Isonzo River. On June 17 the Italians in the Trentino had arrived at the town of Mori, where their forces were blocked by the fortifications between that town and Rovereto. On June 18 a dispatch of The Associated Press from Rome reported that the Austrians had then so strengthened their forces that they were taking the offensive both from Mori and Rovereto against the Italians, who were encamped at Brentanico at the foot of Mount Altissimo, at Serravalle, situated in the Lagardina Valley, and also in the Arsa Valley. Tolmino, on Austria's battlefront to the north of Goritz, was being heavily fortified

*In an Associated Press dispatch from Rome (via Paris) on June 23 one of the chief Generals in the Italian War Office was reported to have summarized the first month of the campaign about as follows:

One month ago the Italians invaded Austrian territory, uprooted the yellow and black poles bearing the Austrian eagle, and occupied the enemy positions along a front of 500 miles. An Austrian squadron bombarded the Italian coast on the Adriatic, and Austrian aeroplanes dropped eleven bombs on Venice.

During this month the Italians overran the whole of Friuli. The capture of Tolmino and Goritz, the two Austrian strongholds, is considered imminent, which would open the way to Trieste; while in the Alpine region in the province of Trent they have conquered peaks and passes, from

which the picked Austro-Hungarian troops have been unable to dislodge them.

Austrian activity has been chiefly displayed in bombarding the Italian Adriatic towns.

From Vienna (via London) on June 23 the following Austro-Hungarian official résumé of the operations of the first month of war along the Italian frontier was issued:

During the first month of the war the Italians have gained no great success. Our troops in the southwest maintain their positions as in the beginning, on or near the frontier.

On the Isonzo front in the fortified frontier district from Flitsch to Malborgeth, on the Carinthian ridge, and on all the fronts of Tyrol, all enemy attempts at an advance have collapsed with heavy losses.

by the Austrians with a garrison of some 30,000 men, this place being considered indispensable to their operations as the key to the Isonzo Valley. On June 20, the fourth week of the war, was reported by General Cadorna as marking a brilliant victory at Plava. But on the following day reports from Rome indicated that the Italians were encountering strong and better-organized resistance from the Austrians. On June 22 dispatches from the Italian front to Berlin declared that serious reverses had been experienced by the Italians in their attempts to storm the Austro-Hungarian line along the Isonzo River.

Two things have puzzled the public: First, the status of Germany in regard to Italy declaring war against Austria-Hungary, arraying herself on the side of the Entente powers, and pledging herself, in turn, as each of them had done, not to make a separate peace with the enemy, and, second, the apparent weakness of the Austrian defensive in the Trentino and on the eastern frontier of Venetia.

Diplomatic relations between Rome and Berlin have been severed, but neither Chancellery has yet (June 23) found the other guilty of an aggression sufficiently grave to warrant a declaration of war. There is nothing astonishing in this situation. A similar situation obtained between Paris and Vienna and London and Vienna long after a state of war existed between Germany and Russia, France, and England.

The Italian plan of campaign apparently consists (1) in neutralizing the Trentino by capturing or "covering" her defenses and cutting her two lines of communication with Austria proper—the railway which runs south from Innsbruck and that which runs southwest from Vienna and joins the former at Franzensfeste, and (2) in a movement in force from the eastern frontier, with Trieste captured or "covered" on the right flank, in the direction of the Austrian fortress of Klagenfurt and Vienna, only 170 miles northeast from the present base of operations—a distance equal to that from New York City to Cape Cod.

The initial weakness of the Austrian defensive, which will doubtless be strengthened as troops can be spared from the seat of war in Galicia, is due to the fact that the invaded regions are normally defended by the Fourteenth and Third Army Corps, which were, in August, sent with two reserve corps to defend the Austrian line in Galicia. To fill the casualties in these corps the drain on the population has been great, so that when Italy began her invasion the defenses of the country were chiefly in the hands of the hastily mobilized youths below the military age of 19 and men above the military age of 42.

During the last six months, when Vienna gradually came to realize that war with Italy was inevitable, the Austro-Hungarian military authorities enrolled a new army of men who had already seen military service, but, for various reasons, had not been availed of in the present war. They were men of an unusually high mental and physical standard and had received additional training under German officers. Their ages were from 35 to 40, and they numbered from 700,000 to 800,000. On the desire of the German War Office this new army, which should have been sent to the Italian frontiers, was diverted to Galicia toward the last of April, and since then has been the backbone of the Teutonic drive against Russia in that region.

Below are given a sketch of the Alpine frontier by G. H. Perris, appearing in *The London Chronicle* of May 29; Colonel Murray's article on Italy's armed strength, and the speeches of mutual defiance uttered by the German Imperial Chancellor in the Reichstag on May 23 and the Italian Premier at the Capitol in Rome on June 2.

The Armed Strength of Italy

By Colonel A. M. Murray, C. B.

The article presented below originally appeared in *The London Daily News* of May 21, 1915.

The organization of the military forces of Italy is based upon the law of organization of 1887 and the recruiting law of 1888. Modifications have been made in these laws from time to time in regard to the strength of the annual contingent trained with the colors and the duration of the periods of training, but the original laws have not been altered in principle, and have now had time to completely materialize.

Every man in Italy is liable to military service for a period of nineteen years from the age of 20 to 39. All young men on reaching the age of 20, if passed medically fit for military service, are divided into three categories—first, those who are taken by lot for color service; second, those for whom there is no room with the colors, and, third, those who are exempted from military service for family reasons specified by law.

Men placed in the first category serve for two years with the colors, after which they go to the active army reserve for six years. Men in the second category are sent at once into the active army reserve for the period of eight years, after which both they and the men in the first category are passed into the mobile militia reserve for four years, and subsequently into the territorial militia for seven years, making nineteen years altogether. The men in the third category pass all their nineteen years' obligatory period of military service in the territorial militia, receiving no training whatever till they are called up to their depots when mobilization is ordered. The following table shows the periods of service of the men according to the categories in which they are placed by the recruiting authorities. The figures are years:

proximate war strength of the army as under:

Officers	41,632
Active army (with colors).....	289,910
Reserve (including men of first and second categories).....	638,979
Mobile militia	299,596
Territorial militia	1,889,659

Total war strength.....3,159,836

According to a calculation, which need not be given in detail here, the above number of total men available includes upward of 1,200,000 fully trained soldiers, who have been through the ranks, with perhaps another 800,000 partially trained men of the second category, the remaining million being completely untrained men, who have passed all their nineteen years of obligatory service in the third category.

The organization for putting the above numbers of men into the field is as follows: The fully trained men are organized in four armies, each army consisting of three corps, one cavalry division, and a number of troops for the lines of communication. The twelve corps are recruited and organized on a territorial basis, each corps having its allotted area, as shown in the sketch, which also indicates the locality of corps headquarters. The Italian army corps, which is larger than that in other European armies, is composed of two active army divisions, with thirty guns each, one mobile militia division, brought up to strength from the territorial militia, one regiment of Bersaglieri, or light infantry, one cavalry regiment, one field artillery regiment of six batteries, (corps artillery,) and other technical and administrative units. The strength of the corps amounts to 50,000 men, with 8,400 horses and 126 guns, and this gives each of the four armies a strength of 150,000 men, 25,200 horses, and 378 guns, with the addition of a cavalry division of 4,200 sabres. The first line Italian army, therefore, which can be put into the field seven days after mobilization is ordered amounts to 600,000 men, 100,800 horses, 1,512 guns, and 16,200 sabres. But these cadres only absorb half the fully trained men called out on mobilization; duplicate corps will

ACTIVE ARMY.	RESERVE ARMY.				Tot. Yrs.
	Colors.	In the Re-serve.	Mobile Militia.	Territorial Militia.	
First	2	6	4	7	19
Second .....	..	8	4	7	19
Third .....	..	..	..	19	19

In the above table the mobile militia corresponds to the German Landwehr, and the territorial militia to the Landsturm.

After deducting emigrants, men put back for the following year, those who are medically unfit, and one-year volunteers, the average number of recruits placed each year in the first category is approximately 150,000, in the second category 36,000, and in the third category 28,000. All men in the first category are fully trained, while those in the second category, who correspond to the German Ersatz Reserve, are only partially trained, being called up at the discretion of the War Minister for one or more periods of training not exceeding twelve months altogether during their eight years' service.

Last year's returns, which were published in the Italian press, gave the ap-



Map showing the Military Districts of Italy.

consequently be formed to take the place of the twelve first-line corps as soon as they have been dispatched to their concentration rendezvous. It is believed that sufficient guns have now been provided for these twelve duplicate corps, but it is unlikely that more than two cavalry divisions could be formed in addition to the four divisions with the first-line armies. These duplicate corps would be ready to take the field three or four

weeks after the concentration of the first twelve corps. The above calculations show that within a few weeks after the declaration of war Italy can place in the field a force of 1,200,000 men, (24 corps,) and would still have 1,800,000 men of fighting age left at the depots after the field armies had been dispatched to the front.

The infantry are armed with the Mannlicher (1891) rifle, the field artillery

with the 75-millimeter quick-firing Krupp gun, (1906,) and the mountain batteries, of which there are twenty-four, with a new 65-millimeter (2.56-inch) quick-firing gun of Italian construction. The heavy artillery is armed with a 149-millimeter field howitzer, also of Italian construction.

The organization of the Italian Army and the quality of the troops composing it were both tested in the Tripoli campaign, (1911-12,) and all military judges agree that the results prove the army to have reached a high standard of efficiency. The mobilization was only partial, but it was well carried out, and between October and December, 1911, 90,000 men, with 12,000 horses, were transported to Tripoli and Benghazi without a single hitch. Italian officers are well educated, and the men are brave and disciplined. Unlike the Austro-Hungarian Army, which is composed of men split into a variety of racial sections, the Italian Army is absolutely homogeneous, and the troops will enter the European struggle with the moral consciousness that they are fighting, not with aggressive intentions, but for the principle of nationality, which is the keynote to that marvelous progress which Italy has made since she became a nation in 1860.

The Italian Navy has ten up-to-date battleships in commission, all armed with twelve-inch guns, six of these being pre-dreadnoughts and four quite recently built dreadnoughts. These four latter ships carry a more powerful primary

armament than the battleships of any other European country, the Dante Alighieri, the first of the type built, carrying twelve and the Conte di Cavour, Leonardo-da-Vinci, and Giulio Cesare thirteen twelve-inch guns mounted on the triple-turret system. Two more ships of the same class—the Caio Duilio and Andrea Dorea—are due to be commissioned this Autumn, and their completion will doubtless now be accelerated. Then there are four more battleships under construction, known as the Dandolo class—the Dandolo, Morosini, Mazzini, and Malmeli—two of which are due to be launched in 1916 and two others in 1917. When completed these ships will be equal in gun power and speed to the ships of the Queen Elizabeth class, for they will carry eight fifteen-inch guns paired in four turrets—the triple-turret system having been abandoned—twenty six-inch and twenty-two fourteen-pr. guns, their speed being 25 knots. Besides these ten, or practically twelve, completed battleships, Italy has ten armored cruisers in commission and three twenty-eight knot light cruisers, but no fastgoing battle cruisers corresponding to those in the British and German Navies. She has also twenty-seven completed destroyers and thirteen thirty-two knot destroyers laid down, along with fifty-one torpedo boats and sixteen submarines, with four others building. With this fleet, which is half as strong again as the Austrian fleet, Italy can secure complete control of the Adriatic Sea and lock up the Austrian ships in Pola.

The Alpine Frontier

By G. H. Perris.

[This article appeared originally in The London Daily Chronicle of May 29, 1915.]

We have all learned a good deal of French, Russian, and Austrian geography in the last ten months; and, in the same sad school, we shall now become better acquainted with the region of mountain and plain which, through and for 140 miles east of Lake Garda, is the Austro-

Italian borderland, and with the north-eastern coast of the Adriatic, where there will be important side issues. There is this great difference, among others, between the Adriatic and the Alpine military problems: On the one side, the Germanic powers can now only assume

the defensive; on the other, they can, and probably will, attempt the invasion of provinces dear not only to Italians, for their homes and a splendid galaxy of historic associations, but to cultivated minds throughout the world for treasures of art abounding even in the humblest towns and villages.

The irregularity of this northern frontier is the product of an unhappy history; it does not follow the line of the mountain summits or any other natural feature, and still less is it a limit marked by race or language. A glance at the map shows its salient characteristic—the piece of the Austrian Tyrol, from forty to sixty miles wide, which is thrust southward toward the great plain of Lombardy and Venetia, and toward the four provincial capitals, Brescia, Verona, Vicenza, and Belluno. The Trentino—as it is called, after the very ancient city of Trent, once the chief town of Tyrol, now a market centre dignified by many towers and poverty-stricken palaces and castles—is thoroughly Italian; but it still gathers much of its importance, as it has done ever since Roman times, from the fact that the best and oldest road from Germany and West Austria over the Alps runs through it to Verona. For nearly half a century one of the grandest of mountain railways has followed this olden track of conquest and pilgrimage, from Innsbruck over the Brenner Pass, through Botzen, and down the Adige Valley. More recently a branch line has been built which runs from Trent southeastward to Padua and Venice.

It is not only the Italian resistance to Austrian aggression and tyranny that has made this doorway into the lowlands about the Po a vast battlefield. From the Middle Ages onward France and Austria constantly fought out their quarrels here. In 1796, Napoleon, after routing Marshal Wurmser at Lonato and Castiglione, small towns to the south of the Lake of Garda, drove him up the Adige Valley to Trent, and then round the side track already named, the Brenta Valley, by Bassano back to Mantua. In 1848 the Piedmontese Army advanced upon the famous quadrilateral of fortresses, then Austrian, covering the entry

—Mantua and Peschiera on the Mincio, Verona and Legnago on the Adige. Charles Albert was far from being another Napoleon; and the three days' battle of Custoza, when four weary and ill-found Italian brigades held out against Radetzky's five army corps, did not serve to turn the tide of the national fortunes. That year saw the first appearance of Garibaldi as a military leader and the accession of the present Austrian Emperor; and it is strange now to recall that in the war of 1859, when Lombardy was liberated by the French and Sardinian Armies, this same Francis Joseph was actually in command of the Austrian forces. The battle of Solferino, fought on a front of five leagues, along the hills to the south of Lake Garda, was a terrible butchery, even by the worst of modern standards, for in twelve hours 25,000 of the 300,000 combatants were killed or wounded. In the war of 1866 Garibaldi took a body of volunteers up the Adige; but the treaty which gave Venetia to the new Kingdom of Italy left the Trentino still to be recovered.

The Adige and Brenta Valley roads to Trent and Botzen are, then, clearly marked out for Italian effort in the present juncture; and if the Austrians have the advantage of innumerable defensive positions on the mountain heights, they have the disadvantage of very long and frail lines of supply and reinforcement. It may be supposed that the Alpine regiments, which are in some ways the flower of the Italian Army, will also attempt the lesser approaches to Tyrol from the west, by the Val di Sole and the Valtelline, and from the east from Belluno and Pieve. The Brenner railway, with its twenty-two tunnels and sixty large bridges, is peculiarly vulnerable. With many cities and good railways behind them, and a popular welcome in front, the Italian troops, on the other hand, will face the hill roads, now generally free from snow, with confidence.

Very different are the natural conditions on the only other part of the frontier where the hostile forces can well come to grips. The Alps gradually fall

and break up into separate ridges as we pass east; and beyond Udine there is a flat gap, 50 miles wide, beyond which lies Trieste, with its fine harbor and predominantly Italian population. Further north, where the main line for Vienna passes the border at Pontebba, to penetrate the double barrier of the Carinthian and Styrian Alps, there can be little temptation to adventure on either

side. But in the lowlands of Friuli a beginning has been made, the advance at one point, Caporetto, reaching as far as the River Isonzo, while Terzo, Cormons, and other small places have been occupied. If there is to be any large-scale warfare on the Alpine frontier, it must apparently occur either in this gap or in and about the Adige Valley, on the way to Trent.

“Italy’s Violation of Faith”

By Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg, German Imperial Chancellor.

[Speech in the Reichstag, May 28, 1915.]

When I spoke eight days ago there was still a glimpse of hope that Italy’s participation in the war could be avoided. That hope proved fallacious. German feeling strove against the belief in the possibility of such a change. Italy has now inscribed in the book of the world’s history, in letters of blood which will never fade, her violation of faith.

I believe Macchiavelli once said that a war which is necessary is also just. Viewed from this sober, practical, political standpoint, which leaves out of account all moral considerations, has this war been necessary? Is it not, indeed, directly mad? [Cheers.] Nobody threatened Italy; neither Austria-Hungary nor Germany. Whether the Triple Entente was content with blandishments alone history will show later. [Cheers.] Without a drop of blood flowing, and without the life of a single Italian being endangered, Italy could have secured the long list of concessions which I recently read to the House—territory in Tyrol and on the Isonzo as far as the Italian speech is heard, satisfaction of the national aspirations in Trieste, a free hand in Albania, and the valuable port of Valona.

Why have they not taken it? Do they, perhaps, wish to conquer the German Tyrol? Hands off! [Prolonged cheers.] Did Italy wish to provoke Germany, to whom she owes so much in her upward growth of a great power, and from whom she is not separated by any

conflict of interests? We left Rome in no doubt that an Italian attack on Austro-Hungarian troops would also strike the German troops. [Cheers.] Why did Rome refuse so light-heartedly the proposals of Vienna? The Italian manifesto of war, which conceals an uneasy conscience behind vain phrases, does not give us any explanation. They were too shy, perhaps, to say openly what was spread abroad as a pretext by the press and by gossip in the lobbies of the Chamber, namely, that Austria’s offer came too late and could not be trusted.

What are the facts? Italian statesmen have no right to measure the trustworthiness of other nations in the same proportion as they measured their own loyalty to a treaty. [Loud cheers.] Germany, by her word, guaranteed that the concessions would be carried through. There was no occasion for distrust. Why too late? On May 4 the Trentino was the same territory as it was in February, and a whole series of concessions had been added to the Trentino of which nobody had thought in the Winter.

It was, perhaps, too late for this reason, that while the Triple Alliance, the existence of which the King and the Government had expressly acknowledged after the outbreak of war, was still alive, Italian statesmen had long before engaged themselves so deeply with the Triple Entente that they could not disentangle themselves. There were indications of fluctuations in the Rome Cab-

inet as far back as December. To have two irons in the fire is always useful. Before this Italy had shown her predilection for extra dances. [Cheers and laughter.] But this is no ballroom. This is a bloody battlefield upon which Germany and Austria-Hungary are fighting for their lives against a world of enemies. The statesmen of Rome have played against their own people the same game as they played against us.

It is true that the Italian-speaking territory on the northern frontier has always been the dream and the desire of every Italian, but the great majority of the Italian people, as well as the majority in Parliament, did not want to know anything of war. According to the observation of the best judge of the situation in Italy, in the first days of May four-fifths of the Senate and two-thirds of the Chamber were against war, and in that majority were the most responsible and important statesmen. But common sense had no say. The mob alone ruled. Under the kindly disposed toleration and with the assistance of the leading statesmen of a Cabinet fed with the gold of the Triple Entente, the mob, under the guidance of unscrupulous war instigators, was roused to a frenzy of blood which threatened the King with revolution and all moderate men with murder if they did not join in the war delirium.

The Italian people were intentionally kept in the dark with regard to the course of the Austrian negotiations and the extent of the Austrian concessions, and so it came about that after the resignation of the Salandra Cabinet nobody could be found who had the courage to undertake the formation of a new Cabinet, and that in the decisive debate no member of the Constitutional Party in the Senate or Chamber even attempted to estimate the value of the far-reaching Austrian concessions. In the frenzy of war honest politicians grew dumb, but when, as the result of military events, (as we hope and desire,) the Italian people become sober again it will recognize how frivolously it was instigated to take part in this world war.

We did everything possible to avoid

the alienation of Italy from the Triple Alliance. The ungrateful rôle fell to us of requiring from our loyal ally, Austria, with whose armies our troops share daily wounds, death, and victory, the purchase of the loyalty of the third party to the alliance by the cession of old-inherited territory. That Austria-Hungary went to the utmost limit possible is known. Prince Bülow, who again entered into the active service of the empire, tried by every means, his diplomatic ability, his most thorough knowledge of the Italian situation and of Italian personages, to come to an understanding. Though his work has been in vain the entire people are grateful to him. Also this storm we shall endure. From month to month we grow more intimate with our ally. From the Pilitza to the Bukowina we tenaciously withstood with our Austro-Hungarian comrades for months the gigantic superiority of the enemy. Then we victoriously advanced.

So our new enemies will perish through the spirit of loyalty and the friendship and bravery of the central powers. In this war Turkey is celebrating a brilliant regeneration. The whole German people follow with enthusiasm the different phases of the obstinate, victorious resistance with which the loyal Turkish Army and fleet repulse the attacks of their enemies with heavy blows. Against the living wall of our warriors in the west our enemies up till now have vainly stormed. If in some places fighting fluctuates, if here or there a trench or a village is lost or won, the great attempt of our adversaries to break through, which they announced five months ago, did not succeed, and will not succeed. They will perish through the heroic bravery of our soldiers.

Up till now our enemies have summoned in vain against us all the forces of the world and a gigantic coalition of brave soldiers. We will not despise our enemies, as our adversaries like to do. At the moment when the mob in English towns is dancing around the stake at which the property of defenseless Germans is burning, the English Government dared to publish a document, with

the evidence of unnamed witnesses, on the alleged cruelties in Belgium, which are of so monstrous a character that only mad brains could believe them. But while the English press does not permit itself to be deprived of news, the terror of the censorship reigns in Paris. No casualty lists appear, and no German or Austrian communiqués may be printed. Severely wounded invalids are kept away from their relations, and real fear of the truth appears to be the motive of the Government.

Thus it comes about, according to trustworthy observation, that there is no knowledge of the heavy defeats which the Russians have sustained, and the belief continues in the Russian "steam-roller" advancing on Berlin, which is "perishing from starvation and misery," and confidence exists in the great offensive in the west, which for months has not progressed. If the Governments of hostile States believe that by the deception of the people and by unchaining blind hatred they can shift the blame for the crime of this war and postpone the day of awakening, we, relying on our good conscience, a just cause, and a victorious sword, will not allow ourselves to be forced by a hair's breadth from the path which we have always recognized

as right. Amid this confusion of minds on the other side, the German people goes on its own way, calm and sure.

Not in hatred do we wage this war, but in anger—[loud cheers]—in holy anger. [Renewed cheers from all parts of the House.] The greater the danger we have to confront, surrounded on all sides by enemies, the more deeply does the love of home grip our hearts, the more must we care for our children and grandchildren, and the more must we endure until we have conquered and have secured every possible real guarantee and assurance that no enemy alone or combined will dare again a trial of arms. [Loud cheers.] The more wildly the storm rages around us the more firmly must we build our own house. For this consciousness of united strength, unshaken courage, and boundless devotion, which inspire the whole people, and for the loyal co-operation which you, gentlemen, from the first day have given to the Fatherland, I bring you, as the representatives of the entire people, the warm thanks of the Emperor.

In the mutual confidence that we are all united we will conquer, despite a world of enemies. [Loud and prolonged applause.]

Why Italy Went to War

By Signor Salandra, Italian Premier

[Speech in the Roman Capitol on June 2, 1915.]

I address myself to Italy and to the civilized world in order to show not by violent words, [cheers,] but by exact facts and documents, how the fury of our enemies has vainly attempted to diminish the high moral and political dignity of the cause which our arms will make prevail. I shall speak with the calm of which the King of Italy has given a noble example, [loud cheers, and shouts of "Long live the King!"] when he called his land and sea forces to arms. I shall speak with the respect due to my position and to the place in which I speak. I can afford to ignore the insults written

in Imperial, Royal, and Archducal proclamations. Since I speak from the Capitol, and represent in this solemn hour the people and the Government of Italy, I, a modest citizen, feel that I am far nobler than the head of the house of the Habsburgs. [Loud cheers.]

The commonplace statesmen who, in rash frivolity of mind and mistaken in all their calculations, set fire last July to the whole of Europe and even to their own hearths and homes, have now noticed their fresh colossal mistake, and in the Parliaments of Budapest and Berlin have poured forth brutal invective of Italy and

her Government with the obvious design of securing the forgiveness of their fellow-citizens and intoxicating them with cruel visions of hatred and blood. ["Bravo!"] The German Chancellor said he was imbued not with hatred, but with anger, and he spoke the truth, because he reasoned badly, as is usually the case in fits of rage. ["Hear, hear!" and laughter.] I could not, even if I chose, imitate their language. An atavistic throwback to primitive barbarism is more difficult for us who have twenty centuries behind us more than they have. ["Hear, hear!"]

The fundamental thesis of the statesmen of Central Europe is to be found in the words "treason and surprise on the part of Italy toward her faithful allies." It would be easy to ask if he has any right to speak of alliance and respect for treaties who, representing with infinitely less genius, but with equal moral indifference, the tradition of Frederick the Great and Bismarck proclaimed that necessity knows no law, and consented to his country trampling under foot and burying at the bottom of the ocean all the documents and all the customs of civilization and international law. [Cheers.] But that would be too easy an argument. Let us examine, on the contrary, positively and calmly, if our former allies are entitled to say that they were betrayed and surprised by us.

Our aspirations had long been known, as was also our judgment on the act of criminal madness by which they shook the world and robbed the alliance itself of its closest *raison d'être*. The Green Book prepared by Baron Sonnino, with whom it is the pride of my life to stand united in entire harmony in this solemn hour after thirty years of friendship—[prolonged cheers and shouts of "Long live Sonnino!"]—shows the long, difficult, and useless negotiations that took place between December and May. But it is not true, as has been asserted without a shadow of foundation, that the Ministry reconstituted last November made a change in the direction of our international policy. The Italian Government, whose policy has never changed, severely

condemned, at the very moment when it learned of it, the aggression of Austria against Serbia, and foresaw the consequences of that aggression, consequences which had not been foreseen by those who had premeditated the stroke with such lack of conscience.

As proof of this statement, Signor Salandra read the following telegram sent by the Marquis di San Giuliano to the Duke of Avarna (Italian Minister in Vienna) on July 25 last:

"Salandra, von Flotow, and myself have had a long conversation. Salandra and I emphatically pointed out to von Flotow that Austria had no right, according to the spirit of the treaty of the Triple Alliance, to make a *démarche* like that made in Belgrade without coming to an agreement beforehand with her allies."

In effect, [continued Signor Salandra,] Austria, in consequence of the terms in which her note was couched, and in consequence of the things demanded, which, while of little effect against the Pan-Serbian danger, were profoundly offensive to Serbia, and indirectly so to Russia, had clearly shown that she wished to provoke war. Hence we declared to von Flotow that, in consequence of this procedure on the part of Austria and in consequence of the defensive and conservative character of the Triple Alliance Treaty, Italy was under no obligation to assist Austria if, as the result of this *démarche*, she found herself at war with Russia, because any European war would in such an event be the consequence of the act of provocation and aggression committed by Austria.

The Italian Government on July 27 and 28 emphasized in clear and unmistakable language to Berlin and Vienna the question of the cession of the Italian provinces subject to Austria, and we declared that if we did not obtain adequate compensation the Triple Alliance would have been irreparably broken. [Loud and prolonged cheers.] Impartial history will say that Austria, having found Italy in July, 1913, and in October, 1913, hostile to her intentions of aggression against Serbia, attempted last Summer, in agree-

ment with Germany, the method of surprise and the fait accompli.

The horrible crime of Serajevo was exploited as a pretext a month after it happened—this was proved by the refusal of Austria to accept the very extensive offers of Serbia—nor at the moment of the general conflagration would Austria have been satisfied with the unconditional acceptance of the ultimatum. Count Berchtold on July 31 declared to the Duke of Avarna that, if there had been a possibility of mediation being exercised, it could not have interrupted hostilities, which had already begun with Serbia. This was the mediation for which Great Britain and Italy were working. In any case, Count Berchtold was not disposed to accept mediation tending to weaken the conditions indicated in the Austrian note, which, naturally, would have been increased at the end of the war.

If, moreover, Serbia had decided meanwhile to accept the aforementioned note in its entirety, declaring herself ready to agree to the conditions imposed on her, that would not have persuaded Austria to cease hostilities. It is not true, as Count Tisza declared, that Austria did not undertake to make territorial acquisitions to the detriment of Serbia, who, moreover, by accepting all the conditions imposed upon her, would have become a subject State. The Austrian Ambassador, Herr Meroy von Kapos-Mere, on July 30, stated to the Marquis di San Giuliano that Austria could not make a binding declaration on this subject, because she could not foresee whether, during the war, she might not be obliged, against her will, to keep Serbian territory. [Sensation.]

On July 29 Count Berchtold stated to the Duke of Avarna that he was not inclined to enter into any engagement concerning the eventual conduct of Austria in the case of a conflict with Serbia.

Where is, then, the treason, the iniquity, the surprise, if, after nine months of vain efforts to reach an honorable understanding which recognized in equitable measure our rights and our liberties, we resumed liberty of action?

The truth is that Austria and Germany believed until the last days that they had to deal with an Italy weak, blustering, but not acting, capable of trying blackmail, but not enforcing by arms her good right, with an Italy which could be paralyzed by spending a few millions, and which by dealings which she could not avow was placing herself between the country and the Government. [Very loud cheers.]

I will not deny the benefits of the alliance; benefits, however, not one-sided, but accruing to all the contracting parties, and perhaps not more to us than to the others. The continued suspicions and the aggressive intentions of Austria against Italy are notorious and are authentically proved. The Chief of the General Staff, Baron Conrad von Hoetzendorf, always maintained that war against Italy was inevitable, either on the question of the irredentist provinces or from jealousy, that Italy intended to aggrandize herself as soon as she was prepared, and meanwhile opposed everything that Austria wished to undertake in the Balkans, and consequently it was necessary to humiliate her in order that Austria might have her hands free, and he deplored that Italy had not been attacked in 1907. Even the Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs recognized that in the military party the opinion was prevalent that Italy must be suppressed by war because from the Kingdom of Italy came the attractive force of the Italian provinces of the empire, and consequently by a victory over the kingdom and its political annihilation all hope for the irredentists would cease.

We see now on the basis of documents how our allies aided us in the Lybian undertaking. The operations brilliantly begun by the Duke of the Abruzzi against the Turkish torpedo boats encountered at Preveza were stopped by Austria in a sudden and absolute manner. Count Aehrenthal on Oct. 1 informed our Ambassador at Vienna that our operations had made a painful impression upon him and that he could not allow them to be continued. It was urgently necessary, he said, to put an end to them and to give

orders to prevent them from being renewed, either in Adriatic or in Ionian waters. The following day the German Ambassador at Vienna, in a still more threatening manner, confidentially informed our Ambassador that Count Aehrenthal had requested him to telegraph to his Government to give the Italian Government to understand that if it continued its naval operations in the Adriatic and in the Ionian Seas it would have to deal directly with Austria-Hungary. [Murmurs.]

And it was not only in the Adriatic and in the Ionian Seas that Austria paralyzed our actions. On Nov. 5 Count Aehrenthal informed the Duke of Avarna that he had learned that Italian warships had been reported off Saloniki, where they had used electric searchlights—[laughter]—and declared that our action on the Ottoman coasts of European Turkey, as well as on the Aegean Islands, could not have been allowed either by Austria-Hungary or by Germany, because it was contrary to the Triple Alliance Treaty.

In March, 1912, Count Berchtold, who had in the meantime succeeded Count Aehrenthal, declared to the German Ambassador in Vienna that, in regard to our operations against the coasts of European Turkey and the Aegean Islands, he adhered to the point of view of Count Aehrenthal, according to which these operations were considered by the Austro-Hungarian Government contrary to the engagement entered into by us by Article VII. of the Triple Alliance Treaty. As for our operations against the Dardanelles, he considered it opposed, first, to the promise made by us not to proceed to any act which might endanger the status quo in the Balkans, and, secondly, to the spirit of the same treaty, which was based on the maintenance of the status quo.

Afterward, when our squadron at the entrance to the Dardanelles was bombarded by Fort Kumkalessi and replied, damaging that fort, Count Berchtold complained of what had happened, considering it contrary to the promises we had made, and declared that if the Italian Government desired to resume its liberty

of action, the Austro-Hungarian Government could have done the same. [Murmurs.] He added that he could not have allowed us to undertake in the future similar operations or operations in any way opposed to this point of view. In the same way our projected occupation of Chios was prevented. It is superfluous to remark how many lives of Italian soldiers and how many millions were sacrificed through the persistent vetoing of our actions against Turkey, who knew that she was protected by our allies against all attacks on her vital parts. [Cheers.]

We were bitterly reproached for not having accepted the offers made toward the end of May, but were these offers made in good faith? [Laughter and cheers.] Certain documents indicate that they were not. Francis Joseph said that Italy was regarding the patrimony of his house with greedy eyes. Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg said that the aim of these concessions was to purchase our neutrality, and, therefore, gentlemen, you may applaud us for not having accepted them. [Loud cheers.] Moreover, these concessions, even in their last and belated edition, in no way responded to the objectives of Italian policy, which are, first, the defense of Italianism, the greatest of our duties; secondly, a secure military frontier, replacing that which was imposed upon us in 1866, by which all the gates of Italy are open to our adversaries; thirdly, a strategical situation in the Adriatic less dangerous and unfortunate than that which we have, and of which you have seen the effects in the last few days. All these essential advantages were substantially denied us.

To our minimum demand for the granting of independence to Trieste the reply was to offer Trieste administrative autonomy. Also the question of fulfilling the promises was very important. We were told not to doubt that they would be fulfilled, because we should have Germany's guarantee, but if at the end of the war Germany had not been able to keep it, what would our position have been? And in any case, after this agreement, the Triple Alliance would have been renewed, but in much less favorable condi-

tions, for there would have been one sovereign State and two subject States, [Murmurs.]

On the day when one of the clauses of the treaty was not fulfilled, or on the day when the municipal autonomy of Trieste was violated by an imperial decree or by a lieutenant's orders, to whom should we have addressed ourselves? To our common superior—to Germany? [Laughter.] I do not wish to speak of Germany to you without admiration and respect. I am the Italian Prime Minister, not the German Chancellor, and I do not lose my head. [Loud cheers.] But with all respect for the learned, powerful, and great Germany, an admirable example of organization and resistance, in the name of Italy I declare for no subjection and no protectorate over any one. [Cheers.] The dream of a universal hegemony is shattered. The world has risen. The peace and civilization of future humanity must be founded on respect for existing national autonomies. [Loud cheers.] Among these Germany will have to sit as an equal, and not as a master. [Loud cheers.]

But a more remarkable example of the unmeasured pride with which the directors of German policy regard other nations is given in the picture which Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg drew of the Italian political world.

Signor Salandra here read the portion of the German Chancellor's speech to which he referred, and added:

I do not know if it was the intention of this man, blinded by rage, personally to insult my colleagues and me. If that was the case, I should not mention it. We are men whose life you know, men who have served the State to an advanced age, men of spotless renown—[loud cheers]—men who have given the

lives of their children for their country. [Loud cheers.]

The information on which this judgment was based is attributed by the German Chancellor to him whom he calls the best judge of Italian affairs. Perhaps he alludes to Prince Bülow, with the brotherly desire to shoulder responsibilities upon him. Now, I do not wish you to entertain an erroneous idea of Prince Bülow's intentions. I believe that he had sympathies for Italy, and did all he could to bring about an agreement. But how great and how numerous were the mistakes he made in translating his good intentions into action! He thought that Italy could be diverted from her path by a few millions ill-spent and by the influence of a few persons who have lost touch with the soul of the nation—[loud cheers]—by contact, attempted, but, I hope, not accomplished, with certain politicians. [Loud cheers.]

The effect was the contrary. An immense outburst of indignation was kindled throughout Italy, and not among the populace, but among the noblest and most educated classes and among all the youth of the country, which is ready to shed its blood for the nation. This outburst of indignation was kindled as the result of the suspicion that a foreign Ambassador was interfering between the Italian Government, the Parliament, and the country. [Loud cheers.] In the blaze thus kindled internal discussions melted away, and the whole nation was joined in a wonderful moral union, which will prove our greatest source of strength in the severe struggle which faces us, and which must lead us by our own virtue, and not by benevolent concessions from others, to the accomplishment of the highest destinies of the country. [Loud and prolonged cheers.]



Britain's Cabinet and Munitions

A Coalition Ministry with Lloyd George in a New Office

The formation of a British coalition Cabinet was announced on May 25, 1915, with the creation of a new office of Minister of Munitions, to which Lloyd George was transferred from the Chancellorship of the Exchequer. Below is given the official list of the new Ministers and their offices. In the third column are indicated the same offices as held under the late Liberal Administration. The eight members of the Opposition included in the new Cabinet are indicated by an asterisk:

	Coalition Cabinet.	Late Liberal Cabinet.
Prime Minister	Mr. Asquith	Mr. Asquith.
Minister without portfolio.....	Lord Lansdowne*.....	—
Lord Chancellor.....	Sir S. Buckmaster.....	Lord Haldane.
President of Council.....	Lord Crewe.....	Lord Beauchamp.
Lord Privy Seal.....	Lord Curzon*.....	Lord Crewe.
Chancellor of the Exchequer....	Mr. McKenna.....	Mr. Lloyd George.
Home Secretary.....	Sir J. Simon.....	Mr. McKenna.
Foreign Minister.....	Sir E. Grey.....	Sir E. Grey.
Colonial Secretary.....	Mr. Bonar Law*.....	Mr. Harcourt.
India Office.....	Mr. Chamberlain*.....	Lord Crewe.
War Office.....	Lord Kitchener.....	Lord Kitchener.
Minister of Munitions (new)...	Mr. Lloyd George.....	—
Admiralty	Mr. Balfour*.....	Mr. Churchill.
Board of Trade	Mr. Runciman.....	Mr. Runciman.
Local Government Board.....	Mr. Long*.....	Mr. H. Samuel.
Duchy of Lancaster.....	Mr. Churchill.....	Hon. E. Montagu.
Irish Secretary.....	Mr. Birrell.....	Mr. Birrell.
Scottish Office.....	Mr. McKinnon Wood.....	Mr. McKinnon Wood.
Agriculture	Lord Selborne*.....	Lord Lucas.
Works Office	Mr. Harcourt.....	Lord Emmott.
Education Board.....	Mr. A. Henderson.....	Mr. J. A. Pease.
Attorney General.....	Sir E. Carson*.....	Sir John Simon.

The reconstruction of the Liberal Ministry that had ruled the British Empire for ten years was announced by Prime Minister Asquith in the following statement in the House of Commons on May 19:

I cannot say more at the moment than that steps are in contemplation which involve a reconstruction of the Government on a broader personal and political basis. Nothing is yet definitely arranged, but to avoid any possible misapprehension I wish here and now—as the House is to adjourn—to make clear to every one three things:

First, that any change that takes place will not affect the offices of the head of the Government or of the Foreign Secretary. [Cheers.] They will continue to be held as they are now. [Renewed cheers.]

The second is, there is absolutely no change of any kind in contemplation in the policy of the country in regard to the continued prosecution of the war with all possible energy, and by means of every available resource. [Loud cheers.]

The third and the last point—one of great importance, not only to my friends behind me, but also of importance no doubt to the Opposition—is this: Any reconstruction that may be made will be for the purpose of the war alone, and is not to be taken in any quarter as any reason for indicating anything in the nature of surrender or compromise on the part of any person or body of persons of their several political purposes and ideals.

That is really as far as I can go at the moment. Nothing definite has yet taken place. When and if an arrangement of

this kind should become an accomplished fact the House will have the fullest opportunity of expressing itself, if it so desires, upon it. [Cheers.]

Mr. Bonar Law, leader of the Opposition, rose immediately after the Prime Minister and said:

I think it only necessary to say on behalf of my friends and myself that at the stage which this has reached our sole consideration in taking into account what further steps should be taken will be what is the best method of finishing the war successfully, and we shall leave out of our minds absolutely all considerations, political or otherwise, beyond the war; while, of course, if such an arrangement should take place, it is obvious our convictions on other subjects will remain unchanged, and will be settled when this danger is over.

CAUSES OF THE CHANGE.

At least four causes which were regarded as contributing to bring about a coalition Ministry, or War Government, are tersely outlined by A. P. Nicholson, Parliamentary correspondent of The London Daily News, as follows:

First—The quarrel between Mr. Churchill and Lord Fisher at the Admiralty, a conflict which began with the undertaking of the Dardanelles expedition. Mr. Churchill carried the War Council on this, and it was undertaken before the Cabinet were informed. The Cabinet were committed to it by the movement of ships before they had any formal notification. Lord Fisher, for his part, considered that the enterprise should not have been begun unless it was supported by land forces, but he also was committed to it. Mr. Churchill was counting on the support of Greek forces on land, a calculation which was not justified by the event.

Lately the quarrel between Lord Fisher and Mr. Churchill proved to be irreconcilable, and Lord Fisher sent in

his resignation at the week-end. It is now hoped that he will withdraw his resignation, and the possibility of Mr. Churchill replacing Lord Crewe at the India Office or taking another office is being discussed.

Second—The Cabinet have not been kept informed by Lord Kitchener as to the supplies of high explosive shells sent out to our troops at the front. It is the fact that huge supplies of shells have been and are being sent out, but the proportion of shrapnel is greater than the proportion of high explosive shells, and the army command require that the proportion of high explosive shells should be greater. The fact that the Cabinet have been to some extent in the dark of late on this matter accounts for some apparent discrepancies in recent Ministerial statements.

Third—The Opposition leaders were in possession of the facts as to the high explosive shells, and threatened a debate in the House of Commons, in which their statements should be proved. Such a debate would have gravely undermined the authority of the Government, and, coupled with the tendered resignation of Lord Fisher, and the consequent disappearance either of the First Sea Lord or Mr. Churchill, would in all human probability have led to the disastrous downfall of the King's Government in the midst of the national peril of this war, with consequences most lamentable.

Fourth—There have been on both sides some leading statesmen in favor of a coalition Ministry for the prosecution of the war. They are few, but influential. They perceived that the curious circumstances that had arisen offered a brilliant opportunity to achieve a coalition, and they seized the opportunity. It should certainly be assumed that they were actuated by national motives, since their action may have averted the downfall of one of the greatest Governments of modern times in a time of national peril.

Lloyd George's Appeal to Labor

In a speech at Manchester on June 4, and again on June 5, before the employers and workmen of Lancashire, the new Minister of Munitions announced his policy of discontinuing the methods of red tape that had hindered the mobilization of labor for the production of arms and ammunition. His speech at Lancashire appears below in full.

I have come here not for speech but for business, and I shall only indulge in speech to the extent that speaking is the essential preliminary to business. I placed yesterday before a meeting in Manchester my general views of the position, and I have very little to add to what I then said. But I have come here to appeal for the assistance of the men of Liverpool and the surrounding districts.

The situation is a serious one. It is as grave a situation as this country has ever been confronted with. You need have no special knowledge in order to ascertain that yourselves. A careful, intelligent perusal of the published dispatches in the newspapers must have caused you to come to the conclusion that this country is engaging one of the most formidable enemies that it has ever waged war against.

The issues are great, the perils are great, and nothing can pull us through but the united effort of every man in the British Empire. If you look at what our brave fellows are doing at the front you can see the perils there facing them, the trials, the privations, and they are doing it without flinching. ["Hear, hear!"] Never in the history of this country have our men shown greater courage and endurance than they have during this war. They have done all you can expect of mortal man.

We who are comfortable at home, free from privations, free from danger, let us, each of us, do his part as nobly as those heroes of ours are doing it at the front. [Cheers.] It would be horrible for us to think that those who fall fall through our neglect. It would be a still more ghastly reflection to think that those who fell have given their lives in vain through any slackness or selfishness on the part of any one of us in this land.

Yesterday we had a very important gathering of the employers and the rep-

resentatives of labor in the great engineering firms in Manchester and other parts of this great county. The response made to our appeal was gratifying. Every man there showed a disposition to do all in his power to assist the country to pull through its difficulties triumphantly, and I feel perfectly certain that the same ready response will be given to the same appeal which I am now about to make to the men of Liverpool and the area surrounding it.

What makes Germany a formidable enemy is not merely its preparation for war, it is not merely its organization, potent as that is, but it is the spirit of every class and section of its population. You have only got to read the papers to see that as far as they are concerned they are all of them subordinating everything to the one great national purpose of winning victory for their Fatherland. That is the least we can do in this country for our land. [Cheers.]

I never doubted where ultimate victory would lie, never for a moment. Nor have I ever underestimated the difficulties. But although I have never doubted where victory would rest, all the same I know that victory will come the sooner for recognizing the difficulties there are.

You cannot remove difficulties without looking at them, and you cannot look at difficulties without seeing them, and that is why the business of a Minister is to point them out, and then to appeal to every section of the community to assist the Government in overcoming the obstacles in the way.

Now we want especially the help of those who can contribute to the increase of the munitions, the equipment, and the material of war. We want the help of employers, we want the help of the workers. We want employers and workmen to feel their responsibility in this

matter. It is my intention to utilize as much as I possibly can the business brains of the community. I hope to get their assistance. Some of them will be at my elbow in London to advise, to counsel, to guide, to inform and instruct and to direct, but I want the help of the business brains in the localities.

This is no time for the usual methods of doing business with the Government. ["Hear, hear!"] I am assuming that Governments in the past have done their business in the most perfect way. This is not a time for the usual roundabout methods of Government business. ["Hear, hear!"]

We have got to trust business men in the localities to organize for us, to undertake the business in the particular locality on our behalf. We want to suspend during the war not merely trade-union regulations, but some Government regulations, too. ["Hear, hear!"]

We want rifles, we want guns, we want shells, fuses, chemicals, and explosives. There is one thing we want less of than usual, and that is red tape. It takes such a long time to unwind—[laughter]—and we can't spare the time. Therefore, the first thing I am going to ask you to do is to organize for yourselves in this locality, and in every other locality, the engineering resources, for the purpose of assisting the Government. You know best what you can do. I know the resourcefulness of the engineers of this country, I know, as the Lord Mayor has already pointed out, their adaptability. I want you to come together and form your own committee of management. Having done that, organize among yourselves the engineering resources of the locality, with a view to producing the greatest result in the way of helping our gallant forces at the front.

That involves a good deal more confidence and trust than usual. We have no time to go through the same processes of examination, of bargaining, as you get usually in the matter of Government contracts. ["Hear, hear!"]

Whatever is done has got to be done with promptitude. That involves our trusting to the integrity, to the loyalty,

to the patriotism of the business men to do their best for us in these localities, and do it on fair terms. That is the first thing I have got to say to the business men of the community. I want you to regard this as your business as well as ours. This is not a Government entering into negotiations with you. You are the Government, you have got an interest in this concern, it is your concern, just as much as it is ours, and I want you to help us.

This is a business for all of us, and we want every business man in the community to give his very best to help the old country through in the great emergency and crisis. [Cheers.] That means that you will, as soon as you possibly can, get your committee of management, and, through that committee of management, organize your district for the purpose of producing such material of war, or such other component parts of any particular material of war, you can help us to produce.

I would make the same appeal to labor. I want them also to feel that this is their business. Should Germany win, God help labor! ["Hear, hear!"] It will come out of it worst of all. The victory of Germany will be the victory of the worst form of autocracy that this world has seen for many a century. There is no section of the community has anything like the interest in the overthrow of this military caste which labor has—["Hear, hear!"]—and the more they realize that, difficulties will vanish, obstacles will go, and bickerings and slackness. We have to get to work as one man to help to win a triumph for democratic free government against the autocratic systems of Germany and Austria. [Cheers.]

Now, I should like to say one or two words beyond what I said yesterday on this particular aspect of the business. I have had the privilege, both yesterday and today, of meeting some of the leading representatives of labor in Manchester and Liverpool. And let me say this: As far as the official representatives of organized labor are concerned, we have

had nothing but help. The difficulty has been when you get beyond.

I am not saying a word about trade-union regulations during a period of peace. I have no doubt they were essential safeguards to the protection of labor against what otherwise might have been a serious interference with their rights and with their prospects. But as I have already pointed out to you, Government regulations have to be suspended during the period of the war because they are inapplicable in a time of urgency. The same thing applies to many trade-union regulations and practices. ["Hear, hear!"]

The first I should like to call attention to are those rules which had been set up for very good reasons to make it difficult for purely unsullied men to claim the position and rights of men who have had a training—that is true in every profession.

I happen, my Lord Mayor, to belong to about the strictest trade union in the world—[laughter]—the most jealous trade union in the world. If any unskilled man—and by an unskilled man we mean a man who has not paid our fees—if any man of that sort, however brainy he was, tried to come in and interfere with our business, well, we would soon settle him. [Laughter.] But if during the period of the war there were any particular use for lawyers—[laughter]—if you find that upon lawyers depended the success of the war, and it requires a good deal of imagination; even my Celtic imagination will hardly attain to the exalted height—[more laughter]—but if that were possible for a moment, do you suppose that even the Incorporated Law Society, the greatest and narrowest of all trade unions, could stand in the way of bringing in outside help in order to enable us to get through our work?

Well, now, the same thing applies here. If all the skilled engineers in this country were turned on to produce what is required, if you brought back from the front every engineer who had been recruited, if you worked them to the utmost limits of human endurance, you have not got enough labor even then to produce all we are going to ask you to

produce during the next few months. Therefore, we must appeal to the patriotism of the unions of this country to relax these particular rules, in order to eke out, as it were, the skill, to make it go as far as it possibly can go, in order to enable us to turn out the necessary munitions of war to win a real and a speedy triumph for our country in this great struggle.

Now, the same thing applies to the work of women in the factories. There is a good deal of work now done by men, and men only, in this country which is done in France at the present moment in shell factories by women. Why is that? They have not enough men to go round. The men are working as hard as they can, for as long hours as they possibly can support, but in spite of that they would not turn out a sufficient number of shells and other material of war without doling out a good part of the work to women in those factories. Well, now, if there are any trade-union regulations to prevent the possibility of that being done, I hope during the period of war these will be suspended. ["Hear, hear!"]

Now, I am coming to another thing—and I am here to talk quite frankly—it is very much better to do so. ["Hear, hear!"] There must be no deliberate slowing down of work. I have had two or three very painful cases put before me. One was from an arsenal upon which we were absolutely dependent for the material of war. There was a very skilled workman there who worked very hard and who earned a good deal of money. He was doing his duty by the State. He was not merely warned that if he repeated that offense he would be driven out, I am not quite sure that he was not actually driven out.

The same thing happened in another factory. Now, in the period of war this is really intolerable. ["Hear, hear!"] We cannot do with it. We cannot afford it, I say again. There may be reasons, there might be very good reasons, that a policy of that sort should be adopted in the period of peace. I am expressing no opinions about that. I am simply stating the case of this particular emergency,

and I am sure that the only thing in this emergency is that everybody should put forward all his strength in order to help the country through. [Cheers.]

Therefore, I do hope that whatever regulation, whatever practice, whatever custom there may be in existence at the present moment which interferes in the slightest degree in the increase of war material, will be suspended during the period of war.

We have given our undertaking as a Government, and that undertaking has been inherited by a new Government. That is that those safeguards which have been established by trade-union action prior to the war will be restored exactly to the position they were when the war is over, in so far as the action of the Government is concerned. We can only ask for a suspension of these regulations during the period of the war, then afterward the same process of discussion will go on between capital and labor as has gone on, I have no doubt, during the last fifty or one hundred years.

Those are two or three of the things which I wanted to put. The lives of our men at the front depend upon the amount of war material we are able to equip them with, success depends upon it, the lives of men depend upon it. Everybody ought to do his best. There is no room for slackers. ["Hear, hear!"] I don't want to get rid of the slackers, I only want to get rid of their slackness—[laughter and cheers]—and we really must.

In this war every country is demanding as a matter of right—not as a mat-

ter of appeal—as a matter of right from every one of the citizens, that he should do his best—[cheers]—and that is one of the problems with which we have to deal in this country. It ought to be established as a duty, as one of the essential duties of citizenship, that every man should put his whole strength into helping the country through. [Cheers.] And I don't believe any section of the community would object to it, if it were made a legal right and duty expected of every one. [Cheers.]

I don't know that I have anything further that I want specially to say to you, because I want to get to business as quickly as possible. Sir Frederick Donaldson of Woolwich Arsenal and Sir Percy Girouard are here to answer any question you may put to them on the business of the meeting. They can inform you on the technical side in a way that I can't pretend to. I can only ask you to help us. I know that appeal to you won't be in vain.

We are engaged in the greatest struggle this country has ever been precipitated into. It is no fault of ours. ["Hear, hear!"] We sought peace, we asked for peace, we avoided all the paths that led to war, but we should have forever been dishonored if we had shirked the conflict when it came. [Cheers.]

Harried into it, we are there to champion the deepest, the highest, the greatest interest ever committed to the charge of any nation. Let us equip ourselves in such a way that Great Britain through the war will be still great, and when the war is over it will be a Greater Britain than ever. [Cheers.]



Balkan Neutrality—As Seen By the Balkans

Inspired Press Opinions from the Capitals of Greece, Bulgaria, and Rumania

THE GREEK VIEW.

From the Embros, an independent daily of Athens, of May 23, 1915.

In what degree the Triple Entente would have respected the rights of Greece had we entered the war before Italy's intervention is demonstrated by the conduct of the Allies toward Serbia. The whole of the Adriatic is now an Italian sea, by virtue of a mutual agreement between the Entente powers and Italy, and only the slightest hope of obtaining Durazzo and Cattero is left to Serbia.

Greece therefore must congratulate herself for holding back and watchfully awaiting developments. It is generally admitted that the European war will last long and that the new ally will not give a decisive turn to its final conclusion. Those, therefore, who have their swords sharpened will be always in time to join. In a struggle that has such a wide field of adventures those who will intervene later will be more welcome than those who have already joined and offered all the strength they possessed. And, lastly, if this war will not show in the end a single victor, then the interests of each one of the participants will be settled by a European congress, where, again, those who will have preserved untouched their forces will be the real victors. * * * Greece is not going to be neutral for a long time; meanwhile she must husband her resources and her strength up to the day when events themselves will force her to enter the war, whether she likes it or not.

A PLEA FOR WAR.

From the Patris, Mr. Venizelos's organ, of Athens, of May 14.

We say in one word that the dangers

that threaten us as long as we are neutral are immensely greater than those which we might incur in joining in the war. Greece cannot accept a comparison with Bulgaria and Rumania. Bulgaria, by remaining neutral, is sure to receive the Enos-Midia line, and in case of co-operating with the entente powers she may also be sure of getting Dobrudja and Serbian Macedonia. Rumania, on the other hand, if neutral will take a slice of Transylvania, and if she sides with the Allies in the war, may obtain the whole of Bukowina. But Greece has no alternative. She must by political necessity act in common with the Triple Entente. Of course, by so doing she runs certain risks, but we defy the Government [of Mr. Gounaris] to prove that the dangers threatening Greece are less in the case of a protracted neutrality than in the case of her joining in the war.

GREECE AFTER ITALY'S INTERVENTION.

From the Athenae, the Ministerial paper, of May 25.

Italy has entered the war on the Allies' side, because in the territorial negotiations England and France outbid Austria and Germany. And now does any one imagine that the Triple Entente would hesitate to sacrifice Hellenic interests in favor of Italy even if Greece had been the first to indorse their cause? But have we not seen how the Serbian national aspirations have been sacrificed by the Entente in its effort to secure the co-operation of Italy? And has not the Entente sacrificed Greek interests when Italy was occupying Vallona? Was that a token of sympathy with Greek interests? And did ever the Triple Entente say to Greece that they would not allow



The shaded portion of the map shows how, if Rumania and Bulgaria join the Allies in the field, Germany and Austria-Hungary will be almost entirely surrounded by enemies, the only considerable outlet then remaining being over the Dutch frontier.

Italy to impose her rule on Greek countries and Greek populations? And the twelve Islands of the Aegean, the Dodekanisos—have they not been shown to Italy as a present and reward for her co-operation whether or not Greece joined the Entente?

How could Greece, in such circumstances, abandon her neutrality and risk everything for the Allies?

BULGARIAN VIEWS.

FAVORING NEUTRALITY.

From Narodni Prava, the mouthpiece of the Liberal Party and the Premier of Bulgaria, Mr. B. Radoslavoff, April 1, 1915.

In his statement to the Sobranjie (the Bulgarian Parliament) the Prime Minister yesterday categorically said that those wishing to march with either side

of the belligerents are free to do so, if they are courageous enough and if they are aware of their duties to the interests of the country. * * * The Parliamentary majority and the nation at large are satisfied with the policy of the Government, which consists in preserving a strict neutrality and the peace of the country and in developing meanwhile the patriotic and military spirit of the nation, in order that we may be ready when the time comes to act for the interests of the fatherland.

OPPOSING NEUTRALITY.

From Mir, organ of the Nationalists and of ex-Premier I. Gueshoff, April 26, 1915.

Greece is hoping to profit from the present situation without any sacrifices, or with as few as possible, and Venizelos fell because the Greek people did not wish to give the Allies the assistance he promised them. In order to explain and justify their stand, the Greeks found an argument in the Bulgarian danger. * * * "Do you want us to prove that we are not willing to play the game of Germany? Here are the proofs: We are ready to shield Serbia against any possible attack from Bulgaria and to help you, not against Turkey but against Bulgaria"—that is what the Greeks said and wrote to the Entente powers. And the chief newspapers of the Allies are full of articles trying to prove that the Bulgarians, under the guidance of Germany and Austria, are endangering the Balkan situation. According to what we learn, Germany is straining every nerve to incite an armed conflict between Greece and Bulgaria. In this way Germany hopes to guarantee Turkey against any possible attack from Bulgaria, and thus promote her own interests. To this fact we most earnestly call the attention of the Bulgarian people.

OPPOSING GREECE, SERBIA, AND RUSSIA.

From the Nationalist Kambana of Sofia, May 4, 1915.

Greece and Serbia are, first of all, threatened by Bulgaria, and they both know that they must step out of Bul-

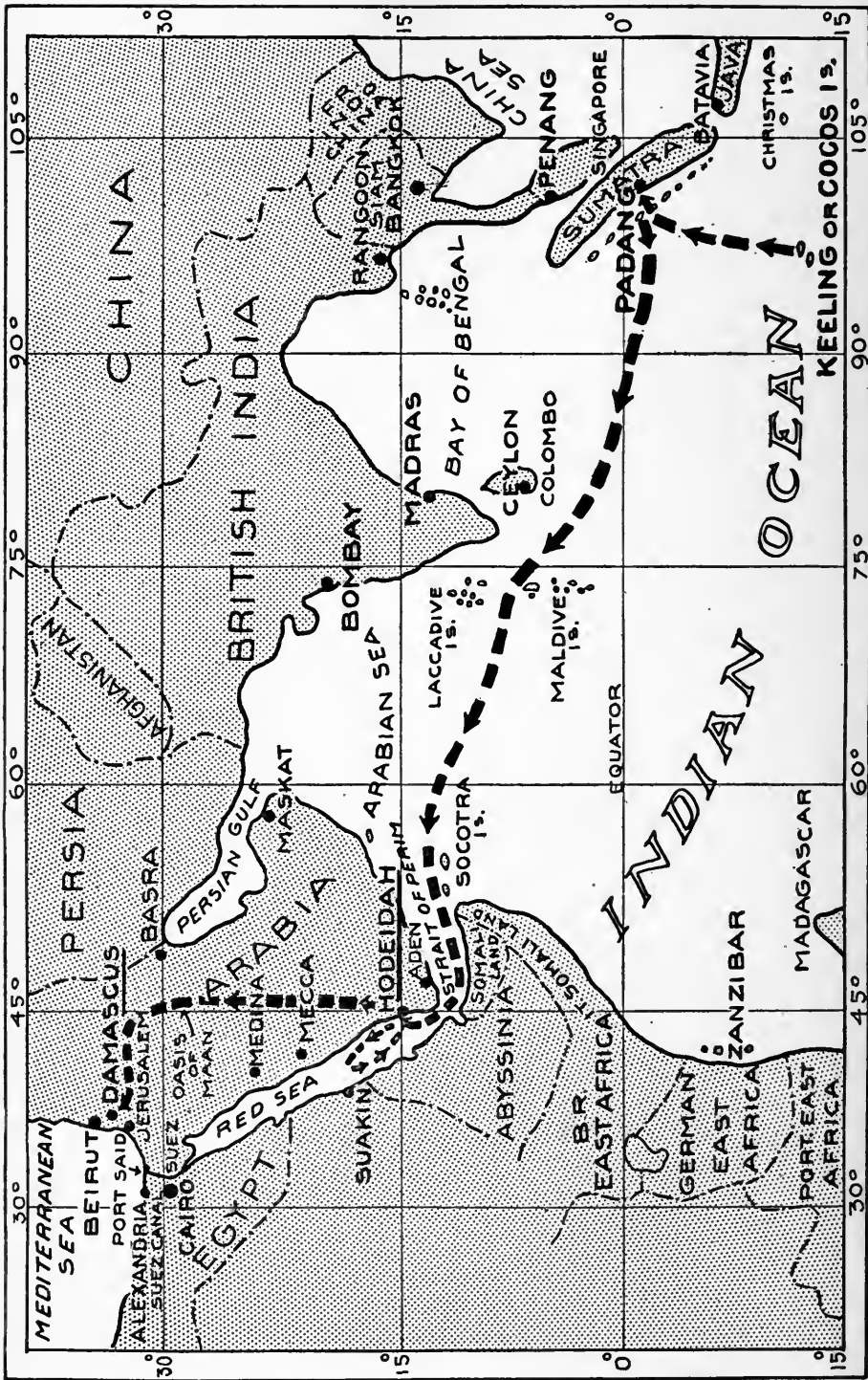
garian Macedonia. The struggle for Macedonia does not date from yesterday or today; this is an age-long struggle, which will end only when Bulgaria shall have assured her frontier, when Greece shall return to her peninsula, and when Serbia shall be entirely wiped off the map of the Balkans. Aside from the Greeks and Serbs, Bulgaria constitutes a danger also for Russia, inasmuch as we do not want to be the bridge for any further Russian expansion. Russian diplomacy has done everything in its power to alienate Bulgarian sympathy and to make us unfriendly to Rumania and Turkey; but Russia is today severely punished for her misdeeds. Russia, Serbia, and Greece are finding themselves in a pretty hard position, and are looking for our help. But we must not hurry. Every day that passes weakens our enemies, and the future of Bulgaria becomes daily brighter.

THE RUMANIAN VIEW.

A PRO-GERMAN OPINION.

From the Moldava of Bucharest, organ of the Conservative Party, of April 1, 1915.

For a long time public opinion in Rumania has been lulled into believing that we shall take Transylvania, but not a word has been said about Bessarabia. We do not know why our political predecessors wanted to create a strong barrier in the face of Russia, behind which live, condemned to perpetual isolation, 3,000,000 Rumanians. That territory which lies between the Rivers Pruth and Bug contains a population of more than 5,000,000, of which 3,500,000 are Moldavians; it comprises, also, the mouth of the Danube, fertile lands, an extended shore, and the City of Odessa itself. The budget of that part of Bessarabia which lies between the Rivers Pruth and Dniester amounts to 250,000,000 lei, (\$50,000,000,) or nearly as much as half of the entire budget of Rumania. But this wealth is not used for the benefit of the country which produces it. There are neither schools nor highways nor hospitals in Bessarabia. Ignorance and misery are the sole companions of that population, every national sentiment of



The dotted line shows the route of the Emden's survivors.

The Wanderers of the Emden

Odyssey of the German Raider's Survivors Told by Captain Muecke, Their Leader

By Emil Ludwig

Special Correspondent of the Berliner Tageblatt.

EL ULA, (via Damascus,) May 7, 11:40 P. M., (Dispatches to the Berliner Tageblatt.)—The Emden caravan arrived here to-night. In advance, Captain Mücke. We were sitting in high expectation when suddenly some Arabs burst in upon us, calling out "They're here!" A small caravan climbed down from the hills; I ran to meet it. A big, blonde fellow had already dismounted, and laughed heartily at my welcome. Completely rigged out in full tropical garb and with an involuntarily full beard and the bluest of seamen's eyes, he stood beside his white camel.

"Bath or Rhine wine?" was my first question.

"Rhine wine," the decided answer.

Then we sat down together in the station master's room, and without more ado Mücke began to narrate his Robinson Crusade by water and land. Between times he opened letters. "Have I the Cross?" he suddenly exclaimed, as he found newspapers that brought him the news that he had been decorated with the Iron Cross, First Class, a Bavarian and a Saxon order. He laughed, got red in the face, and was happy as a child over Christmas presents. "It's really too much," he said, "but I am most pleased over the Saxon order; my father also wore it." In between he asked questions about Captain Müller's fate, about the Carpathians and the Dardanelles, and then threw in scraps about the Emden and the Ayesha. Presently another caravan was reported. "I must ride out to meet my men," he said, and we approached a big caravan. Thirty Bedouins, with the Turkish flag at the head of the column; then, all mixed up,

sturdy German blond sailors in disguise, with fez or turban, all on camels, among them dusky, melancholy looking Arabs. "Children!" their Captain called out to them, "you've all got the Cross, and you, Gyssing, have a Bavarian order to boot." "Hurrah!" resounded through the red desert. The German flag was raised. Handshaking all around.

"Children, here is Paradise; come, here flows champagne! And here, these are real railroad tracks!"

"How soon do you want to travel?" a Turkish Major asked.

"In three hours, as quick as possible, through night and day," Captain Mücke replied. Even before he had reported his safe arrival to his parents at home, he files a telegraphic request for a new command before the enemy. Never have I seen so much modesty alongside so much glory as among these fifty Emden men.

"Have you papers here?" one of them asks.

"A heap."

"How is it with Germany?" comes a voice from the crowd.

That's what they all want to know. The men bathe, and then look happily at the special train in the desert.

THE SURVIVORS.

TABUK, (via Damascus,) May 8, noon.—They're still asleep. Last night the joy lasted a long while. But I couldn't help admiring the discipline, which did not break down even on that well-deserved joy day. Earnestness, the basic characteristic of the soldier, lay under all their merriment. As the engine was reported to be ready to start, Mücke called out: "All abroad! Youngsters, only once in

my life do I command a railroad train." Then he and the officers sat down among the sailors. At every station they made jokes, because they were real stations that followed one another automatically and without the danger of adventures!

But all have only one wish—to get quickly back to Germany. Mücke wants to shorten all the festivities in his honor; he longs for nothing more than a command in the North Sea. I go down the aisle of the cars and watch them sleeping—comrades held together by the bonds of nine months on seas and desert, and I think how young they all are. None of them over 30, and their commander only 33. Of the officers, only Lieutenant von Gyssing was on the Emden. Wellman joined the party at Padang, Dr. Lang and Lieutenant Gerdts were taken over from the steamer *Choising*. This steamer of the North German Lloyd, the third and last ship to carry the expeditionary corps of the Emden, took over the men and provisions on Dec. 16, and on the same evening the *Ayesha* was sunk. On Jan. 9 they left this ship, too, before Hodeida, in the hope of being able to take the overland route through Arabia. After the loss of two months, on March 17, they again had to take a small sailboat of 75 feet length and beat about the Red Sea amid new adventures. All are in good health and spirits; they're astonished, however, and laugh, because they see themselves featured as heroes in the papers.

CRUISE OF THE EMDEN.

OASIS OF MAAN, 620 Kilometers South of Damascus, May 9.—As we ride through Arabia, Mücke and Lieutenant Gyssing, the only returning Emden officers, narrate:

"We on the Emden had no idea where we were going, as on Aug. 11, 1914, we separated from the cruiser squadron, escorted only by the coaler *Markomania*. Under way, the Emden picked up three officers from German steamers. That was a piece of luck, for afterward we needed many officers for the capturing and sinking of steamers, or manning them when we took them with us. On Sept. 10 the first boat came in sight. We stop

her. She proves to be a Greek tramp, chartered from England. On the next day we met the *Indus*, bound for Bombay, all fitted up as a troop transport, but still without troops. That was the first one we sunk. The crew we took aboard the *Markomania*. 'What's the name of your ship?' the officers asked us. 'Emden! Impossible. Why, the Emden was sunk long ago in battle with the *Ascold!*'

"Then we sank the *Lovat*, a troop transport ship, and took the *Kabinga* along with us. One gets used quickly to new forms of activity. After a few days capturing ships became a habit. Of the twenty-three which we captured, most of them stopped after our first signal. When they didn't, we fired a blank shot. Then they all stopped. Only one, the *Clan Mattesen*, waited for a real shot across the bow before giving up its many automobiles and locomotives to the seas. The officers were mostly very polite and let down rope ladders for us. After a few hours they'd be on board with us. We ourselves never set foot in their cabins, nor took charge of them. The officers often acted on their own initiative and signaled to us the nature of their cargo; then the Commandant decided as to whether to sink the ship or take it with us. Of the cargo, we always took everything we could use, particularly provisions. Many of the English officers and sailors made good use of the hours of transfer to drink up the supply of whisky instead of sacrificing it to the waves. I heard that one Captain was lying in tears at the enforced separation from his beloved ship, but on investigation found that he was merely dead drunk. But much worse was the open betrayal which many practiced toward their brother Captains, whom they probably regarded as rivals. 'Haven't you met the *Kilo* yet? If you keep on your course two hours longer, you must overhaul her,' one Captain said to me of his own accord. To other tips from other Captains we owed many of our prizes. I am prepared to give their names," Captain Mücke added.

"The Captain of one ship once called

out cheerily: 'Thank God, I've been captured!' He had received expense money for the trip to Australia, and was now saved half the journey!

"We had mostly quiet weather, so that communication with captured ships was easy. They were mostly dynamited, or else shot close to the water line. The sinking process took longer or shorter, according to where they were struck and the nature of the cargo. Mostly the ships keeled over on their sides till the water flowed down the smokestacks, a last puff of smoke came out, and then they were gone. Many, however, went down sharply bow first, the stern rising high in the air.

"On the Kabinga the Captain had his wife and youngster with him. He was inclined at first to be disagreeable. 'What are you going to do with us? Shall we be set out in boats and left to our fate?' he asked. Afterward he grew confidential, like all the Captains, called us 'Old Chap,' gave the Lieutenant a nice new oilskin, and as we finally let the Kabinga go wrote us a letter of thanks, and his wife asked for an Emden armband and a button. They all gave us three cheers as they steamed away. 'Come to Calcutta some time!' was the last thing the Captain said, 'and catch the pilots so that those [unprintable seaman's epithet] fellows will feel something of the war, too.'

"A few days later, by Calcutta, we made one of our richest hauls, the Diplomat, chock full of tea—we sunk \$2,500,000 worth. On the same day the Trabbotch, too, which steered right straight toward us, literally into our arms.

"But now we wanted to beat it out of the Bay of Bengal, because we had learned from the papers that the Emden was being keenly searched for. By Rangoon we encountered a Norwegian tramp, which, for a cash consideration, took over all the rest of our prisoners of war. Later on another neutral ship rejected a similar request and betrayed us to the Japanese into the bargain. On Sept. 23 we reached Madras and steered straight for the harbor. We stopped still 3,000 yards before the city. Then we shot up

the oil tanks. Three or four burned up and illuminated the city. They answered. Several of the papers asserted that we left with lights out. On the contrary, we showed our lights so as to seem to indicate that we were going northward; only later did we put them out, turn around, and steer southward. As we left we could see the fire burning brightly in the night, and even by daylight, ninety sea miles away, we could still see the smoke from the burning oil tanks. Two days later we navigated around Ceylon, and could see the lights of Colombo. On the same evening we gathered in two more steamers, the King Lund and Tyweric. The latter was particularly good to us, for it brought us the very latest evening papers from Colombo, which it had only left two hours before.

"Everything went well, the only trouble was that our prize, the Markomania, didn't have much coal left. We said one evening in the mess: 'The only thing lacking now is a nice steamer with 500 tons of nice Cardiff coal.' The next evening we got her, the Burreck, brand-new, from England on her maiden voyage, bound for Hongkong. Then followed in order the Riberia, Foyle, Grand Ponrabbel, Benmore, Troiens, Exfort, Grycefale, Sankt Eckbert, Chilkana. Most of them were sunk; the coal ships were kept. The Eckbert was let go with a load of passengers and captured crews. We also sent the Markomania away because it hadn't any more coal. She was later captured by the English together with all the prize papers about their own captured ships. All this happened before Oct. 20; then we sailed southward, to Deogazia, southwest of Colombo. South of Lakadiven on Deogazia some Englishmen came on board, solitary farmers who were in touch with the world only every three months through schooners. They knew nothing about the war, took us for an English man-of-war, and asked us to repair their motor boat for them. We kept still and invited them to dinner in our officers' mess. Presently they stood still in front of the portrait of the Kaiser, quite astounded. 'This is a German ship!' We continued to keep

still. 'Why is your ship so dirty?' they asked. We shrugged our shoulders. 'Will you take some letters for us?' they asked. 'Sorry, impossible; we don't know what port we'll run into.' Then they left our ship, but about the war we told them not a single word.

"Now we went toward Miniko, where we sank two ships more. The Captain of one of them said to us: 'Why don't you try your luck around north of Miniko? There's lots of ships there now?' On the next day we found three steamers to the north, one of them with much desired Cardiff coal. From English papers on captured ships we learned that we were being hotly pursued. The stokers also told us a lot. Our pursuers evidently must also have a convenient base. Penang was the tip given us. There we had hopes of finding two French cruisers.

"One night we started for Penang. [A graphic narrative of this raid on Penang from the special correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES, who was ashore there, appeared in THE NEW YORK TIMES CURRENT HISTORY of March, 1915.] On Oct. 28 we raised our very practicable fourth smokestack—Mücke's own invention. As a result, we were taken for English or French. The harbor of Penang lies in a channel difficult of access. There was nothing doing by night, we had to do it at daybreak. At high speed, without smoke, with lights out, we steered into the mouth of the channel. A torpedo boat on guard slept well. We steamed past its small light. Inside lay a dark silhouette; that must be a warship! But it wasn't the French cruiser we were looking for. We recognized the silhouette—dead sure; that was the Russian cruiser Jemtchug. There it lay, there it slept like a rat. No watch to be seen. They made it easy for us. Because of the narrowness of the harbor we had to keep close; we fired the first torpedo at 400 yards. Then to be sure things livened up a bit on the sleeping warship. At the same time we took the crew quarters under fire, five shells at a time. There was a flash of flame on board, then a kind of burning aureole. After the fourth shell, the flame burned

high. The first torpedo had struck the ship too deep because we were too close to it, a second torpedo which we fired off from the other side didn't make the same mistake. After twenty seconds there was absolutely not a trace of the ship to be seen. The enemy had fired off only about six shots.

"But now another ship, which we couldn't see, was firing. That was the French d'Ibreville, toward which we now turned at once. A few minutes later, an incoming torpedo destroyer was reported. He mustn't find us in that narrow harbor, otherwise we were finished! But it proved to be a false alarm; only a small merchant steamer that looked like a destroyer, and which at once showed the merchant flag and steered for shore. Shortly afterward a second one was reported. This time it proved to be the French torpedo boat Mousquet. It comes straight toward us. That's always remained a mystery to me, for it must have heard the shooting. An officer whom we fished up afterward explained to me that they had only recognized we were a German warship when they were quite close to us. The Frenchman behaved well, accepted battle and fought on, but was polished off by us with three broadsides. The whole fight with both ships lasted half an hour. The commander of the torpedo boat lost both legs by the first broadside. When he saw that part of his crew were leaping overboard, he cried out: 'Tie me fast; I will not survive after seeing Frenchmen desert their ship!' As a matter of fact, he went down with his ship as a brave Captain, lashed fast to the mast. Then we fished up thirty heavily wounded; three died at once. We sewed a Tricolor, (the French flag); wound them in it and buried them at sea, with seamen's honors, three salvos. That was my only sea fight. The second one I did not take part in."

Mücke, who had been recounting his lively narrative, partly like an officer, partly like an artist, and not trying to eliminate the flavor of adventure, now takes on quite another tone as he comes to tell of the end of the Emden:

"On Nov. 9 I left the Emden in order

to destroy the wireless plant on the Cocos Island. I had fifty men, four machine guns, about thirty rifles. Just as we were about to destroy the apparatus it reported, 'Careful; Emden near.' The work of destruction went smoothly. The wireless operators said: 'Thank God! It's been like being under arrest day and night lately.' Presently the Emden signaled to us, 'Hurry up.' I pack up, but simultaneously wails the Emden's siren. I hurry up to the bridge, see the flag 'Anna' go up. That means 'Weigh anchor.' We ran like mad into our boat, but already the Emden's pennant goes up, the battle flag is raised, they fire from starboard.

"The enemy is concealed by the island and therefore not to be seen, but I see the shells strike the water. To follow and catch the Emden is out of the question; she's going twenty knots, I only four with my steam pinnace. Therefore, I turn back to land, raise the flag, declare German laws of war in force, seize all arms, set up my machine guns on shore in order to guard against a hostile landing. Then I run again in order to observe the fight. From the splash of the shells it looked as if the enemy had fifteen-centimeter guns, bigger, therefore, than the Emden's. He fired rapidly, but poorly. It was the Australian cruiser Sydney."

"Have you heard?" Mücke suddenly asked in between, "if anything has happened to the Sydney? At the Dardanelles maybe?" And his hatred of the Emden's "hangman" is visible for a second in his blue eyes. Then he continues:

"According to the accounts of the Englishmen who saw the first part of the engagement from shore, the Emden was cut off rapidly. Her forward smoke-stack lay across the ship. She went over to circular fighting and to torpedo firing, but already burned fiercely aft. Behind the mainmast several shells struck home; we saw the high flame. Whether circular fighting or a running fight now followed, I don't know, because I again had to look to my land defenses. Later I looked on from the roof of a house. Now the Emden again stood out to sea about 4,000 to 5,000 yards, still burning. As she again

turned toward the enemy, the forward mast was shot away. On the enemy no outward damage was apparent, but columns of smoke showed where shots had struck home. Then the Emden took a northerly course, likewise the enemy, and I had to stand there helpless gritting my teeth and thinking: 'Damn it; the Emden is burning and you aren't on board!' An Englishman who had also climbed up to the roof of the house, approached me, greeted me politely, and asked: 'Captain, would you like to have a game of tennis with us?'

"The ships, still fighting, disappeared beyond the horizon. I thought that an unlucky outcome for the Emden was possible, also a landing by the enemy on Keeling Island, at least for the purpose of landing the wounded and taking on provisions. As, according to the statements of the Englishmen, there were other ships in the neighborhood, I saw myself faced with the certainty of having soon to surrender because of a lack of ammunition. But for no price did I and my men want to get into English imprisonment. As I was thinking about all this, the masts again appear on the horizon, the Emden steaming easterly, but very much slower. All at once the enemy, at high speed, shoots by, apparently quite close to the Emden. A high, white waterspout showed among the black smoke of the enemy. That was a torpedo. I see how the two opponents withdrew, the distance growing greater between them; how they separate, till they disappear in the darkness. The fight had lasted ten hours.

"I had made up my mind to leave the island as quick as possible. The Emden was gone; the danger for us growing. In the harbor I had noticed a three-master, the schooner Ayesha. Mr. Ross, the owner of the ship and of the island, had warned me that the boat was leaky, but I found it quite a seaworthy tub. Now quickly provisions were taken on board for eight weeks, water for four. The Englishmen very kindly showed us the best water and gave us clothing and utensils. They declared this was their thanks for our 'moderation' and 'gen-

erosity.' Then they collected the autographs of our men, photographed them and gave three cheers as our last boat put off. It was evening, nearly dark. We sailed away. After a short address, amid three hurrahs, I raised the German war flag on 'S. M. S. Ayesha.'

NARRATIVE CONTINUED.

DAMASCUS, May 10.—“The Ayesha proved to be a really splendid ship,” Mücke continued, and whenever he happens to speak of this sailing ship he grows warmer. One notices the passion for sailing which this seaman has, for he was trained on a sailing ship and had won many prizes in the regattas at Kiel. “But we had hardly any instruments,” he narrated, “we had only one sextant and two chronometers on board, but a chronometer journal was lacking. Luckily I found an old ‘Indian Ocean Directory’ of 1882 on board; its information went back to the year 1780.

“At first we had to overhaul all the tackle, for I didn’t trust to peace, and we had left the English Captain back on the island. I had said: ‘We are going to East Africa.’ Therefore I sailed at first westward, then northward. There followed the monsoons, but then also long periods of dead calm. Then we scolded! Only two neutral ports came seriously under consideration: Batavia and Padang. At Keeling I cautiously asked about Tsing-tao, of which I had naturally thought first, and so quite by chance learned that it had fallen. Now I decided for Padang, because I knew I would be more apt to meet the Emden there, also because there was a German Consul there, because my schooner was unknown there, and because I hoped to find German ships there and learn some news. ‘It’ll take you six to eight days to reach Batavia,’ a Captain had told me at Keeling. Now we needed eighteen days to reach Padang, the weather was so rottenly still.

“We had an excellent cook on board; he had deserted from the French Foreign Legion. But with water we had to go sparingly, each man received three glasses daily. When it rained, all pos-

sible receptacles were placed on deck and the main sail was spread over the cabin roof to catch the rain. The whole crew went about naked, in order to spare our wash, for the clothing from Keeling was soon in rags. Toothbrushes were long ago out of sight. One razor made the rounds of the crew. The entire ship had one precious comb.

“As at length we came in the neighborhood of Padang, on Nov. 26, a ship appeared for the first time and looked after our name. But the name had been painted over, because it was the former English name. As I think, ‘You’re rid of the fellow,’ the ship comes again in the evening, comes within a hundred yards of us. I send all men below deck. I promenade the deck as the solitary skipper. Through Morse signals the stranger betrayed its identity. It was the Hollandish torpedo boat Lyn. I asked by signals, first in English, then twice in German: ‘Why do you follow me?’ No answer. The next morning I find myself in Hollandish waters, so I raise pennant and war flag. Now the Lyn came at top speed past us. As it passes, I have my men line up on deck, and give a greeting. The greeting is answered. Then, before the harbor at Padang, I went aboard the Lyn in my well and carefully preserved uniform and declared my intentions. The commandant opined that I could run into the harbor, but whether I might come out again was doubtful.”

“On the South Coast,” interjected Lieutenant Wellman, who at that time lay with a German ship before Padang and only later joined the landing corps of the Emden, “we suddenly saw a three-master arrive. Great excitement aboard our German ship, for the schooner carried the German war flag. We thought she came from New Guinea and at once made all boats clear, on the Kleist, Rheinland, and Choising, for we were all on the search for the Emden. When we heard that the schooner carried the landing corps, not a man of us would believe it.”

“They wanted to treat me as a prize!” Mücke now continued. “I said, ‘I am a man of war,’ and pointed to my four

machine guns. The harbor authorities demanded a certification for pennant and war flag, also papers to prove that I was the commander of this warship. I answered, for that I was only responsible to my superior officers. Now they advised me the most insistently to allow ourselves to be interned peacefully. They said it wasn't at all pleasant in the neighborhood. We'd fall into the hands of the Japanese or the English. As a matter of fact, we had again had great luck. On the day before a Japanese warship had cruised around here. Naturally, I rejected all the well-meant and kindly advice, and did this in presence of my Lieutenants. I demanded provisions, water, sails, tackle, and clothing. They replied we could take on board everything which we formerly had on board, but nothing which would mean an increase in our naval strength. First thing, I wanted to improve our wardrobe, for I had only one sock, a pair of shoes, and one clean shirt, which had become rather seedy. My comrades had even less. But the Master of the Port declined to let us have not only charts, but also clothing and toothbrushes, on the ground that these would be an increase of armament. Nobody could come aboard, nobody could leave the ship without permission. I requested that the Consul be allowed to come aboard. This Consul, Herr Schild, as also the Brothers Bäumer, gave us assistance in the friendliest fashion. From the German steamers boats could come alongside and talk with us. Finally we were allowed to have German papers. They were, to be sure, from August. Until March we saw no more papers.

"Hardly had we been towed out again after twenty-four hours, on the evening of the 28th, when a searchlight appeared before us. I think: 'Better interned than prisoner.' I put out all lights and withdrew to the shelter of the island. But they were Hollanders and didn't do anything to us. Then for two weeks more we drifted around, lying still for days. The weather was alternately still, rainy and blowy. At length a ship comes in sight—a freighter. It sees us and makes a big curve around us. I make

everything hastily 'clear for battle.' Then one of our officers recognizes her for the Choising. She shows the German flag. I send up light rockets, although it was broad day, and go with all sails set that were still settable, toward her. The Choising is a coaster, from Hong-kong for Siam. It was at Singapore when the war broke out, then went to Batavia, was chartered loaded with coal for the Emden, and had put into Padang in need, because the coal in the hold had caught fire. There we had met her.

"Great was our joy now. I had all my men come on deck and line up for review. The fellows hadn't a rag on. Thus, in Nature's garb, we gave three cheers for the German flag on the Choising. The men on the Choising told us afterward 'we couldn't make out what that meant, those stark naked fellows all cheering!' The sea was too high, and we had to wait two days before we could board the Choising on Dec. 16. We took very little with us; the schooner was taken in tow. In the afternoon we sunk the Ayesha and we were all very sad. The good old Ayesha had served us faithfully for six weeks. The log showed that we had made 1,709 sea miles under sail since leaving Keeling. She wasn't at all rotten and unseaworthy, as they had told me, but nice and white and dry inside. I had grown fond of the ship, on which I could practice my old sailing manoeuvres. The only trouble was that the sails would go to pieces every now and then because they were so old.

"But anyway she went down quite properly, didn't she?" Mücke turned to the officer. "We had bored a hole in her; she filled slowly and then all of a sudden plump disappeared! That was the saddest day of the whole month. We gave her three cheers, and my next yacht at Kiel will be named Ayesha, that's sure.

"To the Captain of the Choising I had said, when I hailed him: 'I do not know what will happen to the ship. The war situation may make it necessary for me to strand it.' He did not want to undertake the responsibility. I proposed that we work together, and I would take the responsibility. Then we traveled together

for three weeks, from Padang to Hodeida. The *Choising* was some ninety meters long and had a speed of nine miles, though sometimes only four. If she had not accidentally arrived I had intended to cruise high along the west coast of Sumatra to the region of the northern monsoon. I came about six degrees north, then over Aden to the Arabian coast. In the Red Sea the northeastern monsoon, which here blows southeast, could bring us to Djidda. I had heard in Padang that Turkey is allied with us, so we would be able to get safely through Arabia to Germany.

"I next waited for information through ships, but the *Choising* did not know anything definite, either. By way of the Luchs, the *Königsberg*, and *Kormoran* the reports were uncertain. Besides, according to newspapers at Aden, the Arabs were said to have fought with the English. Therein there seemed to be offered an opportunity near at hand to damage the enemy. I therefore sailed with the *Choising* in the direction of Aden. Lieutenant Cordts of the *Choising* had heard that the Arabian railway now already went almost to Hodeida, near the Perim Strait. The ship's surgeon there, Docounlang, found confirmation of this in Meyer's traveling handbook. This railway could not have been taken over by the Englishmen, who always dreamed of it. By doing this they would have further and completely wrought up the Mohammedans by making more difficult the journey to Mecca. Best of all, we thought, we'll simply step into the express train and whizz nicely away to the North Sea. Certainly there would be safe journeying homeward through Arabia. To be sure, we hadn't maps of the Red Sea; but it was the shortest way to the foe, whether in Aden or in Germany.

"Therefore, courage! Adenwards!

"On the 7th of January, between 9 and 10 o'clock in the evening, we sneaked through the Strait of Perim. That lay swarming full of Englishmen. We steered along the African coast, close past an English cable layer. That is my prettiest delight—how the Englishmen will be vexed when they learn that

we have passed smoothly by Perim. On the next evening we saw on the coast a few lights upon the water. We thought that must be the pier of Hodeida. But when we measured the distance by night, 3,000 meters, I began to think that must be something else. At dawn I made out two masts and four smokestacks; that was an enemy ship, and, what is more, an armored French cruiser. I therefore ordered the *Choising* to put to sea, and to return at night.

"The next day and night the same; then we put out four boats—these we pulled to shore at sunrise under the eyes of the unsuspecting Frenchmen. The sea reeds were thick. A few Arabs came close to us; then there ensued a difficult negotiation with the Arabian Coast Guards. For we did not even know whether Hodeida was in English or French hands. We waved to them, laid aside our arms, and made signs to them. The Arabs, gathering together, begin to rub two fingers together; that means 'We are friends.' We thought that meant 'We are going to rub against you and are hostile.' I therefore said: 'Boom-boom!' and pointed to the warship. At all events, I set up my machine guns and made preparations for a skirmish. But, thank God! one of the Arabs understood the word 'Germans'; that was good.

"Soon a hundred Arabs came and helped us, and as we marched into Hodeida the Turkish soldiers, who had been called out against us, saluted us as allies and friends. To be sure, there was not a trace of a railway, but we were received very well, and they assured us we could get through by land. Therefore, I gave red-star signals at night, telling the *Choising* to sail away, since the enemy was near by. Inquiries and determination concerning a safe journey by land proceeded. I also heard that in the interior, about six days' journey away, there was healthy highland where our fever invalids could recuperate. I therefore determined to journey next to Sana. On the Kaiser's birthday we held a great parade in common with the Turkish troops—all this under the noses of the

Frenchmen. On the same day we marched away from Hodeida to the highland."

A PATH OF TRIUMPH.

DAMASCUS, May 10.—The Arabian railway was today transformed into a German Via Triumpharis—military receptions, flowers, flags at the stations, and a feast in the great rug-carpeted tent. Then once more straight through the desert and in the midst of 1,000 curious glances stood these cheerful and serious men and youths, unembarrassed, friendly, plain; amid them always the tallest, Mücke, who conceals his impatience to get to Germany behind every courteous phrase. The German builder of the railway, the German Consul, the German bank director, and officials came riding to meet them. Finally they had garlanded the machine, decked with the Turkish and the Emden's flag. Thus the German train rode into this splendid green and white oasis, into the old city of Arabian fairy tales, Arabian weapons, Arabian powers, all of which are no more fantastic than the adventures which the fifty homecomers told on the journey.

The Wali was waiting and the commanding General; militia by hundreds stood in rows, presenting arms with white gloves; music played in march time they well knew; softly howling Dervishes with their high hats stood in orderly traditional rows and played their wild flute notes, and the long man and his blond, young officers, all in their fantastic Arab headdress, the aghal, came out first; they came with their guns in their right hands.

Now Mücke gave orders to the landing corps of S. M. S. Emden. They marched in rhythmic step. The Turkish company took the Germans into its midst. I saw them marching in the dazzling sunlight, these blue-eyed youths of yesteryear, now dressed in khaki and fez, many of them yellow from the malaria from which they had recovered; and as, amid the applause of the Turkish soldiers, they marched into the seraglio I could understand the amazement of the crowd. I have seen men of

spirit and men of determination and courage, but I have found few at the same time so modest, so uncorruptible by fame, as these German soldiers. Can there be a greater temptation to lead young officers astray than that of being gazed at with admiration as strange adventurers celebrated as heroes, received as Princes? But not a face changed its expression. If German heroes often lack the handsome intoxication, they are, therefore, shielded also against the seductions of fame. Grateful and well trained they quietly refused the words of praise; and surrounded by the roar of applause, they thought only of their bath for today and their return home for tomorrow.

In the great hall Mücke sat in the centre, between the wall and the Commander, then the officers, and around them the forty-four mates, superior mates, sailors, firemen. At one pillar stood the color bearer with his flag. They took dainty coffee cups into their big hands, and told one another that the Turks were very good to them. None of them wishes to extend the feasts that are everywhere being prepared for them. All want to return to Germany; and when I saw them march away, the German men beneath the Arabian sun, I saw fame and achievement like shadows floating over them. I was seized by pity for those who were at the goal, whose great hour was the way to the goal, and they knew it not. Behind the little comfort company there floated three figures—the three German soldiers whose bodies lie mouldering in the desert.

A FIGHT WITH BEDOUINS.

Damascus, May 11.

Concerning his further experiences, Lieut. Capt. von Mücke told this story:

"Two months after our arrival at Hodeida we again put to sea. The time spent in the highlands of Sana passed in lengthy inquiries and discussions that finally resulted in our foregoing the journey by land through Arabia, for religious reasons. But the time was not altogether lost. The men who were sick

with malaria had, for the most part, recuperated in the highland air.

"The Turkish Government placed at our disposal two 'sambuks' (sailing ships) of about twenty-five tons, fifteen meters long and four meters wide. But, in fear of English spies, we sailed from Jebaua, ten miles north of Hodeida. That was on March 14. At first we sailed at a considerable distance apart, so that we would not both go to pot if an English gunboat caught us. Therefore, we always had to sail in coastal water. That is full of coral reefs, however."

"The Commander," Lieutenant Gerdtz said, "had charge of the first sambuk; I of the second, which was the larger of the two, for we had four sick men aboard. At first everything went nicely for three days. For the most part I could see the sails of the first ship ahead of men. On the third day I received orders to draw nearer and to remain in the vicinity of the first boat, because its pilot was sailing less skillfully than mine. Suddenly, in the twilight, I felt a shock, then another, and still another. The water poured in rapidly. I had run upon the reef of a small island, where the smaller sambuk was able barely to pass because it had a foot less draught than mine. Soon my ship was quite full, listed over, and all of us—twenty-eight men—had to sit on the uptilted edge of the boat. The little island lies at Jesirat Marka, 200 miles north of Jebaua. To be sure, an Arab boat lay near by, but they did not know us. Nobody could help us. If the Commander had not changed the order a few hours before and asked us to sail up closer, we would probably have drowned on this coral reef—certainly would have died of thirst. Moreover, the waters thereabouts are full of sharks, and the evening was so squally that our stranded boat was raised and banged with every wave. We could scarcely move, and the other boat was nowhere in sight. And now it grew dark. At this stage I began to build a raft of spars and old pieces of wood, that might at all events keep us afloat.

"But soon the first boat came into sight again. The commander turned

about and sent over his little canoe; in this and in our own canoe, in which two men could sit at each trip, we first transferred the sick. Now the Arabs began to help us. But just then the tropical helmet of our doctor suddenly appeared above the water in which he was standing up to his ears. Thereupon the Arabs withdrew; we were Christians, and they did not know that we were friends. Now the other sambuk was so near that we could have swam to it in half an hour, but the seas were too high. At each trip a good swimmer trailed along, hanging to the painter of the canoe. When it became altogether dark we could not see the boat any more, for over there they were prevented by the wind from keeping any light burning. My men asked 'In what direction shall we swim?' I answered: 'Swim in the direction of this or that star; that must be about the direction of the boat.' Finally a torch flared up over there—one of the torches that were still left from the Emden. But we had suffered considerably through submersion. One sailor cried out: 'Oh, pshaw! it's all up with us now; that's a searchlight.' The man who held out best was Lieutenant Schmidt, who later lost his life. About 10 o'clock we were all safe aboard, but one of our typhus patients, Seaman Keil, wore himself out completely by the exertion; he died a week later. On the next morning we went over again to the wreck in order to seek the weapons that had fallen into the water. You see, the Arabs dive so well; they fetched up a considerable lot—both machine guns, all but ten of the rifles, though these were, to be sure, all full of water. Later they frequently failed to go off when they were used in firing.

"Now we numbered, together with the Arabs, seventy men on the little boat, until evening. Then we anchored before Konfida, and met Sami Bey, who is still with us. He had shown himself useful even before in the service of the Turkish Government, and has done good service as guide in the last two months. He is an active man, thoroughly familiar with the country. He procured for us a larger boat, of fifty-four tons, and he himself,

with his wife, sailed alongside on the little sambuk. We sailed from the 20th to the 24th unmolested to Lith. There Sami Bey announced that three English ships were cruising about in order to intercept us. I therefore advised traveling a bit overland. I disliked leaving the sea a second time, but it had to be done."

"Lith is, to be sure, nothing but this," said Mücke, with a sweeping gesture toward the desert through which we were traveling, "and therefore it was very difficult to get up a caravan at once. We remained aboard ship so long. We marched away on the 28th. We had only a vague suspicion that the English might have agents here also. We could travel only at night, and when we slept or camped around a spring, there was only a tent for the sick men. Two days' march from Jeddah, the Turkish Government, as soon as it is received news about us, sent us sixteen good camels.

"Suddenly, on the night of April 1, things became uneasy. I was riding at the head of the column. All our shooting implements were cleared for action, because there was danger of an attack by Bedouins, whom the English here had bribed. When it began to grow a bit light, I already thought: 'We're through for today'; for we were tired—had been riding eighteen hours. Suddenly I saw a line flash up before me, and shots whizzed over our heads. Down from the camels! Form a fighting line! You know how quickly it becomes daylight here. The whole space around the desert hillock was occupied. Now, up with your bayonets! Rush 'em! * * * They fled, but returned again, this time from all sides. Several of the gendarmes that had been given us as an escort are wounded; the machine gun operator, Rademacher, falls, killed by a shot through his heart; another is wounded; Lieutenant Schmidt, in the rear guard, is mortally wounded—he has received a bullet in his chest and abdomen.

"Suddenly they waved white cloths. The Sheik, to whom a part of our camels belonged, went over to them to negotiate, then Sami Bey and his wife. In the interim we quickly built a sort of wagon barricade, a circular camp of

camel saddles, rice and coffee sacks, all of which we filled with sand. We had no shovels, and had to dig with our bayonets, plates, and hands. The whole barricade had a diameter of about fifty meters. Behind it we dug trenches, which we deepened even during the skirmish. The camels inside had to lie down, and thus served very well as cover for the rear of the trenches. Then an inner wall was constructed, behind which we carried the sick men. In the very centre we buried two jars of water, to guard us against thirst. In addition we had ten petroleum cans full of water; all told, a supply for four days. Late in the evening Sami's wife came back from the futile negotiations, alone. She had unveiled for the first and only time on this day of the skirmish, had distributed cartridges, and had conducted herself faultlessly.

"Soon we were able to ascertain the number of the enemy. There were about 300 men; we numbered fifty, with twenty-nine guns. In the night, Lieutenant Schmidt died. We had to dig his grave with our hands and with our bayonets, and to eliminate every trace above it, in order to protect the body. Rademacher had been buried immediately after the skirmish, both of them silently, with all honors.

"The wounded had a hard time of it. We had lost our medicine chest in the wreck; we had only little packages of bandages for skirmishes; but no probing instrument, no scissors were at hand. On the next day our men came up with thick tongues, feverish, and crying 'Water! water!' But each one received only a little cupful three times a day. If our water supply was exhausted, we would have to sally from our camp and fight our way through. Then we should have gone to pot under superior numbers. The Arab gendarmes simply cut the throats of those camels that had been wounded by shots, and then drank the yellow water that was contained in the stomachs. Those fellows can stand anything. At night we always dragged out the dead camels that had served as cover, and had been shot. The hyenas came, hunting for dead camels. I shot one of

these, taking it for an enemy in the darkness.

"That continued about three days. On the third day there were new negotiations. Now the Bedouins demanded arms no longer, but only money. This time the negotiations took place across the camp wall. When I declined, the Bedouin said: 'Beaucoup de combat,' (lots of fight.) I replied:

" 'Please go to it!'

"We had only a little ammunition left, and very little water. Now it really looked as if we would soon be dispatched. The mood of the men was pretty dismal. Suddenly, at about 10 o'clock in the morning, there bobbed up in the north two riders on camels, waving white cloths. Soon afterward there appeared, coming from the same direction, far back, a long row of camel troops, about a hundred; they draw rapidly near by, ride singing toward us, in a picturesque train. They were the messengers and troops of the Emir of Mecca.

"Sami Bey's wife, it developed, had, in the course of the first negotiations, dispatched an Arab boy to Jeddah. From that place the Governor had telegraphed to the Emir. The latter at once sent camel troops, with his two sons and his personal surgeon; the elder, Abdullah, conducted the negotiations; the surgeon acted as interpreter, in French. Now things proceeded in one-two-three order, and the whole Bedouin band speedily disappeared. From what I learned later, I know definitely that they had been corrupted with bribes by the English. They knew when and where we would pass and they had made all preparations. Now our first act was a rush for water; then we cleared up our camp, but had to harness our camels ourselves, for the camel drivers had fled at the very beginning of the skirmish. More than thirty camels were dead. The saddles did not fit, and my men know how to rig up schooners, but not camels. Much baggage remained lying in the sand for lack of pack animals.

"Then, under the safe protection of Turkish troops, we got to Jeddah. There the authorities and the populace received

us very well. From there we proceeded in nineteen days, without mischance, by sailing boat to Elwesh, and under abundant guard with Suleiman Pasha in a five-day caravan journey toward this place, to El Ula, and now we are seated at last in the train and are riding toward Germany—into the war at last!"

"Was not the war you had enough?" I asked.

"Not a bit of it," replied the youngest Lieutenant; "the Emden simply captured ships each time; only a single time, at Penang, was it engaged in battle, and I wasn't present on that occasion. War? No, that is just to begin for us now."

"My task since November," said Mücke, "has been to bring my men as quickly as possible to Germany against the enemy. Now, at last, I can do so."

"And what do you desire for yourself?" I asked.

"For myself," he laughed, and the blue eyes sparkled, "a command in the North Sea."

CAPTAIN MUECKE'S REPORT.

The impressive scene when the intrepid survivors of the Emden crew ended their long and perilous wanderings over the sea and through the desert, and reported once more to their superior naval officer for duty, is described in a dispatch from Constantinople, published in the Berliner Tageblatt of May 25. The account, written by Dr. Emil Ludwig, the special correspondent whom the paper had sent to meet the Emden men as they emerged from the desert, and filed under date of May 24, reads:

Now the Emden men have at last reached Europe. The many feasts which the German colonies and the Turkish authorities insisted on preparing for the heroes on their way through Asia Minor, in Adana, Tarsus, Bosanti, Konia, and Eskishehir, have improved the condition of the crew, half of whom are still suffering from malaria or its consequences. The officers, to be sure, pressed forward. When the train today drew near to Constantinople, the cordiality and en-

thusiasm waxed to a veritable Whitsuntide fraternizing with the Turks.

The Chief Mayors delivered addresses at every station, or children recited poems amid the Turkish sounds of which only the words "Allaman" (Germans) and "Emden" were intelligible to us. One little child was specially courageous, and recited in German. The flags were wreathed with laurel, and prettily dressed little children brought up to the crew great baskets full of cherries and the first strawberries; but the eyes of the sailors hung more fondly upon beer and tobacco, which they received in large quantities. Even at those stations where the train whizzed past without stopping, Oriental applause floated up to us, and everywhere stood honorary reception committees.

When we at last drew near Haidar-Pasha, the final station of the railroad on the Asiatic side, the railway station seemed to be transformed into a festive hall. Lieut. Capt. von Mücke ordered his men, who had only now transformed themselves again into blue lads, since navy uniforms had been sent to them on the way, to step up, and he led them up to a group of navy officers who, with Admiral Souchon at their head, remained quietly standing.

Then this young "triumphator," who even a moment ago stood amid cheers and a shower of acacia blossoms, bowing and shaking hands on the platform, the man who for fourteen days has been the one man wherever stopped, now steps up in military order to the little Admiral and lowers his sword:

"Beg to report most obediently, Herr Admiral, landing corps of the Emden, 44 men, 4 officers, 1 surgeon."

Admiral Souchon received the announcement just as a daily report. Only then did he press the Lieutenant Captain's hand, bid him welcome, and marched along the front of the company.

No sooner had the column with the Emden flag appeared at the entrance of the station than there burst from 10,000 throats a rousing "Hurrah!" On a torpedo boat that had been waiting for them the crew crossed the Bosphorus, in which all ships had decked themselves with flags, and landed on the wide park-like point of the seraglio. There, surrounded by new countless crowds, were the Ministers Enver Pasha and Talaat Bey, the German Ambassador, Freiherr von Wangenheim, and Marshal von der Goltz Pasha, the combined navy corps of officers, General Bronsart von Schellendorf, all waiting their arrival.

Amid the strains of the German national anthem, played by the Turkish military band, Lieut. Capt. von Mücke, together with the War Minister, Enver Pasha, paced along the long German and Turkish fronts. Then he led forth his forty-four men and marched, amid new ovations, all through Stamboul, across the great bridge to Galata, to the deck of the steamship *General*, at the head of his little band, now grown epic, amid the cheers of Byzantium, on which he and his officers had never set foot before—always in the clear blue and sunlight of this war-heavy Whitsuntide day.

But nothing stirred me more deeply on the whole journey than that cold official report of the man who was being celebrated, before his Admiral, and I saw in that lowered swordpoint the symbol of the old and incorruptible Prussian spirit.



Civilization at the Breaking Point

By H. G. Wells.

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THE submarine and aircraft have put a new proposition before the world. It is a proposition that will be stated here as plainly and simply as possible. These two inventions present mankind with a choice of two alternatives, or, to vary the phrase, they mark quite definitely that we are at the parting of two ways; either mankind must succeed within quite a brief period of years now in establishing a world State, a world Government of some sort able to prevent war, or civilization as we know it must break up into a system of warring communities, perpetually on the warpath, perpetually insecure and engaged in undying national vendettas. These consequences have been latent in all the development of scientific warfare that has been going on during the last century; they are inherent in the characteristics of the aircraft and of the submarine for any one to see.

They are so manifestly inherent that even before this war speculative minds had pointed out the direction to which these inventions pointed, but now, after more than three-quarters of a year of war, it is possible to approach this question, no longer as something as yet fantastically outside the experience of mankind, but as something supported by countless witnesses, something which the dullest, least imaginative minds can receive and ponder.

What the submarine and aircraft make manifest and convincing is this point, which argument alone has never been able to hammer into the mass of inattentive minds, that if the human intelligence is applied continuously to the mechanism of war it will steadily develop destructive powers, but that it will fail to develop any corresponding power of decision and settlement, because the development of the former is easy and obvious in comparison with the development

of the latter; it will therefore progressively make war more catastrophic and less definitive. It will not make war impossible in the ordinary meaning of the word, the bigger the gun and the viler the lethal implement the more possible does war become, but it will make war "impossible" in the slang use of five or six years ago, in the sense, that is, of its being utterly useless and mischievous, the sense in which Norman Angell employed it and so brought upon himself an avalanche of quite unfair derision. No nation ever embarked upon so fair a prospect of conquest and dominion as the victorious Germans when, after 1871, they decided to continue to give themselves to the development of overwhelming military power. And after exertions unparalleled in the whole history of mankind their net conquests are nothing; they have destroyed enormously and achieved no other single thing, and today they repeat on a colossal scale the adventures of Fort Chabrol and Sidney Street, and are no better than a nation of murderous outcasts besieged by an outraged world.

Now, among many delusions that this war has usefully dispelled is the delusion that there can be a sort of legality about war, that you can make war a little, but not make war altogether, that the civilized world can look forward to a sort of tame war in the future, a war crossed with peace, a lap-dog war that will bark but not bite. War is war; it is the cessation of law and argument, it is outrage, and Germany has demonstrated on the large scale what our British suffragettes learned on a small one, that with every failure to accomplish your end by violent means you are forced to further outrages. Violence has no reserves but further violence. Each failure of the violent is met by the desperate cry, the heroic scream: "We will not be beaten.



THE ARCHDUKE EUGENE

Titular Commander in Chief of the Austrian Forces Operating Against Italy



HIS EXCELLENCY COUNT JOHANN VON BERNSTORFF
German Ambassador to the United States

If you will not give in to us for this much, then see! We will go further." Wars always do go further. Wars always end more savagely than they begin. Even our war in South Africa, certainly the most decently conducted war in all history, got to farm burning and concentration camps. A side that hopes for victory fights with conciliation in its mind. Victory and conciliation recede together. When the German—who is really, one must remember, a human being like the rest of us, at the worst just merely a little worse in his upbringing—when he finds he cannot march gloriously into Paris or Warsaw, then, and only then, does he begin to try to damage Paris and Warsaw with bombs, when he finds he cannot beat the French Army and the British fleet, then, and not till then, does he attack and murder the slumbering civilians of Scarborough and Dunkirk, and lies in wait for and sinks the *Lusitania*. If war by the rules will not bring success, then harsher measures must be taken; let us suddenly torture and murder our hated enemies with poison gas, let us poison the South African wells, let us ill-treat prisoners and assassinate civilians. Let us abolish the non-combatant and the neutral. These are no peculiar German iniquities, though the Germans have brought them to an unparalleled perfection; they are the natural psychological consequences of aggressive war heroically conceived and bitterly thwarted; they are "fierceness"; they are the logical necessary outcome of going to war and being disappointed and getting hit hard and repeatedly. Any military nation in a corner will play the savage, the wildcat at bay, in this fashion, rather than confess itself done. And since the prophetic Bloch has been justified and the long inconclusiveness of modern war, with its intrenchments and entanglements, has been more than completely demonstrated, this is the way that every war in the future is likely to go. Fair and open conquest becoming more and more out of the question, each side will seek to cow, dismay, and subjugate the spirit of the other, and particularly the spirit of the noncombatant masses, by more and more horrible proceedings.

"What do you think of that?" said the German officer, with a grin, as he was led prisoner past one of our soldiers, dying in agonies of asphyxiation. To that point war brings men. Probably at the beginning of the war he was quite a decent man. But once he was committed to war the fatal logic of our new resources in science laid hold of him. And war is war.

Now there does not appear the slightest hope of any invention that will make war more conclusive or less destructive; there are, however, the clearest prospects in many directions that it may be more destructive and less conclusive. It will be dreadfuller and bitterer; its horrors will be less and less forgivable; it will leave vast sundering floods of hate. The submarine and the aircraft are quite typical of the new order of things. You can sweep a visible fleet off the seas, you can drive an invading army into its own country, but while your enemy has a score of miles of coast line or a thousand square miles of territory left him, you cannot, it seems, keep his aircraft out of your borders, and still less can you keep his submarines out of the sea. You can, of course, make reprisals, but you can not hold him powerless as it was once possible to do. He can work his bloody mischief on your civil life to the very end of the war, and you must set your teeth and stick to your main attack. To that pitch this war has come, and to that pitch every subsequent war will come. The civil life will be treated as a hostage, and as it becomes more and more accessible, as it will do, to the antagonist it will be more and more destroyed. The sinking of the *Lusitania* is just a sign and a sample of what war now becomes, its rich and ever richer opportunities of unforgettable exasperation. Germany is resolved to hurt and destroy to the utmost, every exasperated militarism will come naturally to such resolves, and only by pain and destruction, by hurting, shaming and damaging Germany to the point of breaking the German spirit can this inflamed and war-mad people be made to relinquish their gigantic aggression upon the world. Germany, that great camp of warriors, must be broken as the Red In-

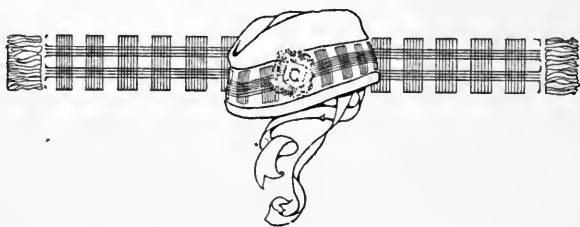
dians and the Zulus were broken, if civilization is to have another chance, and its breaking cannot be done without unparalleled resentments. War is war, and it is not the Allies who have forced its logic to this bitter end.

Unless this war does help to bring about a lasting peace in the world, it is idle to pretend that it will have been anything else but a monstrous experience of evil. If at the end of it we cannot bring about some worldwide political synthesis, unanimous enough and powerful enough to prohibit further wars by a stupendous array of moral and material force, then all this terrible year of stress and suffering has been no more than a waste of life, and our sons and brothers and friends and allies have died in vain. If we cannot summon enough good-will and wisdom in the world to establish a world alliance and a world congress to control the clash of "legitimate national aspirations" and "conflicting interests" and to abolish all the forensic trickeries of diplomacy, then this will be neither the last war, nor will it be the worst, and men must prepare themselves to face a harsh and terrible future, to harden their spirits against continuing and increasing adversity, and to steel their children to cruelty and danger. Revenge will become the burden of history. That is the price men will pay for clinging to their little separatist cults and monarchies and complete independencies, now. The traffic and wealth of our great and liberal age will diminish, the arts will dwindle and learning fade, science will cease to advance, and the rude and hard will inherit the earth. The Warpath or the World State; that is the choice for mankind.

This lesson of the submarine which

destroys much and achieves nothing has ample support in history. There never was so blind a superstition as the belief that progress is inevitable. The world has seen the great civilization of the Western empire give place to the warring chaos of the baronial castles of the ninth and tenth centuries; it has seen the Eastern empire for 500 years decay and retrogress under the militarism of the Turk; it has watched the Red Indians, with rifles in their hands, grimly engage in mutual extermination. Is it still a blind world, doomed to blunder down again from such light and order and hope as we were born to, toward such another millennium of barbaric hates and aimless wars? That is no mere possibility; it is the present probability unless men exert themselves to make it impossible. It is quite conceivable that ours is the last generation for many generations that will go freely about the world, that will have abundance of leisure, and science and free speech and abundant art and much beauty and many varied occupations. We stand about in our old haunts and try to keep on with our old ways of living and speculate when the war will be "over," and when we shall be able to go back to everything just as it was before the war. This war and its consequences will never be "over," and we have not even begun to realize what it has cost us.

The course of human history is downward and very dark, indeed, unless our race can give mind and will now unreservedly in unprecedented abundance to the stern necessities that follow logically from the aircraft bomb and the poison gas and that silent, invisible, unattainable murderer, the submarine.



“Human Beings and Germans”

By Rudyard Kipling.

Addressing 10,000 persons at a recruiting rally in Southport, England, on June 21, 1915, Mr. Kipling spoke as reported in the subjoined cable dispatch to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

THE German went into this war with a mind which had been carefully trained out of the idea of every moral sense or obligation, private, public, or international. He does not recognize the existence of any law, least of all those he has subscribed to himself, in making war against com- and children.

All mankind bears witness today that there is no crime, no cruelty, no abomination that the mind of man can conceive which the German has not perpetrated, is not perpetrating, and will not perpetrate if he is allowed to go on.

These horrors and perversions were not invented by him on the spur of the moment. They were arranged beforehand. Their outlines are laid down in the German war book. They are part of the system in which Germany has been scientifically trained. It is the essence of that system to make such a hell of countries where their armies set foot that any terms she may offer will seem like heaven to the people whose bodies she has defiled and whose minds she has broken of set purpose and intention.

So long as an unbroken Germany exists, so long will life on this planet be intolerable, not only for us and for our allies, but for all humanity.

There are only two divisions in the world today, human beings and Germans, and the German knows it. Human beings have long ago sickened of him and everything connected with him, of all he does, says, thinks, or believes.

From the ends of earth to the ends of the earth they desire nothing more greatly than that this unclean thing should be thrust out from membership and memory of the nations

We have no reason to believe that Germany will break up suddenly and dra-

matically. She took two generations to prepare herself in every detail and through every fibre of her national being for this war. She is playing for the highest stakes in the world—the dominion of the world. It seems to me that she must either win or bleed to death almost where her lines run today.

Therefore, we and our allies must continue to pass our children through fire to Moloch until Moloch perish.

In Belgium at this hour several million Belgians are making war material or fortifications for their conquerors. They receive enough food to support life, as the German thinks it should be supported, (by the way, I believe the United States of America supplies a large part of that food.) In return they are compelled to work at the point of the bayonet. If they object, they are shot. They have no more property and no more rights than cattle, and they cannot lift a hand to protect the honor of their women.

There has been nothing like the horror of their fate in all history.

If Germany is victorious, every refinement of outrage which is within the compass of the German imagination will be inflicted on us in every aspect of our lives. Realize, too, that if the Allies are beaten there will be no spot on the globe where a soul can escape from the domination of this enemy of mankind.

There has been childish talk that the Western Hemisphere would offer a refuge from oppression. Put that thought from your mind. If the Allies were defeated Germany would not need to send a single battleship over the Atlantic. She would issue an order, and it would be obeyed.

Civilization would be bankrupt, and the

Western world would be taken over with the rest of the wreckage by Germany, the receiver.

So you see that there is no retreat possible. There are no terms and no retreat in this war. It must go forward, and with those men of England, who are

eligible for service but who have not yet offered themselves, the decision of war rests.

This is, for us, in truth a war to death against the power of darkness with whom any peace except on our own terms would be more terrible than any war.

Garibaldi's Promise.

By KATHERINE DRAYTON MAYRANT
SIMONS, JR.

*O Loveland of the Poets,
In the hour of your pain,
Does Garibaldi's promise
To your heroes hold again?*

There were fisher lads among them,
In the shirt of peasant red,
And mountaineers from Tyrol,
When Garibaldi said:

"I have no prayer to make you,
For to God alone I kneel!
I have no price to pay you,
For your wage is Austrian steel!

"There is naught of knightly emblem
For the honor of the brave,
And the only land I grant you
Will be length to mark your grave!

"I promise cold and hunger
In the stead of drink and meat!
I promise death, my brothers,
Shall be yours before defeat!"

*O Sweetheart of the Nations,
In the hour of your pain,
Does Garibaldi's promise
To Italia hold again?*

The Uncivilizable Nation

By Emile Verhaeren.

The Belgian poet whom Maurice Maeterlinck preferred should rank among the Immortals of the French Academy when that honor was bestowed upon himself, has contributed to *Les Annales* the following account of Germany and the German people. The translation is that appearing on June 11 in *The Suffragette* of England.

LIFE is not a means; life is an end. That is what we must tell ourselves in order really to live in this world. Hence the obligation to perfect life, to make it high and beautiful, to make a masterpiece of it. Hence too our contempt and hatred for those who wish to tarnish life, either by their thoughts or by their deeds.

Germany behaves as though it were the most backward among nations. And indeed it is in spite of appearances essentially feudal. There is perhaps a German culture, but there is no German *civilization*.

One may be well informed and yet be hardly civilized. A sense of duty to humanity, a sense of pride, a sense of liberty are independent, certainly not of intelligence, but are independent of mere knowledge of accumulated facts.

The German professor is a walking library. He collects, he arranges, he comments. Arrangement and discipline with him take the place of everything else, and they inculcate in him the spirit of dependence and of servility. It is perhaps because he classifies so much that he is so dully submissive. Everything according to his view is an ascending or descending scale. Everything is in its compartment.

How, then, can we be surprised if everything becomes materialized and the mind of each Teuton can lay claim to be nothing more than a sort of stiff and dingy compartment, in a sort of social chessboard.

It has already been said: The German invents almost nothing. He works upon the inventions of other people. In order to invent he would have to possess the spirit of rebellion against that which is.

He is incapable of that spirit. He is a being who always accepts.

But as soon as a new discovery has been made by others the German gets hold of it. He examines it patiently. He turns and returns it this way, that way, and every way. He, as it were, criticises it. He thus succeeds in augmenting its power. Moreover, he wishes that it shall serve a practical purpose and be classified accordingly, just as he himself serves and is classified in life.

Never have the Germans opened up a great road in science. They open up only bypaths. Leibnitz and Kant joined their paths to the royal high road of Descartes. Haeckel would hardly have existed if Darwin had not existed. Koch and Behring are dependent upon the labors of Pasteur.

This second-hand science is excellent as a means of attracting mediocre minds. To work, each in his little corner, at solving some secondary question, and to believe one's self a somebody when one is hardly anybody, flatters the universal vanity. All the little provincial universities of Germany can live in the illusion that they are full of learned men—thanks to the German conception of what is learned and serious!

It is a system of regimenting in great barracks of laboratories. It is the absolute negation of the spirit of initiative of spontaneity and it is above all the negation of the spirit of protest and revolt.

If the German people had been truly civilized they would never have maintained silence before the assassination of Belgium. Even among those whose ideas are contrary to the existing political order in Germany, none has risen up against this crime admitted and proclaimed at the beginning of the war in

full Parliament by the Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg himself. The universal astonishment at such a silence was so great that even today the world has not recovered from it. Apart from Liebknecht the whole of German Social Democracy is dishonored: it is desired to expel the German Socialists from the International Socialist Movement. They excuse themselves; they aggravate their fault. They say:

"We should have been arrested and imprisoned." The world replies:

"Are they then afraid of dying?"

In the German Socialist Party everything has been reduced to method and organized as in the German universities and the German Army.

There were I know not how many Socialist electors; German Socialism was thought to be already triumphant and invincible. People said: "They are Germany!"

The German Socialists were held up as an example to all the democracies of the earth.

Those who swore by the German Socialists affirmed that they would devour Kaiserism when it should become necessary. But last August in one hour in the Reichstag it was the German Socialist Party that was devoured!

When recently certain German Socialists visited the *Maison du Peuple* of Brussels they expressed astonishment that the Socialists of Belgium should attach so much importance to the invasion of their country.

"When then binds you to your country?" they asked.

"Honor," was the reply.

"Honor! Honor! that is a very bourgeois ideal," interrupted the Germans.

Yet a true civilization has as its framework precisely honor. Honor is not a bourgeois ideal, but an aristocratic ideal. It was slowly created by the flower of humanity throughout the centuries. When force becomes educated, force opposes itself. It limits and incloses itself. It becomes intelligent and tempered by reserve and by tact. Brutal force thus

changes into moral force, power becomes justice.

The more a nation lends itself to such a change, the more it rises from the material plane toward the spiritual plane. The more it enshrines in its institution respect for humanity as a whole, the greater and more civilized it becomes. Such a nation remains faithful to its pledged word; neither interest nor even necessity moves it to commit felony. It loves to protect and not to oppress those who are weaker than itself. It has at heart the work of propagating throughout the world certain principles of social life which certainly are utopian, but are yet beautiful to have before the eyes and in the heart, in order to live not only for the present, but also for the future.

These admirable principles which may never be put wholly into practice, but toward which we must try to grow always nearer, are the expression of the deepest human generosity. They are the radical negation of brutal and primitive force; they incline the world toward a unanimous and serene peace. They have based on faith the infinite perfectibility of conscience. Only a nation of a high degree of civilization can conceive of relations so perfect between human beings and cherish dreams so great.

Germany was never capable of this. The individual German is the least subtle and the least susceptible to education of any in the world.

It has been my lot to take part in certain European capitals in a number of reunions where English, French, Italians, and Germans came together and conversed. They were all, I was assured, distinguished people, of whom their respective nations might be proud. Now, the German was rarely to be seen in an excellent attitude. He was at once embarrassed and arrogant. He lacked refinement. His politeness was clumsy. He was as though afraid of seeming not to know everything. The most eccentric taste seemed to him the best taste. To him to be up to date was to be up to the minute. He would have been wretched if any one in his presence had claimed to be up to the second.

As soon as he had the chance to speak

and got a hearing, he inaugurated, as it were, a course of lectures. Clearness was not at all necessary to him. One rarely understood precisely what he meant. The fastidiousness and subtlety which led others to seek perfection in phrase and thought had little attraction for him. With what heaviness the German diplomat discusses matters at the council table! With what clumsiness the German conqueror plants himself in a conquered country! While France, at the end of half a century, makes herself beloved in Savoy, at Mentone, and at Nice, while in the space of two centuries she assimilates Lille and Dunkirk and Strasburg and Alsace; while England in a few decades unites to her Egypt and the Cape, Germany remains detested in Poland, Schleswig, and in Alsace-Lorraine. Germany is essentially the persona ingrata everywhere it presents itself. It knows only the methods that divide, and not those which unite. Germany makes proclamations that act upon the mind as the frost acts upon plants. Germany knows neither how to attract nor how to charm nor how to civilize, because she has no personal and profound moral force.

Europe under the successive spiritual hegemonies of Athens, Rome, and Paris remained the most admirable centre of human development that has ever been.

Under German hegemony Europe would move toward a sort of gloomy and hard organization under which everything would be impeccable, arranged only because everything would be tyrannized over from above.

For the true Germany—we have today the sad but immovable conviction of this—was never that of Goethe, of Beethoven, nor of Heine. It was that of implacable Landgraves and fierce soldiers.

For thousands of years Germany has let loose its hordes upon Europe; Vandals, Visigoths, Alains, Franks, Herules. Germany continues to do this at the present day. It is Germany's terrible and sinister function.

Only let us not deceive ourselves as to this point in future, Germany is the dangerous nation because it is the uncivilizable nation, because its castles, its fields, and its barracks have remained the inexhausted, and perhaps the inexhaustible, reservoirs of human ferocity.

EMILE VERHAEREN.

Retreat in the Rain.

By O. C. A. CHILD.

Those Uhlans now are working in too
near,
Their carbines crackle louder every
shot.
I say! our chaps a-plodding in the rear
Are getting it—and most uncommon
hot!
It's not much fun retreating in the night,
Through all this mess of rain and
reeking slime—
It seems to me this boot's infernal tight!
I must have hurt me when I slipped
that time.
Whew! that was close and there's a fel-
low gone!
I know too well that heavy, sickening,
thud;
It's bitter hard that we must keep right
on
And leave our wounded helpless in the
mud.

My foot hurts so that I can hardly see—
I'll have to stop for just a breathing
space.
What's that? It's blood!—those fiends
have got me now!
It's double time and I can't stand the
pace!
I'll use my rifle as a crutch. But, no!
I'll stand and fight; they have me sure
as day!
It's death for death—then I will meet
it so
And make a Uhlan pay the price I pay.
And here they come! Great God, they're
coming fast—
Are almost on me! Ah, I got that one!
Just one more shot—a good one for the
last!
Those iron hoofs have crushed me—
I am done!

War a Game for Love and Honor

By Jerome K. Jerome .

The chivalrous spirit of the present conflict informs this article, which appeared originally in *The London Daily News* under the title "The Greatest Game of All: The True Spirit of War," and is here reproduced by special permission of Mr. Jerome.

WAR has been described as the greatest of games. I am not going to quarrel with the definition. I am going to accept it. From that point of view there is something to be said for it. As a game it can be respectable; as a business it is contemptible. Wars for profit—for gold mines, for mere extension of territory, for markets—degrade a people. It is like playing cricket for money. A gentleman—man or nation—does not do such things. But war for love—for love of the barren hillside, for love of the tattered flag, for love of the far-off dream—played for a hope, a vision, a faith, with life and death as the stakes! Yes, there is something to be said for it.

Looked at practically, what, after all, does it matter whether Germany or Britannia rules the waves? Our tea and our 'baccy, one takes it, would still be obtainable; one would pay for it in marks instead of shillings. Our sailor men, instead of answering "Aye, aye, Sir," in response to Captain's orders, would learn to grunt "Jawohl." Their wages, their rations would be much the same.

These peaceful Old World villages through which I love to wander with my dogs; these old gray churches round which our dead have crept to rest; these lonely farmsteads in quiet valleys musical with the sound of mother creatures calling to their young; these old men with ruddy faces; these maidens with quiet eyes who give me greeting as we pass by in the winding lanes between the hedgerows; the gentle, patient horses nodding gravely on their homeward way; these tiny cottages behind their trim bright gardens; this lilliputian riot round the schoolhouse door; the little timid things in fur and feather peering

anxious, bright-eyed from their hiding places! Suppose the miracle to happen. Suppose the weather-beaten board nailed to the old beech tree warning us in faded lettering as we pass beneath it of the penalties awaiting trespassers were to be superseded by a notice headed "Verboten!" What essential difference would there be—that a wise man need vex his soul concerning? We should no longer call it England. That would be all. The sweep of the hills would not be changed; the path would still wind through the woodland. Yet just for a name we are ready to face ruin and death.

It certainly is not business. A business man would stop to weigh the pros and cons. A German invasion! It would bring what so many of us desire: Conscription, tariff reform. It might even get rid of Lloyd George and the Insurance act. And yet that this thing shall not be, Tory Squire and Laborer Hodge, looking forward to a lifelong wage of twelve-and-six-pence a week, will fight shoulder to shoulder, die together, if need be, in the same ditch. Just for a symbol, a faith we call England—I should say Britain.

Can we explain it even to ourselves? Thousands of Germans come over to England to live. They prosper among us, take their pleasures with us, adapt themselves to our English ways, and learn to prefer them. Thousands of Englishmen make their homes in German cities; find German ways of living, if anything, suit them better. Suddenly there arises the question, shall English ways of life or German ways of life prevail: English or German culture—which shall it be? And the English who have lived contentedly in Germany for years

hasten back to fight for England, and the desire of every German in England is to break up his pleasant home among us and fight to bring all Europe into German ways of thinking.

Clearly the definition is a right one. It is just a game.

Just as all life is a game; joy and sorrow the zest of it, suffering the strength-giving worth of it. Till Death rings his bell, and the game is over—for the present. What have we learned from it? What have we gained from it? Have we played it to our souls' salvation, learning from it courage, manhood? Or has it broken us, teaching us mean fear and hate?

I quote from the letter of a young cavalry officer writing from the trenches:

Although I can't pretend to like this nightmare, I cannot help realizing that it is doing something for those of us who are going through it that we otherwise would have missed; it brings out either the best or worst in a man. It makes character.

He speaks of a little black dog. They are living in two feet of water, he and his men. The German lines are a hundred yards off; wounds, disease, and death are around them. They are worried about this wretched little dog. He has, it seems, lost his people, and is not to be comforted. It is a curious picture. One sees the straggling line of grimy, mud-stained men. They are there to kill; their own life hangs on a thread. A nightmare of blood and dust and horror, and in the midst of it, growing there as if the soil suited it, this flower of pity for a little fellow-creature.

I quote from another letter:

I can assure you there is none of that insensate hatred that one hears about out here. We are out to kill, and kill we do at every opportunity. But when it is all over the splendid universal soldier spirit comes over all the men. Just to give you some idea of what I mean, the other night four German snipers were shot on our wire. The next night our men went out and brought one in who was near and getatable and buried him. They did it with just the same reverence and sadness as they do our own dear fellows. I went to look at the grave next morning, and one of the most uncouth-looking men in

my company had placed a cross at the head of the grave, and had written on it:

Here lies a German,
We don't know his name,
He died bravely fighting
For his Fatherland.

And under that "Got mitt uns," (sic,) that being the highest effort of all the men at German.

"Got mitt uns." One has the idea that He is—the game is played in that spirit. God with us both, shaping brotherhood out of enmity.

Bernard Shaw in a moment of inspiration thinks that some way will have to be found enabling England and Germany to live together peaceably for the future. It is an idea that may possibly have occurred to others. Well, perhaps this is the way. Shaw would not approve of it. But then there is so much in human nature that Shaw does not approve of. There are times when one is compelled to a great pity for Shaw. He seems to have got into the wrong world. He is forever thanking God that he is not as we other men—we Englishmen and Germans, mere publicans and sinners. It is a difficult world to understand, I admit, my dear Shaw, full of inconsistencies and contradictions. Perhaps there is a meaning in it somewhere that you have missed.

Perhaps we have got to fight one another before we understand one another. In the old Norse mythology Love is the wife of Strife; when we come to consider the nature of man, not such an odd union as it appears.

So long as the law runs that in sorrow woman shall bring forth her child; so long as the ground shall yield to the sons of Adam thorns also and thistles, so long will there be strife between man and man. So long, when the last word has been spoken and has failed, will there be war between the nations. The only hope of civilization is to treat it as a game. You cannot enforce a law without a policeman. You can only appeal to a man's honor—to his sporting instincts.

The mistake Germany is making is in not treating war as a game. To do so would be weakness and frivolity. War must be ruthless, must be frightful. It

is not to be bound down by laws human or Divine. And even then she is not logical. Two German officers interned in Holland are released on parole. Taking their country at her word, they hasten back to rejoin their regiments. The German Staff is shocked, sends them back to be imprisoned.

So there really are rules to the game. An officer and gentleman may not lie. If a Sub-Lieutenant may not lie for the sake of his country, then what argument gives the right to the German Government to tear up its treaties, to the German Military Staff to disregard its Ambassador's signature to The Hague Convention?

Come, shade of Bismarck, and your disciples in Germany and other countries, (including a few in my own,) make up your mind. To be ruthless and frightful in a half-hearted, nervous, vacillating fashion is ridiculous. You have either got to go back to the beginning of things, and make war a battle of wild beasts, or you have got to go forward and make it a game—a grim game, I grant you, but one that the nations can play at and shake hands afterward. We have tried the ruthless and frightful method. We used to slaughter the entire population. To shoot a selected few is to court a maximum of contempt for a minimum of advantage. We used to lay waste the land. We did not content ourselves with knocking down a church spire and burning a library. We left not one stone upon another. We sowed salt where the cities had been. We tortured our prisoners before the ramparts. We did not "leave them their eyes to weep with"; we burned them out with hot irons; surely a much swifter means of striking terror! Why not return to these methods? They sound most effective.

They were not effective. God's chosen people—according to themselves—did not annihilate the Philistines, not even with the help of the Ark of the Covenant. The Philistines tightened their belts and acquitted themselves like men. Today the heathen rules in Canaan. Where Mohammed failed the shade of

Bismarck is not likely to succeed. Poland is still a sore in European politics. The whole force of the Vatican could not suppress a handful of reformers. All the bloodthirsty edicts of the Revolution could not annihilate a few thousand aristocrats. These things cannot be done. War finishes nothing, it only interrupts. A nation cannot be killed; it can only die. This war is not going to be the end of all things either for Germany or for us. Germany can be beaten to her knees, as she beat France to her knees in 1870; as more than once before that France has beaten her. Later on we have all got to live together in peace, for a while.

Come, gentlemen, let us make an honorable contest of it, that shall leave as little of bitterness behind it as may be. Let us see if we cannot make a fine game of it that we shall be all the better for having played out to the end. From which we shall all come back home cleaner minded, clearer seeing, made kinder to one another by suffering. Come, gentlemen, you believe that God has called upon you to spread German culture through the lands. You are ready to die for your faith. And we believe God has a use for the thing called England. Well, let us fight it out. There seems no other way. You for St. Michael and we for St. George; and God be with us both.

But do not let us lose our common humanity in the struggle. That were the worst defeat of all—the only defeat that would really matter, that would really be lasting.

Let us call it a game. After all, what else is it? We have been playing it since the dawn of creation; and it has settled nothing—but the names of things. Its victories, its defeats! Time wipes them off the slate, with a smile.

I quote from a letter written by the officer who boarded the Emden. He speaks of the German officers: "A thoroughly nice fellow"—"also a good fellow." The order is given that there be no cheering from the Sydney when entering the harbor with her prisoners. Eng-

lish sailormen have fought with German sailormen; have killed a good many of them. It is over. No crowing, gentlemen—over fellow-sailormen. Our writer discusses the fight generally with Captain von Muller. "We agreed it was our

job to knock one another out. But there was no malice in it."

We shall do better to regard war as a game—a game to be played for love, for honor, without hatred, without malice. So only shall we profit by it.

THE BELGIAN WAR MOTHERS



By Charlotte Porter

I.

The Dominant Voice, shrieking:

Rancor unspeakable, white-hot wrath
Spring in your furrow, rise in your
path!
Harvest you vengeance from Belgian
dust,
Ye who have turnèd love unto lust!

Subdominant Voices, murmuring:

Month of Mary, may ye breed
Vengers out of the August seed!
Nourish'd hate of father-foe—
Grow, ye War-babes, grow, grow!

II.

The Dominant Voice:

Anger implacable, brand with fire,
Sear out the soul of the bestial sire!
Impotent render the insolent boor—
Dead to the love and the life to endure!

Subdominant Voices:

Month of Mary, ye shall breed
Vengers out of the August seed,
Cradled hate of father-foe—
Grow, ye War-babes, grow, grow!

III.

The Dominant Voice:

Miracle-May-month, fathered in death,
Bred in corruption to breathe new
breath
Into foul body-dregs, breathe thy life
Into the hate-sired babes of strife!

Subdominant Voices:

Month of Mary, ye shall feed
Saviours from the Judas-deed—
Gods of life to quell that woe.
Grow, ye War-babes, grow, grow!

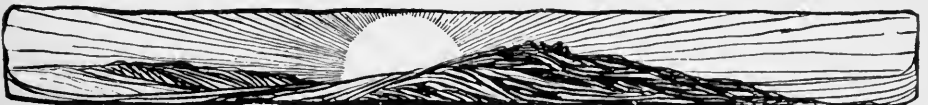
IV.

The Dominant Voice:

Ruin the arrogant hate of love!
Ruin the haters, God above!
Bless Thou their harvest to quell their
sin—
Honor the sinned-against, God within!

All Voices:

Warring nations, bleed, bleed,
But to let the leaders lead!
Springs to come from Falls to go,
Love's lords, Life's lords, show, show!



How England Prevented an Understanding With Germany

By Dr. Th. Schiemann.

The writings of Professor Schiemann of the University of Berlin, who is also the leading editorial writer of the *Kreuz Zeitung*, are regarded as inspired by the Kaiser's Government, and in some degree by the Kaiser himself. Dr. Schiemann is often spoken of as an intimate personal friend of the Kaiser. The subjoined article was, in the original, sent by Dr. Schiemann to Professor John Bates Clark of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, with the special request that it be translated and forwarded for publication in THE NEW YORK TIMES CURRENT HISTORY.

AFTER the great crisis of the first world war, which terminated in the Congress of Vienna, the relations of England to the German States were fairly good. People lived in the protecting shade of the great alliance; England was busy digesting the enormous prey which it had seized at the expense of all the other powers that had taken part in the war; Continental Europe was endeavoring, as best it could, to heal the wounds and sores which had remained behind as mementos of oppressive but, despite all, glorious years. France recuperated most rapidly; by the Treaties of Paris there had been recovered from it only part of the abundant harvest which it had gathered in consequence of the victories and the coercive policy of Napoleon; the national soil was still fertile and the national consciousness was still imbued with the "gloire" which the Corsican General, with the help of his own and of foreign troops, had won for the French name. The great disturbances of world peace that marked the years 1830, 1854, and 1870 were attributable to an incessant pursuit of new "gloire," to which all other aims were subordinate. Parallel with this French striving for new "gloire" was England's endeavor to keep the Continent in a feverish condition; this was the policy of Lord Palmerston, and with it was combined a hysterical fear of attack on the part of possible enemies that were thought to exist in Russia, and especially in France. At the same time an arrogant challenge was

constantly held forth to all the nations of the earth, and an almost uninterrupted war was carried on against the small States adjoining England's colonies in Asia and Africa. Between the years 1856 and 1900 England waged no less than thirty-four such wars, and by so doing acquired 4,000,000 square miles of land and 57,000,000 subjects. In Europe after the year 1815 England, for the most part, kept peace; the Crimean war, which was a coalition war, constitutes an exception, and it was not England's fault that Prussia, too, was not drawn into that war, which concerned a specifically English interest. At that time English threats were quite as numerous as they were in the year 1863, when The Daily News declared King William I. an outlaw, and The Daily Mail proclaimed for him the fate of Charles I. The cause of this, however, was that in London it was looked upon as an interference with English interests that Bismarck, by his attitude during the Polish insurrection, had prevented the effectuation of a coalition directed against Russia. During the war of 1864 over Schleswig-Holstein the threats were renewed, and even then we began to hear the watchwords with which public opinion in England for a decade has been mobilized against us: A Germany organized on a military basis, and with a fleet at its command besides, indicates that the goal of that State's policy, even more than in the case of France, is world rule. At that time, too, however, France and Russia were regarded by English war makers as the country's real

enemies, and this conviction, rather than ideal considerations of any kind whatsoever, accounts for the fact that in the years 1870 and 1871 English policy followed a neutral course. England wished to see France weakened, had not foreseen Germany's great success, and had reserved for future opportunities the settlement of accounts with Russia, its very annoying rival in Asia.

In other respects, however, Bismarck was by no means satisfied with the way in which England pursued its policy of "neutrality." He had expected, at least, that the English would condemn the war, begun, as it was, in such a criminal manner, and not that they would carry on with France a flourishing trade in weapons. "It is a surprising fact, pregnant with warning," he wrote in May, 1874, "that Mr. Gladstone succeeded so easily in holding the country to an attitude directly opposed to the traditional hostility of the English masses toward France." He had all the more reason to expect a different attitude in view of the fact that, as was well known in England, it had been out of regard for England that Bismarck in December, 1870, had refused an offer of peace from Thiers, which rested on the condition that Belgium should be united to France under the rule of King Leopold. After the battle of Sedan Lord Odo Russell and Disraeli aroused the fears of the English people over the possibility of a German invasion; but Bismarck, nevertheless, was thinking of an English-German alliance, which, on account of the blood relationship of the two dynasties, was by no means impracticable, and which to Queen Victoria would have seemed a natural combination. Subsequently, in the years 1873 and 1874, Bismarck negotiated with Lord Odo Russell in Berlin regarding a German-English alliance, and through Münster he also took up the matter with Disraeli, who denied very emphatically that he had French sympathies. Nothing, he said, was more incorrect. The two peoples, he alleged further, who alone could proceed hand in hand, and who must become more and more cognizant of that fact,

were Germany and England. The power of France, he added, was on the wane, a fact regarding which the demoralization of the empire, the decrease of population, and the course of recent events left no room for doubt. Notwithstanding Disraeli's views, however, the alliance with England, as is well known, was never formed. The most serious obstacle was created by the fact that party government in England rendered binding obligations extraordinarily difficult. Then came all sorts of pinpricks, as, for instance, Derby's advocacy in the year 1875 of Gortchakoff's famous rescue campaign. But despite all Bismarck held fast to the idea of bringing about closer relations with England, and the formation of the alliance with Austria-Hungary confirmed him in that purpose. "We shall have to adjust our attitude more and more," he wrote to Schweinitz in March, 1880, "with the object of increasing the security of our relations with Austria and England." It was this political desire that prompted him to reject a Russian proposal to unite the four Eastern powers in a common protest against England's isolated procedure in connection with the occupation of Egypt. He wished to prevent England from being humiliated by a prearranged coalition. A letter from Bismarck to Salisbury (July 8, 1885) has been preserved, which is very characteristic of this friendly attitude of German policy. "As to politics," he writes, "I have not the slightest doubt that the traditional friendly relations between the two dynasties, as well as between the two nations, will give sufficient security for settling every existing or arising question in a conciliatory way."

With respect to the question of the Egyptian loan that was being discussed at that time, as well as with respect to the burning Afghan question, Bismarck adhered tenaciously to this policy, and later on, too, he was determined to spin the threads further. In the latter part of the Autumn of 1887 an exchange of letters again took place between Lord Salisbury and Prince Bismarck, wherein the latter gave expression to the idea

that Austria and England were the natural allies of Germany. If they were opposed to an alliance it would be necessary for Germany to alter its policy entirely and to think about establishing more intimate relations with Russia. This, properly considered, was an invitation to enter into negotiations regarding an alliance treaty. But Salisbury, who hoped for a conflict of the Continental powers which would insure England's position of power for another generation, answered evasively, and Bismarck justly regarded his reply as a rejection. But such a conflict did not arise. The menacing danger brought about by Alexander III. was overcome by the publication of the German-Austrian treaty of alliance. Even then, however, Bismarck did not give up the idea of bringing about closer relations with England. In December, 1888, he wrote: "The promotion of common feeling with England is *primo loco* to be encouraged." If Bismarck had left behind a political testament this sentence would in all probability be contained in it. Such was also the attitude which our Emperor has consistently maintained from his accession to the throne until the outbreak of the present war. He was a favorite of the old Queen, and the treaty signed on July 1, 1890, whereby we obtained possession of Heligoland by relinquishing our claims to Witu and Zanzibar, was an outward sign of an honest endeavor on the part of both nations to bring about closer mutual relations. The mutual limitation of spheres of interest in East and West Africa in the year 1893, and the friendly adjustment of the conflict which Article III. of the British Agreement with the Congo Free State of the year 1894 had threatened to bring about, might be considered additional symptoms of this general disposition or tendency.

The year 1896, however, brought disturbances; the telegram which Emperor William on Jan. 5 sent to President Kruger, after the predatory invasion of Dr. Jameson had been fortunately repelled, was received very unfavorably in England, and led to demonstrations on

the part of the British fleet, which, although they had a very provocative character, remained finally without lasting effect. The impression was created, however, that public opinion in England was very easily excited; it saw itself disturbed in the execution of a thoroughly considered political plan, and, as it were, caught in flagranti. But the fact that there were still deeper reasons for a gradually increasing mistrust of Germany is brought to light by Wilson's book, published in 1896, which, under the title "Made in Germany," developed a program of battle against Germany's rapidly growing economic power. Since then all steps taken by Germany in the pursuit of its internal as well as its external policy have been viewed with extraordinary disapprobation on the part of England. The adoption of our Naval bill by the Reichstag on March 28, 1898, the foundation of the Naval League two days later, the new East-Asiatic policy of Germany, which in the leasing of Kiao-Chau was exemplified in a manner not at all to the liking of the English politicians, the Emperor's trip to the Orient, which led to friendly relations between Turkey and Germany—all this was looked upon with the more displeasure in view of the fact that Emperor William in the Summer of 1895 had emphatically rejected a plan, proposed to him by Lord Salisbury, to divide up Turkey. In August, 1898, nevertheless, when the Fashoda crisis had strained the relations of England and France to the utmost, and when, at the same time, English-Russian relations were becoming critical in the Far East, an understanding between Germany and England, which might perhaps have the character of an alliance, seemed to be quite possible. Secretary of State von Bülow and the English Ambassador, Sir Frank Lascelles, took up the matter very earnestly, but it was impossible to secure from England the assurance that the entire English Government and Parliament would sanction an alliance. Russia warded off the menacing danger of a war with England by means of the well-known proposal which on May 18, 1899,

led to the holding of the Disarmament Conference in The Hague, and Delcassé on Jan. 20, 1899, began, with reference to the Fashoda affair, the policy of retreat, which excluded France from the Nile territory. Then came England's war against the Boers. It is well known how the German Government during this war scrupulously maintained its neutrality (not according to the English method) despite the fact that all the sympathies of the German people were with the Boers in their struggle for freedom. It is not so well known, on the other hand, that the Imperial Government rejected a Russian proposal to form an alliance against England. That, too, was a service for which England has not thanked us. Of the tragedy in South Africa it has retained in mind only one incident, the so-called "Kruger Message," which it regarded as an interference with its right to do violence to a weaker power, figuratively speaking, as a slap in the face.

In the course of the war the old Queen died, and Edward VII. entered upon his fateful reign. Emperor William had gone over to London to attend the funeral of his grandmother, and Prince Henry had accompanied him, so that the dynastic relationship was made most conspicuous. After that the political relations of the two States seemed about to shape themselves most propitiously. Of the fact that the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, concluded on Jan. 30, 1902, was directed against Russia, there was never for a moment any doubt; indeed it was Japan, not England, which took the initiative in bringing it about. On the other hand, the co-operation of English and German war vessels in adjusting the difficulties which both powers had with Venezuela was in complete harmony with the political wishes and convictions of Emperor William, who, like Bismarck at an earlier date, was of the opinion that the interests of the two nations could readily be reconciled. But in England that co-operation resulted in an excited anti-German campaign on the part of the press. The Times, The National Review, The Daily News, The Daily Telegraph, The Daily Express, and other newspapers

vehemently attacked the Government for acting conjointly with us, and there can be no doubt that in so doing they gave expression, not to the ideas of the Balfour Ministry, but to the sentiments which, as was well known in those journalistic circles, were held by King Edward. Balfour, in an address which he delivered in Liverpool on Feb. 13, 1903, had opposed with great emphasis the arousing of English public opinion against Germany. "We wish," he said, "to bear in mind an old ideal, namely, that all the nations which stand in the front ranks of civilization should learn to work together in the interest of the whole, and that nothing any longer stands in the way of the realization of this high ideal save those national bitternesses, jealousies, and hostilities. * * * As far as Venezuela is concerned, that is passing over * * * but with respect to the future it fills me with anxiety when I think how easy it is to stir up the fire of international jealousy, and how hard it is to quench it." It was all the harder in view of the fact that the King, from the very beginning of his reign, adhered tenaciously to the political idea of using the old French *revanche* notion as the cardinal point of English policy.

In April, 1903, the King began a series of political trips to Portugal, Spain, France, and Austria, while Berlin, very strangely, was not visited by him. Each one of these visits resulted in political agreements, into which Vienna alone declined to enter, and which, after a return visit on the part of Loubet, at that time President of the French Republic, and after a surprising visit in Paris on the part of certain members of the English Parliament, led to the significant English-French agreement of April 8, 1904, a treaty which culminated in the balancing of Morocco against Egypt and made it possible for the English Government, as soon as it chose, to regulate the Morocco question in such a way that it would necessarily bring about a conflict between France and isolated Germany. The ally of King Edward was the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, Delcassé, who, on the basis of the agreements

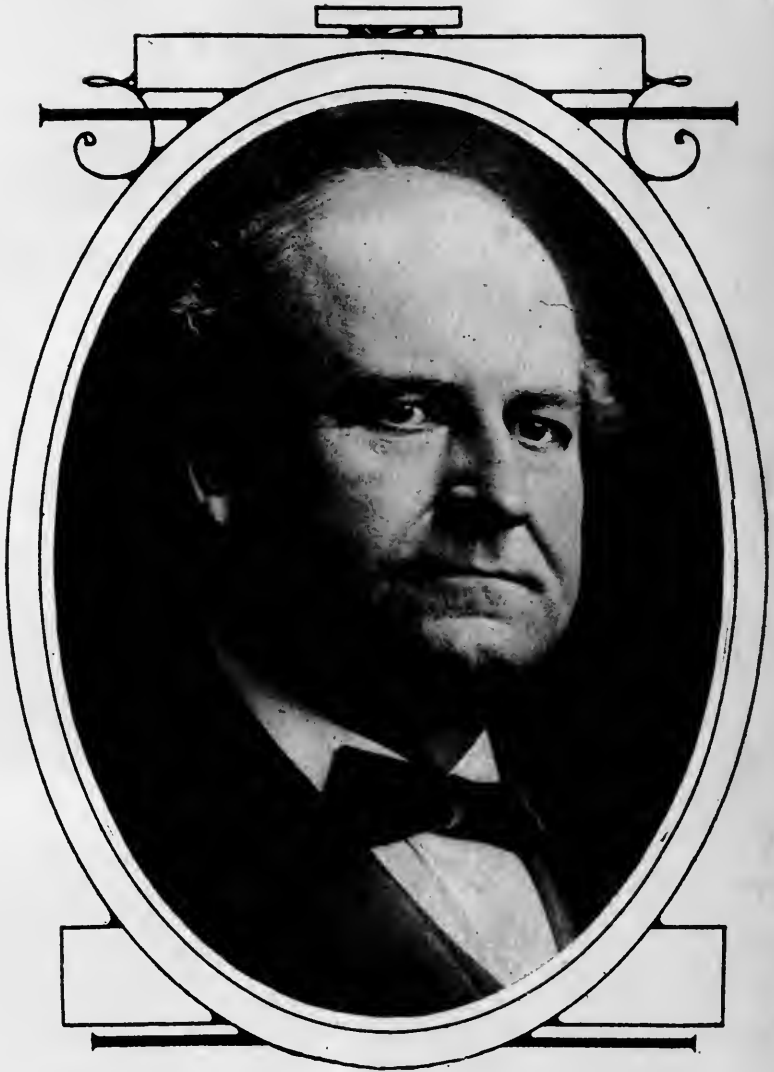
made with England, had likewise concluded treaties with Spain and Italy, which, as he confidently assumed, insured the *pénétration pacifique*, i. e., the conquest, unhindered by Europe, of Morocco. How this plan presently fell through and how Delcassé was overthrown shall not be related here; on the other hand, attention should be called to the intimidating efforts to which England resorted for the purpose of exerting pressure upon Germany. The first effort of this nature took the form of an address delivered on Feb. 3, 1905, by Arthur Lee, a Civil Lord of the English Admiralty, who threatened the German fleet with destruction; the second effort came after Emperor William had landed in Tangier on March 31 and after Delcassé had been overthrown, and took the form of an appearance of an English fleet before Swinemünde, on which occasion it was officially asserted that the resolution had been adopted back in May, that is, at a time when the intrigues of Delcassé were culminating and when a war between Germany and France seemed likely to break out at any time. For even after Delcassé's overthrow England did not give up the game as lost; it declined to take part in a conference regarding Morocco and considered in all seriousness the question of an invasion. England's naval superiority was so great that the success of such an invasion could not seem doubtful, and in London it was thought that they could even do without the support of France. These plans were finally given up; for some time it was not known very well in London what decisions had been reached in the meeting between the Czar and Emperor William at Björkö, and there was a feeling of uncertainty. Accordingly, England also sent delegates to the conference at Algiers, wherein we were obliged to deal solely, except for the Austrian delegates, with friends of the English-French combination.

The result, therefore, could only be a vague understanding, wherein was concealed the germ of subsequent conflicts. The first consequence, nevertheless, was a relaxation of German-English relations.

In December, 1905, a Liberal Ministry had taken the helm, and the idea was conceived of diverting Germany by other means from the pursuit of a "world policy." Sir Edward Grey championed the contention that more intimate relations between England and Germany were, to be sure, desirable, but could only be effected if we swallowed France's Morocco policy unflinchingly, like bitter medicine. For this event Mr. Haldane, the new Minister of War, proposed an understanding between us similar to that which England had reached with France. This constituted the preliminary step toward an endeavor to effect more intimate relations, an endeavor which at first had a non-official character. German Burgomasters visited the City of London and were cordially received by King Edward himself. This was followed, in August, 1906, by a meeting between the King and his imperial nephew, in Homburg vor der Höhe, which, as was to be expected, passed off in a satisfactory manner. It should, nevertheless, be recalled to mind that the King expressed himself very ironically on the subject of The Hague Conference, which, he asserted, was a humbug. And Sir Charles Hardinge, who entered into negotiations with Secretary of State von Tschirschky, also voiced the opinion that the conference should offer no opportunity for serious interference with England's naval policy. On this point English and German views concurred, though from different motives. In the following September the English Minister of War, Mr. Haldane, was our guest. He came for the purpose of studying German military organization, and every conceivable courtesy was extended to him. In the addresses which he delivered after his return to England he referred many times to his sojourn in Berlin. He also made the assertion that the relations of England to France were closer and more intimate than ever before, that to Russia they were friendly, and that to Germany they were better than they recently had been. We now know—a fact which the *Liberté* also divulged at that time—that an English-French military convention had then been signed with reference to future possibil-



H. I. M. NICHOLAS II.
Czar of All the Russias, and the Grand Duke Alexis Nicholaevitch,
the Heir Apparent
(Photo from Underwood & Underwood.)



THE HON. WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN
Formerly Secretary of State of the United States
(Photo from Bain News Agency)

ities. This fact was immediately denied, but it was merely a question of word quibbling. No convention, to be sure, was actually signed by the Government, but the "inner circle" of the Cabinet undoubtedly agreed that "conversations" between the military authorities of the two nations should take place, and these military conversations were held regularly, just as if a secret alliance existed, until the outbreak of the present war. Parallel with these political preparations were efforts that stood in sharp contrast to the irritating activities carried on without interruption by the above-mentioned anti-German press, which we embrace under the name "Pearson and Harmsworth Press." In England, as well as in Germany, societies were organized with the object of mitigating and, if possible, entirely abolishing the differences and antagonisms which existed between the two nations; these were the so-called "Friendship Committees." In England the Duke of Argyll and Lord Avebury were at the head of such a committee, and a visit made to London by representatives of our press initiated a well-meant movement which found enthusiastic representatives on both sides. English and German clergymen traveled back and forth between England and Germany, representatives of the English press paid a return visit to Germany, English and German workingmen's representatives endeavored to cement feelings of friendship by making personal observations and acquaintances, and in a similar way representatives of the Parliamentary groups of both countries thought and acted, while the leaders of science were working together at congresses held in Berlin and London. In this way were formed a number of valuable personal relations which led to political friendships and resulted in a conscious co-operation toward an honest English-German understanding.

These efforts continued until shortly before the month of August, 1914. One may safely say, moreover, that nobody has interceded more zealously and more constantly for English-German friendship and co-operation and for the removal of the difficulties that are ever

cropping up anew than our Emperor. The enthusiasm with which Emperor William was always received in England on occasion of his numerous visits, especially in November and December, 1907, again in 1910, when he went to London to attend the funeral of Edward VII., and again in 1911, when he visited King George, would be absolutely inconceivable hypocrisy, which we regard as out of the question, had it not been the spontaneous expression of popular sentiment. Official English policy, however, followed other channels. As early as the year 1907 Sir Edward Grey had succeeded in securing from Russia an agreement which united England and Russia in co-operation at the expense of Persia, but which, indirectly, also affected German interests, the injury to which was later happily warded off by the Treaty of Potsdam. It soon became evident, moreover, that England, in concluding the agreement relating to Persia, was in reality less concerned about protecting its Asiatic interests than it was about including Russia in that coalition by means of which it expected to put a stop to the "world policy" of Germany and to check the further development of the German fleet. This became very distinctly evident on June 9, 1908, when a meeting took place at Reval between Edward VII. and Nicholas II. At that time it was agreed and decided between Hardinge and Iswolski, not officially, but in an oral exchange of views, that Russia would be ready to proceed hand in hand with England in European affairs (i. e., in the policy directed against Germany) as soon as it had sufficiently recovered from the after-effects of the war with Japan and the revolution. It was thought that this regeneration of Russia's military power would take six or eight years. The scope of this agreement is very obvious. Whereas Germany, during the persistent danger of a war with France over Morocco, had hitherto considered it highly probable that England would maintain a neutral attitude, it was obliged, as soon as England drew nearer to the Dual Alliance, to figure at all events upon a malevolent neutrality and very likely indeed upon open

hostility. Sir Edward Grey, to be sure, who had not yet escaped from the anxiety with which English friends of peace were following the King's trip to Russia, in order to cover up his game, on July 7 had declared in the lower house, in reply to a question directed to the Government, that the visit of the King by no means had any diplomatic significance which might lead to an alliance or to an agreement or to any kind of a convention; no negotiations were being entered into, he asserted, for the purpose of concluding a treaty or a convention with Russia, nor would any such treaty or convention be concluded during the King's visit. But he went on to say that the visit would have some political effect, and it was very true that political effect was desired. "We wish that the visit shall exert a beneficent influence upon the mutual relations of both empires." Public opinion in England allowed itself to be satisfied with this equivocal, oracular statement. In other countries, however, a keener insight was displayed. THE NEW YORK TIMES judged the situation correctly when it said: "It is always a mistake to force a warm friend, who is at the same time a business friend, a blood relative, out of intimate and useful friendship into bitter antagonism, and this mistake, according to the judgment of all non-partisan observers of contemporary history, has been committed by King Edward." When Edward VII. acceded to the throne, it went on to say, England was a warm friend of Germany and of the German Emperor, who had given numerous proofs of his friendship, and was not only willing but anxious to become England's ally; now, however, the guns of the two nations were, so to speak, pointed at each other.

Such, indeed, was the actual case; a determined malevolence on the part of the King, the English statesmen, and that newspaper trust organized by Pearson and Harmsworth, began to mobilize Europe against Germany, and to incense, by means of cable and telegraph, the judgment of the world against our Emperor and against the German policy.

No means seemed too infamous if it served this purpose. Over a private letter which Emperor William had sent to Admiral Lord Tweedmouth for the purpose of checking false rumors that were maliciously being spread abroad regarding our naval policy, The Times made a terrible fuss in order to disseminate the notion that Emperor William was interfering with the internal policy of Great Britain with a view to injuring English military power. The excitement of public opinion in England was then utilized by the press for the purpose of creating a sentiment in favor of a concentration of the British fleet in the North Sea. That, however, was certainly done at the instigation of the Government, which was fond of attributing resolutions it had already adopted to the pressure of public opinion throughout the country. The naval manoeuvres which in July, 1908, were carried out in the North Sea, close to our coastline, were participated in by a combination of the canal fleet and the so-called home fleet, and they bore a very provocative and demonstrative character. At this time, moreover, appeared that widely read book by Percival A. Hislam, entitled "The Admiralty of the Atlantic," the expositions of which culminated in the statement that a war between England and Germany was unavoidable, and that the sooner it broke out the shorter it would be and the less money and blood it would cost. All this, however, is rendered easily intelligible by the fact that the Balkan crisis, in consequence of the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, had at that time assumed a very dangerous aspect, and was threatening to bring on a war between Austria and Russia and perhaps a world war, wherein England expected to gain its own particular ends. It was therefore a severe disappointment to English statesmen that Nicholas II., despite the vociferous protests of the Serbs, and despite the decidedly warlike attitude of the Russian people on March 25, 1909, recognized the annexation. The disappointment was all the more severe for the reason that shortly before that time, despite the still menacing conflict over Casablanca, the Morocco difficulties be-

tween Germany and France were also settled. On Feb. 9, 1909, the day on which King Edward made his first visit in Berlin, a German-French agreement regarding Morocco was signed, and in the latter part of May the Casablanca conflict was also adjusted by arbitration to the tolerable satisfaction of both contestants.

It is not too much to say that King Edward, in so far as he was able, did his best to bring about another outcome, and in England this was generally recognized. "There must be a definitive stopping of the King's interference in foreign politics," declared Mr. Sidebotham, M. P., in the Reform Club at Manchester during this crisis. His words were loudly approved by his hearers, but his voice, as well as the voice of other men in favor of establishing good relations with Germany, was drowned without effect under the influence of the panic which from the end of the year 1908 until well on into the Summer of 1909 kept all England in a state of excitement. Watchwords denoting the necessity of taking immediate action against the German fleet, as they were published in *The Standard*, *The Morning Post*, and in the great monthly periodicals, *The Nineteenth Century*, the *Fortnightly Review*, and *The National Review*, were echoed in the negotiations of Parliament, and they dominated the Maritime Law Conference held in London. The naval manoeuvres of July, 1909, brought together all three English fleets, and the plan was conceived of summoning the fleets of the larger colonies. A meeting of newspaper publishers, called in London, was designed to carry on propaganda for these ideas, and the Imperial Defense Conference, also held in London, proposed that England should be supported by its large colonies, though, to be sure, with certain reservations. In order to weaken the impression which Russia's recognition of the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina had created, the Czar visited the English fleet at Spithead, and for the same reason, probably, the Russian Army manoeuvres in the Fall were considered a rehearsal of the measures that would be adopted to check the advance of

an enemy toward St. Petersburg. Finally, on Oct. 23, agreements were made in Racconigi between Iswolski, who was accompanying the Czar on a new trip abroad, and Tittoni, which agreements were to make it possible for Russia, as a Russian newspaper put it, "to liberate itself from the necessity of friendly relations with Germany."

During this excitement in the political atmosphere the Imperial Chancellor, von Bethmann-Hollweg, endeavored to bring about a turn for the better by effecting an understanding with England, in whose attitude he correctly recognized the real cause of the political insecurity. At this point attention must be called to the fundamental difficulty with which all negotiations at that time, and subsequently, were confronted, and necessarily confronted. In Germany it was seen very clearly from the start that the probability of a combined French-Russian attack, for which influential political groups in St. Petersburg, as well as in Paris, were working, was very slight, so long as England's entrance into this anti-German combination could be left out of consideration. What we hoped to insure, therefore, was England's neutrality in the event of war, inasmuch as a German-English alliance, which might have definitely insured world peace, could not be effected. In order to win England over to the idea of neutrality, the Imperial Chancellor declared his willingness to decrease the rate at which our war vessels were being constructed. Both nations, moreover, were to give assurances that neither intended to attack the other, nor actually would make an attack. A second clause in the German proposal formulated the neutrality obligation. These negotiations continued until the Autumn of the year 1909, and were accompanied by the threatening chorus of the English anti-German press: "German dreadnoughts must not be built." [Black and White—"The Writing on the Wall."] The positive refusal on the part of Germany to abandon the naval program adopted by the Reichstag, and the fixed idea designedly fostered by the British Government that we were cherishing the intention of attacking France,

gave England a pretext for rejecting the German efforts to effect an understanding between the two countries. But it is impossible to believe in the honesty of these arguments, which were recently defended, in dialectic perversion of the truth, by Sir Edward Cook in an article entitled "How Britain Strove for Peace." England's aggressive tendency is clearly shown by its above-mentioned agreements with France and Russia, which are today *publici juris*. Regarding that point there was no self-deception in those English circles which did not belong to the conspiracy; Edward Dicey, one of the most eminent of English publicists, expressed it in point-blank form in February, 1910, when he wrote in *The Empire Review*: "If England and Germany are friends, the peace of Europe is assured; but if the two nations fall apart, it will be a very unfortunate day for humanity." At that time, when Delcassé tendencies were again asserting themselves in France and a new political storm was brewing in the Balkan countries, King Edward died, on May 6. The hope could now be cherished, the leader of the anti-German policy of England being gone, that the moment had come when it would be possible to effect an understanding.

Dicey again began to argue for peace, the English-German Friendship Committee, the Albert Committee, the Archbishop of Canterbury, *The Manchester Guardian*, and *The Economist* advocated this idea, and Prime Minister Asquith found it profitable under these circumstances to strike the note of peace in a report which he submitted to the lower house regarding the frustrated German-English negotiations. But he included in this report false and disquieting statements regarding the German fleet. Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg replied to these statements in the Reichstag, and this led to the resumption of negotiations regarding a permanent political agreement on the basis of the existing German naval program, provided we would decrease our rate of building war vessels, as we had already offered to do. It soon became evident, however, with what little sincerity these negotiations were entered into on the part of England. With the

direct encouragement of England, which renewed its promises regarding its attitude in the event of war, France, in the latter part of April, and in outright violation of the treaty, began its advance again Fez; and at the same time, as if it was desired that no doubt should arise regarding the solidarity of England and France, *The Fleet Annual* published an illustration representing the German high sea fleet under full steam, and under it were printed the words "The Enemy." As a sign of our disapproval of the French violation of the treaty we sent the Panther to Agadir, and in place of German-English negotiations German-French negotiations were commenced. Meanwhile England, cherishing the hope that a German-French war would now break out with certainty, armed itself against us in August and September with might and main. This fact was placed beyond all doubt by the well-known disclosures of Captain Faber, (before his electors in Andover.) *The Times* said later on that the year 1911 had brought three German-English crises, the first in the third week of July, the second in the week ending on Aug. 19, (that was the time of the enormous and very disillusioning labor strikes,) and the third in September. It is amazing that Sir Edward Cook dared to assert under these circumstances that Great Britain had facilitated the conclusion of the French-German Morocco agreement, which was ratified on March 12, 1912. In the "Open Letter on Foreign Policy," which on Nov. 24, 1911, was submitted to the members of the English Parliament, and was signed with the initials E. D. M. and F. W. H., (which is to be resolved into Edmund D. Morel and Francis W. Hirst,) it is expressly stated by these esteemed and honorable politicians:

"Our attitude was determined exclusively by the ostensible interests of France, which were directly opposed to the interests of British commerce and of British enterprise. * * * From this it follows that alliances, nay, even political agreements, with Continental powers, which may coerce us to take steps that are, at a given moment, harmful to our national interests, should be avoided."

Sir Edward Grey took pains to conceal these facts from the lower house and passed lightly over the disclosures of Faber—when the Imperial Chancellor vigorously opposed him—with skillful legerdemain. In the upper house Grey's policy also met with severe criticism, and from his declarations, as well as from those of Lloyd George made at the same time, only one conclusion could be drawn—that official England was determined to remain steadfast in the form of its political co-operation with France and Russia. Precisely to this was to be attributed the insecurity of the European situation. It has not become publicly known but has been reliably ascertained that the English Naval Attaché in Rome at that time pointed out that England, in the event of a war, which he expected to come, would have to occupy either Belgium or Copenhagen. That, he added, was very brutal, to be sure, but at the same time was rendered necessary by historic developments and by circumstances.

In view of all this we cannot deceive ourselves into believing that the mission which brought Lord Haldane to Berlin in February, 1912, had any other purpose than that of satisfying the voices in England which were calling with ever-increasing vigor for an understanding with Germany. The proposals which he submitted to us, after a discussion with Sir Edward Grey, were formulated by the English Cabinet as follows: "Inasmuch as both powers naturally wish to maintain relations of peace and friendship with each other, England declares that it will neither make an unprovoked attack upon Germany, nor support any other power in making such an attack. To attack Germany is neither the direct nor the indirect object of any treaty, understanding, or combination to which England is now a party, nor will England make itself a party to anything that has such an object." This carefully excogitated statement embraced in its Machiavellian wording neither those "oral conversations" at Reval nor the "innocent discussions" engaged in by the English and French General Staffs—

discussions which were always revived on occasion of every political crisis. It was only natural, therefore, that we, since these relations between the General Staffs of the powers belonging to the Entente were no secret to us, demanded greater security and a declaration of neutrality on the part of England before consenting to enter into any general understanding.

This was all the more necessary in view of the fact that Poincaré, the French President, while the negotiations, commenced by Haldane, between Berlin and London were being carried on, had undertaken, in August, 1912, that trip to St. Petersburg, from which he brought back to France the system of three years' compulsory military service; and at the same time Hartwig, the Russian Ambassador in Belgrade, organized that Balkan Conference, the purpose of which was, first, to break the backbone of Turkey, and, secondly, to serve as a tool for the overthrow of Austria. The introduction and adoption of the German military program made it evident to all the world that we had recognized correctly, and betimes, the dangers which threatened the peace of the world, and in particular the peace of Germany. Furthermore, in a conversation with Prince Lichnowski, Lord Haldane said in so many words that England, in the event of a general war, would have to place itself on the side of France "in order to prevent Germany from becoming too powerful." We must not neglect to mention that during this critical year, as well as in the year 1913, negotiations were again entered into regarding the carrying out of the treaty concluded between England and Germany in the days of Caprivi with respect to an economic penetration of the Portuguese colonies in East and West Africa. The refusal of Sir Edward Grey to give these negotiations the secure form of a treaty, which could be laid before the English Parliament and the German Reichstag, here again shows that he was desirous of effecting only the appearance of an understanding. Both he and France were resolved to postpone their action against

Germany until Russia, which was preparing itself with prodigious exertion, had finished its preparations, which in August, 1913, were critically inspected by General Joffre, and among which is to be included the construction of railways to run through Poland to the Austrian and Prussian frontiers. This consideration also accounts for England's attitude during the Balkan confusion of 1912 and 1913. At the London Conference we were able to co-operate with Sir Edward Grey in settling the great difficulties brought about by the war of the Balkan nations against Turkey, and subsequently their war inter se and the overthrow of Bulgaria. Under the impression created by this political co-operation the peace party in England also seemed to gain ground. On Feb. 18, 1913, Charles Trevelyan, M. P., paid me a visit and assured me with great positiveness that England would under no circumstances wage war. A Ministry which undertook to make preparations for war, he said, would at once be deposed. An inclination to bring about an understanding with Germany, he added, prevailed in all industrial circles. My impression that such was actually the case was confirmed during a sojourn in London in the months of March and April, 1914. On occasion of a political supper à deux with Lord Haldane the latter gave expression to the view that the present grouping of the powers offered the best guarantee of peace, that Sir Edward Grey was holding Russia in check and we were holding Austria-Hungary in check, in saying which he emphasized the fact that England had implicit confidence in the German Imperial Chancellor. I replied, saying that in consequence of the existing combination Paris and St. Petersburg would certainly count upon England's help in the event of a war, and would thus bring on the war. We then discussed the situation between England and Germany, and remarked how the present plan, adopted by both Governments, of fortifying both sides of the North Sea was detrimental to the real interests of both. The following letter, which I received from Lord Hal-

dane in Berlin on April 17, is an echo of this conversation:

"It was a great pleasure to see you and have had the full and unreserved talk we had together. My ambition is, like yours, to bring Germany into relations of ever closer intimacy and friendship. Our two countries have a common work to do for the world as well as for themselves, and each of them can bring to bear on this work special endowments and qualities. May the co-operation, which I believe to be now beginning, become closer and closer. Of this I am sure, the more wide and unselfish the nations and the groups questions make her supreme purposes of their policies, the more will friction disappear and the sooner will the relations that are normal and healthy reappear. Something of this good work has now come into existence between our two peoples. We must see to it that the chance of growth is given."*

It is difficult to believe in the sincerity of the sentiments here expressed, when we consider that Lord Haldane belonged to the inner circle of the Cabinet and therefore must have known the secret chess-moves of Grey's policy. Furthermore, he did not resign, as did three other members of the Cabinet—Lord Morley, Burns, and Charles Trevelyan—when, on Aug. 4, Sir Edward's false game was shown up and when treaties grew out of those "conversations" and alliances out of those ententes, which had until then existed under counterfeit names. Even as late as June 13 Sir Edward Grey denied that he had entered into any binding obligations. Six weeks after that, however, England confronted Germany with the fait accompli of a life-and-death struggle. Grey had consciously uttered a falsehood before Parliament, and, as was ascertained from a Russian source, had not only accepted a Russian proposal to conclude a naval agreement, but had expressly given his approval that the deliberations regarding the effectuation of

*This passage from a letter of Lord Haldane is quoted in the original English by Professor Schiemann and is here copied verbatim.—TRANSLATOR.

this agreement should be participated in by the Naval Staffs of both countries. In so doing he expressly counted upon a war between the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente, and upon the complete alliance of England. England, at the proper time, was to send merchantmen to Russian ports on the Baltic Sea for the purpose of landing Russian troops in Pomerania, and to send as many ships to the Mediterranean Sea as seemed necessary to insure the ascendancy of France. With the help of French money it was intended to overthrow the Ministry of Rodoslawow in Bulgaria and, with the assistance of the Russophile, Malinow, to win over that country to the combination, which was to attack Austria in the rear. All this, which took place before the assassination of Franz Ferdinand, was the political plan of battle adopted by the conspiring powers, which subsequently found an excuse for

their behavior in the alleged coercion of Serbia. The hypocrisy with which the intrigue was carried out is without precedent. The palm rests, probably, on the friendly visit of the English squadron, under Admiral Beatty, in Kiel. Two days after the assassination of the Archduke the squadron started on its way home, through the Emperor William Canal, for the purpose of joining the concentration of the entire English fleet, which lay, ready for war, off Spithead. That England afterward made common cause with Russia and France for the murderers of the Archduke, and with moral indignation rose against the satisfaction demanded of Serbia by Austria, is all part of the system of the frivolous use of any pretext which might bring England closer to its longed-for goal—the deposition of Germany from her position in the world. Such was England's rôle in the preparation of this wantonly prearranged war.

Germany Free!

By BEATRICE BARRY.

Deeds that have startled the civilized world
 Blot her escutcheon, brand her with shame;
 But though the German flag there be unfurled,
 Do Germans know what is done in their name?
 If not, the final accounting may see—
 Germany free!

Germany, free from the canker of self—
 Free from the lusting for prestige and power;
 Purged of her passion for place and for pelf—
 Shall she not rise to great heights in that hour?
 God speed its coming, for fain would we see—
 Germany free!

Free from the militant few who have ruled
 Seventy millions with sabre of steel;
 Free from the doctrine in which they are schooled—
 "Might shall prevail!" All the rancor we feel
 Strikes at that dogma, from which we would see—
 Germany free!

Much in her national life we admire,
 Much we recoil from, or needs must dispute;
 Germany needs her baptism of fire,
 But you will find us the first to salute—
 (God speed the "Day" the awakening shall be)
 Germany FREE!

Chronology of the War

Showing Progress of Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events from April 30, 1915, Up to and Including June 15, 1915.

CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

- May 1—Germans advance in their invasion of the Russian Baltic provinces, a Russian force retreating toward Mitau; fighting is being renewed along the East Prussian frontier and in Central Poland; Russians gain ground in their campaign for the Uzsok Pass; Germans defeat Russians near Szawle, in Kovno; Austrians repulse Russian attacks against the heights of the Orawa and Opor Valleys.
- May 2—A great battle is developing in the plain of Rawa, Central Poland; Russians are taking the offensive; Austrians have opened an offensive in the region of Cieszowice.
- May 3—German and Austrian armies, under General von Mackensen, win a victory in West Galicia, breaking the Russian centre for miles, and gaining ground across practically the whole western tip of Galicia, from near the Hungarian border to the junction of the River Dunajec with the Vistula; the Teutonic allies take 30,000 prisoners, 22 cannon, and 64 machine guns; the Austrians gain ground in the Beskid region, and repulse Russians north of Osmaloda; the German advance in the Russian Baltic provinces continues unchecked along a 100-mile front, extending from the Baltic Sea, near Libau, southeast to the northern tributaries of the River Niemen.
- May 4—Russians claim that the Austro-German drive in West Galicia is being checked; Germans hold positions on the right bank of the Dunajec; a fierce battle is raging in the direction of Stry; Germans make further progress in the Russian Baltic provinces.
- May 5—Russians are retreating at points along the Gallician line from the Vistula to the Carpathians, and are in retreat from positions they occupied on the Hungarian slopes of the Carpathians; the third line of Russian fortifications has been pierced; Austro-German Army captures the town of Gorlice.
- May 6—Austro-German armies continue to advance in West Galicia; the northern wing has captured Tarnow; southern wing has crossed the Wisloka River and Russians are retreating east of the Lupkow Pass; Austro-Germans take the last Russian positions on the heights east of the Dunajec and Biala Rivers; Jaslo and Dukla have been taken from the Russians; Russians admit partial retreat in West Galicia.
- May 7—Austro-German army is pursuing retreating Russians in West Galicia; Austrians take more prisoners, stores, and guns; in the eastern sector of the Carpathian front Russian attacks are repulsed by Austrians; Russian attacks in Southeast Galicia are repulsed; in Poland there is severe fighting.
- May 8—Germans capture Libau, taking 1,600 prisoners, 18 cannon, and much war material; severe fighting continues in West Galicia, where General von Mackensen's army is pursuing the Russians; a Russian division surrounded near Dukla cuts its way through the surrounding troops and gets to the main Russian lines; all the passes in the Beskid Mountains, except Lupkow, are in the hands of Austro-German forces; Russians take the offensive southwest of Mitau.
- May 9—Russians are retreating in Galicia along a front of 124 miles, from the Uzsok Pass to the Vistula; Austro-German forces have passed the line of the Uzsok Pass, Komanoza, Krosno, Debica; and Szczucin; in Southeast Galicia violent battles are developing; Austrians are pursuing Russians across the Dniester; Vienna reports that Hungary is now clear of Russians; German advance northeast of Kovno; Russian attacks on German positions on the Pilica are repulsed; Russians make progress southwest of Mitau.
- May 10—Russian Embassy at Washington says that the Russians have retreated thirty miles in Galicia, but that only one division has withdrawn from Hungary; the first stage of the battle in West Galicia has been practically concluded; General von Mackensen's army is reforming for a new offensive; Germans have met a severe check west of Mitau.
- May 11—Austro-German troops are still advancing in West Galicia; Russians are attacking in East Galicia and along the eastern section of the Carpathians; Russians have success in Bukowina, taking prisoners and guns; Austrians force Russian south wing in Russian Poland to retreat; Austrians repulse Russian attacks near Balligrod; advance Austrian troops have crossed the San near Dvornik.

- May 12—Russians state that their counter-offensive has checked the Austro-Germans in West Galicia, while the Germans and Austrians state that their drive continues successfully; Austro-German troops have occupied Brozow, Dynow, Sanok, and Lisko; there is severe fighting in the central Carpathians and Southeast Galicia, where the Russians are advancing on a forty-mile front; Austrians are repulsed in the direction of the Uzsok Pass and the Stry River.
- May 13—Heavy fighting is in progress east of Tarnow; north of the Vistula the Austrians have forced the Nida line; Russians make progress on the right bank of the Dniester; Russians repulse Germans in the region of Shavli.
- May 14—Russians break the Austrian line at various places on a ninety-four-mile front, driving the Austrians from Bukowina positions and forcing them over the Pruth River; Russians check the Austro-German advance in Galicia, and are concentrating on the line of the River San, with the object of occupying a shorter front; the advance guards of General Mackensen's army are before Przemysl; the Teutonic allies are advancing in Russian Poland.
- May 15—The Austro-German troops have now driven the Russians completely from Jaroslau, which they hold firmly, as well as all the towns on the west bank of the San River; the Austrian Tenth Army is now before Przemysl, its native stronghold; the rapid advance of the Teutonic allies is endangering the position of the Russians in the Carpathians; credit for the stiff and ceaseless pursuit of the Russians in the great West Galicia drive is being given by the Austrians to Field Marshal Baron Conrad von Hötzenhof, Chief of the Austrian General Staff; the Russian counter-drive to the east continues, and the Czar's armies in Bukowina force back the Austro-German lines for twenty miles.
- May 16—Russians continue to withdraw in West Galicia; they are massing at the San River for a stand; in Bukowina and East Galicia the Russian cavalry is pursuing retreating Austrians; the Austrians are retiring behind the Pruth, evacuating strongly fortified positions; Hungarian cavalry has made sacrifices of large bodies to enable the infantry to retreat in good order; in Russian Poland the Teutonic allies continue to push back the Russians; Russians win success against the Germans in the Baltic provinces.
- May 17—Austro-German armies continue their advance in West Galicia; Austrians have captured Drohobycz, in Central Galicia, forty miles southwest of Lemberg; fighting is in progress around Przemysl; Russians repulse Germans at Shavli; Russians have made advances on the West Niemen; Russian official statement says that the West Galician defeat has been offset by successes in Bukowina against the Austrians.
- May 18—Austro-German troops are bombarding the western forts of Przemysl; the Teutonic allies have a firm foothold on the eastern bank of the San River; Russians are making vigorous attacks on the Germans in South Poland; Russians have driven the Austro-German forces back from the Dniester to the Pruth in East Galicia, and are making strong attacks in Bukowina; heavy fighting is in progress in the Russian Baltic Provinces and along the East Prussian frontier; Austrian official statement declares that 174,000 Russian prisoners, 128 guns, and 368 machine guns have been taken since the beginning of May as a result of the West Galicia drive; unofficial dispatch from Petrograd says Russians have been beaten back on a 200-mile front in West Galicia.
- May 19—The Russian lines along the San River are in danger, the Austro-Germans having crossed the river on a wide front; the Russians are attempting to reform their lines north and south of Przemysl; Teutonic Allies occupy Sieniawa; in Bukowina the Russians have broken the extreme Austrian right; it is stated from Petrograd that the Germans and Austrians are using between thirty and forty army corps on a 200-mile front from Opatow, in Poland, to Kolomea, Eastern Galicia.
- May 20—Russians are fighting desperately to save the remains of their West Galicia army, now in new positions along the San River; Austro-German forces are attacking with tremendous artillery fire, the shells being followed by a close phalanx of 150,000 men; the Russians hold both banks of the San south of Jaroslau.
- May 21—Russians are rallying along the San River; a desperate battle is in progress below Przemysl; Russians are taking a strong offensive in Poland; official Austrian announcements state that Russian prisoners now in Austrian hands, as a result of the recent fighting, are 194,000; the German official announcement says that General Mackensen's army, since May 1, has taken 104,000 prisoners, 72 cannon, and 253 machine guns; official Russian statement says that on four recent days the losses of the Austro-Germans were 10,000 a day, and on seventeen other recent days were much heavier, and adds that the Austro-Germans have used between 2,000,000 and 3,000,000 shells during the recent fighting; Russian reports state that 3,000,000 men, including both sides, are now daily attacking and counter-attacking along the whole front, from Opatow to Kolomea; the Kaiser is stated to be personally directing operations at Jaroslau.
- May 22—Stubborn fighting continues along the San, while severe fighting is in progress in the Russian Baltic Provinces and near

- the East Prussian frontier; on the left bank of the lower San the Russians have taken the offensive and captured the villages of Krawce, Biercza, Przyszow, and Kameralc; Russians repulse counter attacks in the direction of Nisko; Germans repulse Russians at Shavli; in Central Galicia the Austrians have gained some ground; east of Czernowitz Austrians repulse Russians; the right wing of the Austrian Army in Bukowina is falling back toward the Carpathians.
- May 23—Russians, with strong reinforcements, have crossed the San at the junction of that river with the Vistula, and are advancing southward in an effort to outflank the Germany Army, which crossed the San in the vicinity of Jaroslau; Russians continue their offensive in Bukowina, and in the Opatow region; Germans defeat Russian northern wing near Shavli, and repulse Russian attacks from the Dubysa and Niemen Rivers; Russians are massing strong forces in the vicinity of Warsaw, Ivangrod, and Lublin.
- May 24—Russians claim that they have definitely checked the German drive on the upper San River; a Russian movement upon Nisko, and the occupation of Ulanoff, Rudnik, Kraftza, Bourigny, and Shushav to the westward of the upper San, threatens the German position east of the river; General von Mackensen is drawing in his wings to protect his centre from attack; furious German assaults to the south of Przemysl continue without definite result; in the region of Shavli, the Russian troops now occupy a very extended front on the line of the Rivers Vidala, Venta, Dubysa, and Siup.
- May 25—General von Mackensen renews his offensive against the Russians north of Przemysl, and takes six fortified villages, 21,000 prisoners, 39 cannon, and 40 machine guns; Austrians are advancing southeast of Przemysl; on the left bank of the upper Vistula, in the Opatow region, Russians repulse attacks and make counter-attacks.
- May 26—Between Przemysl and Jaroslau, east of Radymno, Germans force a passage of the San River; Mackensen's army is making progress on both banks of the San in a southeasterly direction; southeast of Przemysl the Austro-German forces are progressing toward strong Russian positions; Russians repulse German attack near Ossowitz.
- May 27—Austro-German forces continue to batter at the Russian lines northeast and southeast of Przemysl, and it is reported that they have severed communications between Przemysl and Lemberg; the Germans have forced another crossing of the San, eleven miles north of Przemysl, and are extending by several miles the zone held by them east of the San; Austro-German troops break through the Russian front line southeast of Drohobycz and near Stry, and force the Russians to fall back; Russians repulse attacks on the Upper Vistula; Russians have success in the region of the Dniester marshes.
- May 28—Russians throw back the German force which crossed the San River and established itself at Sieniawa, fifty miles north of Przemysl; the Germans have retreated to the west bank of the San, with the loss of twelve guns; further south, between Jarislau and Przemysl, the Austro-German forces gain more ground on both banks of the San; Austrians reach Medyka, eight miles due east of Przemysl, leaving a gap of but twelve miles between the northern and eastern forces which are trying to encircle the fortress.
- May 29—Germans and Austrians continue to fight fiercely to encircle Przemysl; in the Russian Baltic provinces heavy fighting is in progress; Russians are sending larger forces to meet the Germans in these provinces.
- May 30—Fierce fighting is raging around Przemysl, the Austro-German forces striving to cut off the fortress; the Russians are bringing up huge reinforcements; north of Przemysl the Russians are making some progress, but to the southeast the Austro-German forces are making further headway, now commanding with their artillery the railway between Przemysl and Grodek; Russian attempts to cross the San near Sieniawa fail; in the Russian Baltic provinces German cavalry drives back Russian cavalry southeast of Libau.
- May 31—Russians are beginning to assume the offensive at certain points along the San River, where severe fighting continues; near Stry the Austrians take several Russian positions.
- June 1—The Serbians are resuming military activity against Austria; Austro-German forces are storming three of the outer forts of Przemysl; north and southeast of Przemysl the Austro-German forces are advancing; they have taken Stry.
- June 2—Furious fighting continues around Przemysl; Austro-German troops take two fortifications on the north front of Przemysl; German official report states that during May the Teutonic allies took 863 Russian officers prisoners and 268,869 men, as well as capturing 251 cannon and 576 machine guns.
- June 3—Austro-German troops, after a siege of twenty days, capture Przemysl, which has been in Russian possession since March 22, the present conquerors entering after storming the northern forts; Austro-Germans are driving back Russians north of Stry.
- June 4—Severe fighting is in progress along the whole Galician front, Austro-Germans seeking to end the Russian campaign in Galicia; Russians are in position

- at Medyka Heights, ten miles east of Przemysl; they saved their batteries in evacuating Przemysl and claim to have removed all war material captured from the Austrians.
- June 5—Austro-Germans are attempting an encircling movement against Lemberg; they are making progress from the southwest, but their left wing is checked by the Russians on the lower reaches of the San River; Austro-German extreme right in East Galicia and Bukowina is pounded by the Russians.
- June 6—Battles over a wide area are in progress in Galicia; Russians are making considerable advances on the lower reaches of the San; southwest of Lemberg the Austro-Germans are advancing.
- June 7—Austro-German armies are making progress in attempt to encircle Lemberg; Russians are being pressed back from their line on the San; Teutonic allies cross the Dniester; Germans advance in their invasion of the Baltic provinces of Russia.
- June 8—Austro-Germans, having crossed the Dniester south of Lemberg, are assuming the offensive further to the south and are pushing back the Russians between Kolomea and Kalusz in East Galicia.
- June 9—Austro-Germans take Stanislaw, throwing the Russian left back to the Dniester River; in East Galicia, along the rest of the line, the Russians are holding their own and are counter-attacking.
- June 10—Russians take offensive in their Baltic provinces, where they force the Germans to retreat to avoid being cut off; Russians advance again in Galicia; they attack Mackensen's forces, menacing Lemberg and Linsingen's forces on the Dniester; the Austro-German army of Bukowina crosses the Pruth and effects junction with Galician troops.
- June 11—Russians win a series of successes against Germans and Austrians in East Galicia; they repulse Mackensen's troops with heavy loss and hurl Linsingen's army back across the Dniester; Russians take 17 guns and 49 machine guns; Germans are developing an offensive north of the Pilitza in Poland; Serbians are marching across Northern Albania toward the port of Durazzo, while Montenegrins are making for the port of Alessio.
- June 12—A battle is raging along the Dniester, Austrians making gains on the lower reaches, while the Russians have success further up stream; Russians leave Bukowina, giving up their last positions on the Pruth and retreating across the frontier.
- June 13—Austro-Germans commence an attack on the Russians on the River San north of Przemysl, and along the Dniester in Southeast Galicia; Germans are attacking Russian centre on the River Rawka, west of Warsaw; severe fighting continues in the Russian Baltic provinces.
- June 14—Mackensen's army attacks Russian positions in Middle Galicia along a forty-three-mile front, and breaks the line, taking 16,000 prisoners; Austrians have successes on the Dniester.
- June 15—Austro-Germans are renewing the drive in Galicia and advancing on a wide front; they capture Mosciska, thirty-seven miles from Lemberg, after a week's fight; Russian counter-attacks to protect Lemberg from the south are repulsed.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE.

- May 1—Germans continue the bombardment of Dunkirk with a huge gun or guns, doing considerable damage and killing several persons; Germans make further gains on the west bank of the Ypres Canal; French repulse Germans in the Argonne, near Bagatelle; French take trenches in the Forest of Le Prêtre; French artillery bombards fortifications of Altkirch, in Upper Alsace.
- May 2—French have been bombarding for two days the southern fortifications of Metz; British and French attack the new German positions northeast of Ypres, but are beaten back; Germans make progress in the Argonne; German General Staff in Belgium admits a loss of 12,000 dead in the battle of Ypres.
- May 3—Germans renew assaults near Ypres, the British lines being pounded north and south of that place, and Germans gain ground southeast of St. Julien; Germans damage French positions in Champagne at Ourchen, Sopain, and Perthes; French repulse an attack in the Forest of Le Prêtre.
- May 4—Germans gain more ground northeast of Ypres, and take the villages of Zonnebeke, Zevecote, and Westhoek, and the Forest of Polygonous and Nonnebosschen; French gain in the region of Steenstraete.
- May 5—Germans gain ground northeast of Ypres, British losing four positions and being forced to retire; Hill 60 is again menaced by the Germans, who, the British state, have obtained a footing there through the use of gases; French check one German attack near Perthes, and another at Four de Paris; French take two lines of German trenches in the Mortmare Wood; French gain ground on the north bank of the Fecht River, in Alsace.
- May 6—Germans make further gains near Ypres, taking two positions from the Allies; British recapture some of the trenches at Hill 60, recently lost; French repulse a German night attack near Steenstraete; Germans repulse French near Flirey; Germans advance west of Combres; Germans take French positions in the Ailly Wood, capturing 2,000 men.
- May 7—Germans make more gains near Ypres; there is severe fighting for Hill 60; German artillery checks a French attack

- near Steinbrück, in the valley of the Fecht; French repulse German attacks at Frise, west of Peronne, and in Champagne, around the Fort of Beauséjour.
- May 8—French capture a German position west of Lens; French check three attacks in the Forest of Le Prêtre; French advance two-thirds of a mile along a mile front on the right bank of the Fecht River; British repulse a daybreak attack near St. Julien; British recapture a further section of recently lost trenches at Hill 60.
- May 9—British repulse German attack east of Ypres; British gain ground toward Fromelles, after a vigorous attack on the German line; Germans capture the villages of Fresenburg and Terleranhoek; French make gains north of Arras; south of Carency the French make an advance by which they capture two lines of trenches over a front of 4-3 miles; French take the village of La Targette and half of the village of Neuville-St. Vaast.
- May 10—The Allies are attacking along a front of twenty-six miles in the direction of Carency and Souchez; Allies repulse German attacks near Ypres; Germans make gains near Nieuport, and renew the bombardment of Dunkirk; French repulse Germans at the Forest of Le Prêtre and at Berry-au-Bac.
- May 11—A strong French offensive against the German lines north of Arras is being pushed; the French carry the German trenches guarding the road from Loos to Vermelles; French take a strongly fortified position on Lorette Heights; French make gains at Souchez and Carency; Germans shell the town of Bergues, near Dunkirk; Germans heavily bombard British trenches east of Ypres.
- May 12—Severe fighting is now raging over the whole front from Ypres to Arras, the Allies taking the offensive; to the north the British centre has Lille for its objective, while to the south the French centre is aiming at Lens; French repulse counter attacks at Neuville-St. Vaast, and between Carency and Ablain; French make gains in the wood east of Carency, and take three successive lines of trenches bordering the wood to the north of Carency; French take another portion of the village of Carency; French lose some of the ground they captured near Loos; Germans take a hill east of Ypres; Germans bombard Dunkirk.
- May 13—The French are in complete possession of Carency, having captured the last German position there; French take large stores of German ammunition, twenty big guns and many machine guns; French also make progress north of Carency, where they have established themselves at Ablain-St. Nazaire; French have also taken all of the Forest of Le Prêtre, although Germans retain positions on the north and south slopes adjacent; Germans are making fierce assaults on the British positions east of Ypres, piercing the line at one point; Belgians repulse an attack on the right bank of the Yser; French now hold the forest at Notre Dame de Lorette.
- May 14—French offensive is continued by the capture of German positions southeast of Angres, while they also make progress on the southern and eastern slopes of the Lorette hills, and at Neuville-St. Vaast; British attacks near Ypres are unsuccessful; Germans gain in the direction of Hooze; French artillery levels German trenches in the Valley of the Aisne.
- May 15—French continue to advance near Carency; French also gain north of Ypres; they take several trenches in front of Het Sase, and occupy part of Steenstraete; French extend their attack southeast of Notre Dame de Lorette; Germans make progress on the St. Julien-Ypres road against the British; Germans state that they have taken since April 22 in the Ypres region 5,560 unwounded officers and men; artillery fighting is in progress southwest of Lille.
- May 16—The first British army breaks the German line over most of a two-mile front northwest of La Bassée, and wins nearly a mile of territory; French repulse a counter-attack at Steenstraete; French make gains north of Arras; lively fighting in Champagne; Germans repulse French at Het Sase; British attack Germans south of Lille.
- May 17—British make further advances northwest of La Bassée and carry additional German trenches, all trenches on a two-mile front now being in hands of the British; French and Belgians force Germans to evacuate positions they held west of the Yser Canal; French maintain gains on the east bank; French repulse German counter-attacks on the slopes of Lorette.
- May 18—Heavy rains and mists hamper operations in Northern France; the French have consolidated the positions recently occupied by them to the east of the Yser Canal; French make gains near Ablain; an almost constant artillery duel is in progress north of Arras; Germans repulse British south of Neuve Chapelle.
- May 19—Germans capture trenches from the French on the heights of Lorette; Germans repulse British attacks near Neuve Chapelle.
- May 20—Recent heavy rains have made the ground in Flanders unsuited to infantry attacks and there is a lull, but artillery engagements are in progress; French make advances in Champagne by mining; French take trenches near Bagatelle, in the Argonne; fierce artillery duels between the Meuse and Moselle.
- May 21—French drive Germans from the last

- of their positions on the heights of Lorette; The French now hold the entire Lorette Hill and the lesser ridges, which the Germans had defended for six months; French repulse German attack to the east of the Yser Canal; Canadians capture a German position to the north of Ypres after the British Guards fail twice.
- May 22—British repulse attacks north of La Bassée; French make gains north of Arras; Germans repulse British and French attacks southwest of Neuve Chapelle; German official report states that the Allies, southwest of Lille and in the Argonne, are using mines charged with poisonous gases.
- May 23—British advance east of Festubert; French gain ground northeast of Notre Dame de Lorette and near Neuville-St. Vaast; Germans are repulsed east of the Yser Canal.
- May 24—Before attacking the British northeast of Ypres, the Germans roll a huge cloud of asphyxiating gas toward them, the volume of fumes being forty feet high along a six-mile front; because of the use of respirators, few British succumb; fighting in progress north of Arras.
- May 26—British make further gains in their offensive against La Bassée, and it is officially announced that the net result of their operations in the territory to the west of that town since May 1 is the capture of a total front of more than three miles, along a considerable part of which two lines of German trenches have been taken; in the district north of Arras there is desperate fighting near Angres, the Germans attempting to regain ground lost yesterday.
- May 27—French make further gains north of Arras; artillery engagements along the Yser Canal; Belgians repulse two German infantry attacks near Dixmude; artillery duels in the Vosges; French fail in attempt to break German lines between Vermelles and Lorette Hills.
- May 28—British make further gains toward La Bassée; fierce fighting occurs north of Arras; French advance in Alsace on the mountain of Schepfenrieth; Germans repulse French attacks southeast of Lorette Ridge.
- May 29—The village of Ablain-St. Nazaire, for which fighting has been in progress for three weeks, is now in the hands of the French, the Germans evacuating their last position this morning.
- May 30—French gain ground at four points—near Neuville-St. Vaast, on the Yser, at Le Prêtre Forest, and in Alsace at Schnepfenriethkopf; British make small gains at Festubert; Belgian and German artillery are fighting a duel north and south of Dixmude.
- May 31—Severe fighting continues in the region north of Arras, Germans acting, for the most part, on the defensive; French gain ground on the road from Souchez to Carency; artillery fighting at the Forest of La Prêtre.
- June 1—French gain more ground at Souchez, where violent fighting is in progress, and also gain southeast of Neuville; French lose trenches on the outskirts of Le Prêtre Forest.
- June 2—Germans recapture from the French the sugar refinery at Souchez, which has changed hands four times in twenty-four hours; British, by a bayonet charge, take Château Hooge, in the Ypres region; French make further progress north of Arras, taking trenches in "the labyrinth," as the system of intrenchments in that region is termed; Rheims is again bombarded.
- June 3—Fierce fighting continues north of Arras; French and Germans still battle for possession of the sugar refinery at Souchez.
- June 4—In consequence of the successes in the Galician campaign, the Germans are sending reinforcements to the Western line; Germans retake some of trenches northeast of Givenchy captured by the British; Germans take the village and Château of Hooge; French bombard the southern front of the intrenched camp of Metz.
- June 5—French make important gains in the area north of Arras where desperate fighting has so long been in progress; they have taken two-thirds of the village of Neuville-St. Vaast; they advance a quarter of a mile in the northern part of the labyrinth; they hold the sugar refinery at Souchez, where 3,000 Germans have been killed.
- June 6—French capture two-thirds of a mile of trenches in a new zone of activity, near Tracy-le-Mont, north of the Aisne; they take more of Neuville-St. Vaast; they capture more trenches in the labyrinth, of which they now hold two-thirds; they gain ground at Souchez; Germans repulse French attacks on the eastern slopes of Lorette.
- June 7—French make further gains at Neuville-St. Vaast, and in the labyrinth; near Hebuterne, east of Doullers, two lines of German trenches are carried by the French; French repulse a fierce attack at Tracy-le-Mont, retaining their recent gain; at Vauquois, in Champagne, the French spray flaming liquid on the German trenches, "by way of reprisal," their statement says.
- June 8—French advance on a three-quarters of a mile front south of Arras, near Hebuterne, taking two lines of trenches; French make slight gains at Lorette, Neuville-St. Vaast, and in the labyrinth.
- June 9—French make gains at Neuville-St. Vaast, in the labyrinth, at Hebuterne, and in the Forest of Le Prêtre.

- June 10—French hold substantially all their recent gains; artillery fighting is in progress north of Arras and on the heights of the Meuse; Germans take French trenches near Souvain and Les Mesnil, west of the Argonne.
- June 11—French are organizing the positions recently won from the Germans north and south of Arras; in the Neuville-St. Vaast positions the French find 800,000 cartridges, three field and fifteen machine guns.
- June 12—Germans regain some of the ground they lost at Ecurie, north of Arras; Germans repulse attacks northeast of Ypres, east of Lorette Heights, and in the Souchez district.
- June 13—French take a strongly fortified ridge near Souchez and three trenches near Hebuterne; Germans bombard Soissons and the military works around Lunéville.
- June 14—Germans regain some of the trenches at Souchez recently lost; Germans repulse heavy French attacks on both sides of the Lorette Hills and on the Neuville-Rochincourt line.
- June 15—Severe fighting continues north and south of Arras, both sides claiming successes.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN.

- May 23—A clash, regarded in Rome as being the first skirmish of the war, occurs between Italian and Austrian troops at Forcellini di Montozzo, in the pass between Pont di Legno and Pejo; an Austrian patrol crosses the frontier, but is driven back over the border by Italian Alpine Chasseurs; Lieut. Gen. Cadorna, Chief of the Italian General Staff, starts for the front.
- May 24—Austrian artillery shells Italian outposts on the Adige in front of Rivoli; there are clashes at other points, including a skirmish of border forces in the Isonzo Valley on the eastern frontier; a general forward movement by the Italians begins; Austrians are massing for defense.
- May 25—Italians are advancing on a 67-mile front, their line having as extreme points Caporetto on the north and the Gulf of Trieste on the south; in three lines they sweep across the frontier for four miles; Italians occupy Caporetto, the heights between the Idria and Isonzo Rivers, Cormons, Corvignano, and Terzo; Austrians withdraw, destroying bridges and burning houses.
- May 26—Italians occupy Austrian territory all along the frontier from Switzerland to the Adriatic; Italians have seized various towns in the Trentino and forced their way through mountain passes; King Victor Emmanuel has assumed supreme command of the Italian army and navy, and has gone to the front.
- May 27—Italian armies make rapid progress in the invasion of Austria, part of the forces having crossed the Isonzo River; another force, which penetrated further north in the Crownland of Goritz and Gradisca, has repaired the railroad beyond Cormons and is marching on Goritz, the capital; sharp fighting has occurred on the Tyrol-Trentino border, where the Austrians are being driven back in advance guard engagements; a battle is raging around Ploken and also west of the Praedil Pass in Austria.
- May 28—The invasion of Austria continues in Austrian territory, the Austrians not making any determined resistance; they are laying waste large areas as they retreat; in the Provinces of Trentino and Friuli the Italians are pushing forward fast; the Austrians fall back in the direction of Trent; Italians are occupying the heights of Monte Baldo, overlooking the Valley of the Adige and commanding the railway from Verona to Trent; Italians have crossed the Venetian Alps, and among the lower spurs of the Dolomites are in touch with the left wing of the Austrian force thrown forward for the defense of Trent; in Carinthia the Italians have taken three passes and fourteen villages.
- May 29—A large Italian army is trying to cross the Isonzo River; bayonet fighting is in progress south of Goritz, the Austrians slowly falling back; Italian forces are at Gradisca, eighteen miles from Trieste; Austrians repulse Italians at Caporetto and near Plava; Italians are penetrating from Tonale Pass into the Virmiglio Valley, with an objective north of Trent, in an attempt to place that city between two Italian armies; Italians capture the town of Storo and are bombarding Riva; the headquarters of the Austrian commander, Field Marshal Baron von Hötzendorf, are established at Trent.
- May 30—Italian advance in Friuli encounters strong opposition at the Isonzo defenses, where progress is also being impeded because the river is swollen; Italian artillery destroys the fort of Luserna, on the Asiago plateau; in Cadore the Italians take several positions; a battle along the Adige River has been in progress, the Italians taking the village of Pilcante; artillery duels are in progress on the frontier in Tyrol and Trentino; Austrians repulse Italians at Cortina.
- May 31—The Italian invasion of the Province of Trent is progressing from the south along the Adige and Chiese Rivers, from the west across the Tonale Pass, and from the east by way of the Lavaronne Plateau; the Italian attack is continuing all along the zigzag frontier, up to the highest point north, where they have occupied the Ampezzo Valley, together with the town of Cortina; Italians now are in possession of Monte Baldo, which dom-

- inates Lake Gardo; to the east of Caporetto the Italians make a vain attempt to climb the slopes of the Kern; a great Austrian army is being massed in Tyrol.
- June 1—Thirty-seven villages surrounding Cortina in the Ampazzo Valley are in Italian hands; the whole high plateau of Lavarone is in the hands of the Italian force advancing into the Trentino from the east.
- June 2—In Friule the Italians are now established firmly on the Monte Nero ridge across the Isonzo River; on the Carnia front an artillery duel is in progress; to check Italians who are advancing from the border northeast of Trent, Austrians are massing troops behind Monte Croce Pass.
- June 3—Italians repulse Austrian attempts to dislodge them from the Monte Nero ridge; Austrians repulse Italians at several points on the Tyrolian and Carinthian frontiers.
- June 4—It is officially announced that Italian mobilization is complete; in the operations against Rovereto, the Italians occupy Mattassone and Val Morbia in the Val Arsa; Italian artillery silences the forts of Luserna and Spitzverle; on the middle Isonzo fierce fighting is in progress; Italians hold the summit and slopes of Monterno.
- June 5—A battle is raging on the western bank of the Isonzo River, in front of Tolmino, the key to the railway and main highway to Trieste; Italians are making steady though slow progress in Southern Tyrol.
- June 6—Austrians are making a desperate defense at Tolmino; Italians fail in an attempt to cross the Isonzo River near Sagrado; viewing the situation as a whole, the Italians are making progress along a 150-mile front, smashing Austrian defenses at many points with artillery fire.
- June 7—Desperate fighting continues for Tolmino; Italians are making a general advance across the Isonzo River from Caporetto to the sea, a distance of forty miles; Austrians recapture Freikofel.
- June 8—Fierce fighting is in progress at the Isonzo River; severe fighting also is going on in the Friulian sector.
- June 9—Italians take Monfalcone, sixteen miles northwest of Trieste; a fierce artillery duel is in progress at Tolmino; fighting continues at the Isonzo River.
- June 10—Italians are in full possession of Monfalcone; Italians occupy Podestagno, north of Cortina; fighting continues along the Isonzo.
- June 11—Italians take Ploeken, imperiling communications to Laibach; fierce fighting is in progress for Goritz, Austrians still holding the city; fighting continues along the Isonzo.
- June 12—Italians push their advance almost to Rovereto thirteen miles southwest of Trent, and to Mori, eighteen miles southwest of Trent; Italians are advancing from Monfalcone toward Trieste; at points on the Carinthian frontier Austrians repulse Italians.
- June 13—Italian artillery is bombarding the fortifications defending Goritz, capital of the crownland of Goritz and Gradisca, twenty-two miles northwest of Trieste; severe fighting is in progress on Monte Paralba; in the last few days Austrians have brought up 45,000 troops and 64 batteries along the Isonzo River.
- June 14—Italians in Carnia occupy Valentina; all the positions captured by Italians in Trentino are held against repeated assaults by Austrians; the Italian Eastern Army is pushing forward along the Gulf of Trieste toward the City of Trieste.
- June 15—Italians repulse Austrian attack at Monfalcone.

TURKISH CAMPAIGN.

- May 1—French Senegalese troops occupy Yeni Shehr on the Asiatic side of the Dardanelles.
- May 2—French troops lose ground on the Asiatic side of the Dardanelles; Allies make further advances on the Gallipoli Peninsula; Allies now hold Gaba Tepe; the Australian contingent has lost heavily.
- May 4—Allies repulse Turks and are on the active offensive on Gallipoli; Turks win success near Avi Burnu.
- May 5—Turks check attempt of Allies to advance at Sedd-el-Bahr; Turks check Allies near Avi Burnu.
- May 6—Russians have defeated a Turkish army corps in the Caucasus, routing it and taking many prisoners; desperate fighting is in progress on the Gallipoli Peninsula, the advance of the Allies being met by stubborn resistance; Allies have captured the heights facing Souain Dere Fort, four miles west of Kild Bahr.
- May 7—Severe fighting at Avi Burnu and at Sedd-el-Bahr, at the latter place the Turks capturing ten British machine guns.
- May 10—Russians drive Turks from their positions in the direction of Olti; Russians drive Turks from the South Pass near Tabriz and occupy villages; 8,000 Turkish wounded have arrived at Constantinople from the Dardanelles.
- May 13—The Gallipoli coast line is now in Allies' possession.
- May 15—Turks repulse Allies near Avi Burnu.
- May 16—Allies make progress in hills behind Kild Bahr and Maidos; Turks have been attacking for three days British positions on the Gallipoli Peninsula, but have been repulsed with heavy loss.
- May 18—Counter-attack by Allies near Sedd-el-Bahr is repulsed.

- May 19—Turks drive back Allies from their advanced positions near Kara Burun; Allies are being reinforced daily.
- May 20—Allies are reported to have occupied Maidos after fierce fighting; French troops have been landed at Sedd-el-Bahr, and are fighting around the Turkish positions at Krithia; British forces which debarked at Gaba Tepe are also directing their action toward Krithia, with the object of surrounding the Turks; the Allies are attacking the fortified position at Atchi Baba.
- May 22—Official announcement is made in London that the Allies have gained further ground on the southern end of the Gallipoli Peninsula.
- May 23—Turks repulse Allies near Sedd-el-Bahr; it is estimated that the British and French now have 90,000 troops along the Dardanelles.
- May 24—Turkish troops attack allied camp near Goritzza and capture five sailing vessels with provisions; Italian troops have landed on the Turkish Island of Rhodes in the Aegean Sea; Turks capture two British positions near Kurna, Mesopotamia.
- May 25—Allies are advancing steadily on the Gallipoli Peninsula; thousands of Turkish wounded are arriving at Constantinople.
- May 27—Allies carry five lines of Turkish trenches by the bayonet; German estimates show that the Allies have lost 30,000 men in killed, wounded, and missing during land operations at the Dardanelles; it is admitted by the British that the Australians have lost heavily.
- May 28—The Russian Army in the Caucasus reports further gains in the Van region, including the occupation of Baslan, and announces that in the capture of Van the Russians took twenty-six guns, large stores of war material and provisions, and the Government treasury.
- May 29—Turkish forces defending the Gallipoli Peninsula against Allies now number 80,000 men; reinforcements are being sent from Syria; in the Caucasus the Turks are remaining on the defensive.
- May 30—An official French statement, reviewing recent operations on the Gallipoli Peninsula, pays tribute to the bravery and coolness of the Turkish troops; Turks take allied trenches at Avi Burnu with the bayonet; Turks make gains at Sedd-el-Bahr.
- May 31—Heavy fighting is in progress on the Gallipoli Peninsula, the Turks being driven back at several points; Turks still hold trenches captured from the Allies near Avi Burnu; it is reported from Constantinople that the Turkish casualties thus far are 40,000.
- June 1—British repulse a severe attack at Gaba Tepe.
- June 2—Heavy fighting continues on Gallipoli Peninsula; all the Turks who recently broke the allied line between Gaba Tepe and Krithia have been either killed or captured.
- June 4—A combined general assault on Turkish Gallipoli positions is in progress.
- June 6—Official British announcement states that during the last week the Allies have made considerable gains in the southern area of Gallipoli Peninsula; British win a 500-yard strip three miles long; French take trenches; Turks offer spirited resistance, and lose heavily; it is officially announced in London that on the Tigris, Asiatic Turkey, the British have made important gains, and have received the surrender of the Governor of Amara, with 700 soldiers.
- June 7—Turks repulse the Allies near Sedd-el-Bahr.
- June 9—Allies are landing more troops at Sedd-el-Bahr under cover of the fleet's guns.
- June 11—The advance guard of the Allies is fighting near the town of Gallipoli; severe fighting is in progress near Maidos.
- June 13—In the Caucasus the Russians are pushing back the Turks in the direction of Olti, on the frontier, and are occupying Turkish positions; a counter-attack by Turks at Zinatcher has been repulsed.
- June 14—Reports from Athens declare that the position of the Allies on the Gallipoli Peninsula continues to improve steadily; the Turks still occupy Krithia, and the British are engaging them.

CAMPAIGN IN AFRICA.

- May 1—Official statement issued at Cape Town announces that the British have inflicted a defeat on the Germans near Gibeon, German Southwest Africa; British captured a railroad train, transport wagons, two field guns, Maxim's, and 200 prisoners.
- May 5—British Secretary for the Colonies issues a statement saying that when General Botha, commander of the forces of the Union of South Africa, occupied Swakopmund he discovered that six wells had been poisoned by the Germans with arsenical cattle wash; Botha says the German commander told him he was acting under orders.
- May 11—A French column captures the post of Esoka, in the German colony of Kamerun.
- May 13—On official statement made public at Cape Town states that Windhoek, capital of German Southwest Africa, was captured yesterday without resistance by Union of South Africa forces under General Botha; German Southwest Africa is declared now to be practically in the hands of the British.
- June 11—Garua, an important station on the Benue River, Kamerun, German West Africa, surrenders unconditionally to an Anglo-French force.

LUSITANIA.

- May 1—Cunarder Lusitania sails from New York for Liverpool; no passenger bookings are canceled, although discussion is aroused by a newspaper advertisement inserted by the German Embassy at Washington stating that "travelers sailing in the war zone on ships of Great Britain or her allies do so at their own risk."
- May 7—Lusitania is sunk ten miles off the Old Head of Kinsale, Ireland, by either one or two torpedoes discharged without warning by a German submarine, stated to be the U-39; the Cunarder is hit about 2:05 P. M., and sinks in about eighteen minutes; 1,154 persons, including many women and children, are drowned, or are killed by explosions, while among the saved are 47 injured passengers; among the dead are 102 Americans; the saved total 764, among whom are 86 Americans; of the saved 462 are passengers and 302 belong to the crew; Captain William T. Turner of the Lusitania is saved by clinging to a bit of wreckage for two hours after remaining on the bridge until his ship sank; the ship was valued at \$10,000,000, and the 1,500 tons of cargo, among which were munitions of war, at \$735,000; official Washington and the nation generally, as well as other neutral and allied nations, are profoundly stirred by the news; President Wilson receives bulletins at the White House; London is astounded, and there are criticisms of the Admiralty for not having convoyed the Lusitania; panic conditions prevail on the New York Stock Exchange for thirty minutes after the first news is received, but the market closes with a rally.
- May 8—Secretary Tumulty, after a conference with President Wilson, states that the Chief Executive "is considering very earnestly, but very calmly, the right course of action to pursue"; Secretary Bryan directs Ambassadors Gerard and Page to make full reports; an official communication issued in Berlin states that the Lusitania "was naturally armed with guns," that "she had large quantities of war material in her cargo," that her owners are responsible for the sinking, and that Germany gave full warning of the danger; the British Government announces that the statement that the Lusitania was armed "is wholly false"; American newspapers strongly condemn the sinking, many referring to it as murder; there is talk of war by many private citizens of the United States; there is rejoicing in Germany, where towns are hung with flags and children in Southern Germany are given a half-holiday, so reports state; Berlin newspapers acclaim the sinking, while hundreds of telegrams of congratulation are received by Admiral von Tirpitz, Minister of Marine; Dr. Bernhard Dernburg, former German Colonial Secretary, in a statement in Cleve-
- land, argues that the sinking was justified.
- May 9—Dudley Field Malone, Collector of the Port of New York, makes an official denial that the Lusitania was armed when she sailed; President Wilson has not yet consulted his Cabinet on the situation, but is studying the problem alone; Theodore Roosevelt terms the sinking "an act of simple piracy," and declares we should act at once; survivors criticize the British Admiralty for not supplying a convoy, and also criticize the handling of the Lusitania; newspapers in Vienna rejoice over the torpedoing.
- May 10—In a speech at Philadelphia, President Wilson declares that "there is such a thing as a man being too proud to fight; there is such a thing as a nation being so right that it does not need to convince others by force that it is right"; Coroner's jury at Kinsale, which investigated five deaths resulting from the torpedoing of the Lusitania, in returning its verdict charges the Emperor and Government of Germany, and the officers of the submarine, "with the crime of wholesale murder before the tribunal of the civilized world"; a spirit of vengeance is springing up in England; the German Foreign Office sends to the German Embassy at Washington, which communicates it to the State Department, a message of sympathy at the loss of lives, but says the blame rests with England for her "starvation plan" and for her having armed merchantmen; telegrams are pouring in by the hundred to the White House and the Department of State, but the majority advise against the use of force; there is a fifteen-minute panic on the New York Stock Exchange on the rumor of the assassination of President Wilson, prices falling from 4 to 15 points; British exchanges bar German members; the National Security League issues an open letter in New York, declaring that the army, navy, and coast defenses are inadequate, and urging support for a military efficiency program; various State Legislatures pledge their support to President Wilson.
- May 11—Secretary Bryan receives an official circular issued by the German Government which declares that there is no intention of attacking, either by submarine or aircraft, neutral ships in the war zone, and that if such attacks occur through mistake damages will be paid; President Wilson is at work on his communication to Berlin; American Line announces it will not hereafter carry contraband of war; Navy League of the United States passes a resolution asking President Wilson to call an extra session of Congress to authorize a bond issue of \$500,000,000 for a bigger navy; riots occur all over England, demonstrations being made against Germans and German shops; former President Roosevelt states that the United

- States should act promptly and should forbid all commerce with Germany, while former President Taft states that delay can do no harm and that the United States should not hurry into war; President Wilson's Philadelphia speech results in a rise in prices on the New York Stock Exchange; the Committee of Mercy issues a country-wide appeal for help for destitute survivors of the Lusitania; customs guard on German ships at Boston is doubled; Cunard Line cancels intended sailing of the Mauretania from Liverpool; extra police guards are placed over the German ships at Hoboken.
- May 12—Postponement is made until tomorrow of the sending of the American note to Germany; German Embassy discontinues its advertisement warning the public not to sail on British or allied ships; anti-alien rioting continues in England; seventy customs men, on orders from Washington, search German ships at Hoboken for explosives, none being found.
- May 13—The text of the American note to Germany is made public at Washington; besides the Lusitania, it mentions the Falaba, Cushing, and Gulflight cases; it states that the United States Government expects a disavowal of the acts of the German commanders, reparation for the injuries, and a prevention of such acts in the future; it indicates that submarine warfare should be given up; it refers to the "surprising irregularity" of the German Embassy's advertisement warning Americans to keep off British ships, and states that notice of an unlawful act cannot be an excuse for its commission; it states that Germany will not expect the United States "to omit any word or any act" necessary to maintain American rights.
- May 14—The American note to Germany has been delayed in transmission, and is not presented yet; President Wilson and the Cabinet are pleased with the response of the country to the note, which is praised generally by newspapers and public men; damage in anti-German rioting in South Africa is reported from Cape Town to exceed \$5,000,000.
- May 15—Ambassador Gerard hands the American note to the German Foreign Office; newspapers in England and France praise the note; Dr. Dernburg, who has for months been in the United States as unofficial spokesman for Germany, expresses a desire to go home, this being due, it is understood in Washington, to the criticisms resulting from his defense of the sinking of the Lusitania; German-American newspapers and prominent German-American individuals are going on record as being for the United States as against Germany in event of war.
- May 16—New York clergymen from their pulpits praise President Wilson's note to Germany as a powerful instrument for the preservation of peace in this country; the loss of the Lusitania is proving a stimulus to recruiting in Great Britain.
- May 17—The American note has not yet been published in Berlin, and most of the newspapers, under confidential orders from the Government, have refrained from comment.
- May 18—Statements made by the officers of the British tank steamer Narragansett and of the British steamship Etonian, on arriving at New York and Boston, respectively, show that these ships and a third were prevented from going to the rescue of the Lusitania's passengers by German submarines; a torpedo was fired at the Narragansett.
- May 19—Several leading German newspapers join in an attack on the United States, demanding that Germany refuse to yield to the American protest, the text of the note having been made known.
- May 30—Full text of the German reply to the American note arrives in Washington and is made public; as to the Cushing and the Gulflight it is declared that the German Government has no intention of attacking neutral vessels by submarine or aircraft, and where it is proved that the attacked ship is not to blame is willing to offer regrets and pay indemnity, it being added that both the cases mentioned are now under investigation, which inquiry can be supplemented by reference to The Hague; as to the Falaba, it is declared that the persons on board were given twenty-three minutes to get off, and it is indicated that the passengers and crew would have had fuller opportunity to leave had the ship not tried to escape and had she not signaled for help by rockets; as to the Lusitania, it is declared she was built as an auxiliary cruiser and so carried on the British navy list, that Germany understands she was armed with cannon, that she carried war material and Canadian troops, while, in addition, the British Admiralty has instructed merchantmen to ram submarines; thus the sinking of the Lusitania was a measure of "justified self-defense"; it is also declared that the Cunard Company is "wantonly guilty" of the deaths, in allowing passengers to embark under the conditions cited; unofficial expressions of opinion from public men at Washington show there is disappointment and dissatisfaction over the note, which is held to be evasive; German Foreign Secretary von Jagow, in an interview given to The Associated Press correspondent in Berlin, declares that the note is not a final one because the German Government considers it essential "to establish a common basis of fact before entering into a discussion of the issues involved."
- May 31—American press as a whole finds the German reply unsatisfactory, declar-

- ing that it is evasive and fails to meet the issue; London newspapers find the reply to be a "weak evasion"; German-American press as a whole supports the reply; Governors of States and other public men generally agree in condemning the note, but many of them suggest the need for caution; Berlin newspapers hold that the reply is complete.
- June 1—President Wilson brings the German note before the Cabinet, which has a long conference.
- June 2—A conference is held at the White House between President Wilson and Ambassador von Bernstorff, at the latter's request; Ambassador von Bernstorff arranges to send through the State Department a report to his Government of his talk with the President and of the condition of public opinion in this country; von Bernstorff tells the President that he has been given affidavits that the Lusitania was armed; these affidavits are given to the American Department of State for investigation.
- June 3—Ambassador von Bernstorff is arranging to send an emissary, Dr. Anton Meyer-Gerhard, to Berlin to explain the position of the American Government and the state of public opinion; the affidavits that the Lusitania was armed are under official investigation; newspaper investigations throw doubt on their authenticity.
- June 5—British Ambassador transmits a note from his Government to the United States Government assuring this country that the Lusitania was unarmed.
- June 8—Secretary of State Bryan resigns because he cannot join in the new note to Germany, so he states in a letter to President Wilson, without violating what he deems his duty to the country and without being unfair "to the cause which is nearest my heart, namely, the prevention of war"; President Wilson's letter accepting the resignation expresses "deep regret" and "personal sorrow"; Counselor Robert Lansing is Acting Secretary of State; newspapers generally welcome Mr. Bryan's resignation; the note to Germany is read at a Cabinet meeting and finally decided upon.
- June 9—Acting Secretary of State Lansing signs the note to Germany and sends it to Ambassador Gerard; Mr. Bryan's resignation causes interest in England and Germany; Mr. Bryan says that he favors inquiry by an international commission into the points at issue between the United States and Germany, and that Americans should be warned not to travel on belligerent ships; German-American press praises Mr. Bryan.
- June 10—President Wilson's answer to the German note is made public at Washington; it "asks for assurances" that Germany will safeguard American lives and American ships; the German Government is assured that it has been misinformed as to the alleged arming of the Lusitania; it is stated that the United States is contending for the rights of humanity, on which principle "the United States must stand"; Mr. Bryan issues a statement to the public, explaining his views; Gustav Stahl, said to be a former German soldier, who made an affidavit that he saw four guns on the Lusitania, is arrested by Federal officers on a charge of perjury.
- June 11—The pacific nature of the American note causes satisfaction in Germany; Mr. Bryan issues a statement to German-Americans; Colonel Roosevelt, in a statement, upholds President Wilson.
- June 12—Mr. Bryan issues a third statement; some German-American newspapers criticize his statement addressed to German-Americans.
- June 13—Newspapers of Germany today contain columns of comment on the last American note, the general tone being milder, the friendly tenor of the note being welcomed.
- June 15—Court of inquiry opens in London; Captain Turner swears on the stand that his ship was not armed.

NAVAL RECORD—GENERAL.

- May 1—Four British torpedo boat destroyers sink two German torpedo boats in the North Sea, after a fifth British destroyer is sunk by a German submarine; Russian Black Sea fleet bombards Bosphorus forts; allied fleet bombards Nagara, on the Dardanelles.
- May 3—The ships of the allied fleet are now working in shifts at the bombardment of the Dardanelles, which is maintained twenty-four hours a day; French battleship Henri IV, and British battleship Vengeance are damaged by fire of the forts.
- May 4—Bombardment of Turkish forts on the Gulf of Smyrna is resumed by an allied squadron; British warship Agamemnon is damaged by forts at the Dardanelles.
- May 6—Heavy bombardment of the Dardanelles is continued by the allied fleet; during the last three days a number of villages and forts have been set on fire by shells; British superdreadnought Queen Elizabeth is taking a prominent part in the bombardment.
- May 8—British torpedo boat destroyer Crusader is sunk by a mine off Zeebrugge and the crew taken prisoners by the Germans.
- May 9—Russians sink six Turkish transports off the Bosphorus and two in the Sea of Marmora.
- May 12—Turkish destroyers in the Dardanelles torpedo and sink the British dreadnought Goliath, 500 men being lost; allied fleet bombards the forts at Kilid Bahr, Chanak Kalessi, and Nagara; Ital-

- ian steamer *Astrea* sinks near Taranto, it being believed that she hit a mine.
- May 15—Russian Black Sea fleet destroys four Turkish steamers and twenty sailing vessels; the fleet bombards Keffen, Ereğli, and Killimall.
- May 16—For three days the allied fleet has been bombarding Turkish troop positions on the Dardanelles; shell fire is stated to have smashed whole trenches filled with Turkish soldiers.
- May 17—Parliamentary Secretary of the British Admiralty announces in House of Commons that 460,628 tons of British shipping, other than warships, have been sunk or captured by the German Navy since the beginning of the war; that the number of persons killed in connection with the sinkings is 1,556; that the tonnage of German shipping, not warships, sunk or captured by the British Navy is 314,465, no lives being lost, so far as is known.
- May 20—Bombardment of Nagara by the allied fleet continues night and day; British battleship *Queen Elizabeth* is supporting the allied troops on the Gallipoli Peninsula with the fire of her big guns from the Gulf of Saros; a new bombardment of the Turkish encampments on the Gulf of Smyrna is under way by ships of Allies.
- May 24—Small naval units of Austria, especially destroyers and torpedo boats, bombard the Italian portions of the Adriatic coast; they are attacked by Italian torpedo boats and withdraw after a brief cannonade; the value of German and Austrian ships now in Italian ports, which have become prizes of war, is estimated at \$20,000,000.
- May 25—American steamer *Nebraskan*, en route from Liverpool to Delaware Breakwater, without cargo, is struck by either a torpedo or a mine forty miles off the south coast of Ireland; the ship is not seriously damaged and starts for Liverpool: at reduced speed; Italy declares a blockade of the Austrian and Albanian coasts; allied warships bombard Adalia, Makri, Kakava, and other places along the coast of Asia Minor, destroying Government buildings and public works; Austrian ships sink an Italian destroyer near Barletta.
- May 27—Captain Greene of the *Nebraskan*, which arrives at Liverpool, states that he thinks his ship was hit by a torpedo; the American flag had been hauled down shortly before she was struck, but the ship's name and nationality were plainly painted on her sides; British auxiliary ship *Princess Irene* is blown to pieces off Sheerness, 321 men being killed; it is presumed that careless handling of explosives caused the disaster.
- May 28—Austrians sink an Italian torpedo boat destroyer, while the Italians sink an Austrian submarine. Danish steamer *Ely* is sunk by a mine off Stockholm, crew being saved.
- May 29—Statement from the German Foreign Office is transmitted to Washington through Ambassador Gerard, urging that American shipping circles be again warned against traversing the waters around the British Isles incautiously, and especially that they make their neutral markings on the vessels very plain, and that they light them promptly and sufficiently at night; American naval experts find the facts to indicate that the *Nebraskan* was torpedoed and not struck by a mine, so Ambassador Page reports to Washington; British Admiralty puts stricter rules in force for navigation in the war zone.
- May 30—British Legation at Athens issues a notice that, beginning on June 2, a blockade will be established off the coast of Asia Minor between the Dardanelles and the Strait of Samos.
- May 31—An Admiralty statement shows that since the beginning of the war 130 British merchant ships and fishing vessels, with a tonnage of 471,000, have been sunk.
- June 2—Two Italian torpedo boats sink two Austrian merchant vessels in the Gulf of Trieste and damage an auxiliary cruiser.
- June 4—German transports, torpedo boats, and submarines seek to enter the Gulf of Riga, but sheer off on perceiving the Russian fleet; three German transports are sunk by mines.
- June 5—A strong German fleet has appeared in the middle Baltic and has exchanged shots with the Russian fleet near the Gulf of Riga; Winston Churchill, in a speech at Dundee, declares that the British Navy is growing at an amazing rate, and is much stronger, both actually and relatively, than at the beginning of the war; Greek steamer *Virginia* is blown up by a floating mine while heading for the Gulf of Trieste, her crew being killed.
- June 6—Italian warships are destroying cables and lighthouses on the Adriatic; Italian warships bombard the railway between Cattaro and Ragusa, and shell Monfalcone.
- June 11—Turkish cruiser *Midullu* sinks a Russian torpedo boat destroyer in the Black Sea.
- June 14—British steamship *Arndale* sinks from striking a mine in the White Sea.
- June 15—Official announcement states that the total loss from all causes in the British Navy up to May 31 was 13,547 officers and men.

NAVAL RECORD—SUBMARINES.

- May 1—The *Gulflight*, an American oil steamer owned by the Gulf Refining Company, is torpedoed off the Scilly Islands, but does not sink, and is towed to an anchorage in Crow Sound, Scilly Islands; the Captain dies of heart failure, and two men jump overboard and are drowned;

- she was flying the American flag; French steamer Europe is torpedoed by a German submarine, crew being rescued; British steamer Fulgent is torpedoed by a German submarine; some of the crew are missing; British steamer Edale is sunk by a German submarine off the Scilly Islands, crew being saved; Russian steamer Svorono is sunk by a German submarine off the Blasket Islands, crew being saved; British trawler Colombia is sunk by a German submarine, seventeen of the crew being lost.
- May 3—In the last forty-eight hours one Swedish steamer and three Norwegian steamers have been sunk by German submarines; British steamer Minterne is sunk by a German submarine off the Scilly Islands, two of crew being killed.
- May 4—Ten British trawlers have been sunk by German submarines in the last forty-eight hours; the submarine which caused the most damage has an iron cross painted on her conning tower.
- May 5—Danish steamer Cathay is sunk by a German submarine in the North Sea; passengers and crew saved.
- May 6—British steamers Candidate and Centurion are sunk off the Irish coast by German submarines, crews being saved; British schooner Earl of Latham is sunk by a German submarine; two British trawlers are sunk by German submarines.
- May 8—British steamer Queen Wilhelmina is sunk by a German submarine in the North Sea, crew being given time to take to the boats.
- May 12—British submarine E-14 has penetrated to the Sea of Marmora and has sunk two Turkish gunboats and five Turkish transports.
- May 15—German submarine sinks without warning the Danish steamer Martha in Aberdeen Bay, Scotland; crew escapes.
- May 19—German submarines sink British steamers Drumcree and Dumfries and British trawler Lucerne; no lives lost.
- May 20—French steam trawler is blown to pieces by German submarine near Dartmouth; thirteen of crew killed; British trawlers Chrysolite and Crimond are sunk by German submarines; crews saved.
- May 21—German submarine, with thirty-nine shots from her gun, sinks British sailing ship Glenholm off Irish coast; crew saved.
- May 22—German submarine sinks Norwegian steamer Minerva; crew saved.
- May 23—Repeated reports keep coming from Copenhagen that the German naval authorities admit the loss of seventeen submarines since the opening of the war.
- May 24—An allied submarine sinks Turkish gunboat Pelenk-i-Deria.
- May 25—British battleship Triumph is sunk in the Dardanelles by a German submarine, going down in seven minutes; 56 men are lost; the Triumph was built in 1904 and cost \$4,750,000.
- May 26—A British submarine has sunk a Turkish gunboat in the Sea of Marmora within sight of Constantinople.
- May 27—German submarine torpedoes and sinks British battleship Majestic off Seddel-Bahr; 49 men are lost; Majestic was completed in 1895 and belonged to the oldest type of battleship in commission in British Navy; British Admiralty announces that submarine E-11 has sunk a large Turkish munition ship, while she caused a small storeship to run ashore; also that E-11 entered Constantinople harbor and discharged a torpedo at a transport alongside the arsenal; British steamer Cadeby is sunk off the Scilly Islands by gunfire from a German submarine; crew saved.
- May 28—The torpedoing of the American tanker Gulfight is now established in Germany as having been due to a German submarine, the report of the submarine's Captain having been received by the German Admiralty; he reports that when he saw the Gulfight she was being convoyed by two patrol boats, and he concluded she must be British or was carrying contraband; British steamer Spennymoor is sunk by a German submarine off the Orkney Islands, six men being drowned; British steamer Tullochmoor is shelled and sunk by a German submarine, crew being saved; British steamer Glenlee is sunk by a German submarine, crew being saved; Portuguese steamer Cysne is sunk by a German submarine off Cape Finisterre, crew being saved; German submarine U-24 sinks British steamer Ethiopie in the English Channel; fifteen of crew are missing.
- May 29—British steamer Dixiana is sunk by a German submarine, which is disguised with sails; crew saved.
- May 31—Danish steamer Soborg is sunk by a German submarine in the English Channel; crew saved.
- June 1—British steamer Saidieh, carrying passengers, is torpedoed without warning in the North Sea by a German submarine and sinks in fifteen minutes; seven of the crew, including a stewardess, are lost; Welsh trawler Victoria is sunk by a German submarine, several of the crew being killed by shell fire.
- June 2—British submarine torpedoes a large German transport in the Sea of Marmora; German submarines sink the Norwegian steamer Cubano and the Welsh trawler Hiorld, the crews being saved; Danish schooner Salvador is sunk by a German submarine, crew saved.
- June 3—Swedish steamer Lapland is sunk by a German submarine off Scotland, crew being saved; Danish steamer Cyrus is sunk by a German submarine off Scotland, crew being saved; British steamer Iona is sunk by a German submarine, crew being shelled while taking to the

- boats and four men being wounded; British fishing steamer *Chrysophrasus* is sunk by a German submarine, crew being shelled while taking to the boats; Portugal is aroused over recent sinking of two Portuguese ships by German submarines; French steamer *Penfeld* is sunk by a German submarine, crew saved.
- June 4—British trawler *Ebenezer* is sunk by shell fire from a German submarine, crew escaping; British steamer *Inkum* is sunk by a German submarine, crew escaping; steam drifter *Edna May*, trawler *Strathbran*, sailing ship *George* and *Mary*, steam fishing vessels *Cortes*, *Kathleen*, and *Evening Star*, steamer *Sunnet Head*, trawlers *Horace* and *Economy*, all British, have been sunk by German submarines; Russian mine layer is sunk by a submarine near the Gulf of Riga.
- June 5—German submarine U-51 arrives at Constantinople from Wilhelmshaven, after a voyage of forty-two days, during which she sunk the British battleships *Triumph* and *Majestic*.
- June 6—Five more British trawlers have been sunk by German submarines, all the crews being saved.
- June 7—The trawler *Arctic*, bark *Sunlight*, steamer *Star of the West*, and the trawler *Dromio*, all British, have been sunk by German submarines; four of the *Arctic's* crew were killed by shell fire from the submarine; Russian schooner *Afold* has been sunk by a German submarine.
- June 8—German submarines sink Belgian steamer *Menapier*, Norwegian steamer *Trudvang*, Norwegian bark *Superb*, Norwegian steamer *Glittertind*, British trawlers *Pentland* and *Saturn*; sixteen die on the *Menapier*.
- June 9—British sink a German submarine and capture her crew; First Lord of the Admiralty Balfour states that hereafter submarine crews will be treated like other prisoners of war; German submarine sinks British steamer *Lady Salisbury*; one of the crew is killed and two are missing; official Austrian statement declares that submarine No. 4 torpedoed and sank a small British cruiser off the Albanian coast; British statement says the ship is now safe in harbor, not seriously damaged.
- June 10—British torpedo boats Nos. 10 and 12 are sunk off the east coast of England by a German submarine; twenty-nine seamen are missing; German submarines sink steamers *Strathcarron* and *Erna Boldt*, and the trawlers *Letty*, *Tunisian*, *Castor*, *Nottingham*, *Velocity*, *Cardiff*, *Qui Vive*, and *Edward*, all British; German submarines sink Russian bark *Thomasina*, Russian steamer *Dania*, and Swedish steamer *Otago*, crews being saved.
- June 12—German submarines sink British steamer *Leuctra* and trawlers *James Leyman*, *Britannia*, and *Waago*, crews being saved.
- June 13—German submarine U-35 sinks British bark *Crown of India* and Norwegian bark *Bellglade* off Milford Haven, crews escaping; German submarine sinks British trawler *Plymouth*, crew escaping.
- June 14—German submarines sink British steamer *Hopemount* and French schooner *Diamant*, crews being saved; German submarine burns the Danish schooner *Cocos Merstal*, crew being saved.
- June 15—German submarine sinks British trawler *Argyll*, seven of crew being drowned; German submarine sinks Norwegian steamer *Duranger*; crew saved.

AERIAL RECORD.

- May 1—Germans bring down three aeroplanes of the Allies on the western line.
- May 2—German aeroplanes bombard towns in Eastern France; twenty incendiary bombs are dropped on Epinal.
- May 3—Germans state that they have sunk a British submarine in the North Sea by dropping a bomb on it from an airship; this is denied by the British Admiralty; a German aeroplane is driven off from Dover by gunfire.
- May 4—Two Austrian aeroplanes throw incendiary bombs near Mamaligia, in Bessarabia.
- May 5—An official French note states that on March 22 French aviators damaged Brier, Conflans, and Metz; that on April 15 French aviators destroyed 150 railroad cars at St. Quentin, twenty-four soldiers being killed; that on April 23 French aviators destroyed a Zeppelin at Friedrichshaven; two Turkish aeroplanes are brought down by shells from the allied fleet at the Dardanelles.
- May 7—Three Russian aviators drop bombs on Constantinople.
- May 9—British airmen bombard the St. André railway junction near Lille, the canal bridge at Dok, and also Furnes, Herles, Illies, Marquelles, and La Bassée.
- May 10—Zeppelins drop bombs on Westcliff-on-Sea and Southend, seaside resorts in Essex; slight damage.
- May 11—French aviator bombards airship hangar at Maubeuge; German aviator bombards railroad station at Doullens; Germans bring down a British aviator, and British bring down two German aviators.
- May 13—A Zeppelin falls in the Gierlesche woods in Belgium, is badly damaged, and is dismantled by the crew, being taken away in sections.
- May 17—Two Zeppelins drop bombs on Rams-gate, damaging buildings and wounding three persons; it is reported from Rotterdam that a fight recently occurred in the region of the Yser between a Zeppelin and twenty-seven allied aeroplanes, the Zeppelin being sent crashing to earth with sixty men, while two aeroplanes were wrecked and their pilots killed by

- machine gun fire from the Zeppelin; British aeroplanes drop proclamations on the town of Gallipoli announcing an approaching bombardment and advising the population to leave.
- May 18—London reports that two Zeppelins have been destroyed, one falling within the allied lines at Dunkirk, and the other falling into the sea as the result of shell fire from a French torpedo boat destroyer.
- May 20—Squadrons of Austro-German aeroplanes are bombarding Przemysl.
- May 21—Turkish aeroplanes are aiding their troops on the Gallipoli Peninsula; British bring down a German aeroplane near Ypres; Germans bring down an allied aeroplane at Fresnoy.
- May 22—German aviators, in an aeroplane disguised as a French machine, drop eight bombs on Paris, two persons being slightly injured; because of the disguise the French air patrol allowed the German machine to pass.
- May 23—German aviator bombards the town of Chateau Thlery.
- May 24—Austrian aeroplanes drop bombs on Venice, Porto Corsini, Ancona, Gesi, Potenza Picena, the Tremiti Islands, and Barletta; a German Taube drops bombs in the northern suburbs of Paris; no one injured.
- May 25—Six French aeroplanes drive off two German machines which seek to raid Paris; French aeroplanes are active along the entire front and drop 205 projectiles upon German positions.
- May 26—A Zeppelin drops fifty bombs on Southend; one woman is killed and several persons injured; the property damage is slight; this Zeppelin later is reported as having fallen into the sea near Heligoland, having been struck by a shell while over England; French airmen bring down a German aeroplane which attacked the suburbs of Paris yesterday, the two German aviators being killed; allied airmen drop nineteen bombs on the aerodrome at Gontrode, southeast of Ghent, destroying the greater part of the aerodrome, killing forty-four soldiers, and wounding thirty; Italian aviators bombard railroad station at Monfalcone.
- May 27—Eighteen French aeroplanes, each carrying 110 pounds of projectiles, bombard an important German manufactory of explosives at Ludwigshafen, on the Rhine, starting fires in several of the factory buildings, and killing eleven civilians; fifty German soldiers are killed at Ostend by a bomb dropped by allied aeroplane; Italian and Austrian aeroplane squadrons are active in the operations of the armies, doing much scouting and some bombarding; squadron of Italian hydro-aeroplanes throws bombs on the Trieste-Nabresina Railroad; allied aeroplane squadron flies over the Dardanelles and subjects Turkish position to heavy bombardment.
- May 28—Experts estimate that orders amounting to \$16,000,000 have been placed in the United States for aeroplanes for the Allies.
- May 29—Austrian aeroplane squadron drops bombs on Venice, causing several fires; a French and a German aeroplane fight a duel at 9,000 feet near Fismes, the French machine, by its gunfire, shooting down the German from a height of 6,000 feet.
- May 30—A Zeppelin drops bombs on Helsingfors, destroying cotton sheds and setting fire to a passenger ship; British bring down a German aeroplane near Courtral; Turkish aviators drop bombs on the allied trenches at Sedd-el-Bahr.
- May 31—Zeppelins drop ninety incendiary bombs on London in a night raid; four civilians are killed and several others wounded; numerous fires are started, but none prove serious; Berlin announces that the attack is a reprisal for the aerial attack on Ludwigshafen; Italian dirigible makes a raid on the Austrian naval base of Pola, damaging the railroad station and arsenal.
- June 2—Germans shoot down a British aeroplane at Bixschoote.
- June 3—Twenty-nine French aeroplanes aim 178 shells and several thousand darts at the headquarters of the German Crown Prince, killing several soldiers.
- June 4—Zeppelins drop bombs on the east and southeast coasts of England; little damage is done and casualties are few.
- June 5—A Taube drops bombs on Calais, killing one person and doing slight property damage.
- June 6—Ten Zeppelins of a new type are reported from Copenhagen to have been completed, these machines having greater speed than the old ships; they are stated to be fitted with appliances for dropping poisonous gas bombs; German aeroplanes drop bombs on Calais and on the aviation grounds at Lunéville; a Zeppelin drops bombs on the east coast of England, five persons being killed and forty injured.
- June 7—Sub-Lieutenant Warneford of the British Flying Corps fights a duel with a Zeppelin at a height of 6,000 feet; with incendiary bombs he explodes the airship, which falls near Ghent, the twenty-eight men on board being killed; Warneford returns safely to the British lines; Italian dirigible bombards Pola.
- June 8—King George sends a warmly congratulatory telegram to Sub-Lieutenant Warneford and confers upon him the Victoria Cross; Austrian aeroplane bombards Venice; Austrian aeroplane destroys an Italian airship.
- June 12—Austrian aeroplanes drop bombs on the breakwater of Bari, on Polignano, where a woman is killed, and on Monopoli.

- June 13—Italian airship seriously damages the arsenal at the naval station of Pola.
- June 15—Twenty-three allied aeroplanes bombard the town of Karlsruhe, killing eleven and injuring six civilians.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

- May 23—Emperor Francis Joseph, in a manifesto to his troops, denounces Italy, and declares that his former ally's perfidy has no parallel in history.
- May 25—The Foreign Ministry publishes documents presenting Austria's side of the controversy with Italy; it is contended that Italy, from the beginning, sought to evade her obligations by artificial interpretation of the Triple Alliance treaty.

BELGIUM.

- May 24—The German Government has published a "White Book" charging Belgian civilians with many forms of attacks on German troops; German measures at Louvain and elsewhere are declared to have been only for the purpose of stopping these attacks.
- June 6—Belgian Legation at Washington gives out a statement answering the German White Book recently issued at Berlin making accusations against the Belgian civilian population; reply denounces allegations of franc-tireur warfare as false and unsupported; Belgian Government, instead of encouraging civilian resistance, warned the population against it.

CANADA.

- May 3—Official statement places Canadian casualties in the battle of Langemarck, as the recent fighting near Ypres is now officially termed, at 6,000 killed, wounded, and missing; total Canadian casualties in the entire war to date are 6,584.
- May 17—Canadian losses since the battle of Langemarck total 4,792, made up of 680 killed, 3,208 wounded, and 904 missing.
- June 10—Nine camps have been opened, at intervals from Nova Scotia to British Columbia, for training troops; plans provide for training 100,000 recruits this Summer.
- June 11—Every battalion of the second Canadian division is now in France.

FRANCE.

- May 10—General Gouraud, it is announced, will relieve General d'Amade in command of the expeditionary force to the Orient; General d'Amade has been summoned back to France for a Governmental mission.
- May 19—The Minister of Finance introduces a bill in the Chamber of Deputies providing for a \$220,000,000 appropriation for the first six months of 1915 in addition to the \$1,700,000,000 which has been already voted.
- May 22—Captain Thery, a prominent economist, estimates that the cost of the first

year of the war, including the expenses of all combatants, will be about \$2,000,000 an hour.

- May 29—A great demonstration is held in the Sorbonne amphitheatre, attended by the President and the notables of political and artistic France, to express the appreciation of the French people for the sympathy and help of Americans during the war.

GERMANY.

- May 2—The last of the Landsturm is called to the colors.
- May 4—Lübeck, on the Baltic Sea, formerly a port of relatively small importance, has become a great port, and dozens of ships are there discharging vast quantities of foodstuffs and other supplies; twenty-three Socialist members of the Reichstag opposed the voting of the full war credit last asked by the Government, according to a report from Berlin.
- May 7—The Germans state that they and the Austrians now hold 46,000 square miles of Russian territory, containing a population of more than 5,000,000.
- May 12—Typhus has appeared in some of the German prison camps.
- May 14—Lieutenant von Muecke and fifty men of the Emden's crew, who escaped when that cruiser was sunk in November, have arrived at Damascus, after six months of adventurous wanderings.
- May 18—The London Chronicle, on the basis of statistics which it has received, estimates the total German losses in the war to be 2,050,000.
- May 24—Germany asks Switzerland to take over German diplomatic affairs in Rome; this action is regarded in Washington as a slap at the United States.
- May 26—Prince von Bülow, recently Ambassador to Italy, arrives in Berlin; Germany and Italy are still theoretically allies, war not having been declared between them.
- May 28—Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg, speaking in the Reichstag, declares that the Teutonic allies are waging war in "holy anger" and will fight until they have made it certain that no enemy "will dare again a trial of arms"; he makes a scathing attack on Italy, and says that "her violation of good faith" is written in "letters of blood."
- May 30—Americans are leaving Germany by the score, declaring the hate for Americans is so intense as to make life unbearable.
- June 2—Officers and men on furlough in Berlin are forbidden to visit cafés and restaurants.
- June 4—Prussian losses alone have reached a total of 1,388,000.
- June 5—There are now 900,000 prisoners of war held in Germany, in 247 prison camps.

June 7—An extensive exodus of Americans from Germany is in progress, many going to Italy; refugees declare the Germans now hate Americans as bitterly as they do the British.

June 14—Germany discontinues her exceptional treatment of 39 British officers, put into effect as reprisal for England's exceptional treatment of German submarine crews, now ended.

GREAT BRITAIN.

May 2—Lord Kitchener is becoming the storm centre of the Cabinet upheaval; attacks on him by the Northcliffe newspapers are resented by other newspapers and by many of the public; a "White Paper," containing reports from firms and officers throughout the country, shows that drink is having a serious effect on repairs to warships and transports and on the output of munitions.

May 4—Since the beginning of the war the British Army has had 2,246 officers killed, 4,177 wounded and 762 missing; Chancellor Lloyd George, in a budget speech in Parliament, places the expenditure for the next six months at \$10,500,000 a day.

May 7—Government abandons the plan to place extra taxes on spirits and instead substitutes a complete prohibition of the sale of spirits less than three years old.

May 12—The Committee on Alleged German Atrocities, headed by Viscount Bryce, appointed by Premier Asquith, makes public its report, which contains an account of hundreds of cases investigated; the report finds that there were in many parts of Belgium "systematically organized massacres of the civil population"; that in the general conduct of the war innocent civilians, men and women "were murdered in large number, women violated, and children murdered"; that "looting, house burning, and the wanton destruction of property were ordered" by German officers; that "the rules and usages of war were frequently broken," civilians, including women and children, being used as a shield for troops, and that the Red Cross and white flag were frequently abused.

May 13—Premier Asquith announces in the house of Commons the new policy of the Government with reference to alien enemies now resident in Great Britain; those of military age will be interned, while those not of military age, and women and children will be deported; King George orders the names of the German and Austrian Emperors, and of five German Kings and Princes stricken from the rolls of the Order of the Garter.

May 18—Premier Asquith is forming a "National Cabinet," or coalition government, in which some of the Cabinet posts at present occupied by Liberals will go to Unionist and Labor Party leaders; the

crisis is the result of the resignation of Lord Fisher as First Sea Lord of the Admiralty, due to differences between him and Winston Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty; Churchill has been much criticised, particularly for the fiasco at Antwerp and the policy pursued in the Dardanelles, while the loss of the Lusitania has further stirred his opponents.

May 19—The Northcliffe newspapers state that there has been difficulty over high explosives for the army, those in charge at the War Office not having awakened in time to the need for such explosives in large quantities; these papers criticise Lord Kitchener's conduct of the War Office; racing will be stopped after this week for the duration of the war, except at Newmarket.

May 25—The make-up of the new coalition Cabinet is announced; it is headed by Mr. Asquith and contains twelve Liberals, eight Unionists, one Laborite, and one non-partisan, Lord Kitchener; Arthur J. Balfour becomes First Lord of the Admiralty; John Redmond refuses a place in the Cabinet; Liberal newspapers criticise the entry into the Cabinet of Sir Edward Carson, who becomes Attorney General.

May 27—Admiral Sir Henry Jackson is appointed First Sea Lord of the Admiralty in the place of Admiral Lord Fisher.

June 3—Premier Asquith ends a visit of four days at the British front, during which he consulted with Field Marshal French and General Joffre; Minister of Munitions Lloyd George, in a speech at Manchester, declares that England must have more munitions and that the fate of the nation rests on the workshops.

June 8—House of Commons passes the Munitions bill on third reading; the measure establishes a new department to handle munitions.

June 9—Premier Asquith announces in the House of Commons that the total British casualties up to May 31 were 50,342 killed, 153,980 wounded, and 53,747 missing.

June 15—House of Commons votes a war credit of \$1,250,000,000, making a total of \$4,310,000,000 thus far voted; Asquith says expenditure will be not less than \$15,000,000 a day.

GREECE.

June 15—Returns of the general election show that the party of former Premier Venizelos, who has been in favor of entering the war on the side of the Allies, has a considerable majority in Parliament.

HOLLAND.

May 19—A bill is being prepared providing for universal compulsory military service; the measure will increase the army approximately to 1,000,000 men.

ITALY.

- May 10—Italy calls to the colors all classes of reserves back to the class of 1876; an Italian army of 600,000 is concentrated at Verona.
- May 12—Government receives what is believed to be the final proposal of Austria for territorial concessions; ex-Premier Giolitti, one of the most influential men in Italy, is against war; war demonstrations are being held all over Italy.
- May 14—The Cabinet tenders its resignation to the King because of the strength of the anti-war party, led by former Premier Giolitti; the entire country is in a turmoil, there being much indignation over the fall of the Cabinet.
- May 15—Signor Marcora having refused to form a Cabinet, and a similar refusal having been made by Paolo Carcano, the King asks Salandra to resume the Premiership; Salandra consents; the people and press are furious with Giolitti; the country is on the verge of revolt; troops save the Austrian Embassy from attack.
- May 16—There is general rejoicing throughout the country over the retention of office by Salandra; it is reported that Italy now has 1,700,000 men mobilized and equipped.
- May 19—Italy issues a Green Book, tracing the course of events between Italy and Austria, from the Italian standpoint, during recent months; Italy holds that Austria has violated Article VII. of the Triple Alliance, which bound Austria to refrain from occupation of Balkan territory without agreement with Italy and due compensation; in the invasion of Serbia and occupation of her cities, Italy claims that Austria has broken faith, and the negotiations between the two countries have been concerned chiefly with compensation, Austria not meeting Italian demands.
- May 20—Chamber of Deputies, amid wild enthusiasm, adopts, by a vote of 407 to 74, a bill conferring full power upon the Government to make war; Premier Salandra denounces Austria in a speech which is tremendously acclaimed; he says she broke her alliance, and was false to the treaty in its substance, form and spirit; he declares that Italy has long been for peace and strove to find a compromise which would restore agreement's reason for being.
- May 21—By a vote of 262 to 2 the Senate passes the bill granting plenary powers to the Government; there is great enthusiasm in the Chamber; Italian and Austrian troops continue to mass at the border; all Italy is aflame with enthusiasm.
- May 22—General mobilization of the army and navy is ordered; martial law is proclaimed, beginning May 23, in Northeastern Italy; the King signs the bill giving full power to the Salandra Ministry in

the present emergency and for "the duration of the war."

- May 23—Duke of Avarna, Italian Ambassador at Austria, presents to Baron von Burian, Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, a declaration of war by Italy, dated May 23, but not to take effect until tomorrow; the declaration states that the treaty of alliance between Italy and Austria has been violated by Austria; estimates put the total Italian war strength at 3,300,000 when all reservists are called.
- May 24—Italy has given her adhesion to the agreement, already signed by the allied powers, not to conclude a separate peace.
- May 25—Italy sends a note to the United States Government explaining her break with Austria; Italy states that she was forced into hostilities, cites a long list of grievances, and declares that, despite warnings, the ultimatum was sent to Serbia without notification to Rome; this ultimatum, so sent, declares Italy, violated Article I. of the Triple Alliance treaty, which provided that none of the contracting parties had the right to undertake, without a previous agreement, any step whose consequences might impose a duty upon the other signatories arising out of the alliance, or which would in any way encroach upon their vital interests; Italy further states that the Triple Alliance was essentially defensive; similar notes are sent by Italy to all important neutral countries.
- May 28—The Pope declines an invitation from Spain to make his headquarters at the Palace of the Escurial.
- June 13—Official journal publishes decree for seizing merchant ships of Italy's enemies in the ports of the kingdom and colonies.

RUMANIA.

- June 1—Rumania has 1,000,000 fully equipped men ready for battle against Austria on a 600-mile front; a note to Austria containing Rumania's demands is now before the Austrian Government.
- June 6—A great demonstration is held in Bucharest in favor of Rumania's joining the war with the Allies; speakers eulogize Italy for entering the war.

RUSSIA.

- May 10—Figures made public in Petrograd show that the total number of prisoners taken by Russian armies and interned in Russia up to April 1 was 10,734 officers and 605,378 men; in addition, the statement says that large numbers of Gallician prisoners have been given their liberty and sent home.

SAN MARINO.

- June 3—The Republic of San Marino officially approves of the Italian attitude toward Austria and declares war.

SERBIA.

May 24—The Serbian Army has been reorganized; Great Britain and France have supplied it abundantly with artillery and ammunition.

SWEDEN.

June 6—Stockholm reports that a treaty has been ratified between Sweden and Russia, mutually acknowledging the financial, commercial, and industrial interests of the respective countries.

TURKEY.

May 23—A joint official statement issued by Great Britain, France, and Russia states that for the past month Kurds and the Turkish population of Armenia have been massacring Armenians, with "the connivance and help of the Ottoman authorities"; that the inhabitants of 100 villages near Van were all assassinated; that massacres have taken place at Erzerum, Dertshau, Moush, Zeitun, and in all Cilicia; that the allied Governments announce publicly to the Sublime Porte that "they will hold all members of the Government, as well as such of their agents as are implicated, personally responsible for such massacres."

June 6—The Krupps have established a large ammunition factory near Constantinople.

UNITED STATES.

May 3—Government is obtaining official reports on the sinking of the Gulflight from Ambassadors Page and Gerard.

May 5—State Department makes public the text of its reply to the German note in the William P. Frye case, which was forwarded on April 28; the reply declines the suggestion that a German prize court pass on the legality of the destruction and amount of indemnity; it suggests that the German Embassy at Washington be authorized to deal with the matter; it states that unquestionably the destruction of the vessel was a violation of old treaties between the United States and Prussia.

May 6—The State Department has replied to the German complaint that the German steamer Odenwald was "attacked" when she attempted to leave San Juan, Porto Rico, without clearance papers; text not made public.

May 19—American tank steamer Cushing arrives in Philadelphia, and Captain Herland tells the details of the attack made by a German aeroplane on April 28, while the ship was in the North Sea; he states that the aviator manoeuvred to drop a bomb into the funnel, from a height of 300 feet, but the three bombs thrown missed the ship; he says the attack took place at 7 P. M., but there was ample light for the aviator to see the ship's name in eight-foot letters, and the American flags at

the masthead and the taffrail; Secretary Bryan has cabled to Ambassador Gerard, asking whether the action of the German Government in placing the William P. Frye case in a prize court is the reply to the American note stating that the United States did not regard prize court proceedings with favor.

May 21—Recent orders from the British Government bring up to \$100,000,000 the total contracts for munitions of war given to the Bethlehem Steel Company since hostilities began.

May 22—The French Line has chartered thirty-seven freight steamships to aid in transporting the huge quantities of munitions of war waiting shipment from the United States to the allied countries.

May 24—Italy asks the United States to take over Italian diplomatic affairs at Vienna, and the United States consents; Germany, through Ambassador Gerard, explains that her action of sending the William P. Frye case to a prize court is not intended as an answer to the American note on the matter, but is a necessary procedure under German law.

May 25—United States issues a proclamation of neutrality, under date of May 24, covering the entry of Italy into the war.

May 29—Federal Court at Milwaukee dismisses the action brought by General Samuel Pearson, former Boer commander, in which he sought to restrain the Allis-Chalmers Company and others from manufacturing shrapnel shells, which, it was alleged, were being shipped to the Allies; the court holds that the relief sought by the plaintiff is political rather than legal.

June 2—The Allies have assured the State Department that Dr. Dernburg will be given safe conduct if he wishes to return to Germany.

June 4—Germany in a note expresses regret for the torpedoing of the Gulflight, which is stated to have been due to a mistake, and offers to pay for the damage.

June 5—German war bonds are being sold in this country, and German-Americans are buying them readily.

June 8—There are persistent rumors that German interests are trying to buy American ammunition factories so as to stop shipments to the Allies.

June 10—In a new note on the William P. Frye case Germany insists that the case go before a prize court, and puts forth the contention that she has the right to destroy any American ship carrying contraband, the contention being based on the American-Prussian Treaty of 1799.

June 12—Dr. Dernburg sails for Bergen on the Norwegian America liner Bergensfjord.

RELIEF.

May 15—A national Polish relief association is being organized in the United States; Paderewski, now in New York in the in-

terests of relief, estimates the losses of his compatriots by the war at \$2,500,000,000; he says that an area has been laid waste equal in size to New York and Pennsylvania; that 7,500 villages have been completely ruined; that thousands of persons are hiding in the woods and feeding on roots.

May 16—The American Commission for Relief in Belgium has now got a financial system working in Belgium by which the great bulk of food needed is being supplied indirectly by the Belgians themselves through their own energies and resources; 75 per cent. of the Belgian people are being supplied with food through the arrangements made by the commission, without recourse to charity.

May 20—England has asked American surgeons to man her newest and largest field

hospital; as a result, the medical schools of Harvard, Columbia, and Johns Hopkins will send thirty-two surgeons and physicians and seventy-five nurses; the universities will bear the expenses of the corps.

May 21—Carleton Gibson of the Commission for relief of Poland sends a report to New York stating that in that part of Russian Poland within the Austro-German lines conditions are much worse than in the worst parts of Belgium and France, and that the population is now actually starving.

May 22—The Commission for Relief in Belgium states that about 1,500,000 persons are now destitute in Belgium through unemployment; the monthly food requirements of the Belgians involve an expenditure of between \$7,000,000 and \$8,000,000.

To the Captain of the U—.

By HARRY VARLEY.

You have drunk your toast to "the Day" that came;

The Cross is won, for you did not fail.
Do you thrill with joy at your deathless fame?

Your hand is trembling, your lips are pale!

Ah! you drink again—but the wine is spilled,

A crimson stain on the snowy white.
Is it wine—or blood of the children killed?

Captain! what of the night?

When the black night comes and the Day is done,

You sleep, and dream of the things that float

In a misty sea where a blood-red sun
Lights up the dead in a drifting boat.

Will you see a face in the waves that swell—

A baby's face that is cold and white?
Will your sleep be sweet or a glimpse of Hell?

Captain! what of the night?

Will you see the stare of the small blue eyes,

The tiny fingers of whitest wax
That will point at you, or the wound that lies,

A clot of red in her fairy flax?
Will the beads that burst on your brows be hot

As mothers' tears that are newly shed?
Will each sear and burn like a blazing dot

That eats its way through your tortured head?

Will you see the ship as it onward sped—
The Thing that flew at your fatal word?

Will the dripping ghosts be around your bed—

The screams of the dying still be heard?

When the Big Night calls—and you must obey—

Will *your* soul shrink in its awful fright?

You have lived your life, you have had your Day,

But, Captain! what of the night?



H. M. QUEEN SOPHIA OF GREECE
Sister of Kaiser Wilhelm, and an Ardent Germanophile
(Photo from Bain.)



HIS HOLINESS BENEDICT XV.

The Entrance of Italy into the War has Increased the Delicacy of
the Pontiff's Position

(Photo from International News)

The New York Times

CURRENT HISTORY

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

THE EUROPEAN WAR

AUGUST, 1915

THE LUSITANIA CASE

The American Note to Berlin of July 21 Steps Leading Up to President Wilson's Rejection of Germany's Proposals

THE German Admiralty on Feb. 4 proclaimed a war zone around Great Britain announcing that every enemy merchant ship found therein would be destroyed "without its being always possible to avert the dangers threatening the crews and passengers on that account."

The text of this proclamation was made known by Ambassador Gerard on Feb. 6. Four days later the United States Government sent to Germany a note of protest which has come to be known as the "strict accountability note." After pointing out that a serious infringement of American rights on the high seas was likely to occur, should Germany carry out her war-zone decree in the manner she had proclaimed, it declared:

"If such a deplorable situation should arise, the Imperial German Government can readily appreciate that the Government of the United States would be constrained to hold the Imperial German Government to a strict accountability for such acts of their naval authorities and to take any steps it might be necessary to take to safeguard American lives and property and to secure to American citizens the full enjoyment of their acknowledged rights on the high seas."

The war-zone decree went into effect on Feb. 18. Two days later dispatches were cabled to Ambassador Page at London and to Ambassador Gerard at Berlin suggesting that a modus vivendi be entered into by England and Germany by which submarine warfare and sowing of mines at sea might be abandoned if food-stuffs were allowed to reach the German civil population under American consular inspection.

Germany replied to this on March 1, expressing her willingness to act favorably on the proposal. The same day the British Government stated that because of the war-zone decree of the German Government the British Government must take measures to prevent commodities of all kinds from reaching or leaving Germany. On March 15 the British Government flatly refused the modus vivendi suggestion.

On April 4 Count von Bernstorff, the German Ambassador at Washington, submitted a memorandum to the United States Government regarding German-American trade and the exportation of arms. Mr. Bryan replied to the memorandum on April 21, insisting that the United States was preserving her strict status of neutrality according to the accepted laws of nations.

On May 7 the Cunard steamship *Lusitania* was sunk by a German submarine in the war zone as decreed by Germany, and more than 100 American citizens perished, with 1,000 other persons on board.

Thereupon, on May 13, the United States transmitted to the German Government a note on the subject of this loss. It said:

"American citizens act within their indisputable rights in taking their ships and in traveling wherever their legitimate business calls them upon the high seas, and exercise those rights in what should be the well-justified confidence that their lives will not be endangered by acts done in clear violation of universally acknowledged international obligations, and certainly in the confidence that their own Government will sustain them in the exercise of their rights."

This note concluded:

"The Imperial Government will not expect the Government of the United States to omit any word or any act necessary to the performance of its sacred duty of maintaining the rights of the United States and its citizens and of safeguarding their free exercise and enjoyment."

Germany replied to this note on May 29. It stated that it had heard that the *Lusitania* was an armed naval ship which had attempted to use American passengers as a protection, and that, anyway, such passengers should not have been present. It added:

"The German commanders are consequently no longer in a position to observe the rules of capture otherwise usual and with which they invariably complied before this."

To the foregoing the United States maintained in a note sent to the German Government on June 9 that the *Lusitania* was not an armed vessel and that she had sailed in accordance with the laws of the United States, and that "only her actual resistance to capture or refusal to stop when ordered to do so*** could have afforded the commander of the submarine any justification for so much as putting the lives of those on board the ship in jeopardy."

In support of this view the note cited international law and added:

"It is upon this principle of humanity, as well as upon the law founded upon this principle, that the United States must stand."

Exactly one month later, on July 9, came Germany's reply. Its preamble praised the United States for its humane attitude and said that Germany was fully in accord therewith. Something, it asserted, should be done, for "the case of the *Lusitania* shows with horrible clearness to what jeopardizing of human lives the manner of conducting war employed by our adversaries leads," and that under certain conditions which it set forth, American ships might have safe passage through the war zone, or even some enemy ships flying the American flag. It continued:

"The Imperial Government, however, confidently hopes the American Government will assume to guarantee that these vessels have no contraband on board, details of arrangements for the unhampered passage of these vessels to be agreed upon by the naval authorities of both sides."

It is to this reply that the note of the United States Government made public on July 24 is an answer.

Germany's reply of July 8 and President Wilson's final rejoinder of July 21—which was given to the American press of July 24—are presented below, together

with accounts of the recent German submarine attacks on the ships *Armenian*, *Anglo-Californian*, *Normandy*, and *Orduna*, involving American lives, and an appraisal of the German operations in the submarine "war zone" since February 18, 1915, when it was proclaimed. Also Austro-Hungary's note of June 29, protesting against American exports of arms, and an account of American and German press opinion on the *Lusitania* case are treated hereunder.

THE GERMAN MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR AT BERLIN

BERLIN, July 8, 1915.

The undersigned has the honor to make the following reply to his Excellency Ambassador Gerard to the note of the 10th ultimo re the impairment of American interests by the German submarine war:

The Imperial Government learned with satisfaction from the note how earnestly the Government of the United States is concerned in seeing the principles of humanity realized in the present war. Also this appeal finds ready echo in Germany, and the Imperial Government is quite willing to permit its statements and decisions in the present case to be governed by the principles of humanity just as it has done always.

The Imperial Government welcomed with gratitude when the American Government, in the note of May 15, itself recalled that Germany had always permitted itself to be governed by the principles of progress and humanity in dealing with the law of maritime war.

Since the time when Frederick the Great negotiated with John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and Thomas Jefferson the Treaty of Friendship and Commerce of September 9, 1785, between Prussia and the Republic of the West, German and American statesmen have, in fact, always stood together in the struggle for the freedom of the seas and for the protection of peaceable trade.

In the international proceedings which since have been conducted for the regulation of the laws of maritime war, Germany and America have jointly advocated progressive principles, especially the abolishment of the right of capture at sea and the protection of the interests of neutrals.

Even at the beginning of the present war the German Government immediately declared its willingness, in response to proposals of the American Government, to ratify the Declaration of London and thereby subject itself in the use of its naval forces to all the restrictions provided therein in favor of neutrals.

Germany likewise has been always tenacious of the principle that war should be conducted against the armed and organized forces of an enemy country, but that the enemy civilian population must be spared as far as possible from the measures of war. The Imperial Government cherishes the definite hope that some way will be found when peace is concluded, or perhaps earlier, to regulate the law of

maritime war in a manner guaranteeing the freedom of the seas, and will welcome it with gratitude and satisfaction if it can work hand in hand with the American Government on that occasion.

If in the present war the principles which should be the ideal of the future have been traversed more and more, the longer its duration, the German Government has no guilt therein. It is known to the American Government how Germany's adversaries, by completely paralyzing peaceful traffic between Germany and neutral countries, have aimed from the very beginning and with increasing lack of consideration at the destruction not so much of the armed forces as the life of the German nation, repudiating in doing so all the rules of international law and disregarding all rights of neutrals.

On November 3, 1914, England declared the North Sea a war area, and by planting poorly anchored mines and by the stoppage and capture of vessels, made passage extremely dangerous and difficult for neutral shipping, thereby actually blockading neutral coasts and ports contrary to all international law. Long before the beginning of submarine war England practically completely intercepted legitimate neutral navigation to Germany also. Thus Germany was driven to a submarine war on trade.

On November 14, 1914, the English Premier declared in the House of Commons that it was one of England's principal tasks to prevent food for the German population from reaching Germany via neutral ports. Since March 1 England has been taking from neutral ships without further formality all merchandise proceeding to Germany, as well as all merchandise coming from Germany, even when neutral property. Just as it was also with the Boers, the German people is now to be given the choice of perishing from starvation with its women and children or of relinquishing its independence.

While our enemies thus loudly and openly proclaimed war without mercy until our utter destruction, we were conducting a war in self-defense for our national existence and for the sake of peace of an assured permanency. We have been obliged to adopt a submarine warfare to meet the declared intentions of our enemies and the method of warfare adopted by them in contravention of international law.

With all its efforts in principle to protect neutral life and property from damage as much as possible, the German Government recognized unreservedly in its memorandum of February 4 that the interests of neutrals might suffer from the submarine warfare. However, the American Government will also understand and appreciate that in the fight for existence, which has been forced upon Germany by its adversaries and announced by them, it is the sacred duty of the Imperial Government to do all within its power to protect and save the lives of German subjects. If the Imperial Government were

derelict in these, its duties, it would be guilty before God and history of the violation of those principles of highest humanity which are the foundation of every national existence.

The case of the Lusitania shows with horrible clearness to what jeopardizing of human lives the manner of conducting war employed by our adversaries leads. In the most direct contradiction of international law all distinctions between merchantmen and war vessels have been obliterated by the order to British merchantmen to arm themselves and to ram submarines, and the promise of rewards therefor, and neutrals who use merchantmen as travelers thereby have been exposed in an increasing degree to all the dangers of war.

If the commander of the German submarine which destroyed the Lusitania had caused the crew and passengers to take to the boats before firing a torpedo this would have meant the sure destruction of his own vessel. After the experiences in sinking much smaller and less seaworthy vessels it was to be expected that a mighty ship like the Lusitania would remain above water long enough, even after the torpedoing, to permit passengers to enter the ship's boats. Circumstances of a very peculiar kind, especially the presence on board of large quantities of highly explosive materials, defeated this expectation.

In addition it may be pointed out that if the Lusitania had been spared, thousands of cases of munitions would have been sent to Germany's enemies and thereby thousands of German mothers and children robbed of breadwinners.

In the spirit of friendship wherewith the German nation has been imbued toward the Union (United States) and its inhabitants since the earliest days of its existence, the Imperial Government will always be ready to do all it can during the present war also to prevent the jeopardizing of lives of American citizens.

The Imperial Government, therefore, repeats the assurances that American ships will not be hindered in the prosecution of legitimate shipping and the lives of American citizens in neutral vessels shall not be placed in jeopardy.

In order to exclude any unforeseen dangers to American passenger steamers, made possible in view of the conduct of maritime war by Germany's adversaries, German submarines will be instructed to permit the free and safe passage of such passenger steamers when made recognizable by special markings and notified a reasonable time in advance. The Imperial Government, however, confidently hopes that the American Government will assume to guarantee that these vessels have no contraband on board, details of arrangements for the unhampered passage of these vessels to be agreed upon by the naval authorities of both sides.

In order to furnish adequate facilities for travel across the

Atlantic for American citizens, the German Government submits for consideration a proposal to increase the number of available steamers by installing in passenger service a reasonable number of neutral steamers under the American flag, the exact number to be agreed upon under the same condition as the above-mentioned American steamers.

The Imperial Government believes it can assume that in this manner adequate facilities for travel across the Atlantic Ocean can be afforded American citizens. There would, therefore, appear to be no compelling necessity for American citizens to travel to Europe in time of war on ships carrying an enemy flag. In particular the Imperial Government is unable to admit that American citizens can protect an enemy ship through the mere fact of their presence on board.

Germany merely followed England's example when she declared part of the high seas an area of war. Consequently, accidents suffered by neutrals on enemy ships in this area of war cannot well be judged differently from accidents to which neutrals are at all times exposed at the seat of war on land, when they betake themselves into dangerous localities in spite of previous warnings. If, however, it should not be possible for the American Government to acquire an adequate number of neutral passenger steamers, the Imperial Government is prepared to interpose no objections to the placing under the American flag by the American Government of four enemy passenger steamers for passenger traffic between North America and England. Assurances of "free and safe" passage for American passenger steamers would then extend to apply under the identical conditions to these formerly hostile passenger steamers.

The President of the United States has declared his readiness, in a way deserving of thanks, to communicate and suggest proposals to the Government of Great Britain with particular reference to the alteration of maritime war. The Imperial Government will always be glad to make use of the good offices of the President, and hopes that his efforts in the present case as well as in the direction of the lofty ideal of the freedom of the seas, will lead to an understanding.

The undersigned requests the Ambassador to bring the above to the knowledge of the American Government, and avails himself of the opportunity to renew to his Excellency the assurance of his most distinguished consideration.

VON JAGOW.

The American Rejoinder

THE SECRETARY OF STATE AT WASHINGTON TO THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR AT BERLIN

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, July 21, 1915.

The Secretary of State to Ambassador Gerard:

You are instructed to deliver textually the following note to the Minister for Foreign Affairs:

The note of the Imperial German Government, dated the 8th day of July, 1915, has received the careful consideration of the Government of the United States, and it regrets to be obliged to say that it has found it very unsatisfactory, because it fails to meet the real differences between the two Governments, and indicates no way in which the accepted principles of law and humanity may be applied in the grave matter in controversy, but proposes, on the contrary, arrangements for a partial suspension of those principles which virtually set them aside.

The Government of the United States notes with satisfaction that the Imperial German Government recognizes without reservation the validity of the principles insisted on in the several communications which this Government has addressed to the Imperial German Government with regard to its announcement of a war zone and the use of submarines against merchantmen on the high seas—the principle that the high seas are free, that the character and cargo of a merchantman must first be ascertained before she can lawfully be seized or destroyed, and that the lives of noncombatants may in no case be put in jeopardy unless the vessel resists or seeks to escape after being summoned to submit to examination, for a belligerent act of retaliation is per se an act beyond the law, and the defense of an act as retaliatory is an admission that it is illegal.

The Government of the United States is, however, keenly disappointed to find that the Imperial German Government regards itself as in large degree exempt from the obligation to observe these principles; even when neutral vessels are concerned, by what it believes the policy and practice of the Government of Great Britain to be in the present war with regard to neutral commerce. The Imperial German Government will readily understand that the Government of the United States cannot discuss the policy of the Government of Great Britain with regard to neutral trade except with that Government itself, and that it must regard the conduct of other belligerent governments as irrelevant to any discussion with the Imperial German Government of what this Government regards as grave and

unjustifiable violations of the rights of American citizens by German naval commanders.

Illegal and inhuman acts, however justifiable they may be thought to be, against an enemy who is believed to have acted in contravention of law and humanity, are manifestly indefensible when they deprive neutrals of their acknowledged rights, particularly when they violate the right to life itself. If a belligerent cannot retaliate against an enemy without injuring the lives of neutrals, as well as their property, humanity, as well as justice and a due regard for the dignity of neutral powers, should dictate that the practice be discontinued. If persisted in it would in such circumstances constitute an unpardonable offense against the sovereignty of the neutral nation affected.

The Government of the United States is not unmindful of the extraordinary conditions created by this war or of the radical alterations of circumstance and method of attack produced by the use of instrumentalities of naval warfare which the nations of the world cannot have had in view when the existing rules of international law were formulated, and it is ready to make every reasonable allowance for these novel and unexpected aspects of war at sea; but it cannot consent to abate any essential or fundamental right of its people because of a mere alteration of circumstance. The rights of neutrals in time of war are based upon principle, not upon expediency, and the principles are immutable. It is the duty and obligation of belligerents to find a way to adapt the new circumstances to them.

The events of the past two months have clearly indicated that it is possible and practicable to conduct such submarine operations as have characterized the activity of the Imperial German Navy within the so-called war zone in substantial accord with the accepted practices of regulated warfare. The whole world has looked with interest and increasing satisfaction at the demonstration of that possibility by German naval commanders. It is manifestly possible, therefore, to lift the whole practice of submarine attack above the criticism which it has aroused and remove the chief causes of offense.

In view of the admission of illegality made by the Imperial Government when it pleaded the right of retaliation in defense of its acts, and in view of the manifest possibility of conforming to the established rules of naval warfare, the Government of the United States cannot believe that the Imperial Government will longer refrain from disavowing the wanton act of its naval commander in sinking the *Lusitania* or from offering reparation for the American lives lost, so far as reparation can be made for a needless destruction of human life by an illegal act.

The Government of the United States, while not indifferent to the friendly spirit in which it is made, cannot accept the suggestion

of the Imperial German Government that certain vessels be designated and agreed upon which shall be free on the seas now illegally proscribed. The very agreement would, by implication, subject other vessels to illegal attack, and would be a curtailment and therefore an abandonment of the principles for which this Government contends, and which in times of calmer counsels every nation would concede as of course.

The Government of the United States and the Imperial German Government are contending for the same great object, have long stood together in urging the very principles upon which the Government of the United States now so solemnly insists. They are both contending for the freedom of the seas. The Government of the United States will continue to contend for that freedom, from whatever quarter violated, without compromise and at any cost. It invites the practical co-operation of the Imperial German Government at this time, when co-operation may accomplish most and this great common object be most strikingly and effectively achieved.

The Imperial German Government expresses the hope that this object may be in some measure accomplished even before the present war ends. It can be. The Government of the United States not only feels obliged to insist upon it, by whomsoever violated or ignored, in the protection of its own citizens, but is also deeply interested in seeing it made practicable between the belligerents themselves, and holds itself ready at any time to act as the common friend who may be privileged to suggest a way.

In the meantime the very value which this Government sets upon the long and unbroken friendship between the people and Government of the United States and the people and Government of the German nation impels it to press very solemnly upon the Imperial German Government the necessity for a scrupulous observance of neutral rights in this critical matter. Friendship itself prompts it to say to the Imperial Government that repetition by the commanders of German naval vessels of acts in contravention of those rights must be regarded by the Government of the United States, when they affect American citizens, as deliberately unfriendly.

LANSING.

German and American Press Opinion

ON THE GERMAN NOTE OF
JULY 8

THE German answer to the United States with regard to submarine warfare was reported from Berlin on July 10 as having caused the most intense satisfaction among the

Germans and brought relief to them, for the mere thought that the submarine war would be abandoned would cause widespread resentment.

The Berlin newspapers printed long editorials approving the Government's stand and "conciliatory" tone. Captain Perseus, in the *Tageblatt*, said that

the "new note makes clearer that the present course will be continued with the greatest possible consideration for American interests." The note "stands under the motto, 'On the way to an understanding,' without, however, failing to emphasize the firm determination that our interests must hold first place", in other words, that Germany "cannot surrender the advantages that the use of the submarine weapon gives to the German people."

The Lokal Anzeiger of Berlin commented:

"Feeling has undoubtedly cooled down somewhat on the other side of the water, and Americans will undoubtedly admit that it is not Germany that tries to monopolize the freedom of the seas for itself alone.

"In any event, we have now done our utmost and can quietly await what answer President Wilson and his advisers will think suitable."

George Bernhard in the Vossische Zeitung remarked that the publication of the note means "liberation from many of the doubts that have excited a large part of the German people in recent weeks. The note *** means unconditional refusal to let any outsider prescribe to us how far and with what weapons we may defend ourselves against England's hunger war."

What they considered the moderation of the note impressed most Berlin newspapers. Thus the Morgen Post said: "Those who had advised that we ought to humble ourselves before America will be just as disappointed as those who thought we ought to bring the fist down on the table and answer America's representations with a war threat."

Count von Reventlow, radical editor of the Tageszeitung, said: "The substance of the proposals is to create a situation making it unnecessary for Americans to travel to Europe on ships under an enemy flag," and the Tägliche Rundschau said that the "answer with gratifying decisiveness, guards the conscience of the nation in the question of continuing the submarine war," but it criticises the note for possibly going too far in making concessions, which "may

prove impracticable and result in weakening the submarine war."

The unfavorable reception of Germany's note in the United States, as reported through English and French agencies, was read in Berlin with incredulity.

The Kreuz-Zeitung, the Tageszeitung, and the Boersen Zeitung expressed the belief that British and French news agencies had purposely selected unfavorable editorial expressions from the American newspapers for the sake of the effect they would have in Great Britain and France.

"Regarding the reception of the German note in America," the Kreuz-Zeitung said, "several additional reports from British sources are now at hand. Reuter's Telegram Company presents about a dozen short sentences from as many American papers. Were these really approximately a faithful picture of the thought of the American press as a unit, we should have to discard every hope of a possibility of an understanding. The conception of a great majority of the German people is that we showed in our note an earnest desire to meet, as far as possibly justified, American interests."

Like the Berlin press, German-American newspapers were unanimous in praise of the German note; to the New Yorker Staats-Zeitung it appeared a "sincere effort to meet the questions involved" and as "eminently satisfactory." The New Yorker Herold thought that any one with "even a spark of impartiality" would have to admit the "quiet, conciliatory tone of the German note" as "born of the consciousness in the heart of every German that Germany did not want the war"; that after it was forced on her she "waged it with honorable means." The Illinois Staats-Zeitung of Chicago declared it to be the "just demand of Germany" that Americans should not "by their presence on hostile boats try to protect war materials to be delivered by a friendly nation at a hostile shore." From the Cincinnati Freie Presse came the comment that Washington "has no busi-

ness to procure safety on the ocean for British ships carrying ammunition."

The American newspapers were nearly unanimous in adverse criticism of the note. THE NEW YORK TIMES said that Germany's request was "to suspend the law of nations, the laws of war and of humanity for her benefit." The Chicago Herald declared that the German answer "is disappointing to all who had hoped that it would clearly open the way to a continuance of friendly relations." While the San Francisco Chronicle discerned in the note "an entire absence of the belligerent spirit," it found that "Germany is asking us to abridge certain of our rights on the high seas." To the Denver Post the reply was the "extreme of arrogance, selfishness, and obstinacy," while The Atlanta (Ga.) Constitution remarks that German words and German deeds are separate matters: "The all-important fact remains that since President Wilson's first note was transmitted to that country, Germany has given us no single reasonable cause of complaint." The Louisville (Ky.) Courier-Journal believes the German reply would carry more weight and persuasion "if it could be considered wholly and apart as an *ex parte* statement." "Without equivocation and with a politeness of offensively insinuating," the Boston Transcript concludes, "Germany rejects each and all of our demands and attempts to bargain with respect to the future."

ON THE AMERICAN NOTE OF JULY 21

Publication of the American note in Berlin was delayed until July 25, owing to difficulty in translating its shades of meaning. While German statesmen and editors expressed keen appreciation of its literary style, the press was unanimous in considering the note disappointing, expressing pained surprise at the American stand. Captain Perseus, naval critic of the Berlin Tageblatt, said that the note "expresses a determination to rob us of the weapon to which we pin the greatest hopes in the war on England," and indicates that the "pro-

British troublemakers have finally won over the President." Count von Reventlow in the Tageszeitung complains of the note's "far too threatening and peremptory tone." The Kreuz-Zeitung says: "We are trying hard to resist the thought that the United States with its standpoint as expressed in the note, aims at supporting England," and Georg Bernhard of the Vossische Zeitung believes that yielding to President Wilson's argument means "the weakening of Germany to the enemy's advantage," adding that any one who has this in mind "is not neutral, but takes sides against Germany and for her enemies." The Boersen Zeitung says it is compelled to say, with regret, that the note is very unsatisfactory and "one cannot escape feeling that the shadow of England stands behind it." The New Yorker Staats-Zeitung says that the note is distinguished for its "clear language," and quotes the phrase "deliberately unfriendly" while noting the demand for disavowal and reparation. "Of quite unusual weight," the Staats-Zeitung says, "is the hint on the fact that the United States and Germany, so far as the freedom of the seas is concerned, have the same object in view." "Sharp and clear is it also explained" that after the end of the war the United States is "ready to play the rôle of an intermediary, in order to find a practicable way out." In fact, the note handed to the Government in Berlin "is at the same time meant for London," since it expresses itself as determined to protect neutrals "against every one of the warring nations." The New Yorker Herold is "certain that the complications will be settled amicably," while the Illinois Staats-Zeitung feels that "apparently our Government has a secret agreement with England intentionally to provoke Germany."

In praise of this note American press opinion is again nearly unanimous. The New York World says that "what the President exacts of Germany is the minimum that a self-respecting nation can demand." The New York Tribune calls the note an admirable American document. The Rochester Democrat and

Chronicle says it is strongly put, but not too strongly, and the Boston Herald thinks there is no escape from its logic. The Philadelphia Public Ledger says "the final word of diplomacy has obviously been said," and the Administration cannot "engage in further debate or yield on any point." The Chicago Herald believes the note is couched in terms that "no intelligent man would resent from a neighbor whose friendship he values." The St. Louis Republic says: "One hundred and twenty-eight years of American history and tradi-

tion speak in President Wilson's vindication." The St. Paul Pioneer Press calls the note "a great American character of rights," and the Charleston News and Courier declares that "we have drawn a line across which Germany must not step." The Portland Oregonian says: "If there was any expectation that the President's note to Germany would yield any measure of American rights or descend from the noble and impressive determination of the original warning to and demand upon Germany, it has not been fulfilled."

Austria-Hungary's Protest

An Associated Press dispatch dated London, July 16, says:

According to an Amsterdam dispatch to Reuter's Telegram Company it is stated from Vienna that the Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs sent a note to the American Ambassador at Vienna on June 29, drawing attention to the fact that commercial business in war material on a great scale is proceeding between the United States and Great Britain and her Allies, while Austria-Hungary and Germany are completely cut off from the American market.

It is set forth in the note that this subject has occupied the Government of the Dual Monarchy from the very beginning, and, although the Government is convinced that the American attitude arises from no other intention than to observe the strictest neutrality and international agreements, yet "the question arises whether conditions as they have developed during the course of the war, certainly independently of the wish of the American Government, are not of such a kind as in their effect to turn the intentions of the Washington Cabinet in a contrary direction.

"If this question is answered in the affirmative, and its affirmation cannot be doubted," according to the opinion of the Austro-Hungarian Government, "then the question follows whether it

does not seem possible, or even necessary, that appropriate measures should be taken to make fully respected the wish of the American Government to remain a strictly impartial vis-à-vis of both belligerent parties."

The note continues:

"A neutral government cannot be allowed to trade in contraband unhindered, if the trade take the form and dimensions whereby the neutrality of the country will be endangered. The export of war material from the United States as a proceeding of the present war is not in consonance with the definition of neutrality. The American Government, therefore, is undoubtedly entitled to prohibit the export of war material.

"Regarding the possible objections that American industry is willing to supply Austria-Hungary and Germany, which, however, is impossible owing to the war situation, it may be pointed out that the American Government is in a position to redress this state of things. It would be quite sufficient to advise the enemies of Austria-Hungary and Germany that the supply of foodstuffs and war material would be suspended if legitimate trade in these articles between Americans and neutral countries was not permitted."

In conclusion, the Austro-Hungarian Government appeals to the United States, calling attention to the interrupted good relations and friendship be-

tween that country and the dual monarchy, to take the present note under careful consideration.

WHY AUSTRIA ACTED

A dispatch from Vienna, via London, dated July 16, gives the following information from The Associated Press:

From a highly authoritative source at the Foreign Office a representative of The Associated Press has received an explanation of the motives that are said to have inspired the dispatch of the Austro-Hungarian note to the United States regarding the American traffic in war munitions.

The Austro-Hungarian statesman who spoke said that, although the facts upon which the note was based had been in existence for a long time, the communication was sent only now, when, after great victories in Galicia, it could not be interpreted as a cry for help from a land in distress. He disavowed in advance any idea that the note was sent at the request or inspiration of Germany, asserting that the step was taken spontaneously in the hope that, owing to the undisturbed friendly relations between Austria-Hungary and the United States, the note would be assured a sympathetic reception in the latter country.

"The note," said this statesman, "is inspired by friendly feelings of the monarchy toward the Union, where so many of our subjects have found a second home. It is the speech of a friend to a friend—an attitude which we are the more justified in taking because the relations of the two states have never been clouded.

"It might, perhaps, easily be a source of wonder that, since the basic grounds of the note have been in existence for months, the note was not sent long ago; but there is a reason for its appearance at this particular time. In view of the incredible rumors and reports about the condition of the monarchy which have been circulating throughout the United States, this note would surely have been interpreted at an earlier stage of events as a confession of weakness, as an ap-

peal for help in distress. Today, when a rich harvest is being garnered throughout the monarchy, when talk of starving out Austria-Hungary therefore is rendered idle, when complaints of shortage of ammunition are heard everywhere else except in the allied central monarchies, there cannot be the slightest question of this.

"On the other hand, it might be asked why the note, under these conditions, was issued at all. With nothing to check the victorious progress of the central powers in sight, with their ability to meet pressure in the economic field demonstrated, it might well be thought that it is a matter of indifference to them whether America continues her policy or not. That, however, is not the case. The problems of international law which this war has brought up are of far-reaching importance. The solutions reached will be standards of action for decades to come.

"For eminently practical as well as theoretical reasons, therefore, the monarchy is forced now not only to concern itself with the questions of the day, but also to feel its responsibility toward the future interests of mankind; and for this reason the Government thought it necessary to approach the subject under discussion—the more so because it felt that the previous debate pro and con had not, as it wished, led to the desired result, and because it believed that numbers of arguments specially laid down in The Hague Convention hitherto had escaped consideration.

"It may, of course, be assumed that the note is a product of mature consideration, and was drafted after consultation with international law experts of the first rank. The absence of the slightest hostile intent in it against the Union is shown not only by the opening phrases, but by the fact that it was published only after it leaked out in the United States that there was no objection to its publication.

"The question of whether Austria-Hungary feels that she is being cut off by America may be answered unreservedly in the affirmative. The military monarchy can and will continue the war

as long as necessary. The population will, as hitherto, suffer neither starvation nor material want. But there are other interests than those connected primarily with war which every Government is bound to consider, and unhampered trade relations with the United States are of the greatest importance to us.

"Finally, not only material, also I might say sentimental, interests play a certain rôle not to be underestimated among the people. Many warm friends of America among us are painfully affected by the fact that actual conditions give the impression that America, even though unintentionally, differentiates between the belligerents.

"Austro-Hungarian statesmen, conscious of the great rôle that America will be called upon to play in the future, would forget their duty if they neglected to do everything in their power to clear away the circumstances that shake the confidence of the bravely fighting armies and the whole population in the justice of America. It is clear that the war would have been ended long ago if America had not supplied our enemies with the means of continuing it.

"The assumption that the Austro-Hungarian note was sent at the wish of the German Government is incorrect. On the contrary, it is a completely spontaneous demonstration, inspired wholly by the Austro-Hungarian considerations. We hope it will be received and judged in America in the same spirit in which it was sent."

MR. WOOLSEY'S OPINION

Theodore S. Woolsey, formerly Professor of International Law at Yale University, in Leslie's Weekly, for July 29, has an article entitled "The Case for the Munitions Trade." In part Professor Woolsey says:

In the midst of widespread industrial depression came a great war. This war intensified the depression. It cut off markets, raised freights, retarded payments, upset the whole commercial world and we suffered with the rest. Then shortly came a demand for certain prod-

ucts and certain manufactures caused by the war itself, varied, considerable, even unexpected. This demand grew until it became an appreciable factor in our industrial life, a welcome source of profit when so many other sources of profit were cut off. It was a good thing; at the same time it was a temporary, unnatural thing, and directly or indirectly it was based upon the desire of some of our friends to kill others of our friends. Accordingly people began to give this trade bad names. They called it unneutral, wrong, inhuman.

For the sake of our pockets we were adding to the sum of human suffering and slaughter, and they urged that, even if legally justified, ethically this trade was a blot upon our character as a humane and civilized people and must be stopped. Where does the truth lie? What can the munitions trade say for itself?

Naturally, it turns for justification first to the usage of other wars, to the recognized rules of international law. As expressed in Article 7, Convention XIII, of the 1907 Conference at The Hague, the law is as follows:

"A neutral power is not bound to prevent the export or transit, for the use of either belligerent, of arms, ammunitions or, in general, of anything which could be of use to an army or fleet."

The next previous article had prohibited a Government from engaging in this trade, so that the distinction between what the State and the individual may do is made perfectly clear, provided both belligerents are treated alike. To permit trade in arms with one belligerent and forbid it with another would be unneutral and illegal.

We permit the munitions trade with both belligerents, it is true, and yet, owing to the chances of war, the right to buy inures to the advantage of one only. Does this stamp our conduct as unneutral? Quite the contrary. To embargo munitions bought by one because the other side does not choose to buy would be the unneutral act. Germany doesn't buy because she cannot transport.

She cannot transport, because she does

not care to contest the control of the sea with her enemies. Have we aught to do with that? To supplement her naval inferiority by denying to the Allies the fruits of their superiority would be equivalent to sharing in the war on the German side. Moreover, to assume and base action upon German naval inferiority in advance of any general trial of strength would be not only illegal, but even an insult to Germany. Notice that no complaints of our export of munitions have come from the German Government. To make such complaint would be to plead the baby act. Rather than risk her fleet by contesting the control of the sea, thus gaining her share of munitions imports, Germany has chosen to withdraw it behind fortifications, thus losing the munitions trade. Probably the decision is a sound one, but she must accept the results.

The opposition to the trade seems to come from two classes:

(1) German sympathizers who seek to minimize the advantage which sea power gives the Allies.

(2) Those who are governed by their emotions rather than by reason and respect for law. I would call the attention of both these classes to the usage, especially to the German usage, in other wars.

Professor Gregory, in an interesting article, gives statistics of the large German exports of arms to the British forces in the Boer war after the Boer trade had been cut off. In the Russo-Japanese war Krupp notoriously supplied both sides. In the Balkan war there was said to be competition between Krupp and Creusot in furnishing cannon. No state in the nature of things can satisfy its needs in war completely from its own resources. Every belligerent has bought, every neutral has allowed its citizens to sell, munitions since modern war began. England sympathized with the South in our civil war, yet sold to the North. She did the same in 1870 to France.

If the trade in munitions is to be forbidden, then every state must accumulate its own supply or greatly enlarge

its arms manufacturing capacity, both wasteful processes. To say that a moderate trade is lawful which a big trade is not is like the excuse of the lady who thought her baby born out of wedlock did not matter because it was such a little one.

The critics of the munitions trade must note furthermore that in our own country that trade cannot be forbidden without explicit legislation.

At the outset of the Spanish war such legislation was passed, as a war measure, forbidding the export of coal or other war material at the discretion of the President. But by resolution of Congress of March 14, 1912, the 1898 resolution was so amended as to apply to American countries only. The reason for this distinction was, of course, to limit the danger of such exports of arms to our neighbor states, particularly to Mexico, as might endanger our own peace and safety. The general right to trade was left undisturbed.

But let us argue the question on ethical grounds alone. I can see no difference between a peace trade and a war trade from the humanitarian standpoint; between arming a neighbor by our exports in preparation for war and re-arming him during war. In both cases we help him to kill. Now, if one regards all war as wrong, aid in waging war by trade in munitions, whether in peace time or war time, should be abhorrent to one's conscience. A Quaker gun is not only a paradox, but a sinful one.

Most of us, however, believe that a defensive war, against aggression threatening the life and liberties of a nation, is just and right. In the present war both parties claim to be fighting in self-defense. We are not their judge; we must take both at their word; what we owe both, ethically, is simply equality of treatment.

We help both alike in waging a just war. To do otherwise is to take part in their war. With the flux and flow of the contest which makes our trade valuable or worthless now to one side, now to the other, both ethically and legally we have nothing to do.

Armenian, Orduna, and Others

The diplomatic significance of the sinking of the Leyland liner Armenian on June 28 off the northwest coast of Cornwall is thus dwelt upon in a Washington dispatch to THE NEW YORK TIMES, dated July 2, 1915:

The lessons to be derived from the destruction of the Leyland liner Armenian off the English coast are expected to have a most important bearing upon the diplomatic controversy between Germany and the United States over the safety of human life in the submarine warfare.

It is believed here that the Armenian affair demonstrates that it is possible for German submarines of the latest types, when equipped with outside rapid-fire guns, to comply with the demand of President Wilson that the belligerent right of visit and search must be complied with before merchantmen and passenger ships are torpedoed.

Whatever the facts as to minor detail, the outstanding lesson of the affair is that a merchantman tried to escape capture and was finally forced to halt and surrender by a pursuing submarine, and the destruction of the liner by torpedo was not attempted until after those on board who survived the chase had an opportunity to take to the boats. It is evident that if the Armenian's Captain had heeded the warning shots of the submarine and halted the steamer he could have submitted to visit and search and in all probability the destruction of the Armenian could have been effected without loss of life. All international law experts agree that a vessel that refuses to halt when challenged by warning shots from a properly commissioned belligerent war vessel proceeds at her own peril.

In its broader aspects, the Armenian incident presents the most important lesson that has come out of the German undersea campaign for consideration by those engaged in the diplomatic controversy over the various acts of the German submarines—and the lesson is

considered extremely vital in its bearing on the pending negotiations, because, if it is at all possible for submarines to exercise the right of visit and search and they actually proceed in accordance with that rule, the Germans may proceed with their warfare against merchantmen carrying contraband without running counter to the expectations of the United States Government. Occasional merchantmen may try to escape capture or destruction by disregarding warning shots, but that will be their affair and the responsibility for loss of life due to efforts to elude submarines, and caused during the period of continued efforts to escape, would not then rest upon the submarines.

The effective use of rapid-fire guns mounted on submarines in bona fide efforts to halt merchant steamers for purpose of visit and search is the important factor in the situation. A submarine not so equipped would find it difficult, if not impossible, to apply the rule of visit and search. Without the outside guns such a submarine would possess no other effective weapon than the torpedo. The submarine that carried no exterior armament could not compel obedience to its mandate for the merchant Captain to stop without firing a torpedo and thus risking the destruction of life with the sinking of the steamer, and a submarine with no outside armament might run the risk, as frequently contended by the German Admiralty, of bomb attack from the rails of the merchant steamer when going alongside of such a vessel.

A submarine like the U 38, which sank the Armenian, carrying one or more outside guns, capable of discharging various kinds of shell, from blank shots to shrapnel, represents an important evolution in the development of marine warfare. Such a craft has the equipment to enable her to visit and search a passing merchantman, and to provide for the safe removal of officers, crew or passengers from a challenged steamer, before the destruction of the



GENERAL CARLO CANEVA

One of the Most Conspicuous of Italian Military Commanders.

Photo from Central News.



H. I. M. FRANCIS JOSEPH I.
Latest Portrait of the Venerable Sovereign of the Austro-Hungarian
Empire
(Photo from Bain.)

vessel. It is only necessary for such a submarine to fire her torpedoes as a last resort for the destruction of the steamer. With her exterior guns a submarine like the U 38, upon meeting a merchant vessel, may fire one or more warning shots, as Captain Trickey of the Armenian says the U 38 did.* The raider, he said, fired two warning shots, and when he turned away from her and put on speed, the submarine's guns opened fire on him with shrapnel.

THE ANGLO-CALIFORNIAN

Like the Armenian, the British merchantman Anglo-Californian refused to lie-to when signaled by a German submarine on July 2. Her crew of ninety-five included fifty Americans and Canadians. A Queenstown dispatch of July 5 gave the following account of the action:

The Anglo-Californian left Montreal for the British Isles on June 24. The submarine was sighted at 5 o'clock last Sunday morning. Captain Parslow ordered full steam ahead and wireless calls for aid were sent out. The submarine on the surface proved to be a far speedier craft than the steamer and rapidly overhauled her, meanwhile deluging her with shells. One shot put the wireless apparatus on the Anglo-Californian out of action. Finding that he could not escape by running for

it Captain Parslow devoted his attention to manœuvring his ship so as to prevent the submarine from using torpedoes effectively.

"Our Captain was a brave man," said one of the narrators. "He kept at his post on the bridge, coolly giving orders as the submarine circled around us vainly seeking to get a position from which it could give us a death blow with a torpedo. All the while the underwater boat continued to rain shot and shell upon us, and at times was so close that she was able to employ rifle fire effectively.

"At last one shell blew the Captain off the bridge, killing him outright and terribly mutilating him. Just before that he had given orders to launch the boats, but this was very difficult under the shell fire. Several men were struck down while working at the davits. Ultimately four boats were got overboard and were rowed away until picked up."

The son of Captain Parslow, serving as second mate, was standing by his father's side when the Captain was killed. The son was knocked down by the violence of the explosion. Springing to his feet, he seized the wheel, and, as ably as his father had done, continued dodging the submarine. Another shell burst alongside him, shattering one of the spokes of the wheel, but young Parslow retained his post.

The wireless S O S calls that had been

* Captain Trickey, describing the destruction of his vessel, through which several Americans lost their lives, said on July 1 in Liverpool:

"We sighted the submarine about 6.48 o'clock Monday night, June 28, when we were about twenty miles west of Trevoze Head, on the northwest coast of Cornwall. We were then about four miles away. She drew closer. She fired two shots across our bows. I then turned my stern to her and ran for all I was worth. The submarine shelled us all the time, killing several of the crew and cutting away several of our boats. The boats had already been swung out, and some of the men had taken up positions in them ready for the order to lower away. In some cases the falls were cut by shrapnel, and several of the men fell into the sea.

"A stern chase ensued, lasting for about an hour, the German shelling us unceasingly. My steering gear was cut and knocked out of order. One shell came through the engine-

room skylight, and another knocked the Marconi house away. Still another shell went down the funnel, disabling the stokehole and making it impossible to keep up a full head of steam. Thirteen of my crew were lying dead on the deck, and the ship was on fire in three places. Then I decided to surrender. It was the only thing I could do. By this time the submarine had decreased the distance between us to about a mile.

"From the moment we surrendered the Germans acted fairly toward us and gave us ample time to get out of the ship. They even rescued some of the men—three, I think—who had previously fallen from the boats and were still afloat aided by their lifebelts. When we had got away from the ship the submarine fired two torpedoes into her and she sank at 8.07 o'clock. We remained in the boats all night and were picked up the next morning by the Belgian steam trawler President Stevens."



War zone area showing where the Armenian, (British); Normandy, (American); Anglo-Californian, (British), and Orduna, (British) ships were attacked during the month of July.

sent out at the first alarm had reached those able to give more than passive assistance, however, and British destroyers appeared. On their approach the submarine abandoned the attack and submerged. Young Parslow was still at the wheel when the destroyers came up.

THE NORMANDY

An Associated Press dispatch from Liverpool, dated July 13, 1915, reported:

How an American ship is alleged to have been used as a shield by a Ger-

man submarine for the sinking of another vessel is related by members of the crew of the American bark Normandy, which has arrived here from Gulfport, Miss.

The story is that the Normandy was stopped by a German submarine sixty miles southwest of Tuskar Rock, off the southeast coast of Ireland, Friday night. The captain was called aboard the submarine, whence his papers were examined and found to show that the ship was chartered by an American firm January 5.

The captain of the bark, it was as-

serted, was allowed to return to the Normandy, but under the threat that his ship would be destroyed unless he stood by and obeyed orders. These orders, it was stated, were that he was to act as a shield for the submarine, which lay around the side of the bark, hiding itself from an approaching vessel.

This vessel proved to be the Russian steamer *Leo*. Presently the submarine submerged and proceeded around the bow of the *Normandy*, so the story went, and ten minutes later the crew of the *Normandy* saw the *Leo* blown up.

Twenty-five persons were on board, of whom eleven were drowned, including three stewardesses. Those saved included three Americans, Walter Emery of North Carolina, Harry Clark of Sierra, and Harry Whitney of Camden, N. J. All these three men when interviewed corroborated the above story. They declared that no opportunity was given those on board the *Leo* for saving lives.

The *Leo* was bound from Philadelphia for Manchester with a general cargo.

The Captain of the *Normandy* told the survivors that he would have liked to signal their danger to them, but that he dared not do so, because his uninsured ship would then have been instantly sunk.

In a Washington dispatch to THE NEW YORK TIMES, sent July 13, appeared the following:

The State Department received a short dispatch late this afternoon from Consul General Washington at Liverpool, confirming the report that three Americans were among those rescued by the American bark *Normandy* at the time of the sinking of the Russian merchant steamer *Leo* by a German submarine off the Irish coast Friday night. This is the case in which press dispatches asserted that the submarine commander forced the Captain of the *Normandy* to use his bark as a shield behind which the submarine hid before firing the torpedo which sank the *Leo*.

The cablegram from Consul General

Washington makes no mention of this phase of the affair, and does not show whether the German submarine gave any warning to the commander of the Russian merchant ship before firing the shot which destroyed the latter vessel. The official message says that the *Normandy* was stopped by the submarine, that the *Normandy's* papers were examined, and that she was allowed to proceed. The message added that the *Normandy* rescued three American citizens who were members of the crew of the *Leo*, and names them as Walter Emery, seaman, of Swan Quarter, N. C.; Harry Whitney, steward, of Camden, N. J., and Harry Clark, fireman, of 113 East Fifty-second Street, Seattle, Wash.

THE ORDUNA

This is the official statement of Captain Thomas M. Taylor of the Cunard liner Orduna, concerning the attack made on his vessel by a German submarine off Queenstown, westbound, on the morning of July 9:

At 6.05 A. M., July 9, the lookout man on the after bridge rang the telegraph, at the same time pointing his hand downward and out on the port beam. The third officer was immediately sent aft to inquire what was seen. He returned quickly and reported both men had seen a torpedo pass across the stern from port to starboard, only ten feet clear of the rudder. In the meantime both the chief officer and myself distinctly saw the trail of the torpedo, extending from the stern to about 200 yards out on the port beam. About eight minutes afterwards the chief officer and I saw the submarine come to the surface about two points on the starboard quarter, a distance of about three-quarters of a mile, with five or six men on her deck, getting her guns ready.

I immediately ordered all possible steam, altered the course, and brought her right astern, when they began shelling us. The first shot struck the water abreast of the forecabin on the starboard side, about thirty feet off. The second dropped just under the bridge; third, abreast of No. 5 hatch, quite close

alongside; fourth, under the stern, sending up a volume of water forty feet high; fifth and sixth and last shells all fell short. The firing then ceased, and the submarine was soon left far astern.

Marconi distress signals were sent out at once. We were thirty-seven miles south of Queenstown. I got a reply that assistance would be with us in an hour, but it was four hours before the small armored yacht *Jennette* appeared. I account for the torpedo missing the ship to their misjudging the speed, allowing fourteen knots instead of sixteen, which we were doing at the time. The torpedo passed only ten feet clear.

It was an ideal day for torpedo attack—light wind, slight ripple, clear weather. The periscope could only have been a few inches above water, for a very strict lookout was being kept at the time by chief and third officers and myself and four lookout men. However, we failed to see her before she fired the torpedo.

Not the least warning was given, and most or nearly all the passengers were asleep at the time. It was almost another case of brutal murder.

We had twenty-one American passengers on board.

A Washington dispatch of July 20 to THE NEW YORK TIMES announced:

The President and the Cabinet decided today to have an investigation made in the case of the British steamer *Orduna*, which was attacked by a German submarine on July 9 while on her way from Liverpool to New York. This action was taken following the receipt of a statement from W. O. Thompson, counsel of the Federal Industrial Commission, who was a passenger on the ship.

Mr. Thompson did not see any torpedo fired at the *Orduna* by the German submarine, and was unable to give first-hand testimony that the *Orduna* had been fired on without notice. It was determined, however, that the report of Mr. Thompson justified the Government in making an investigation.

Accordingly, Secretary Lansing wrote a letter to Secretary McAdoo, requesting that his department undertake the investigation, which will probably be intrust-

ed to the Collector of Customs at New York.

At the State Department it was said that the attention of the German Government had not been called to the charge that the *Orduna* was fired on by a German submarine without warning. Any action of that sort, if taken, will follow the investigation which is now ordered.

NEBRASKAN'S CASE

Ambassador Gerard on July 15 formally transmitted to Washington Germany's admission of liability and expression of regret for the attack by a German submarine on the American steamer Nebraska.

Secretary Lansing's announcement of the German memorandum follows:

Ambassador Gerard has telegraphed to the Department of State the following memorandum from the German Foreign Office relative to the damaging of the American steamer *Nebraskan* by a German submarine:

"The German Government received from newspaper reports the intelligence that the American steamer *Nebraskan* had been damaged by a mine or torpedo on the southwest coast of Ireland. It therefore started a thorough investigation of the case without delay, and from the result of the investigation it has become convinced that the damage to the *Nebraskan* was caused by an attack by a submarine.

"On the evening of May 25 last the submarine met a steamer bound westward without a flag and no neutral markings on her freeboard, about 65 nautical miles west of Fastnet Rock. No appliance of any kind for the illumination of the flag or markings was to be seen. In the twilight, which had already set in, the name of the steamer was not visible from the submarine. Since the commander of the submarine was obliged to assume from his wide experience in the area of maritime war that only English steamers, and no neutral steamers, traversed the war area without flag and markings, he attacked the vessel with a torpedo, in the con-

viction that he had an enemy vessel before him. Some time after the shot the commander saw that the vessel had in the meantime hoisted the American flag. As a consequence, he, of course, refrained from any further attack. Since the vessel remained afloat, he had no occasion to concern himself further with the boats which had been launched.

"It results from this that without a doubt that attack on the steamer Ne-

braskan was not meant for the American flag, nor is it traceable to any fault on the part of the commander of the German submarine, but is to be considered an unfortunate accident. The German Government expresses its regret at the occurrence to the Government of the United States of America and declares its readiness to make compensation for the damage thereby sustained by American citizens."

Results of Submarine Warfare

LIVERPOOL'S EXPERIENCE

A London cable dispatch to the NEW YORK TIMES, dated London, July 8, said:

Nearly 20,000 vessels have entered or left the port of Liverpool since the German submarine blockade began. This, said Sir A. Norman Hill, Secretary of the Liverpool Steamship Owners' Association, speaking at Liverpool yesterday, showed that the Germans had failed in their attempt to blockade British ports.

On these 20,000 voyages the Germans had captured or destroyed only twenty-nine ships, he continued. What did that represent? Ships which had sailed in and out of Liverpool had completed in safety 998 out of every 1,000 voyages upon which they started. That was a magnificent record, he held, of perils faced and overcome.

FIRST WEEK WITH NO LOSS

An Associated Press dispatch of July 22 from London remarked:

So far as British vessels were concerned, the German submarines drew a blank during the week ended yesterday. Not a single British merchant ship or fishing craft was sunk.

It was the first week since the war began that some loss to British shipping had not been occasioned by German cruisers, mines, or submarines.

During the week 1,326 vessels of more than 300 tons each arrived at or departed from ports of the United Kingdom.

The German war-zone decree went into effect on February 18. Since then the weekly losses of ships and lives from torpedoes have been as follows:

<i>Week Ending</i>	<i>Vessels.</i>	<i>Lives.</i>
February 25	11	9
March 4	1	0
March 11	7	38
March 18	6	13
March 25	7	2
April 1	13	165
April 8	8	13
April 15	4	0
April 22	3	10
April 29	3	0
May 6	24	5
May 13	2	1,260
May 20	7	13
May 27	7	7
June 3	19	32
June 10	36	21
June 17	19	19
June 24	3	1
July 1	9	29
July 8	15	2
July 15	12	13
July 22	2	0

Total 218 1,652

Of the two vessels torpedoed in the week of July 22, the Russian steamer Balwa was attacked on July 16. On the following day another Russian steamer, the General Radetzky, was torpedoed. Both hailed from Riga, and the crews of both were saved.

WARFARE MODIFIED?

A record reported to have been compiled chiefly from British Admiralty

sources since the sinking of the *Lusitania* was published by *The New York American* on July 13, showing that out of 122 ships sunk by German submarines in the war zone, every passenger or sailor was saved on all but 14. Following is *The American's* summary:

Total number of ships definitely reported sunk by German submarines in sixty-four days, since the <i>Lusitania</i> was torpedoed	122
Number of ships on which any loss of life occurred	14

[Note: Some of these fatalities occurred, according to British Admiralty reports, either from explosion of torpedoes or from upsetting of lifeboats, or from gunfire of submarines while the enemy ship was trying to escape.]

Total loss of life on 122 ships, from all causes	131
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GERMAN ACCOUNTS

In a Berlin dispatch of July 14, by wireless to Sayville, Long Island, the following was given out by the Overseas News Agency:

During the month of June twenty-nine British, three French, one Belgian, and nine Russian merchantmen were sunk by German submarines.

The total loss of the Entente Allies by submarines, including fishing steamers, which mostly were armed patrol boats, aggregated 125,000 tons.

The loss of human life was remarkably small, the submarines using every precaution and giving ample warning and time for crews to leave their ships if no resistance was attempted.

The total of losses in ships of the Allies' merchant marine around the English coast in the period between February 18 (the beginning of the German submarine war zone) and May 18, as compiled from German data, was published in the Frankfurter Zeitung of June 6. This publication, the first issue from German quarters, contains also a list of the various allied ships sunk, totaling 111, together with the nationality and tonnage of each, and a charted map of the British Isles showing where each ship was sunk.

In describing the achievements of the German submarine against their foes—the neutral ships sunk are not included—the Frankfurter Zeitung's article says:

In the period of three months since the 18th of February, a day memorable for history, our submarines have inflicted on the enemy merchant shipping, in the first place the English merchant marine, a total loss of 111 ships with a displacement of 234,239 tons. The figures may, perhaps, not seem especially large in comparison with the gigantic number of merchant ships flying the flag of the enemy. But in this method of warfare the percentage loss of ships of our opponent as compared with his total does not count, but rather the fact that through the regularity and inevitableness of the marine catastrophes the enemy shipping shall be disturbed as poignantly as possible, and that there should as a result of this disturbance appear in the economic life of England phenomena similar to those which the English plan of the isolation of Germany aims at without, however, having succeeded in getting any nearer to its goal, owing to the inherent strength and power of adaptation of German business.

The rise of prices now prevalent in England, and the paralyzing of great branches of trade which could not occur in an England that really ruled the sea, may be attributed in chief part to this war of the submarines. The advantage of the insular position of England has been greatly lessened, thanks to this excellent German weapon, even if it cannot be completely eliminated. But if one compares with the total voyages of the English merchant shipping the losses of the English merchant marine, amounting to more than 100 ships in a period of exactly ninety days, and a tonnage of 216,000 tons, (from the totals mentioned above there must be deducted the shares of France and Russia,) then we must consider only that part of the British merchant marine that entered ports of the island kingdom in this period or left them; and one must bear in mind further that a large number of those ships is contained several times in the English statistics, since they do coast service.

But as valuable booty for our submarines particularly those ships are to be regarded that import any kinds of commodities to England. And statistics will later be able to show on the basis of these figures the great success of the German submarine warfare, as indicated by figures.

A glance at the map that accompanies the list of losses suffices to show that mine fields as little as great distances are factors of decisive importance in the activities of our submarines. The closing of the English Channel and of the North Channel (between Ireland and Scotland) has not prevented our boats from penetrating wherever there was booty. Even on the northwest coast of Scotland and out in the west of Ireland the German submarines have carried on a successful hunt. The numbers in the little circles on the map represent the successive ships on the list.

The Frankfurter Zeitung adds figures given by the British Admiralty on the same subject. These, it says, total 130 merchant ships with a registered tonnage of 457,000 tons, from the beginning of the war to May 26. Added to these, it says, are 83 fishing vessels with a tonnage of 13,585 tons, making a total

of 213 ships with 470,585 tons. It says:

These figures, however, are certainly incomplete, inasmuch as up to March 16 there had already been announced 145 ships with a total tonnage of 500,000 as lost, and the figures published by us above, based upon authentic material, concerning the victims of our submarines in three months, contradict beyond any power of dispute the euphemistic presentation of the British Admiralty. Even so, however, the English list still shows that since the beginning of the submarine warfare, although in that period there was little to speak of in the way of activities of the German cruisers abroad, the damage done to the English fleet has risen according to the confession of the Admiralty itself. Since Feb. 18, that is to say, since scarcely more than a quarter of a year, according to the English figures, no less than 56 British merchant ships with a tonnage of 187,000 tons (that is to say, more than 40 per cent. of the total number of merchant ships designated as lost) have been sunk. But if instead of these English figures the German compilation, which is indubitably correct, be accepted, then the entire picture changes considerably in our favor.

In Memoriam:

REGINALD WARNEFORD

[From Truth of London]

Young gallant soul, unversed in fear,
Who swiftly flew aloft to fame,
And made yourself a world-wide name,
Ere scarce had dawned your brief
career.

To glory some but slowly climb
By painful inches of ascent,
And some, hereon though sternly
bent,
Ne'er reach it all their life's long time.

But you—you soared as eagles soar;
At one strong flight you flashed on
high;
The sudden chance came sudden
nigh;
You seized it; off its spoils you bore.

And now, while still the welkin rings
With your unmatched heroic deed,
To pæan elegies succeed,
The mournful Muse your requiem
sings.

A requiem, yet with triumph rife!
How not, while men their souls would
give
To die your death, so they might live
Your "crowded hour of glorious life"?

Great hour, that knows not time nor
tide,
Wild hour, that drinks an age's
sweets,
Brave hour, that throbs with breath-
less feats,
Short hour, whose splendours long abide.

American Preparedness

By Theodore Roosevelt

In an address at the Panama-Pacific Exposition in San Francisco, delivered on July 21, Colonel Theodore Roosevelt said:

I HAVE a very strong feeling about the Panama Exposition. It was my good fortune to take the action in 1903, failure to take which, in exactly the shape I took it, would have meant that no Panama Canal would have been built for half a century, and, therefore, that there would have been no exposition to celebrate the building of the canal. In everything we did in connection with the acquiring of the Panama Zone we acted in a way to do absolute justice to all other nations, to benefit all other nations, including especially the adjacent States, and to render the utmost service, from the standpoint alike of honor and of material interest, to the United States. I am glad that this is the case, for if there were the slightest taint upon our title or our conduct it would have been an improper and shameful thing to hold this exposition.

The building of the canal nearly doubles the potential efficiency of the United States Navy, as long as it is fortified and is in our hands; but if left unfortified it would at once become a menace to us.

What is true as to our proper attitude in regard to the canal is no less true as regards our proper attitude concerning the interests of the United States taken as a whole. The canal is to be a great agency for peace; it can be such only, and exactly in proportion as it increased our potential efficiency in war.

Those men who like myself believe that the highest duty of this nation is to prepare itself against war so that it may safely trust its honor and interest to its own strength are advocating merely that we do as a nation regard-

ing our general interests what we have already done in Panama. If, instead of acting as this nation did in the Fall of 1903, we had confined ourselves to debates in Congress and diplomatic notes; if, in other words, we had treated elocution as a substitute for action, we would have done nobody any good; and for ourselves we would have earned the hearty derision of all other nations—the canal would not even have been begun at the present day, and there would have been a general consensus of international opinion to the effect that we were totally unfit to perform any of the duties of international life, especially in connection with the Western hemisphere.

Unfortunately in the last few years we have as regards pretty much everything not connected with the Isthmus of Panama so failed in our duty of national preparedness that I fear there actually is a general consensus of opinion to precisely this effect among the nations of the world as regards the United States at the present day. This is primarily due to our unpreparedness.

We have been culpably, well-nigh-criminally, remiss as a nation in not preparing ourselves, and if, with the lessons taught the world by the dreadful tragedies of the last twelve months, we continue with soft complacency to stand helpless and naked before the world, we shall excite only contempt and derision if and when disaster ultimately overwhelms us.

Preparedness against war does not invariably avert war any more than a fire department in a city will invariably avert a fire; and there are well-meaning foolish people who point out this fact as offering an excuse for unpreparedness. It would be just as sensible if after the Chicago fire Chicago had announced that it would abolish its fire de-

partment as for our people to take the same view as regards military preparedness. Some years ago I was looking over some very old newspapers contemporaneous with the early establishment of paid fire departments in this country, and to my amusement I came across a letter which argued against a paid fire department upon the ground that the knowledge of its existence would tend to make householders careless, and therefore would encourage fires.

Greece was not prepared for war when she went to war with Turkey a score of years ago. But this fact did not stop the war. It merely made the war unsuccessful for Greece. China was not prepared for war with Japan twenty-odd years ago, nor for war with the Allies who marched to Peking fifteen years ago.

Colonel Roosevelt then discussed in detail the cases of China and Belgium, comparing Belgium with Switzerland, and asserting that Switzerland would have met Belgium's fate if she had not been prepared to oppose invasion. Then taking up the case of China, he said:

She has acted on the theory that the worst peace was better than the best war, and therefore she has suffered all the evils of the worst war and the worst peace. The average Chinaman took the view that China was too proud to fight and in practice made evident his hearty approval of the sentiments of that abject pacifist song: "I Didn't Raise My Boy to be a Soldier," a song which should have as a companion piece one entitled: "I Didn't Raise my Girl to be a Mother," approval of which of course deprives any men or women of all right of kinship with the soldiers and with the mothers and wives of the soldiers, whose valor and services we commemorate on the Fourth of July and on Decoration Day; a song, the singing of which seems incredible to every man and woman capable of being stirred to lofty and generous enthusiasm by the tremendous surge of Julia Ward Howe's "Battle Hymn of the Republic." China has steadily refused to prepare for war.

Accordingly China has had province after province lopped off her, until one-half of her territory is now under Japanese, Russian, English and French control.

The professional pacifists, the peace-at-any-price, non-resistance, universal arbitration people are now seeking to Chinify this country.

During the past year or so this nation has negotiated some thirty all-inclusive peace treaties by which it is agreed that if any issue arises, no matter of what kind, between itself and any other nation, it would take no final steps about it until a commission of investigation had discussed the matter for a year. This was an explicit promise in each case that if American women were raped and American men murdered, as has actually occurred in Mexico; or American men, women, and children drowned on the high seas, as in the case of the Gulfight and Lusitania; or if a foreign power secured and fortified Magdalena Bay or the Island of St. Thomas, we would appoint a commission and listen to a year's conversation on the subject before taking action.

England and France entered into these treaties with us, and we begged Germany to enter into one, and, although Germany refused, yet if we were right in entering into them with England and France, we deprived ourselves of moral justification in refusing to fulfill their spirit as regards Germany. Personally I believe that it was absolutely necessary when the concrete case arose to repudiate the principle to which we had thus committed ourselves. But it was a shameful thing to have put ourselves in such a position that it had to be repudiated, and it was inexcusable of us to decline to follow the principle in the case of the Lusitania without at the same time making frank confession of our error and misconduct by notifying all the powers with whom we had already made the treaties that they were withdrawn, because in practice we had found it impossible and improper to follow out the principle to which they committed us.

First Year of the War

Military Résumés of Operations on All Fronts— August, 1914 to August, 1915

By Lieutenant Walter E. Ives

*Formerly of the Royal Prussian Thirteenth Dragoons
and*

By An American Military Expert

One Year's War

By LIEUTENANT WALTER E. IVES

I.

THE WESTERN CAMPAIGN

THE first year of the European war has drawn to a close. A résumé covering the military events it has produced brings to view two distinct phases of the campaign. The first phase comprises the period from Aug. 3 to Oct. 27, and consists of a tenacious effort to carry through the original plan of war of the German General Staff: to strike a crushing blow at France, and after putting her "hors de combat," to turn on the enemy in the East. The second phase comprises the time from Oct. 27 to the present, and consists in the pursuance of military aims forming the direct reversal of the original ones.

The campaign against France, in consequence of the German plan of strategy the first one to come into prominence, can, in its first phase, be divided into four periods.

The first period comprises the operations in Belgium, German Lorraine and Alsace, from Aug. 3 to Aug. 23, the day before the Battle for the Invasion of France, commonly, but incorrectly known as the battle of Mons.

The main blow at France was to come through Belgium. Five German armies out of eight were hurled against this gateway to Northern France. In Lorraine and Alsace the Germans were tem-

porarily to remain on the defensive. The protection of Lorraine was intrusted to the Bavarian (Sixth) Army, that of Alsace to the remaining two armies.

The French plan of operation was to check the invasion of Belgium on the line Tongres-Liege-Longwy, where the Belgian Army, from a strictly military point of view, forming the advance guards of the French Army of the North, was holding strong positions, and with superior forces to strike at the German Army of Lorraine. The aim was, avoiding Metz, to reach the Moselle near Trier through the valley of the Saar, and to roll up the German Army of the North from its left wing. An invasion of Alsace was merely to satisfy political aspirations.

The German advance in Belgium, however, remained unchecked, and in Lorraine the battles of Dieuze and Saarbours on Aug. 20 decided the issue in favor of the Bavarians. In Alsace the French were victorious over the Eighth Army and took Muelhausen, while further north, between Muenster and Shirmeck, the Seventh Army checked the French invasion.

Meanwhile the German avalanche in Belgium had reached the second line of defense, Brussels-Namur-Longwy, before the French Army of the North. The capture of Namur prompted the French staff to recall advance guards, which had reached the fortress just as it surrendered, and to accept battle in the line Mons-Charleroi-Givet-Longwy. The battle for the invasion of France and the retirement of the French armies in all

the theatres of action which it caused opens the second period of the campaign against France.

The English contingent from Havre had joined the French Army just before the German onslaught began. The battle was lost by the Allies tactically and strategically through the defeat of their right wing at Longwy and Neufchateau, and through the encircling of their left wing at Mons. The direct result of the outcome was the German invasion of France; the indirect consequence (resulting from the necessity of drawing troops from the other fields of action to stem the German invasion) was the retirement of the French armies in Lorraine and Alsace to the line Verdun-Nancy-St. Die, and further south to the passes of the Vosges, which they have been holding ever since.

Sweeping on through Northern France, the German Army of the North was breaking up all resistance in its path, such as was attempted by the British at St. Quentin on Aug. 28, and was tearing with it all fortresses, such as Longwy, La Fère, Maubeuge, and others; but it was failing in its principal aim: to embrace the skillfully retreating enemy before he could reach the line Paris-Verdun, which he had selected and prepared for the next stand.

On Aug. 30 the German plan of strategy was changed, and it was resolved to break the centre of the enemy, throwing his left wing into Paris and on the Seine and his right wing into Verdun, Toul, and Epinal. The armies of the centre were pushed forward, while either wing held back. The Allies were established in the general line Paris-Verdun.

The battle ensuing on Sept. 5 and the retreat of the Germans to the Aisne are the events of the third period of this campaign, lasting from Sept. 5 to Sept. 28. On Sept. 8, while the German attacks had all but pierced the French centre, having already bent it back beyond the line Sezanne-Vitry, the German right wing found itself outflanked by a new allied army from Paris, which was rapidly moving northward and threatened to roll up the entire German battle front

from the direction of Compiègne. The critical question, who would succeed first, the Allies in outflanking the German right or the Germans in piercing the French centre, was decided in favor of the Allies. Anglo-French strategy triumphed.

The tactical aspect of the situation, though, is best illustrated by the message sent to his commander-in-chief by General Foch, commanding the French Army of the Centre when he received the order to counter-attack: "My left has been forced back, my right is routed. I shall attack with the centre." When the counter-attack came it found but rear guards opposing it. The retreat of the Germans, their right flank constantly in danger of being rolled up, was a fine military achievement. On Sept. 12 it halted on the Aisne. In the regions northeast of Verdun the German left wing joined hands with the Sixth German Army, which had followed up the retirement of the French Army of Lorraine to the line Verdun-St. Die.

Thus resting on Metz with its left wing the German battle-front was strongly established on a line passing Verdun, to the east and northeast, extending from there in a general westerly direction to the valley of the Aisne as far as the region north of Compiègne, and from that point northward to the region west of Peronne and Cambrai.

The stability of this line, enabling a constant shifting of forces toward the right wing, and the arrival there of the army released from Maubeuge, made possible the extension of the battle-front to the region of Arras, and frustrated all flanking movements on the part of the Allies.

The situation was again safe, but the plan to put the French army hors de combat was far from having been realized. The German General Staff therefore decided on a new plan. Its purpose was to gain control of the northeast coast of France. A wedge should be driven between the two allied countries, and Pas-de-Calais made the base of further operations against both. The following out of this plan constitutes the

fourth and last period of the first phase of the western campaign. It starts with the beginning of the siege of Antwerp on Sept. 28 and ends with the first battle of Ypres on Oct. 27.

The first step toward the accomplishment of the new aims was the capture of Antwerp. Antwerp in the hands of the Allies meant a constant menace to the German line of communication; in possession of the Germans it signified the key to Northern France. The fortress was taken on Oct. 9. The next point of strategic importance for the pursuance of the German plan was Lille, which was taken on Oct. 12.

But the change in the German plan of strategy had been recognized by the Allies, and a new English army from Havre was hurried to the line Bethune-Dunkirk to extend the allied left wing to the coast and block the road to Calais. It reached West Flanders on Oct. 13, and on Oct. 16 it came in contact with the German Army that approached from Antwerp. The latter joined the German right wing north of Lille and extended it to Westende. On the 18th, after having brought up all their reserves, the Germans began their onslaught to break through in the region of Dixmude and Ypres.

While, by Oct. 27, no appreciable impression had been made on the allied battleline, the situation in the eastern seat of war had begun to assume an alarming aspect, and necessitated the complete change in the German plan of strategy, which marks the beginning of the second phase of the war.

On the western front this second phase meant for the Germans the going into the defensive along the entire battleline, which the allied armies have been relentlessly attempting to break. In spite of their continuous heroic efforts only minor successes, such as that of the British at Neuve Chapelle and that of the French to the north of Arras, have been achieved. Counter attacks, forming the most essential element of the modern defensive, have been launched by the Germans incessantly, and have on several occasions resulted

in successes similar to those of the Allies, as, for instance, at Soissons and at Ypres. On the whole, no changes of strategic importance have taken place, and the German wall in France stands firm to this day.

II.

THE EASTERN CAMPAIGN

WHILE, in the early days of August, the bulk of the German Army was moving westward, not more than ten army corps were available for the campaign against Russia. To them and to the Austrian armies fell the task of laying the basis for the offensive contemplated for a later date. The plan of campaign was to draw the Russians into the Polish bag and tie it up. It was based on the knowledge that Russia's principal strategic aim must, under all circumstances, be Cracow, the gateway to Vienna and Berlin.

The enemy was to be allowed to reach it through Poland, while the Germans should hold on to East Prussia and the Austrians to Galicia, to flank the Russian advance from the north and south in preparation for a campaign against the Russian lines of communication. This scheme of bagging the enemy has governed all strategic moves of the campaign against Russia to this day.

But the Muscovites were on their guard. They paid little attention to the few German divisions that were thrown into Poland in August, in order to attract a Russian offensive, and began hammering at the Teutonic flanking positions along the East Prussian frontier in the north and the line Lublin-Tarnopol in the south.

While the Russian offensive in East Prussia came to grief at Tannenberg, it was most successful against Galicia, and the eighth week of the war already found the Russian invasion west of the San, Przemysl besieged, and the Austrian right wing flanked by vast bodies of cavalry, which had penetrated the Carpathian passes and reached the region of Munkacs.

To relieve the pressure exerted on their Allies and give them a chance once more to establish themselves in north-eastern Galicia, four German army corps invaded Poland and advanced toward Radom and Ivangorod. This counter move was successful. Menaced in their right flank, the Russians quickly took back their army beyond the San. The Austrians followed, raised the siege of Przemysl, and drove the invaders from Hungary and straightened out their line from Sandomir to Czernowitz.

Meanwhile heavy Russian reinforcements had been brought up from Ivangorod and were gradually put in action against the Germans east of Radom. On Oct. 24, as soon as the Russian superiority became alarming, the four German army corps, having, temporarily at least, accomplished their purpose of re-establishing the Austrian campaign, beat a hasty retreat toward Silesia, during which the second purpose of their invasion, to draw into the Polish bag great masses of Russian troops, was successfully achieved, the Russians having been led to believe that they were pursuing a great German army.

Simultaneously, though, with their advance in the path of the German retreat in Poland, the Russians once more concentrated vast forces against the menacing projection of the Austrian battle-line in Galicia, and the early days of November witnessed the second invasion of the Austrian province. At the same time a new drive was made on East Prussia, and the Germans were forced back into the region of the Masurian Lakes.

The retirement of the entire Teutonic battleline before the Russians, who toward the end of October had reached the maximum of their strength, marks the end of the first phase of the eastern campaign. It had not accomplished all that had been expected of it. The enemy had been drawn far into South Poland, but the base of operations for the general offensive against his communications in the north had not been established just where it should have been, and the Russian frontier fortifications

had been found better prepared for resistance than those of Belgium, while in the south the Austrian base of operations was entirely in the hands of the enemy.

The second phase of the eastern campaign was therefore opened from a new base—Thorn, where the main army had been gathered ever since Oct. 27, when the Russian danger had become alarming, and the offensive in the west had been abandoned. It was suddenly launched with irresistible force on Nov. 12, and rolled back numerically inferior Russian armies, whose task it had been to protect the right flank of the Russian advance on Silesia.

Recognizing the danger to their operations in South Poland and Galicia, where they had meanwhile approached the line of the Warta, Cracow, and Neu Sandec, the Russians threw troops into North Poland from all sides and succeeded in temporarily detaining the German advance there, while they were continuing their supreme efforts to break the Austro-German line south of Cracow. But the line held. At the same time the German drive in North Poland was making steady headway.

On Dec. 6 the Germans took Lodz, and further north advanced on Lowitz, and the Russian offensive in the Cracow district was given up. While all troops that could be spared were sent northeast to support the prepared lines of the Bzura and Rawka Rivers, the Russians in the south fell back behind the Nida and Dunajec, joining with their right wing their northern army in the region of Tomaschew, and extending their left through the region of Gorlitz and Torka toward the Pruth. In this line the Teutonic advance was checked. A new German drive on the road from Soldau to Warsaw could likewise make no headway beyond Mlawa, while on the other hand in East Prussia the Russian offensive had been brought to a standstill.

A siege warfare, like that in France, seemed imminent, except in the Bukowina, where Russian forces during January were driving Austrian troops before them. The Russian invasion of that

province, however, so distant from all strategically important points, was but a political manoeuvre.

The first movement of any consequence to occur was a desperate attempt of the Austrians early in February to push forward with their right wing in the direction of Stanislaw, chiefly to bring relief to the garrison of Przemysl. Simultaneously they began sweeping the Russians out of Bukovina. The latter undertaking was successful, but the advance on Stanislaw was thrown back toward Nadworna.

While the Austrian offensive was under way, General von Hindenburg unexpectedly launched a vigorous attack in East Prussia, which resulted in the destruction of the Russian East Prussian Army in the region of the Masurian Lakes. Once more a successful drive at the Russian "bread line" from the north seemed at hand. Already the armies pursuing the Russians were hammering at the Russian fortifications along the Niemen, Bobr, and Narew when the surrender of Przemysl, the siege of which had uninterruptedly gone on behind the Russian lines since November, on March 22 again presented to the Russians an opportunity to break the Austrian battleline.

To check the onslaught of the reinforced Russian armies against the Carpathian passes early in April, troops must be drawn from General von Hindenberg's armies, and the consequence was another deadlock in the north. Meanwhile the reinforced Teutonic troops were hurriedly concentrated for the counter-attack against the Russian offensive in the Carpathians, and a great drive began against the Russian positions on the Dunajec line, east of Cracow, early in May. Breaking all resistance, it swept on toward Jaroslau and Przemysl on a sixty-mile front.

Threatened in their right and left flanks, respectively, the Russian lines on the Nida and in the Carpathians fell back rapidly, while reinforcements were sent to stem the Teutonic advance along the San. But the Russian efforts were in

vain. The momentum the Teutonic offensive had gained carried it across the river, while further south the Austrian right wing cleared the entire Carpathian front of the enemy, hotly pushing his retreat.

Przemysl was recaptured, the third Russian line of defense from Rawa-Ruska to Grodeck and the Dniester was broken, and the end of June saw Lemberg once more in the hands of the Teutons, and the Russian line on the defensive and sorely pressed along a front extending from the Bassarabian frontier along the Dniester to the mouth of the Zlota-Lipa, and from there along the Zlota-Lipa and the Bug, well into Russian territory, leaving the river southeast of Grubeschow, and continuing from there in a northwesterly direction to the region of Krasnik.

Here it joined hands with the left wing of the Russian Army of the Nida, which had retired before the Austro-German advance in a northeasterly direction, intrenching along a line from Krasnik across the Vistula and through Sjenno and Jastrshob (about fifteen miles southwest of Radom) to the region of Tomaschew on the Pilitza.

While this great Spring offensive from the Dunajec line was well under way, small German forces invaded the Russian province of Courland. Finding at first little resistance in the path of their unexpected advance, they took Libau and established themselves on the Dubissa-Windau line. During July the operations in Courland steadily assumed greater proportions.

Two bases for the campaign against the Russian lines of communication have thus been firmly established in the flanks of the Russian Armies west of the Vistula, both protruding far into their rear. Drives against the Dunaburg-Warsaw line from the north and the Minsk-Ivanogorod line from the south will open the second year of the eastern campaign. The first year of the incessant struggle has brought the aims of the German strategy, the bagging of the Russian Armies, within sight of its realization.

III.

CAMPAIGNS OF MINOR
IMPORTANCE

WHILE the struggle in the two principal seats of war has been going on, the passing year has witnessed fighting also of secondary importance, though not less heroic, in three other fields of action: Serbia, Turkey, and the Austro-Italian frontier. Whereas Turkey joined the Teutons but three months after the beginning of hostilities, and Italy was involved only at the end of May, Serbia was one of the first nations to take the field.

Austria's campaign against the little kingdom could under no circumstances influence the events of the war, and was therefore void of any strategic importance. For this reason, but three Austrian Army corps were engaged in it.

The purpose was merely to keep the Serbians busy, and prevent them from invading Austrian soil. For the sake of the moral effect on the other Balkan States the capture of Belgrade should be attempted. In view of the strength of the Danube fortifications the operations were launched from Bosnia and resulted in the forcing of the Drina line and the capture of Valjevo on Nov. 17. The Serbian positions on the Danube having thus been flanked, the abandonment of Belgrade on Dec. 2 was a natural consequence of the Battle of Valjevo.

Misled by their successes into the belief that the Serbian army had been placed hors de combat, the Austrians advanced beyond the lines destined to constitute the object of their offensive. In the difficult mountain districts southeast of Valjevo the Serbians turned on the invaders with superior forces and defeated them. The Austrian retreat to the Drina which followed, necessitated the evacuation of Belgrade on Dec. 15. Since then, the situation on the Serbian frontier has been a deadlock, only desultory and insignificant fighting occurring for the rest of the year.

In contrast to the operations in Serbia, Turkey's campaign has direct bearing on

the European war. Its chief feature, the closing of the Dardanelles, has been a serious blow to Russia. The frantic efforts of the Allies to open them are the plainest evidence of its importance.

The attempt in March to force the straits by naval power having resulted in failure, an army was landed on the west coast of Gallipoli, and after heavy fighting established itself on a line running from Eski-Hissarlik on the south coast of the peninsula to the region of Sari-Bair, on the north coast, constituting a front of approximately twenty miles, within five miles of the west coast. No progress further than this have the Allies been able to make up to the present, and the watch at the Dardanelles stands firm as yet.

The attacks of the Anglo-French armies, however, exerted influence on Turkey's operations in other fields of action. They caused the complete abandonment of a contemplated invasion of Egypt and compelled the Turkish troops to go on the defensive in the Caucasian seat of war. This enabled Russia to call back to Poland troops sorely needed there, with which they had had to check the Turkish advance on Kars in January. Since February both battlelines along the Caucasian front have been weakened and no fighting of any consequence has occurred in this campaign of merely secondary importance.

The operations in the latest field of action, along the Austro-Italian frontier, have been going on for but eight weeks, and do not, therefore, allow any conclusions as to their importance to be made as yet. So far the Italians have been unable to make any effective impression on either Austria's Tyrolean frontier or on the front of the Isonzo. All attempts to break through the Austrian lines have thus far failed. The aim of Austria's strategy is to maintain a deadlock until the issue has been decided in Poland.

In determining the results of the first year of the world war the question as to which side is holding the advantage at the close of this important period depends entirely upon what were the polit-

ical aims of the adversaries. The Teutonic allies' contention has ever been, rightly or wrongly, that they are not waging a war for territorial aggrandize-

ment, but purely one in self-defense. From this point of view they can be well satisfied with the results they have so far attained.

An American View

By the Military Expert of The New York Times

FIRST PHASE

Opening the Way to France Through Belgium

BY Aug. 4, 1914, war had been declared by all the nations now engaged except Turkey and Italy. Subsequent events have proved that of them all the Teutonic allies were the only nations actually prepared and that as between Austria and Germany the preparation of the latter was much more complete. It was the Germans, therefore, who, with the entire campaign carefully mapped out in advance, took the initiative. Germany, too, at the very outset saw the one clear path to victory.

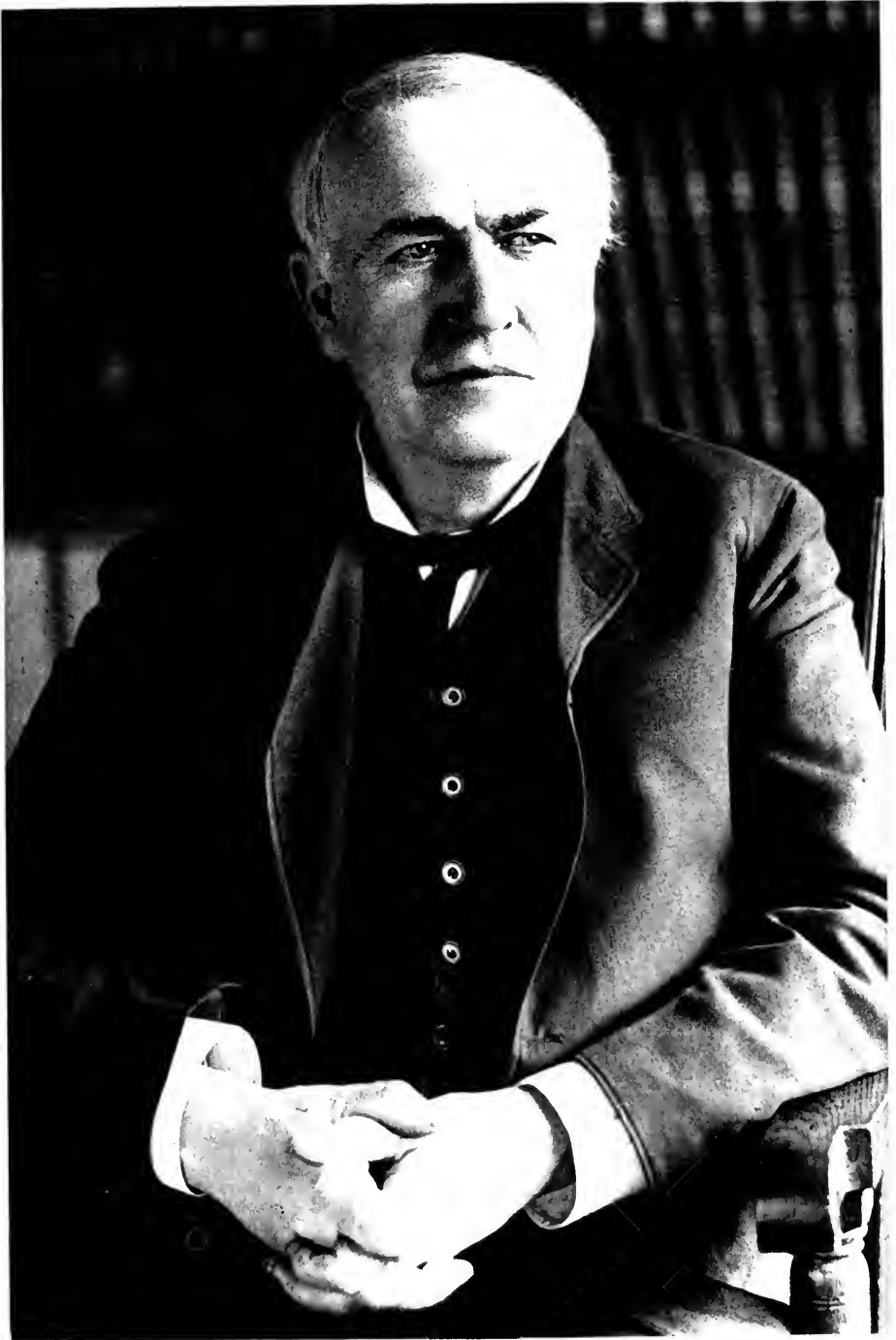
One or the other of her Continental enemies must not only be defeated, but crushed and eliminated from the conflict before the other could mobilize against her. One of them, Russia, would probably take the longer time to effect her mobilization. Russia had started, it is true, before war was declared. But interior railroads in Russia are few. Russia, too, is proverbially slow, if for no other reason than by virtue of her ponderous numbers. France, on the other hand, is checked and counter-checked by good strategic railroads, and, having no such vast territory over which her troops would have to be moved, would be able to mobilize in a much shorter time than her ally. England, for a few weeks at least, could be disregarded. Deceived as to the extent of Russian unpreparedness and believing that Russia's slowness would prevent an active offense for some weeks, Germany selected France as her first objective, and took immediate steps

to hurl twenty-four army corps across the French border at various points, aiming at Paris.

These twenty-four corps were divided into three armies—the Army of the Meuse, based on Cologne; the Army of the Moselle, based on Metz and Coblenz, and the Army of the Rhine, based on Strassburg. All of these three armies were naturally to converge on Paris. The route of the Army of the Meuse would pass through Liège, Namur, and Maubeuge, and would therefore have to cross a part of Belgium; the Army of the Moselle would take a route through Sedan and Soissons, passing north of the Verdun fortress, but of necessity crossing the Duchy of Luxemburg; the Army of the Rhine, after crossing the screen of the Vosges Mountains, would pass through Nancy and Toul, between the fortresses of Epinal and Belfort.

It is obvious that the march to Paris would be most quickly achieved through the flat country of Belgium, where the French frontier is practically unguarded and only the weakly manned barrier fortresses of Belgium barred the way. The remainder of the French frontier from Luxemburg to Switzerland was well fortified, and Germany had no time to spend in reducing fortified places.

The main advance was therefore to take place through Belgium, the Army of the Moselle co-operating, while to the Army of the Rhine was assigned the offensive-defensive rôle of advancing to the barrier fortresses of Epinal and Belfort to check any French advance that might be directed against the communications of the Armies of the Moselle and



THOMAS A. EDISON

The American Inventor, Now Associated With the Navy Department
as Chief of the Advisory Board of Civilian Inventors and Engineers.



HUDSON MAXIM

American Inventor of High Explosives and Other Materials of War
(Photo by White)

the Meuse to the north. The railroad communications through the Belgian plain were splendidly adapted to this plan, backed as they were by the military railroads which Germany had constructed several years before, running through the industrial districts in the north of the German Empire up to the Belgian border.

Germany's first move was the invasion of Luxemburg, violating the neutrality of a State which, under the treaty making her independent and guaranteeing neutrality, (to which treaty Germany was a party,) was not permitted to maintain an army. Two days later Germany asked passage for her troops through Belgium, for the purpose of attacking France. Belgium promptly refused, and on Aug. 4 Germany began the forcing of this passage by an attack on Liège.

Thus, at the outset the German plan went awry. Although the contemplated line of advance was through Liège and Namur, it was not sufficient, with Belgium openly in arms to defend her country, to reduce only these two towns. The Belgian Army could, and later did, fall back to the north on Louvain, Brussels, and Antwerp, and so be directly on the German flank and in a position to strike at the line of communications. It was therefore necessary to subjugate all of Belgium either by destroying the Belgian Army or driving it before them in their advance.

Thus, the German advance was not only doomed to delay, but at least 100,000 troops were needed to garrison a hostile country and to protect the life lines running to the rear.

Three days after the attack on Liège opened the Germans penetrated between the outer forts, their infantry advancing in close formation and sustaining enormous losses. But Liège was worth the price paid. Some of the forts held out for days, but were finally reduced by the fire of the 42-centimeter guns—the first of the German surprises. The Belgian garrison, however, had done its work. The German advance was delayed for ten precious days, during which the first consignment of the British expedi-

tionary force had reached the Continent and France and Russia had largely completed their mobilization.

As soon as it was realized that the unexpected Belgian resistance had retarded the German advance and in all probability had disarranged the German plan of campaign, the French, even before the guns of Liège had cooled, struck at Alsace, through the Belford Gap and over the Vosges Mountains. At first this French offensive was successful. Points on the Metz-Strassburg Railroad were taken and the town of Mülhausen captured. But almost before the news of success reached Paris the French had been defeated, not only in Alsace but also in Lorraine, whence French troops had been sent to engage the German Army of the Moselle. The result was the retirement of the French to the line of their first defense—a line that had been prepared for just such an emergency during the years since 1871.

While the German armies of the Moselle and of the Rhine were thus occupied in repelling the French advance the Army of the Meuse was forcing its way through Belgium. Throwing out a strong cavalry screen in its front, this army advanced through Tongres, St. Frond, Laugen, Haelen, and Terlemont, and finally confronted the Belgians on the line from Louvain to Namur. Fighting on this front filled almost a week, when the destruction of the fortifications of Namur forced the Belgians to fall back, pivoting on Louvain to the line from Louvain to Wavre, the last line in front of Brussels. On Aug. 20 the Belgians were defeated at Louvain and the Germans entered Brussels, the Belgian Government having previously retired to Antwerp. The first phase of the German advance was thus completed and the way to France was open.

SECOND PHASE

From the Fall of Brussels to von Kluck's Retreat to the Aisne

Immediately following the fall of Namur, which forced the Belgians to take up the Louvain-Wavre line, the

main German Army of the Meuse started for France, leaving possibly two army corps to drive the Belgians from Brussels and to protect their flank and their lines of communication. The German advance first came in contact with the French and British along a line from Mons to Charleroi, southwest of Brussels. The British were supposed to have been between two French armies, but for some reason the army which had been assigned to position on the British left did not appear. Being outflanked, a retreat followed, the French being defeated at the same time at Charleroi. The German Army of the Moselle then attacked along the Meuse, and, being also successful, was on the flank and rear of the British and French retreating from Mons and Charleroi.

Thus a great enveloping movement was disclosed which for some days gave every evidence of being successful. It was defeated, however, entirely by the British, who, though outflanked and outnumbered three to one, fought steadily night and day for six days, their small force holding in complete check all of von Kluck's army corps. Retreat was of course inevitable, but the retreat was made in good order and with the morale of the troops unshaken.

In the meantime the German General Staff, which had confidently expected to crush France before Russia could become a factor to be reckoned with, saw with alarm Russia pouring her troops into East Prussia in a drive against Königsberg, while in South Poland another Russian army was preparing a drive against Galicia, operating from the Ivangorod-Rowno railroad. Germany saw the Austrians being defeated everywhere; Lemberg, the capital of Galicia, captured; Przemysl masked, and the Russians fighting their way westward through Galicia between the Carpathians and the Vistula. But Austria's troubles at this stage were her own. Germany had all she could do to turn back the Russian invasion of East Prussia.

To face the peril on her eastern borders Germany detached several army corps—probably five—from the western

front, with them reinforced her eastern army, and in a few days after their arrival inflicted a disastrous defeat on the Russians at Tannenburg, driving them back practically to their own borders. But the damage had been done. The armies of the west had been weakened at a critical point, and General Joffre was given the opportunity he had been seeking since the beginning of the war.

The French and British, whose retreat had carried them to the Marne, now outnumbered the Germans, and, what is more important, were able to concentrate their forces by calling in those troops who had been engaged in the counter-offensive in Alsace. Taking advantage of their superiority in numbers, the Allies took the offensive. Holding the Germans fast in the centre, the Paris garrison struck hurriedly northeast toward Soisson with the idea of getting around von Kluck's flank. For several days it seemed that von Kluck and his army must be captured. But, moving north with great rapidity, abandoning much of his artillery and supplies, he escaped the net Joffre had spread for him, and anchored himself securely behind the Aisne. The great German movement was thus brought to an abrupt halt, and they were now on the defensive. Paris was saved. For ten days the Allies fought desperately to cross the Aisne and force von Kluck to continue his retreat. But finally the effort was given up, and the two armies faced each other across the Aisne deadlocked.

The Russians meanwhile had not been idle. Although their operations against the reinforced German Army had a negative result, against the Austrians in Galicia their success continued. Przemysl had not been taken, but, hemming it in securely, the Russians passed on and took the fortified town of Jaroslau, near the lower San. The menace of the Russian invasion of Galicia then became apparent. Galicia, with her wealth of oil and minerals, the fertile plains of Hungary just the other side of the Carpathians, Cracow, opening the gate to Breslau and Berlin—these were the things the Teutons stood in danger of losing, and it is

not surprising that they viewed the Russian advance with alarm.

There is but one more incident to record before closing what might well be considered the second phase of the war. That is the fall of Antwerp. It was Belgium's final sacrifice on the altar of her national honor. And no matter what our ancestry may be, nor how our sympathies may lie, we cannot but reverence a people whose sense of national duty and honor is so high that they are willing to sacrifice and do sacrifice their all to maintain it.

THIRD PHASE

From the Fall of Antwerp to the Beginning of the Battle for Warsaw

When it became apparent to General French that the line of the Aisne, to which the Germans had retreated after the battle of the Marne, was too strong to be forced, he withdrew his troops, about 100,000 men, from the line, his place being filled by the French reserves. The object of the withdrawal was another flanking movement against the German right. The idea seems to have been that by withdrawing and entraining at night the movement would be entirely concealed from the Germans until the British were actually in Belgium, and that an advance along the left bank of the Scheldt would turn the flank of the whole German army in France, compelling a general retreat. The movement was discovered by German air scouts, however, and the troops that had been before Antwerp met and checked the British, who took up finally the line along the Yser Canal, through Ypres to La Bassée, opposed by three German army corps.

But one thing saved the British from another defeat and prevented a more disastrous retreat than that from Mons and Charleroi. When the Germans took Antwerp the Belgian garrison of about 50,000 men escaped and by a brilliant retreat retired to a line from Nieupoort to Dixmude. They thus guarded the left flank of the British line and by a stub-

born resistance prevented this flank from being turned and the British driven south toward Paris. Nothing else prevented Dunkirk, Calais, and Boulogne from falling into German hands at this time.

As it afterward turned out, the German plan, after the fall of Antwerp, was a sudden drive to Calais. The plan was conceived and the movement begun at the same time General French put into execution his attempt to outflank the German position. These forces met on the Ypres-La Bassée line, and both were halted. It was a fortuitous chance, then, that the Germans were held back from the coast, as well as deprived of an opportunity to strike at Paris from the north. For three weeks the Germans battled fiercely, with almost total disregard for the loss of life involved. Finally the attack died out, and with its death the whole line from the North Sea to the Swiss frontier settled down to trench warfare.

While the armies in the west were checking each other until the status of a "stalemate" had been reached, affairs in the eastern theatre had been moving rapidly. Persuaded by German money, a temptation the Turk has ever been powerless to resist, Turkey late in October joined hands with the Teutons and declared war on the Allies. The Japanese, who had at the outset joined hands with England, had, after a wonderful defense by the Germans, taken the German Chinese city of Kiao-Chau. But of more importance still was the activity of the opposing armies in Russia and in Galicia.

After the battle of Fannenburg, in which Russia was defeated and driven back to her own borders, the Germans invaded Suwalki Province in Northern Poland. The Russians again took the offensive, defeated the Germans in the battle of Augustovo, and, pressing westward, again entered East Prussia in the region of the Mazurian Lakes. In this territory a deadlock followed, both Russians and Germans remaining with horns locked and unable to move until early Spring.

In Galicia, however, events moved with greater rapidity, and the results were

vastly more important. After the fall of Lemberg and Jaroslau the Russians pressed forward across the San to Tarnow, masking Przemysl on the way, and took up a line along the Dunajec to the Carpathians and east through Galicia along the Dniester and the Pruth to the Rumanian frontier, thus threatening not only the plains of Hungary, which lay just across the Carpathian summits, but also Bukowina, the Crownland of Austria.

Austria's plight was desperate, and German assistance was necessary. Von Hindenburg's first attack on Warsaw, the battle being called the battle of the Vistula, was the answer. The Germans advanced against the Russian centre, the Austrians against the left in Galicia. At first both were successful, but heavy Russian reinforcements succeeded in turning the German left, almost at the very gates of Warsaw. The Germans were forced to retreat, and fell back to their own borders. The Austrians were at the same time compelled to retreat, due to the uncovering of their flank, and again Russia was in supreme control of Galicia as far west as Cracow. As the Germans retreated the Russians followed, and another invasion of Germany was threatened, and it was von Hindenburg again who was to throw it back.

This he did, driving forward in three columns, two of which were intended to move against the Russian flanks. The Russian centre fell back to Lodz, but the right was still threatened. Again Russia assembled her reserves, and before von Hindenburg realized the situation a Russian army was not only on his flank but in his rear. A retreat was necessary. The Germans, assisted by corps drawn from the west, cut their way out and escaped from the Russian trap through the failure of one of the Russian armies to co-operate in the movement in time. But the German offense had failed and the effort had been terribly expensive.

Another offense was immediately planned—this time to move along the Vistula and strike at Warsaw from the southwest. This also was a failure, and the two armies finally became deadlocked

along the line of the Bzura and the Rawka Rivers.

No further fighting of importance in this theatre until February, when the battle of the Mazurian Lakes was fought. It will be recalled that after the German defeat at Augustovo the Russians pursued the Germans into the lake district, where the two armies became practically deadlocked. This situation was broken by the Germans, who suddenly attacked both flanks of the Russian army and inflicted upon it a disastrous defeat, in which one army corps surrendered and the remainder escaped only after enormous losses.

But the victory, like other German victories, while decisive as far as the particular Russian army involved was concerned, did nothing toward hastening peace. The beginning of Spring found the armies in both theatres completely at a standstill, except in Galicia.

In the west since the failure of the German drive on Calais there has been no movement that has affected the general situation. The anniversary of the declaration of war finds the lines of the Germans and the French practically where they were six months ago. A number of battles have been fought for the possession of certain points of vantage—in the Champagne, the Argonne, at Neuve Chapelle, Ypres, Les Eparges, Hartmannsweilerkopf, Metzeral, Souchez—but they have resulted in only a local effect, although they have been accompanied in almost every case by losses that have been staggering.

The principal event of the Spring in the west has been the advent of Italy into the maelstrom. But this has not affected the situation up to the present time. Italy has a hard problem on her hands which must be solved before she can make herself felt. She has but one line of advance—the line of the Isonzo. But she dare not advance and leave the passes through the Tyrolean and the Carnic Alps open for Germany and Austria to pour troops in against her flank and rear. Her task therefore is first to stop every pass by which this can be done; and then, and then only, is she

ready to move. This is being done, but the task is a difficult one, the country impossible from a military viewpoint, and progress necessarily slow.

In the east, however, the coming of Spring brought a series of the most tremendous movements of the war. The Allies began an operation against the Dardanelles, with the object of forcing the strait, taking Constantinople, and thus at once releasing the great store of grain in Southern Russia and providing a means of getting ammunition to Russia from the west. The operations at first were entirely naval. But after serious loss, with no corresponding advantage, it was realized that the naval forces alone were not sufficient, and troops were landed on the western end of the Gallipoli Peninsula. This force has been for three months hammering at the positions of the Turks along the Achibaba line, but, except for the possible influence on the Balkan States of the presence of these expeditionary forces on Gallipoli, little headway has been made. Certain it is that there is no indication that the near future will bring the Allies into Constantinople.

In Galicia the Spring began with the capitulation of Przemysl and the surrender to the Russians of about 125,000 Austrians. This was the greatest victory in the eastern theatre thus far, and immediately opened the way wide to the passes in the Carpathians that led to the Hungarian plains and to Cracow. Russia evidently felt that if she confined her operations to Austria she could, by pushing the attack into Hungary, crush Austria completely and eliminate her from the war. Accordingly, the opportunity of laying siege to Cracow was passed by and Russian efforts concentrated in forcing the Carpathian passes.

For weeks the battle of the Carpathians was in progress. The Austrians, reinforced by strong German contin-

gents, fought desperately, and, although several of the passes were finally captured, Uzok Pass, the centre of the line and the key to the whole Carpathian situation, held out. While the battle for its possession was in progress the Germans were quietly concentrating along the Dunajec. Suddenly their attack was launched, the line of the Dunajec forced, and the Russian flank and their lines of communication were seriously involved. To prevent being cut off, the forces in the Carpathians were compelled to fall back to their lateral lines. Preponderance of artillery forced the retreat through Galicia, and in an incredibly short time Jaroslaw, Przemysl, and Lemberg were again in the hands of the Teutons and Galicia practically cleared of the Russian invaders.

Earlier in the Spring the Germans under von Bülow had landed in Northern Russia and the Gulf of Riga, and, gradually working south, had effected a junction with von Hindenburg's army in front of Warsaw. Coming north through Galicia, Mackensen had driven the Russians back to the line of the Ivangorod-Lublin railroad and had established connections with von Hindenburg's right. Von Linsengen and the Austrian Archduke Francis Joseph completed the line facing the Russians along the upper Vipez, the Bug, the Flota Lipa, and the Dniester. Simultaneously, with all flanks guarded, the Teutons began to close in on Warsaw in the most stupendous military movement of history. As this article is written it seems that nothing can save the Polish capital; before it goes to press, even, Warsaw may be in German hands. One thing is evident—the Kaiser has returned to his plan of a year ago—Napoleon's plan—the only plan that can succeed—completely to crush one opponent first and then turn against the other; only now it is Russia and not France upon which the blows are falling.

NOTE: A military review of the European warfare during August will appear in the next number of CURRENT HISTORY, in connection with the Chronology.—
[Editor CURRENT HISTORY.]

Inferences from Eleven Months of the European Conflict

By Charles W. Eliot, President Emeritus of Harvard University

Asticou, Maine, July 16, 1915.

To the Editor of the New York Times:

THE inferences of the first importance are military and naval. In the conduct of war on land it has been demonstrated during the past eleven months that success in battle depends primarily on the possession and skillful use of artillery and machine guns. The nation which can command the largest quantity of artillery in great variety of calibre and range, has developed the amplest and quickest means of transporting artillery and supplies of all sorts, and whose troops can use mortars, howitzers, and cannon at the highest speed and with the greatest accuracy will have important advantages over an enemy less well provided, or less skillful. Before every assault by infantry artillery must sweep and plow the position to be captured, and so soon as the enemy has lost a trench or a redoubt the enemy's artillery will try to destroy the successful troops with shell and shrapnel, before the enemy's infantry makes a counter-attack. Whenever troops have open ground to cross before they reach the intrenchments of the enemy, they encounter a withering fire from machine guns, which is so effective that assaults over open ground have, for the most part, to be undertaken at night or in fog, or by some sort of surprise.

In general the defense has great advantage over the attack, as regards expenditure of both men and munitions. So decided is the advantage of the defense, that Germany can dismiss all those apprehensions about invasion by the Russian hordes with which she set out on this war. Success in military movements on a large scale depends on the means of transportation at hand; and these means of transportation must

include railroads, automobiles, and horse wagons, the function of the automobile being of high importance wherever the roads are tolerably good. There is little use for cavalry in the new fighting; for aeroplanes can do better scouting and more distant raiding than cavalry ever could, and large bodies of infantry with their indispensable supplies can be moved faster and further by automobiles than cavalry could ever be.

The aeroplane also defeats the former use of cavalry to screen from the enemy's view the movements of troops and their trains behind the actual fronts. Moreover, cavalry cannot stand at all against the new artillery and the machine gun. An old-fashioned cavalry charge in the open is useless, and indeed impossible. Aerial warfare is still undeveloped, but the war has proved that the aeroplane, even in its present imperfect condition, is a useful instrument. The Zeppelin, on the other hand, seems to be too fragile and too unmanageable for effective use in war. Rifle fire is of far less importance than artillery and machine gun fire; and, indeed, the abandonment of the rifle as the principal arm for infantry is clearly suggested.

Elaborate forts made of iron and concrete are of little use against a competent invader, and fortifications round about cities are of no use for protection against an enemy that possesses adequate artillery. For the defense of a frontier, or of the approaches to a railroad junction or a city, a system of trenches is immeasurably superior to forts, particularly if behind the trenches a network of railways or of smooth highways exists. Wounds are often inflicted by jagged pieces of metal which carry bits of dirty clothing and skin

into the wounds, and the wounded often lie on the ground for hours or even days before aid can reach them. Hence the surgery of this war is largely the surgery of infected wounds, and not of smooth aseptic cuts and holes. A considerable percentage of deaths and permanent disabilities among the wounded is the inevitable result. Surgeons and dressers are more exposed to death and wounds than in former wars, because of the large use of artillery of long range, the field hospitals being often under fire.

From these changes in the methods of war on land it may be safely inferred that a nation which would be strong in war on land must be strong in all sorts of manufacturing, and particularly in the metallurgical industries. A nation chiefly devoted to agriculture and the ancient trades cannot succeed in modern war, unless it can beg, borrow, or buy from sympathizers or allies the necessary artillery and munitions. No amount of courage and devotion in troops can make up for an inadequate supply of artillery, machine guns, shells, and shrapnel, or for the lack of ample means of rapid transportation. Only in a rough country without good roads, like the United States in 1861-65, or Serbia or Russia now, can the rifle, light artillery, and horse or ox wagons win any considerable success; and in such a country the trench method can bring about a stalemate, if the combatants are well matched in strength, diligence, and courage.

The changes in naval warfare are almost equally remarkable. Mines and submarines can make the offensive operation of dreadnoughts and cruisers near ports practically impossible, and can inflict great damage on an enemy's commerce. Hence important modifications in the rules concerning effective blockade. In squadron actions victory will probably go to the side which has the gun of longest range well-manned. Defeated war vessels sink as a rule with almost all on board. Commercial vessels can seldom be taken into port as prizes, and must therefore be sunk to make

their capture effective. There have been no actions between large fleets; but the indications are that a defeated fleet would be sunk for the most part, the only vessels to escape being some of the speedier sort. Crews would go down with their vessels. Shore batteries of long-range guns can keep at a distance a considerable fleet, and can sink vessels that come too near. Mines and shore batteries together can prevent the passage of war vessels through straits ten to fifteen miles wide, no matter how powerful the vessel's batteries may be. Every war vessel is now filled with machinery of various sorts, much of which is delicate or easily disabled. Hence a single shell exploding violently in a sensitive spot may render a large ship unmanageable, and therefore an easy victim. A crippled ship will probably be sunk, unless a port is near.

To build and keep in perfect condition a modern fleet requires dockyards and machine shops of large capacity, and great metallurgical industries always in operation within the country which maintains the fleet. No small nation can create a powerful fleet; and no nation which lives chiefly by agriculture can maintain one. A great naval power must be a mining, manufacturing, and commercial power, with a sound banking system available all over the world.

The war has proved that it is possible for a combination of strong naval powers to sweep off the ocean in a few months all the warships of any single great power, except submarines, and all its commerce. Germany has already suffered that fate, and incidentally the loss of all her colonies, except portions of German East Africa and Kamerun, both of which remnants are vigorously assailed and will soon be lost. Nevertheless, she still exports and imports through neutral countries, though to a small amount in comparison with the volume of her normal trade. Here is another illustration of the general truth that colonies are never so good to trade with as independent and prosperous nations.

Again the war has proved that it is not possible in a normal year to reduce

by blockade or non-intercourse the food supply of a large nation to the point of starvation, or even of great distress, although the nation has been in the habit of importing a considerable fraction of its food supply. An intelligent population will make many economies in its food, abstain from superfluities, raise more food from its soil, use grains for food instead of drinks, and buy food from neutral countries so long as its hard money holds out. Any large country which has a long seaboard or neutral neighbors can probably prevent its noncombatant population from suffering severely from want of food or clothing while at war. This would not be true of the districts in which actual fighting takes place or over which armies pass; for in the regions of actual battle modern warfare is terribly destructive—as Belgium, Northern France, Poland, and Serbia know.

A manufacturing people whose commercial vessels are driven off the seas will, of course, suffer the loss of such raw materials of its industries as habitually came to it over seas in its own bottoms—a loss mitigated, however, by the receipt of some raw materials from or through neutral countries. This abridgment of its productive industries will, in the long run, greatly diminish its powers of resistance in war; but much time may be needed for the full development of this serious disability.

Because of the great costliness of the artillery, munitions of war, and means of transportation used in the present war, the borrowings of all the combatant nations are heavy beyond any precedent; so that already all the nations involved have been compelled to raise the rates of interest on the immense loans they have put upon the market. The burdens thus being prepared for the coming generations in the belligerent nations will involve very high rates of taxation in all the countries now at war. If these burdens continue to accumulate for two or three years more, no financier, however experienced and far-seeing, can imagine today how the resulting loans are to be paid or how the burden of taxation necessary to pay

the interest on them can be borne or how the indemnities probably to be exacted can be paid within any reasonable period by the defeated nation or nations.

It follows from these established facts that a small nation—a nation of not more than fifteen millions, for example—can have no independent existence in Europe except as a member of a federation of States having similar habits, tendencies, and hopes, and united in an offensive and defensive alliance, or under guarantees given by a group of strong and trustworthy nations. The firm establishment of several such federations, or the giving of such guarantees by a group of powerful and faith-keeping nations ought to be one of the outcomes of the war of 1914-15. Unless some such arrangement is reached, no small State will be safe from conquest and absorption by any strong, aggressive military power which covets it—not even if its people live chiefly by mining and manufacturing as the Belgians did.

The small States, being very determined to exist and to obtain their natural or historical racial boundaries, the problem of permanent or any durable peace in Europe resolves itself into this: How can the small or smaller nations be protected from attack by some larger nation which believes that might makes right and is mighty in industries, commerce, finance, and the military and naval arts? The experience gained during the past year proves that there is but one effective protection against such a power, namely, a firm league of other powers—not necessarily numerous—which together are stronger in industries, commerce, finance, and the military and naval arts than the aggressive and ambitious nation which heartily believes in its own invincibility and cherishes the ambition to conquer and possess.

Such a league is the present combination of Great Britain, France, Russia, Italy, and Japan against the aggressive Central Monarchies and Turkey; but this combination was not formed deliberately and with conscious

purpose to protect small States, to satisfy natural national aspirations, and to make durable peace possible by removing both fear of invasion and fear of the cutting off of overseas food and raw materials. In spite of the lack of an explicit and comprehensive purpose to attain these wise and precious ends, the solidity of the alliance during a year of stupendous efforts to resist military aggression on the part of Germany and Austria-Hungary certainly affords good promise of success for a somewhat larger league in which all the European nations—some, like the Scandinavian and the Balkans, by representation in groups—and the United States should be included. Such a league would have to act through a distinct and permanent council or commission which would not serve arbitrary power, or any peculiar national interest, and would not in the least resemble the "Concert of Europe," or any of the disastrous special conferences of diplomatists and Ministers for Foreign Affairs, called after wars since that of 1870-71 to "settle" the questions the wars raised.

The experience of the past twelve months proves that such a league could prevent any nation which disobeyed its orders from making use of the oceans and from occupying the territory of any other nation. Reduction of armaments, diminution of taxation, and durable peace would ensue as soon as general confidence was established that the league would fairly administer international justice, and that its military and naval forces were ready and effective. Its function would be limited to the prevention and punishment of violation of international agreements, or, in other words, to the enforcement of treaty obligations, until new treaties were made.

The present alliance is of good promise in three important respects—its members refuse to make any separate peace, they co-operate cordially and efficiently in military measures, and the richer members help the poorer financially. These policies have been hastily devised and adopted in the midst of strenuous fighting on an immense scale. If deliberately planned and perfected in times

of peace, they could be made in the highest degree effective toward durable peace.

The war has demonstrated that the international agreements for the mitigation of the horrors of war, made by treaties, conferences, and conventions in times of peace, may go for nothing in time of war; because they have no sanction, or, in other words, lack penalties capable of systematic enforcement. To provide the lacking sanction and the physical force capable of compelling the payment of penalties for violating international agreements would be one of the best functions of the international council which the present alliance foreshadows. Some years would probably be required to satisfy the nations concerned that the sanction was real and the force trustworthy and sufficient. The absolute necessity of inventing and applying a sanction for international law, if Europe is to have international peace and any national liberty, will be obvious to any one who has once perceived that the present war became inevitable when Austria-Hungary, in violation of an international agreement to which she was herself a party, seized and absorbed Bosnia and Herzegovina, and became general and fierce when Germany, under Prussian lead, in violation of an international agreement to which she was herself a party, entered and plundered neutralized Belgium.

A strong, trustworthy international alliance to preserve the freedom of the seas under all circumstances would secure for Great Britain and her federated commonwealths everything secured by the burdensome two-navies policy which now secures the freedom of the seas for British purposes. The same international alliance would secure for Germany the same complete freedom of the seas which in times of peace between Germany and Great Britain she has long enjoyed by favor of Great Britain, but has lost in time of war with the Triple Entente. This security, with the general acceptance of the policy of the "open door," would fully meet Germany's need of indefinite expansion for her manufacturing industries and her commerce,

and of room "in the sun" for her surplus population.

It is a safe inference from the events of the past six months that the longer the war lasts the more significant will be the political and social changes which result from it. It is not to be expected, and perhaps not to be desired, that the ruling class in the countries autocratically governed should themselves draw this inference at present, but all lovers of freedom and justice will find consolation for the prolongation of the war in this hopeful reflection.

To devise the wise constitution of an international council or commission with properly limited powers, and to determine the most promising composition of an international army and an international navy are serious tasks, but not beyond the available international wisdom and goodwill, provided that the tasks be intrusted to international publicists, business men of large experience, and successful administrators, rather than to professional diplomatists and soldiers. To dismiss such a noble enterprise with the remark that it is "academic," or beyond the reach of "practical" politics, is unworthy of courageous and humane men; for it seems now to be the only way out of the horrible abyss into which civilization has fallen. At any rate, some such machinery must be put into suc-

cessful operation before any limitation of national armaments can be effected. The war has shown to what a catastrophe competitive national arming has led, and would probably again lead the most civilized nations of Europe. Shall the white race despair of escaping from this hell? The only way of escape in sight is the establishment of a rational international community. Should the enterprise fail after fair trial, the world will be no worse off than it was in July, 1914, or is today.

Whoever studies the events of the past year with some knowledge of political philosophy and history, and with the love of his neighbor in his heart, will discover, amid the horrors of the time and its moral chaos, three hopeful leadings for humanitarian effort, each involving a great constructive invention. He will see that humanity needs supremely a sanction for international law, rescue from alcoholism, and a sound basis for just and unselfish human relations in the great industries, and particularly in the machinery industries. The war has brought out all three of these needs with terrible force and vividness. Somehow they must be met, if the white race is to succeed in "the pursuit of happiness," or even to hold the gains already made.

CHARLES W. ELIOT.

"Revenge for Elisabeth!"

The Vienna "Arbeiter Zeitung" of June 22, 1915, prints the appeal of Dr. Wolfgang Madjera, a well-known authority on municipal affairs, which he has issued to Austrian soldiers departing for the Italian front. He says:

"The day has arrived," says Herr Madjera, "when you will have to revenge your murdered Empress [the late Empress Elisabeth who was murdered in Geneva by an Italian named Luccheni]. It was a son of that land which has now committed a scandalous act of treason on Austria who made your old Emperor a lonely man on his throne of thorns. Take a thousandfold revenge on the brethren of that miserable wretch. Austria's warriors feel the strength within them to defeat and smash with iron hand the raised hand of the murderer. It is Luccheni's spirit which leads the army of our enemy. May Elisabeth's spirit lead our spirit!"

A Year of the War in Africa and Asia

By Charles Johnston

I. RE-MAPPING THE WORLD.

SPEAKING on July 14, A. Bonar Law, British Colonial Secretary, announced that the Entente Allies have already occupied 450,000 square miles of German colonial possessions. Add Turkish possessions in Asia in the hands of the Entente powers, and the total reaches 500,000 square miles.

Two outstanding facts are that this transfer, if permanent, will change the destiny of all Africa and Asia, and that, for the first time in history, the oversea dominions of Britain have initiated and carried on wars of conquest, Australia and New Zealand, in union, having already taken 100,000 square miles of German colonies in the Pacific; while the Union of South Africa has conquered German Southwest Africa.

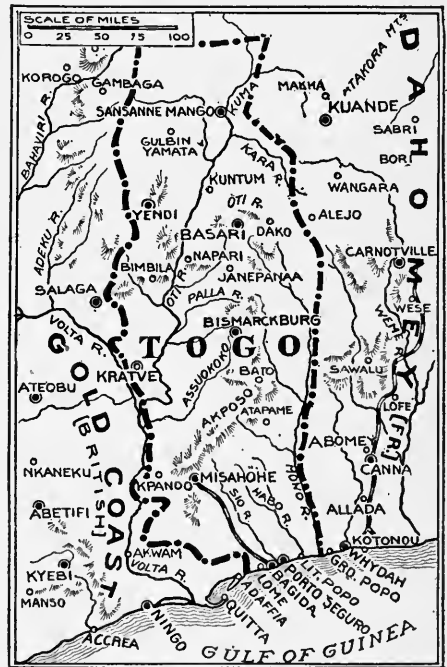
In other parts of Africa, France and Belgium are co-operating with English imperial forces, while in East Africa and on the Persian Gulf the brunt of the fighting is being borne by British Indian troops and troops provided by the Princes of India. The movement now in progress will, if completed, give the Entente powers the whole of Africa; will give Britain all Southern Asia, from the Mount Sinai peninsula to Siam; and will, in all probability, make the Entente powers heirs of the whole Eastern Hemisphere.

These immense territories are the ultimate stakes of the battles in France, in Poland, on the Dardanelles. We lose sight of them, perhaps, in the details of local fighting. In reality, nothing less is being effected than the re-mapping of the whole eastern hemisphere.

II. TOGOLAND AND KAMERUN.

On Aug. 1, a year ago, German colonial possessions in Africa totaled over a mill-

ion square miles, in four regions—Togo, Kamerun, Southwest Africa, and East Africa. Togo, running from the north shore of the Gulf of Guinea, is wedged between French and English colonies. In August, France and England joined in attacking it, and on Aug. 26 their occupation was complete, a rich area of 33,000



Togo, the German Colony which was surrendered to a Franco-English expeditionary force.

square miles thus passing from Germany to the Entente powers.

Kamerun, in the elbow of the Gulf of Guinea, is about ten times as large, one-third of this having been conceded by France to Germany in 1911, through the

German East Africa



Scene of Operation of Anglo-French forces against the German Colony of Kamerun

agency of M. Caillaux. Recent letters to The London Times describe the fighting there:

On the 7th (May) we had a trying experience. Our company commander went out with myself and another subaltern and about forty men. We crossed the Mungo River in canoes, and then did a long and very difficult march all through the night in absolute dense forest. However the guides managed it passes comprehension.

About 5 in the morning, when it was just getting light, our advance party were just on the point of stumbling on to the German outpost, when what should happen but an elephant suddenly walked in between and scattered our opposing parties in all directions. I was in the rear of our little column, and was left in bewilderment, all our carriers dropping their loads and every one disappearing into the bush. After a few minutes we got our men together and our scouts went forward again, and found the Germans had bolted from their outpost, but soon returned and opened fire on our scouts.

A British officer writes:

I hope you have heard ere this of our capture of Duala and Bonaberi, and our further advance along the Duala Railway to Tusa, and along the Wari River to Jabassi. The heat and climate are very trying. It's awfully hot, far hotter than the last coast place I was in; a drier heat and sun infinitely more powerful, and yet the rains are full on and we get terrific tornadoes. The nights, however, are cooler.

We are surrounded by mangrove swamps, and they breed mosquitos, and consequently malaria and black-water fever.

This is quite a pretty little place (Duala) with some jolly houses, typical German of the Schloss villa type; nice inside and out. The country is pretty, the soil good. A good deal of timber and rubber. I found some beautiful tusks the other day, worth a good bit. Elephants abound. The native villages around are totally different from other West African ones—here their houses are mostly one long mud or palm erection, with thatched roof, and are divided into compartments instead of the smaller separate huts one is accustomed to see in these parts.

The notices all over the place are strangely reminiscent of, say, the Black Forest—"Bäkerei," "Conditorei," &c., and yet it is the heart of tropical Africa. None of the natives, strange to say, talk German; all pigeon English. The Hausa boys are splendid chaps, as different from the Duala boys or Sierra Leone boys as chalk from cheese. Smile and make an idiotic but beautiful remark, they rush with a roar of laughter for the biggest load.

We get some beautiful sunset effects here. At sundown night before last, on the sea near mouth of river, it was absolutely gorgeous

with the purple mountains standing clear out against the orange and emerald sky and the dark gray shapes of our ships lying sombrely in the background, talking to each other in flashing Morse. The great mountain, Fernando Po, standing up out of the water to starboard and the Peak of Cameroon (13,760 feet) wreathed in mist to port; Victoria invisible, as also Buea—both hidden behind the clouds as we passed disdainfully by and entered the estuary of the Cameroon River.

As an added detail for West Africa, it should be recorded that, on March 19, a combined French and Belgian force occupied Molundu in the German Congo territory, and Ngaundere on June 29.

III. WITH BOTHA IN SOUTH-WEST AFRICA.

On July 13 a resolution, moved by Premier Asquith, was passed by acclamation in the House of Commons thanking General Louis Botha, General Smuts and the forces of the Union of South Africa for their work in "the remarkable campaign which has just been brought to a remarkable and glorious conclusion." Premier Asquith concluded:

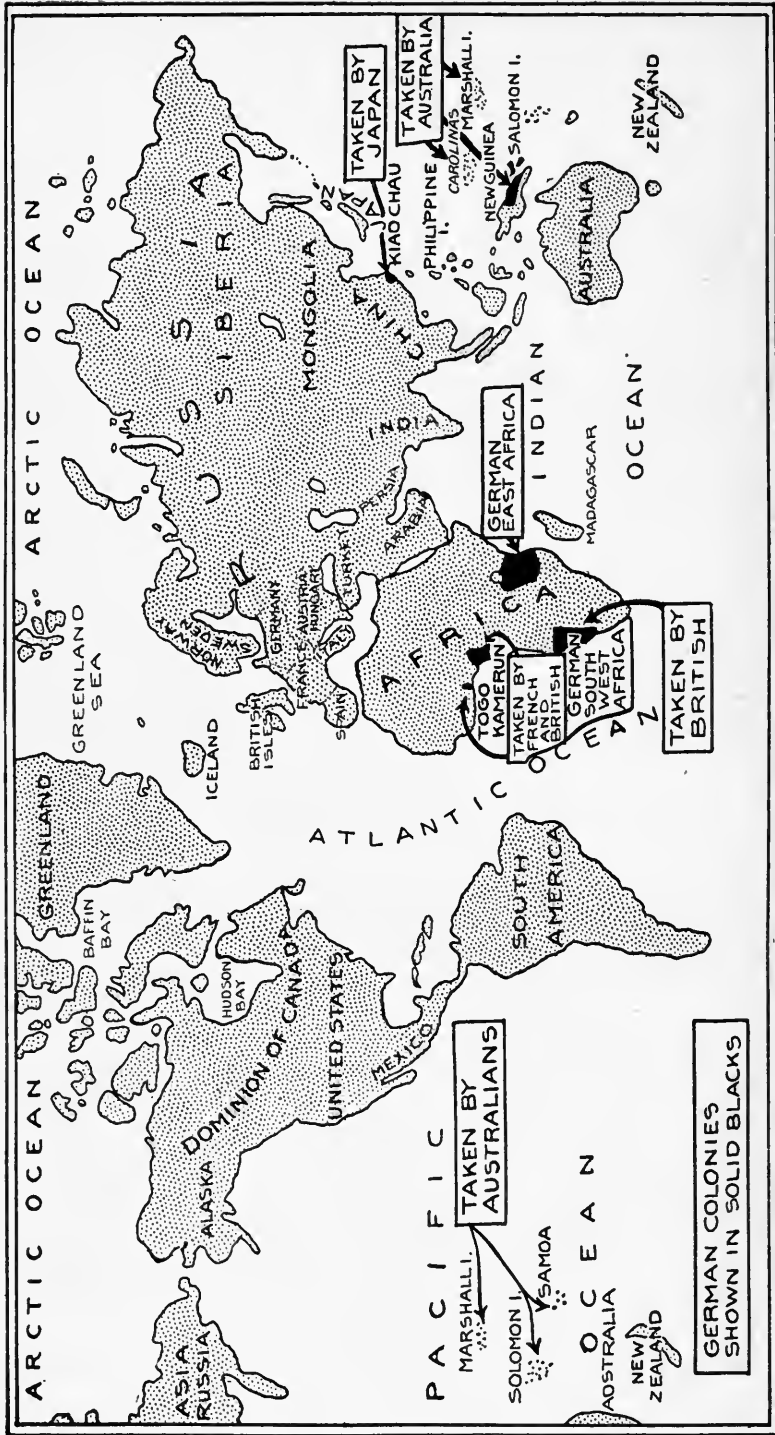
The German dominion of Southwest Africa has ceased to exist. I ask the House to testify to the admiration of the whole empire for its gratitude to the illustrious General who has rendered such an inestimable service to the empire, which he entered by adoption and of which he has become one of the most honored and cherished sons, and to his dauntless and much enduring troops, whether of Burgher or British birth, who fought like brethren, side by side, in the cause which is equally dear to them as to us—the broadening of the bounds of human liberty.

The event which the British Premier thus read into the minutes of history marks the end of a campaign begun by General Botha on Sept. 27, when troops of the Union of South Africa first entered German territory. On Christmas Day Walfisch (Whale) Bay was occupied, and on Jan. 14 Swakopmund, a military railroad joining them being finished a month later.

The progress of General Botha's campaign from the south and west is thus summarized by The Sphere (July 3):

The occupation of Windhoek was effected by General Botha's North Damaraland forces working along the railway from Swakopmund. At the former place General Vander-

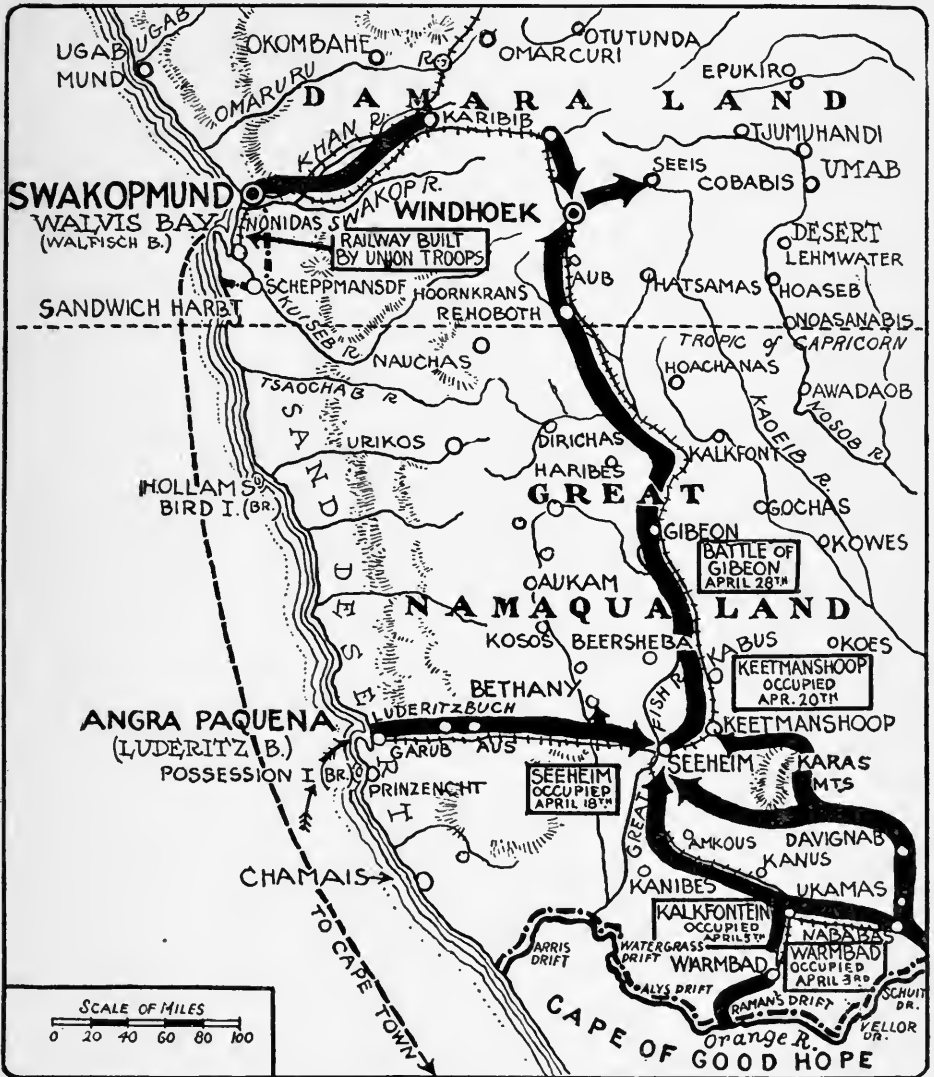
The German Colonial Possessions



venter joined up with General Botha's forces. The force from Swakopmund met with considerable opposition, first at Tretskopje, a small township in the great Namib Desert fifty miles to the northeast of Swakopmund, and secondly at Otjimbingwe, on the Swakop River, sixty miles northwest of Windhoek.

most valuable high-power stations, which was able to communicate with one relay only with Berlin—was captured almost intact, and much rolling stock also fell into the hands of the Union forces.

The advance from the south along the Lüderitzbucht-Seeheim-Keetmanshoop Rail-



The theatre of operations in German South West Africa.

Apart from these two determined stands, however, little other opposition was encountered, and Karibb was occupied on May 5 and Okahandja and Windhoek on May 12. With the fall of the latter place 3,000 Europeans and 12,000 natives became prisoners. The wireless station—one of Germany's

way, approximately 500 miles in length, was made by two forces which joined hands at Keetmanshoop. The advance from Aus (captured on April 1) was made by General Smuts's forces. Colonel (afterward General) Vanderventer, moving up from the direction of Warmbad and Kalkfontein, around the

flanks of Karas Mountain, pushed on after reaching Keetmanshoop in the direction of Gibeon. Bethany had previously been occupied during the advance to Seeheim. At Kabus, twenty miles to the north of Keetmanshoop, and at Gibeon pitched battles were fought between General Vanderverter's forces and the enemy. No other opposition of importance was encountered, and the operations were brought to a successful conclusion at Windhoek.

A part of the German forces had retreated to the northward, intending to carry on guerrilla warfare in the hills. General Botha went in pursuit. A Reuter's telegram, dated June 26, announced that Otjivarongo, approximately 120 miles north of Karibib, on the Otavi Railway, was occupied on that day by General Botha, the enemy having retired northward during the previous night. General Botha's movements have again been characterized by rapid and extraordinary marching through dense bush country, which is almost waterless. The retirement of the enemy was more suggestive of a flight than a strategic retreat.

A telegram from Lord Buxton, the Governor General of the Union of South Africa, to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, concludes the story:

This morning, July 9, General Botha accepted from Governor Seitz the surrender of all the German forces in Southwest Africa. Hostilities have ceased and the campaign has thus been brought to a successful conclusion.

The newly conquered territory, which is half as large again as the German Empire, is destined to become a part of the South African Union. As a great part of it is 5,000 feet above sea level, it is well adapted for white settlers. Its chief resources are diamond mines and grazing.

General Botha's force is likely to be divided between the European seat of war, to which the South African Union has up to the present sent no troops, and German East Africa, much of which still remains in the hands of the Germans.

IV. GERMAN EAST AFRICA.

The early stage of the struggle for German East Africa is lucidly summarized in *The Sphere* for May 8:

The fighting in British East Africa (immediately north of the German colony) may be said to have really begun toward the end

of September, 1914, when the Germans made a determined attempt to capture Mombasa, the commercial capital of British East Africa and the terminus of the Uganda Railway.

Previous to this, somewhat half-hearted attempts had been made by them to wreck the railway line at various points, destroy the telegraph, and occupy Voi and Mombasa. The Germans, who were in strong force, were, however, for various reasons, unable to cut the railway or even to destroy the bridge across the Tsava River, and they were beaten back both at Voi and the post at Taveta.

The attack on Mombasa itself was repulsed at Gazi, some twenty-five miles to the southwest. The German plan of action was to move up the road from Vanga to Mombasa, arriving at the latter place somewhere about the time the Königsburg was expected to arrive and bombard it from the sea. The Königsburg was, of course, prevented from doing this by the proximity of British warships, and the land attack was also frustrated.

The Germans were held at Nargerimi by a mere handful of Arabs and King's African Rifles—about 300 men all told—until the arrival of the Indian troops strengthened our position and the enemy was beaten back to his original lines.

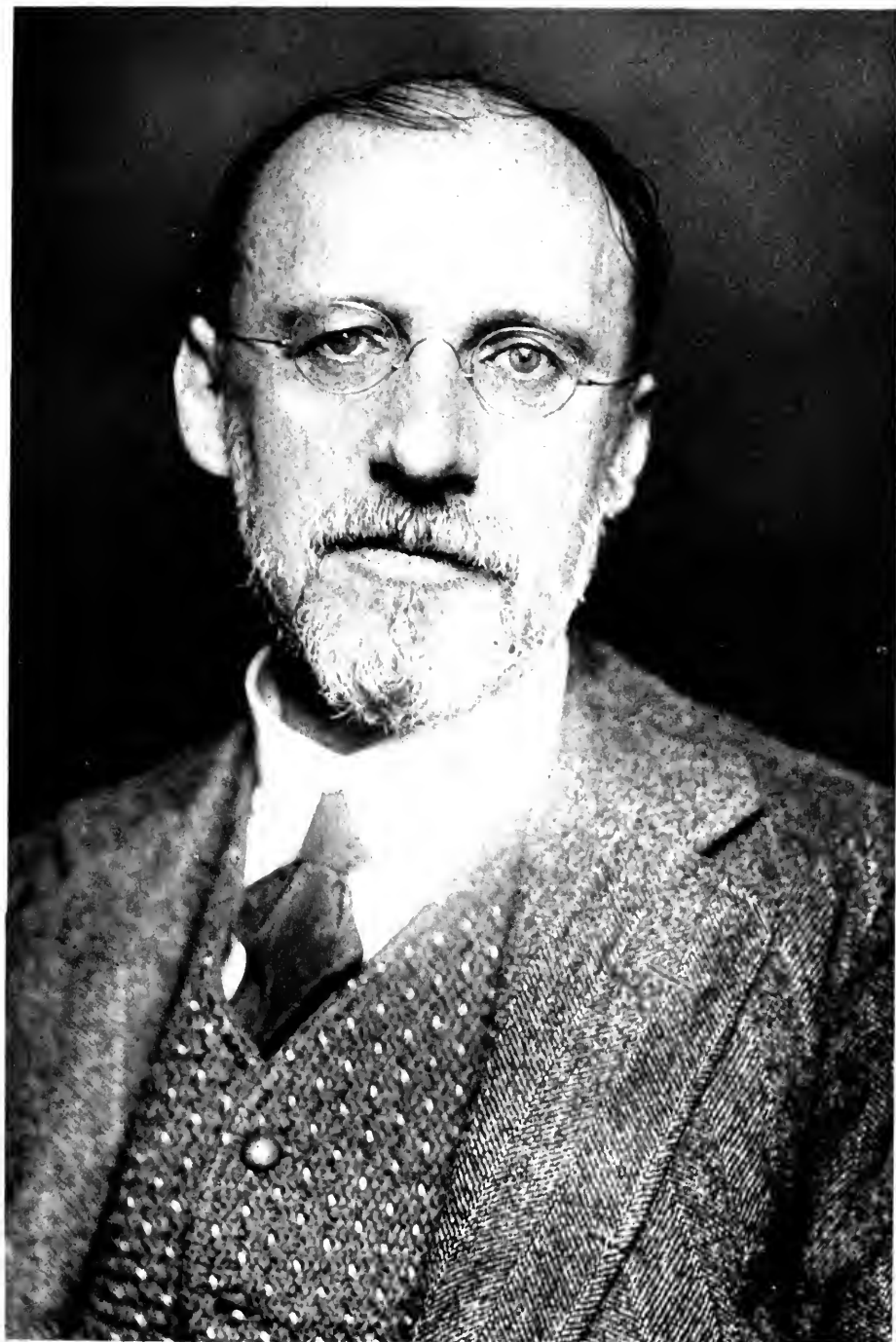
The next big actions were the British attack on Tanga and Jassin very early in November; this was the direct outcome of the German attack on Mombasa. Tanga is a post of considerable importance in German East Africa, and lies midway between Zanzibar and Mombasa. It is the seaport of an important railway line which connects it with Moshi, lying among the foothills of Kilimanjaro (18,700 feet) and which taps most of the intervening country.

The force dispatched for the attack on Tanga consisted of 4,000 Indian Imperial Service troops, 1,000 Indian regulars, together with 1,000 white regulars. The force took no kit of any kind except rations. It was disembarked from the troopship near Tanga, and then moved against the position.

The day the British attacked, however, 1,000 Germans had been rushed up from Moshi and then took up a position to the right of the town. With them were great numbers of quick-firing guns of various sorts. This unexpected reinforcement made the capture of Tanga almost impossible by the forces present. During the fight many casualties were incurred on both sides.

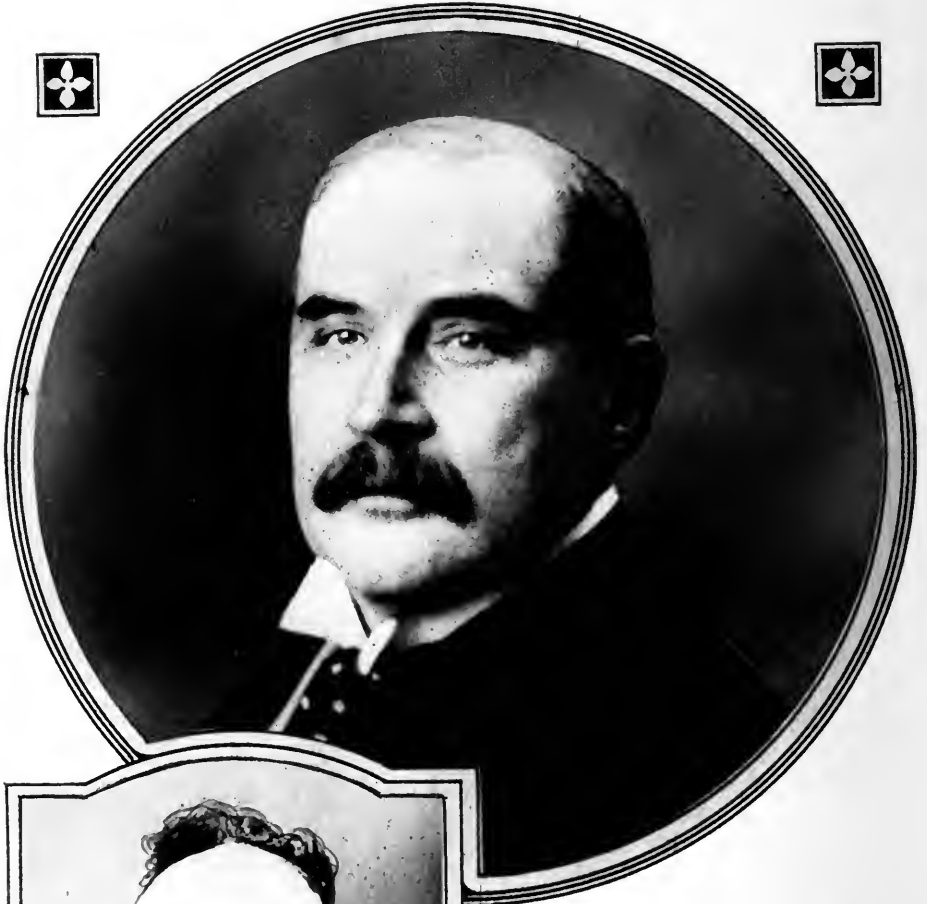
As regards the advance against Tanga and Jassin, the German forces which had previously advanced on Mombasa were, up to as recently as January, maintaining themselves in the valley of the Umba River. To drive them from their positions a column of 1,800 men, composed of Indlans and King's African Rifles, with artillery, was dispatched.

After gaining Jassin and leaving a garrison of 300 men, the post was attacked and subsequently surrendered to a force of 2,000 Ger-



SIR CECIL ARTHUR SPRING-RICE

British Ambassador to Washington, Present When J. P. Morgan was
Assaulted by Erich Muentzer, Alias Holt



J. P. MORGAN

Whose Life was Recently Attempted,
because of his relations with the
Allied Governments in the Supply of
War Munitions.



The lower picture is of Erich Muen-
ter, Alias Frank Holt, His Assailant.
Photograph taken Immediately after
his Arrest

mans. The minor operations along the Anglo-German frontier include the attack on Shirati—a German post on the southeast shore of Lake Victoria Nyanza—on Jan. 9.

Fighting also took place near Karunga in March, and on this occasion the German force was driven back in disorder and with heavy loss into their own territory, while Kisumu which had been captured by the Germans—was reoccupied after the defeat of Karunga. On Jan. 10 the large Island of Mafia, off the

remembered that the general scheme for the attack on Bukoba was to be a simultaneous advance on the part of two forces, one starting from the line of the Kagera River, south of Uganda, the other starting on steamers from Kisumu.

The junction of the two forces was successfully accomplished, and the attack took place on June 22. During the action the enemy received reinforcements which brought



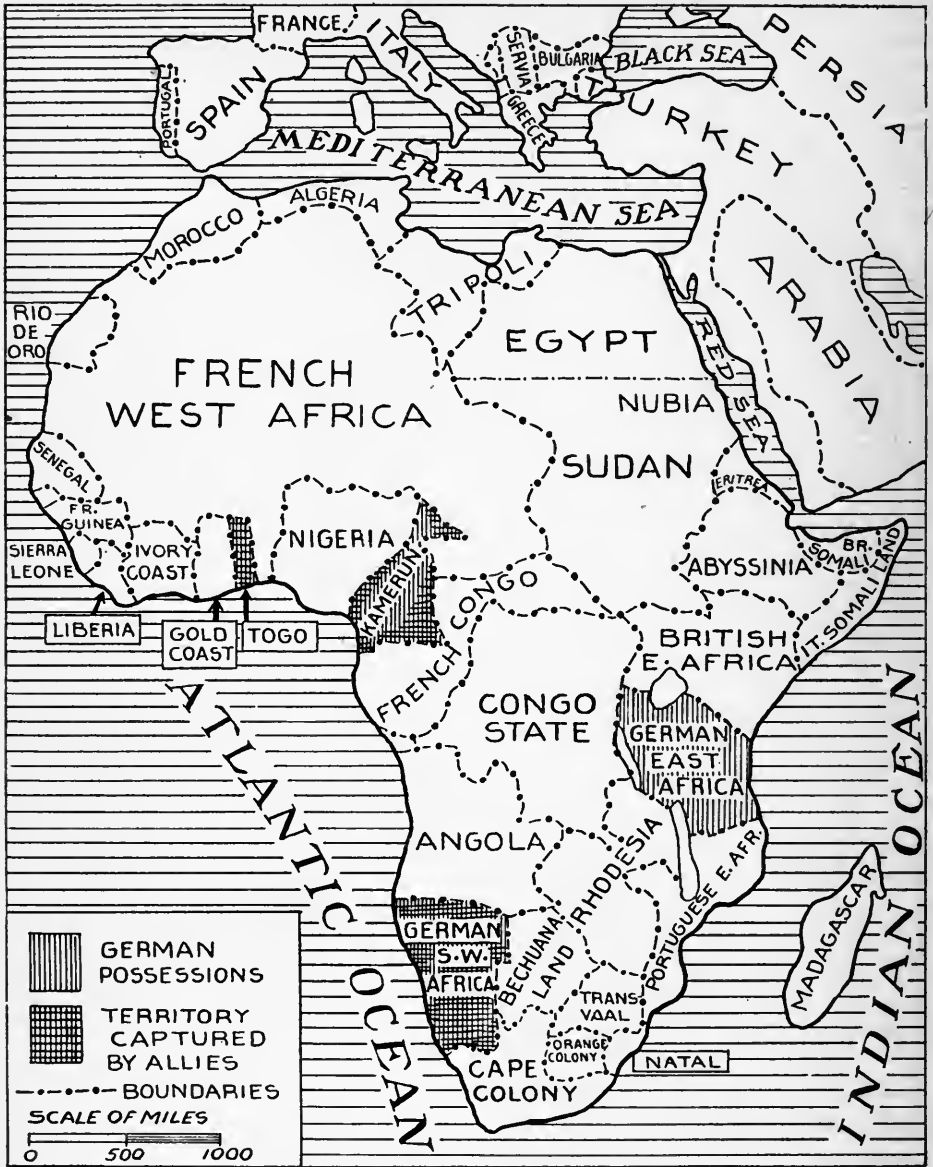
German East Africa and the fighting which has taken place.

coast of the German colony, was taken by the British and is being administered by them.

The history of the war in this region is brought up to date by a British Press Bureau statement issued on June 30:

Further details are now to hand of the operations which have been taking place west of Lake Victoria Nyanza. It will be

his force up to 400 rifles, and he made a most determined resistance, the Arabs especially fighting most bravely. They were, however, heavily outnumbered, and eventually the whole force broke and fled, utterly demoralized. * * * Our troops distinguished themselves greatly, both in the arduous march from the Kagera and in the subsequent fighting. A telegram was sent on June 23 from Lord Kitchener to Major Gen.



Conquered German African Territory.

Tighe, commanding the troops in British East Africa, congratulating him on the success of the operations.

V. THE PERSIAN GULF AND MESOPOTAMIA.

Turkey's entry into the war has had four results: 1. The annexation of Cyprus (previously a protectorate) by Britain on

Nov. 5; 2, the British expedition against Turkish territory on the Persian Gulf two weeks later; 3, the loss of Turkey's suzerainty over Egypt, which became a British protectorate under a Sultan on Dec. 17, and, 4, the attack on the Gallipoli Peninsula, still in progress.

An excellent summary of the Persian

Gulf expedition is given in *The Sphere*, May 15:

The Shatt-el-Arab, (the united Euphrates and Tigris,) for the greater part of its course, forms the boundary between Persia and Turkey. Some twenty miles below Basra (or Bussorah) it is joined by the Kasun, near whose course, about a hundred miles from its mouth, are the Anglo-Persian Company's oil fields.

The effective protection of these is necessarily an object of vital importance. It was also of considerable importance to create a diversion which should cause the Osmanli Generals to feel uneasiness as to a possible advance up the Euphrates. Whether more than the occupation of Basra and the protection of the oil fields was or is intended cannot, of course, be at present definitely stated.

The expeditionary force, under Lieut. Gen. Sir Arthur Barrett, consisted—apparently—of three Indo-British infantry brigades, a brigade of Indian cavalry, and artillery and auxiliary services in proportion—in all probably some 15,000 to 18,000 men. It included at least three British battalions—the Second Dorsets, the Second Norfolks, and the Oxford and Bucks Light Infantry.

The advanced brigade reached the Shatt-el-Arab on Nov. 7, and after a brief fight occupied Fao, a few miles up the river. On the 9th a night attack was made upon it by a force from Basra, which was easily beaten off. Shortly afterwards the main body of the expeditionary force began to arrive, and by the 16th it had entirely disembarked at Saniyeh, a place above Fao.

The weather was wretched. Rain converted the alluvial flats into a wilderness of mud. The men were drenched and caked with the riverine clay, the very rifles were often choked.

Meanwhile the advance guard carried out a reconnoissance up the river and located the enemy in position at Sahilo, about nine miles distant. They numbered about 5,000 men, with twelve guns, under General Subr Bey, the Wali (Governor) of Basra. The reconnoissance carried an advanced position with a loss of sixty killed and wounded, and withdrew unmolested to report.

On the 17th General Barrett paraded for the attack the bulk of his force. After a trying march through a veritable quagmire, the troops sometimes up to their waists in slush, the division at about 9 A. M. came within range of the Turkish position, and the leading brigade, the Belguam, (Major Gen. Fry.) deployed for attack.

The ground was absolutely open, and the Turks had a perfect field of fire. On our side the men had the greatest difficulty in getting forward through the clayey mud-beds and the worn-out horses could not bring up the field artillery. Nevertheless, the Belguam brigade steadily advanced, and the attack being presently supported by other troops and assisted by the first of the two

gunboats on the river, at last closed upon the Turkish intrenchments and carried them, capturing two guns and one hundred prisoners, besides inflicting a very heavy loss in killed and wounded.

The retreat of the enemy was assisted by a mirage which disconcerted our gunners. Subr Bey retreated on Basra, but he had no hope of being able to hold the big spreading place with his small force, and evacuated it. He retreated to Kurna, where the Tigris joins the Euphrates. There he intrenched himself. His main body was in Kurna, a large village encircled by palm groves, in the marshy angle formed by the two rivers,



The scene of the Persian Gulf Campaign.

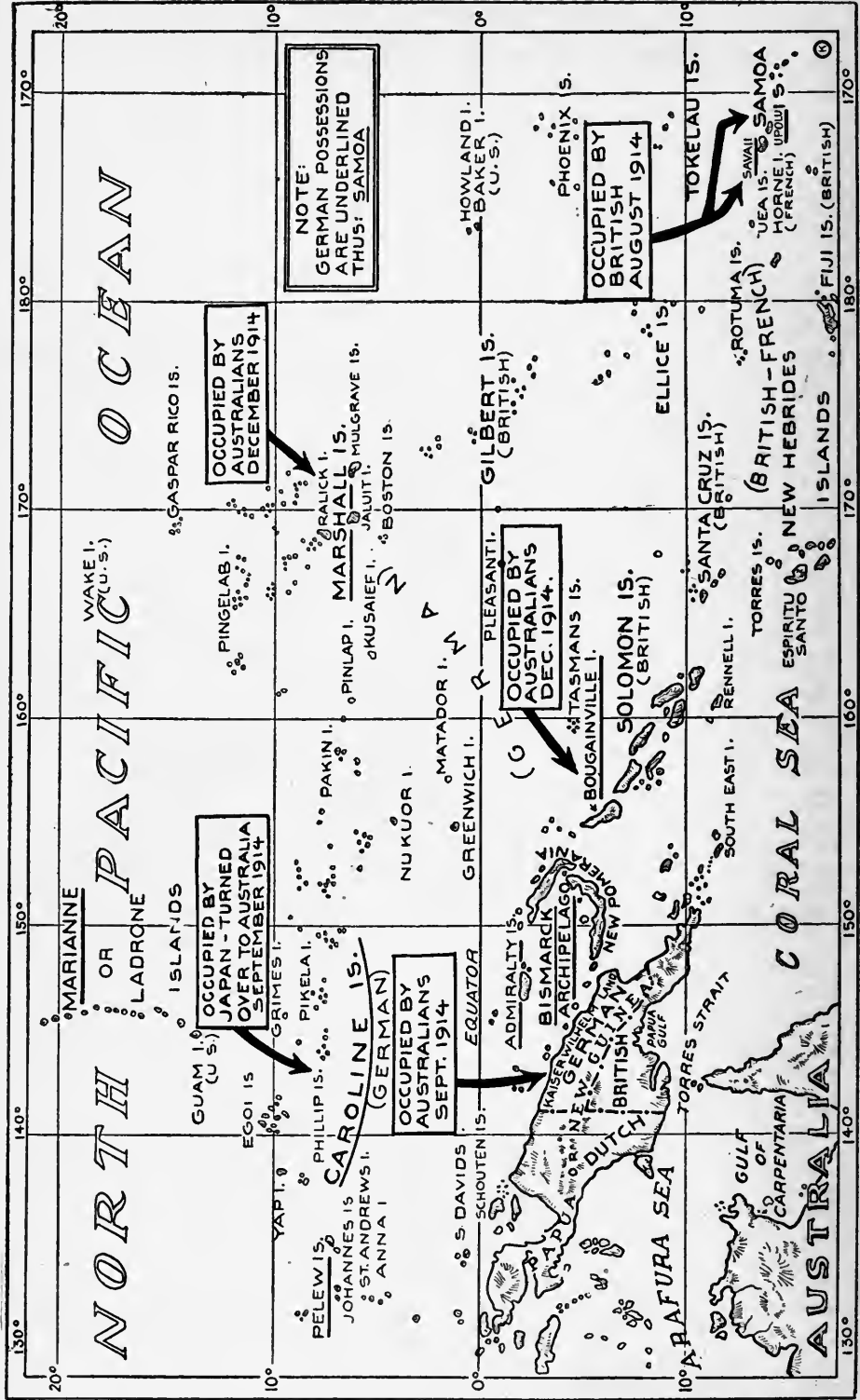
with a strong detachment in the straggling village of Mazera, on the left bank of the Tigris.

On Dec. 7 General Fry advanced upon the Kurna position. The defenders of Mazera made a hard fight of it, assisted by the strength of their position among a maze of pottery works backed up by the ubiquitous palms, but in the afternoon the village was carried.

Kurna was now isolated, but its capture presented great difficulties. All through the 8th General Fry bombarded it from Mazera, while his infantry were slowly ferried over higher up. This was prepared by some daring sappers, who swam the broad river and fixed a wire rope by which the boats were worked backward and forward, and an advance was made against Kurna from the rear.

Subr Bey had lost very heavily at Mazera, so he accepted the inevitable and surrendered. So a brilliant little episode came to a victorious conclusion. Subr Bey was returned

German Colonial Possessions in the Pacific



his sword and complimented on his stubborn defense.

The capture of Kurna secured the possession of the Basra region. Since then operations have been directed to securing it against Turkish attempts at recovery.

A recent stage of this campaign is thus described in *The Pioneer Mail* (Allahabad) June 4, 1915:

It is announced from Simla that on the morning of May 31 a further advance up the Tigris River was made by the British expeditionary force in close co-operation with the navy. Notwithstanding the excessive heat the troops advanced with great dash and determination, and successively captured four positions held by the enemy. As far as reported we suffered only a few casualties. Valuable work was performed by our aeroplanes. The operations are proceeding.

The British force at the end of June had reached Shaiba.

VI. THE "UNREST" IN INDIA.

The splendid work done by Indian regulars and Indian imperial forces (the forces supplied by native Princes) in Europe, in Africa, in Egypt, in Mesopotamia is a sufficient answer to the suggestion that British influence in India has been weakened by the war. The enthusiastic formation of volunteer corps, both of Europeans and of natives, is a further proof that the peoples of India, now more than ever, realize the benefits of liberty and security which they enjoy. In India the torpedoing of the *Lusitania* made a profound impression, as the native press proves.

A notable trial, the Lahore conspiracy case, disclosed the curious fact that almost the only case of "unrest" in India was "made in America" by returned emigrants from Canada and California, who, on their way back, were interviewed by the German Consuls at Chinese ports and advised to stir up an insurrection. This they tried to do, using bombs made of brass inkpots, and bombarding the houses of well-to-do natives, seeking in this way to raise money to finance the rising.

The Pioneer Mail (Allahabad) gives an interesting account of the trial of these peculiar patriots, half of whom seem to have informed on the other half. It appears that they, or others like them,

were instrumental in causing the recent riot at Singapore, in which some twenty European men and women were killed.

VII. GERMAN ISLANDS IN THE PACIFIC.

A curious result of the world war has been the expeditions initiated by the great oversea dominions of Britain and by India. The work of two of these, in Africa and Mesopotamia, has been already described. There remain the joint Australian and New Zealand expeditions against the island colonies of Germany and the great semi-continental area of New Guinea.

A lively account of the expedition against the Samoa Islands is printed in *The Sydney Bulletin* for Sept. 24:

The recent expedition to Samoa furnished many surprises, chief among which was the adaptability of the Maorilanders to military discipline. When the men came on board the transports (*Moeraki* and *Monowai*) discipline simply wasn't in their dictionaries. They acknowledged orders with a "Right O, Sport," or with an argument. Companies were referred to as mobs, the commanding officer as the boss or the admiral. * * *

The night before we reached Samoa an English military officer on board told me it was remarkable, and highly creditable, the rapidity with which the men had adapted themselves to the changed circumstances. * * *

The expedition called at Noumea to pick up the French warship *Montcalm*, also the *Australia* and *Melbourne* of ours. Noumea had been very worried since the war began, lest the German fleet from Samoa would come along and bombard the place. Had notices up to the effect that five shots would signify the arrival of the Germans, and that every inhabitant was then to grab rations and make for the horizon. The welcome the French handed to us would have stirred the blood of a jellyfish.

Samoa proved a walk-over. Not a gun, not a ship, not a mine. A bunch of schoolboys with Shanghai and a hatful of rocks could have taken it. The German fleet that was supposed to be waiting to welcome us hadn't been around for eleven months. Seemingly the German fleet has gone into the business of not being around.

VIII. GERMAN NEW GUINEA.

The Australasian (*Melbourne*) for Sept. 19 prints the following, describing the conquest of German New Guinea, which, with the *Bismarck Archipelago*, off the

coast, has an area of 90,000 square miles—something less than half the size of the German Empire:

The Minister for Defense (Mr. Millen) has received the following further information by wireless regarding the operations at Herbertshohe and Rabaul, from Admiral Patey: The Australian naval reserve captured the wireless station at Herbertshohe at 1 P. M. on Sept. 12, after eighteen hours' bush fighting over about six miles. Herbertshohe and Rabaul, the seat of Government, have been garrisoned and a base has been established at Simpsonshafen.

Have prisoners: German officers, 2, including commandant; German non-commissioned officers, 15; and native police, 56. German casualties about 20 to 30 killed. Simpsonshafen swept and ready to be entered Sept. 12.

Naval force landed under Commander Beresford of the Australian Navy met with vigorous opposition. Advanced party at dawn established landing before enemy aware of intention. From within a few hundred yards of landing bush fight for almost four miles. Roads and fronts also mined in places, and stations entrenched. Officer commanding German forces in trench 500 yards seaward side of station has surrendered unconditionally.

Our force have reconnoitred enemy strength holding station. Have landed 12-pounder guns, and if station does not surrender intend shelling. Regret to report following casualties: 4 killed, 3 wounded.

Later a wireless message from Rear-Admiral Sir George Patey informed the Minister for Defense (Mr. E. D. Millen) on Monday, Sept. 14, that, as a result of the operations of the Australian Expeditionary Force, Rabaul, the seat of government in German New Guinea, had been occupied. The British flag was hoisted over the town at 3:30 on Sunday afternoon (Sept. 13, 1914) and it was saluted. A proclamation was then read by Rear-Admiral Patey, formerly setting out the occupation.

Apia (Samoa) had been occupied by British forces on Aug. 29. The Caroline Islands, first occupied by Japan, were turned over to New Zealand. The Marshall and Solomon Islands were likewise occupied on Dec. 9, thus completing the tale of Germany's colonial possessions in the Pacific.

There remain large areas in Kamerun and East Africa, but in both cases the coast line is in the possession of the Entente powers.

IX. FIGHTING IN THE CAUCASUS.

The first considerable battle in the Caucasus, after Turkey entered the war, was decided in favor of Russia, on Jan. 3. On Jan. 16 the Eleventh Corps of the Turkish Army was cut up at Kara Urgaun. On Jan. 30 the Russians occupied Tabriz. On Feb. 8 Trebizond was bombarded by Russian destroyers. On May 4 the Turks were again defeated, leaving 3,500 dead.

The most recent considerable action was the taking of the ancient and important City of Van, which is graphically described in *Novoe Vremya*, June 19:

"When our armies scattered the forces of Halil Bey and gained marked successes in the western part of Azerbaijan, the question of taking Van and the more important towns on Lake Van arose. At the same time we received news of the desperate situation of the Christians (Armenians) of the Van vilayet, who had been compelled to take up arms against the Kurds.

"Our division was directed to go to Van through the Sanjak of Bajazet, crossing the Tatar Pass under fire of Turkish regulars and Kurds. In spite of the Spring season, the whole pass was covered with a thick carpet of snow, in places up to our men's belts. At the highest point of the pass, 10,000 feet, we were forced to halt. After a brief rest we reached Taparitz and were immediately in contact with the enemy, who attacked with shell and rifle fire, but we soon silenced them with our rifles and machine guns. Scattering, the Turks and Kurds hid among the rocks and sniped at us.

"From Taparitz we advanced much more rapidly along the Abaga Valley, then turned to the west along the River Bendimach-Su, the best route to Van. We were informed that Begri-Kala was strongly occupied by Turks who were determined to defend it to the last.

"They began an irregular fire, which soon developed into a hotly contested battle. We were compelled to reply with bullet and bayonet. We took several mountain guns, many rifles and car-

triges and much ammunition. Many of the enemy threw up their hands and surrendered. We liberated several dozen Christian girls who had been captured by the Kurds at the time of the Turk and Kurd raid on the Armenian villages.

"We then resumed our march on Van, after driving the Turks from the Village

able fight, but the Kurds are foul fighters, murdering and looting.

"Attacking directly with only a part of our forces, we sent the rest by a long detour around the enemy's position, taking the Turks in flank; then our men charged with the bayonet, and the fight was over.



Scene of operation of Russians against the Turks in the Caucasus.

of Sor. The enemy gathered in the Town of Janik, one march from Van, on the northeast shore of Lake Van. To take Janik cost us several days' fighting. The Turks fought desperately, undaunted by enormous losses, their dead falling in heaps on all sides. The Turkish infantry fought a brave and honor-

"The fall of Janik decided the fate of Van. On the night of May 5 (18) the Turks evacuated Van, leaving twenty-six guns, 3,000 poods (a pood equals 36 pounds) of powder, their treasure and documents; they went so silently that the inhabitants did not know of it until the next morning.

"On May 6 (19) the birthday of Czar Nicholas II., we entered antique Van, the centre of the large and once wealthy vilayet of the same name, amid extraordinary rejoicings, the entire Christian population coming forth to meet us, strewing flowers and green branches in

the streets and decking our soldiers with garlands.

"The capture of Van is as important politically as it is strategically. The advance on Mush and Bitlis is a necessary consequence."

An "Insult" to War

Mount Kisco, N. Y., July 11, 1915.

To the Editor of The New York Times:

On Friday night at Carnegie Hall Miss Jane Addams stated that in the present war, in order to get soldiers to charge with the bayonet, all nations are forced first to make them drunk. I quote from THE TIMES report:

In Germany they have a regular formula for it [she said]. In England they use rum and the French resort to absinthe. In other words, therefore, in the terrible bayonet charges they speak of with dread, the men must be doped before they start.

In this war the French or English soldier who has been killed in a bayonet charge gave his life to protect his home and country. For his supreme exit he had prepared himself by months of discipline. Through the Winter in the trenches he has endured shells, disease, snow and ice. For months he had been sparated from his wife, children, friends—all those he most loved. When the order to charge came it was for them he gave his life, that against those who destroyed Belgium they might preserve their home, might live to enjoy peace.

Miss Addams denies him the credit of his sacrifice. She strips him of honor and courage. She tells his children, "Your father did not die for France, or for England, or for you; he died because he was drunk."

In my opinion, since the war began, no statement had been so unworthy or so untrue and ridiculous. The contempt it shows for the memory of the dead is appalling; the credulity and ignorance it displays are inconceivable.

Miss Addams does not know that even from France they have banished absinthe. If she doubts that in this France had succeeded let her ask for it. I asked for it, and each maître d'hôtel treated me as though I had proposed we should assassinate General Joffre.

If Miss Addams does know that the French Government has banished absinthe, then she is accusing it of openly receiving the congratulations of the world for destroying the drug while secretly using it to make fiends of the army. If what Miss Addams states is true, then the French Government is rotten, French officers deserve only court-martial, and French soldiers are cowards.

If we are to believe her, the Canadians at Ypres, the Australians in the Dardanelles, the English and the French on the Aisne made no supreme sacrifice, but were killed in a drunken brawl.

Miss Addams desires peace. So does every one else. But she will not attain peace by misrepresentation. I have seen more of this war and other wars than Miss Addams, and I know all war to be wicked, wasteful, and unintelligent, and where Miss Addams can furnish one argument in favor of peace I will furnish a hundred. But against this insult, flung by a complacent and self-satisfied woman at men who gave their lives for men, I protest. And I believe that with me are all those women and men who respect courage and honor.

RICHARD HARDING DAVIS.

The Drive at Warsaw

Germany's Story of the Eastern Campaign

Battles of Radymno, Przemysl, Lemberg, the Dniester, Krasnik, Przasnysz, Ostrolenka

The grand sweep of the victorious German armies through Galicia and into Poland, on a more tremendous scale than has hitherto been witnessed in the warfare of history, is recorded in the semi-official German accounts of the Wolff Telegraphic Bureau, published by the Frankfurter Zeitung from June 3 to June 29, and translated below. The official German reports of the campaign concentrated upon the Polish capital of Warsaw follow. On July 19 a Petrograd dispatch to the London Morning Post reported that Emperor William had telegraphed his sister, the Queen of Greece, to the effect that he had "paralyzed Russia for at least six months to come" and was on the eve of "delivering a coup on the western front that will make all Europe tremble."

STORMING OF RADYMNO

The semi-official report dispatched by the Wolff Telegraphic Bureau from Berlin on June 3, 1915, reads as follows:

FROM the Great Headquarters we learn the following concerning the battles at Radymno:

The corps of General von Mackensen, on the evening of the 23d of May, stood on both sides of the San in a great bow directed toward the east. On the right wing Bavarian troops stood on the watch facing the northwest front of the fortress of Przemysl. In touch with the Bavarian troops German and Austro-Hungarian forces stood south of the San before the strongly fortified bridgehead of Radymno. Farther north still other troops linked up with the army.

The bridgehead of Radymno consisted of a threefold line of field works. There was in the first place the main position well provided with wire entanglements. This ran along the heights that lie westward of the village of Ostroro and through the low lands of the San up to this river. Then there was a well-constructed intermediate position which was laid through the long straggling village of Ostroro. Finally there was the so-called bridgehead of Zagrody which was constructed for the protection of the street and rail-

road bridges crossing the river to the east of Radymno. Air-men had photographed all these positions and had reduced the views by the photogrammeter and transferred them to the map.

The first task was to render the enemy's main positions ripe for attack. With this object the artillery on the afternoon of May 23 began its fire, which was continued on the next day. From the heights near Jaroslau could be seen the valley of the San lying in the mists, out of which jutted the cupola towers of Radymno and the hamlets of Ostroro, Wietlin, Wysocko, etc. The artillery fire was raised to the utmost pitch of intensity. The heavy projectiles howling, furrowed the air, lit great fires as they struck and excavated vast pits in the earth. The Russian artillery replied.

At six o'clock in the morning the long infantry lines rose in their storming positions and advanced to the attack. The flyers reported that behind the enemy's positions they observed grazing cattle and baggage carts. The enemy seemed not to expect a serious attack. Anyhow, the Petersburg bulletin had announced that the battles in Galicia had decreased in intensity, that the Teutonic allies had practically throughout gone over to the defensive.

At six-thirty in the morning the enemy's main position in its whole ex-

tent was in the hands of the German troops. Shaken by the heavy artillery fire the enemy had made only brief resistance; he was in hasty retreat toward the east.

But just in that direction and into Radymno, whence the enemy's reinforcements were to be expected, the artillery had in the meantime turned its fire. Great clouds of smoke covered these villages set afire by the bombardment. The Russians thus did not have the chance to take permanent footing in Ostroro. The troops holding the town surrendered, leaving hundreds of guns and great quantities of ammunition in the hands of the victors.

Along the whole line the German infantry was now advancing upon Radymno and the villages connecting with this place, Skolowszo and Zamojsce. With every step forward the number of prisoners was increased. Soon one division reported to headquarters that it did not have enough men to attend to the removal of the great masses of prisoners without prejudice to the conduct of the action. Cavalry was therefore assigned to this task.

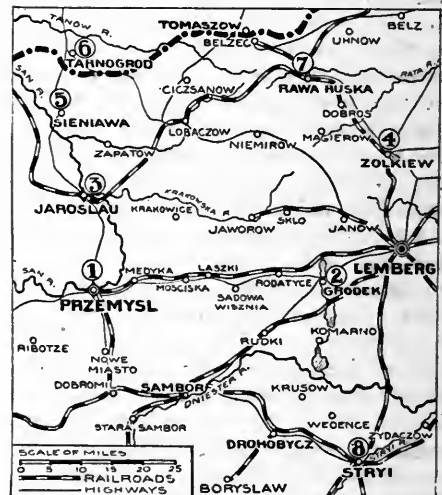
At Radymno the enemy's troops had become jammed in crowds. A wooden wagon bridge over the San had been burned down too soon. From the position of the staff directing the battle one could see the leaping flames and the clouds of heavy black smoke caused by the pouring on of naphtha. One could also see long columns fleeing eastward covering the street toward Dunkowice with their disordered crowds. As the Russian recruits which had been gathered in Radymno made only a brief resistance, this place together with all the artillery which was attempting to escape through the town to the San, was also lost. Only at the bridge-head of Zagrody did the Russian leaders, by hastily bringing up fresh reserves, finally check the attack of the Germans. On this day 70 officers, 9,000 men, 42 machine guns, 52 cannon of which 10 were heavy, 14 ammunition wagons, and extensive other booty was reported. But also on the north bank of the San a great battle had developed.

PRZEMYSL

A semi-official dispatch by the Wolff Telegraphic Bureau dated Berlin, June 6, said:

From the Great Headquarters we have received the following telegram concerning the fall of the fortress Przemysl:

When on the 2d of May the offensive of the allies in West Galicia began, few probably could have imagined that four weeks later the heavy guns of the Central Powers would open their fire on Przemysl. The Russian staff was not likely to have been prepared for this possibility. Its decision swayed this way and that, whether, as originally planned, to hold the fortress, for "political reasons" or "voluntarily to withdraw" from it. Constantly our airmen reported the marching of troops in and out of the fortress. On the 21st of May the decision seemed to have been reached to abandon it. In spite of this, eight days later the place was stubbornly defended.



Eight German military positions about Przemysl and Lemberg.

General von Kneussl pushed the line of his Bavarian regiments from the north closer to the fortress to shut in the foe. About eleven o'clock in the forenoon the heavy batteries began to

engage the forts on the north front. In the night from the 30th to the 31st of May the infantry pushed forward closer to the wire entanglements. It awaited the effect of the heavy artillery. This confined the defenders to their bomb-proof shelters, so that our infantry could step out of its trenches and from the top of the breastworks watch the tremendous drama of destruction. The lighter guns of the assailants found ideal positions in the battery emplacements formerly built by the Russians as part of their siege works when operating against the Austrians in Przemysl. So, too, General von Kneussl with his staff found shelter near, and the chief of artillery in the observation station constructed by the Russians near Bazyce. From this point, distant from the line of forts only a little more than two kilometers, one could observe the whole front of Forts 10 and 11. On the 31st of May, at four in the afternoon, the heavy guns ceased firing. Simultaneously the infantry, Bavarian regiments, a Prussian regiment and a detachment of Austrian sharpshooters, moved to the attack. The destruction of the works and advanced points of support of the fortress by the heavy artillery had such a shattering and depressing effect on its garrison that it was not capable of offering any effective resistance to the attacking infantry.

The troops manning Forts 10a, 11a, and 11, such of them as did not lie buried in the shattered casemates, fled, leaving behind their entire war material, including a great number of the newest light and heavy Russian guns. The enemy replied to the assailants who pushed forward to the circular connecting road, only with artillery fire, and in the night made no counter attack of any kind. On the 1st of June the enemy threw several single battalions into a counter attack. These attacks were repulsed without difficulty.

The heavy artillery now fought down Forts 10 and 11. The Prussian infantry regiment No. 45, jointly with Bavarian troops, stormed two earthworks lying to the east of Fort 11 which the

enemy had stubbornly defended. On the 2d of June, at noon, the 22d regiment of Bavarian infantry stormed Fort 10, in which all "bombproofs" except one had been made heaps of debris by the action of the heavy artillery. A battalion of fusiliers of the Queen Augusta Guard regiment of grenadiers in the evening took Fort 12. Works 10b, 9a and 9b capitulated.

In the evening the troops of General von Kneussl began the attack in the direction of the city. The village Zurawica and the fortified positions of the enemy situated there were captured. The enemy now desisted from all further resistance. Thus the German troops, followed later by the 4th Austro-Hungarian cavalry division were able to occupy the strongly built inner line of forts, and at 3 o'clock in the morning after making numerous prisoners, to march into the relieved city of Przemysl.

Here, where a battalion of the third infantry regiment of the Guard was the first troop to enter, there was still a last halt before the burned bridges over the San. But these were soon replaced with military bridges. After a siege of only four days the fortress of Przemysl was again in the hands of the allies. The Russians had in vain attacked this fortress for months. Although they brought hecatombs of bloody sacrifices they had not succeeded in taking the fortress by storm. Only by starvation did they bring it to fall, and they were enabled to enjoy their possession only nine weeks. Energetic and daring leadership, supported by heroically fighting troops and excellent heavy artillery, had in the briefest possible space of time reduced the great fortress.

BATTLE OF GRODEK

A semi-official dispatch by the Wolff Telegraphic Bureau, dated Berlin, June 27, reported as follows:

From the Great Headquarters we have received the following telegram about the battle for Grodek and the Wereszyca position:

In the night from the 15th to the 16th

of June the enemy began his retreat in front of the allied troops in an easterly and northeasterly direction. He was now unquestionably withdrawing to his defenses on the Wereszyca and the so-called Grodek position. The Wereszyca is a little stream that rises in the hilly lands of Magierow and flows in a southerly course to the Dniester. Insignificant as the streamlet is in itself, it yet forms, because of the width of its valley and the ten rather large lakes in it, a locality peculiarly well fitted for defense.

Whatever was lacking to the situation in natural strength had been supplied by art. This the Russians displayed above all in the Grodek position which, joining the Wereszyca on the north at Janow, stretches for a distance of more than 70 kilometres in a northwestern direction as far as the region of Narol Miasto. Thousands of laborers had here worked for months to construct a fortified position which does honor to the Russian engineers. Here extensive clearings have been made in the forests. Dozens of works for infantry defense, hundreds of kilometres of rifle trenches, covering and connecting trenches, had been dug, the hilly forest land quite transformed, and finally vast wire entanglements stretched along the entire Wereszyca and Grodek front. Taken as a whole this position formed the last great bulwark with which the Russians hoped to check their victorious opponents and to bring their advance upon Lemberg to a permanent halt.

The Russian army found itself incapable of acting up to these expectations of its leaders. A cavalry regiment of the Guard, with the cannon and machine guns assigned to it, succeeded on the 16th of June, on the road Jaworow-Niemirow, in making a surprise attack on a Russian infantry brigade marching northward to the Grodek position and in scattering it in the forests. In the evening the city of Niemirow was stormed. On the 18th of June the armies of General von Mackensen deployed into line of battle before the Russian positions. On the following day they moved to the attack. Early in the morning the decisive onslaught was

made on the Grodek position and in the evening on the Wereszyca line. Very soon the hostile positions on both sides of the Sosnina forest were taken. Four of the enemy's guns were captured, and the Russian positions on Mt. Horoszyko, which had been built up into a veritable fortress, were stormed.

The main attack was made by regiments of the Prussian Guard. Before them lay, to the west of Magierow, Hill 350. Even from a distance it can be seen that this elevation, rising to a height of fifty metres above the slope, is the key to the whole position. The defenses consisted of two rows of trenches, lying one over the other, with strong cover, and with wire entanglements and abattis in front of them. At daybreak began the artillery battle. This already at six o'clock in the morning resulted in the complete subduing of the Russian artillery, which, as always in the recently preceding days, held back and only very cautiously and with sparing use of ammunition took part in the battle. At seven the hostile position was considered ripe for storming and the infantry attack ordered. Although the forces manning the heights still took up the fire against the attackers, it was without, however, inflicting on them losses worth mentioning. The German heavy artillery had done its duty. The enemy was so demoralized that, although in the beginning he kept up his fire, he preferred to absent himself before the entry of the Germans into his trenches.

More than 700 prisoners and about a dozen machine guns fell into the hands of the attackers. In the ditches that were taken alone there lay 200 dead Russians. In the meantime the attack was directed against the neighboring sections. Soon the Russians found themselves compelled also to vacate without giving battle the very strong position running north of the street that leads to Magierow, with its front toward the south. Since the German troops were able to penetrate with the fleeing enemy into Magierow and to advance north of the city toward the east, the position at Bialo-Piaskowa also became untenable. The Russians flowed back-

ward and only at Lawryko again tried to get a firm footing. Late in the evening a Guard regiment took the railroad station of Dabrocin, where but a short time before the Russians had been transshipping troops, and thus won the Lemberg-Rawa-Ruska road. The adjoining corps in the evening stood about on a level with the regiments of the Guard.

Again penetration of the Russian front had succeeded to a width of 25 kilometres, and the fate of Lemberg had been decided here and on the Wereszyca. This line was stormed late in the evening and partly in the early morning hours of the 20th of June. The German corps, which on this day had been joined by the German Emperor, stormed the hostile positions of Stawki as far as the Bulawa outwork. Since the morning hours of the 20th of June the enemy, who in places had already withdrawn in the night, was in full retreat toward the east along the whole front. The pursuit was at once undertaken. On the evening of the same day Royal and Imperial troops stood close before the fortifications of Lemberg.

THE FALL OF LEMBERG

A semi-official report dispatch by the Wolff Telegraphic Bureau from Berlin, June 28, reads:

From the Great Headquarters we have received the following telegram about the taking of Lemberg:

The Russians entered Lemberg, the capital of Galicia, a city of 250,000 inhabitants, in the beginning of September, 1914. They at once restored to the city its Polish name, Lwow, and during their reign in the beautiful town made themselves exceedingly well at home. They began promptly to develop Lemberg into a great fortress and for the further protection of their new possession to construct the fortified lines of Grodek and Wereszyca. The protective works of Lemberg built by the Austrians were strengthened and extended by the Russians, especially along the south and southwest fronts. The existing depot facilities were enlarged and a number of railways, both field and permanent,

extended throughout the domain of the fortress. To guarantee the maintenance of the fortress of Lemberg, even in case the Grodek position should be penetrated and have to be given up, a strongly fortified supporting work had been built. This ran along the heights to the west of the Lemberg-Rawa-Ruska railway to the vicinity of Dobrocin.

After the armies of General von Mackensen had broken through the Grodek and Wereszyca position, German divisions and allied troops struck these supporting works. The centre of the Army Boehm-Ermolli simultaneously approached the west from Lemberg. The main body of this army attacked sections of the hostile army which had prepared for renewed resistance behind the Szczerzek and Stavezonka streams and in contact with the fortress on the south. This position on the evening of the 21st of June was successfully penetrated at several points and the attacking troops were pushed closer to the defenses on the west front of Lemberg. German connecting troops under the leadership of General von der Marwitz on the same day stormed the most important points of the stubbornly defended supporting position. They thus compelled the enemy to evacuate this position in the whole of its extent and opened for the adjacent Austrian troops the road to the defenses on the northwest front of the fortress. In consequence the Austro-Hungarian troops were able on the 22d of June to take the works on the northwest and west fronts.

At five o'clock in the morning fell the fortification Rzesna, soon thereafter Sknilow, and toward eleven Lysa Gora. This work was conquered by infantry regiment No. 34, "William I, German Emperor and King of Prussia." In the Rzesna fortification alone, besides gun limbers and machine guns, 400 prisoners were taken who belonged to no less than eighteen different Russian divisions. In the work there was found, besides masses of weapons and ammunition, a large number of unopened wooden boxes containing steel blinders (Stahlblenden).

At noon of that day the victorious troops set foot in the Galician capital

in which the Russians had ruled for nearly ten months. About four o'clock in the afternoon the Austrian commander made his entry into the city, which was quite undamaged and decked with flags. In the streets, in the windows and on balconies stood thousands and thousands of the inhabitants, who enthusiastically greeted their deliverers and showered the automobiles with a rain of flowers. The next day the commander-in-chief, General von Mackensen, congratulated in Lemberg the conqueror of the fortress, the Austrian General of Cavalry von Boehm-Ermolli. The German Emperor, on receiving the announcement of the fall of Lemberg, sent the following telegram to General von Mackensen:

"Accept on the crowning event of your brilliantly led Galician campaign, the fall of Lemberg, my warmest congratulations. It completes an operation which, systematically prepared and executed with energy and skill, has led in only six weeks to successes in battles and amount of booty, and that, too, in the open field, seldom recorded in the history of wars. To God's gracious support we, in the first instance, owe this shining victory, and then to your battle-tried leadership and the bravery of the allied troops under you, both fighting in true comradeship. As an expression of my thankful recognition I appoint you field marshal.

(Signed) "Wilhelm I. R."

At the same time the commander of the Austrian army, Grand Duke Frederick, was appointed a Prussian general field marshal. The faithful working together of the allied armies had borne rich fruits.

THE CZAR'S RESCRIPT

The following Imperial Rescript addressed to the Premier, M. Goremykin, was announced at Petrograd on June 30:

From all parts of the country I have received appeals testifying to the firm determination of the Russian peoples to devote their strength to the work of equipping the Army. I derive from this national unanimity the unshakable

assurance of a brilliant future. A prolonged war calls for ever-fresh efforts. But, surmounting growing difficulties and parrying the vicissitudes which are inevitable in war, let us strengthen in our hearts the resolution to carry on the struggle, with the help of God, to the complete triumph of the Russian arms. The enemy must be crushed, for without that peace is impossible.

With firm faith in the inexhaustible strength of Russia, I anticipate that the governmental and public institutions of Russian industry and all faithful sons of the Fatherland, without distinction of ideas and classes, will work together in harmony to satisfy the needs of our valiant Army. This is the only and, henceforth, the national problem to which must be directed all the thoughts of united Russia, invincible in her unity.

Having formed, for the discussion of questions of supplying the Army, a special commission, in which members of the Legislative Chambers and representatives of industry participate, I recognize the necessity, in consequence, of advancing the date of the reopening of these Legislative bodies in order to hear the voice of the country.

Having decided that the sessions of the Duma and the Council of the Empire shall be resumed in the month of August at the latest, I rely on the Council of Ministers to draw up, according to my indications, the Bills necessitated by a time of war.—*Reuter.*

RUSSIA'S DEFENSIVE PLAN

A dispatch to the London Daily Chronicle from Petrograd on July 6 said:

The Russian defense is now a two-fold and rather complex process. Along the frontiers the army is parrying blows of the enemy and wearing him down, avoiding big battles, losing territory indeed, little by little, but gaining time and husbanding resources.

The other side of the process is the rally of the nation to the support of the army. It would be wholly wrong to regard the gradual advance of the Ger-

mans and Austrians in Russian territory as evidence that Russian resistance is breaking down. On the contrary the nation has never been so thoroughly aroused as now.

The broad back of the Russian soldier has done marvels in sustaining the heavy burden of war, but when retreat in Galicia began it suddenly flashed on the nation that this was not enough—valor must be reinforced by technique. The attitude of the nation to the war immediately changed. Formerly it was a spectator watching with eager hope mingled with anxiety the deeds of the army that was part of its very self. Now it has become an active reserve of the army and in securing liberty to act it has gained in moral force.

The Cabinet is being strengthened, more effective contact is being established between the Government and the nation, and the War Office is now the centre of popular interest.

Russia has not yet followed the example of her allies in appointing a Minister of Munitions, but the course of events is tending in this direction and the new War Minister, General Polivanoff, commands the confidence of the Duma and nation generally. The War Office has become the focus of the new national organizing movement of which all existing public bodies are being made the nucleus.

FIGHTING ON TWO RIVERS

The statement issued by the German Army Headquarters Staff in Berlin on June 30 reported:

Between the Bug and the Vistula Rivers the German and Austro-Hungarian troops have reached the districts of Belz, Komanow and Zamosc and the northern border of the forest-plantations in the Tanew section. Also on a line formed by the banks of the Vistula and in the district of Zawichost, to the east of Zarow, the enemy has commenced a retreat.

An enemy aeroplane was forced to descend behind our lines. The occupants of the machine were made prisoners.

On July 1 the situation on the Russian front was thus officially reported from Berlin:

Eastern theatre of war: Our positions here are unchanged. The booty taken during June amounts to two flags and 25,695 prisoners, of whom 120 were officers; seven cannon, six mine throwers, fifty-two machine guns, and one aeroplane, besides much material of war.

Southeastern theatre of war: After bitter fighting the troops under General von Linsingen yesterday stormed the Russian positions east of the Gnila Lipa River near Kunioze and Luozynoe and to the north of Rohatyn. Three officers and 2,328 men were made prisoners and five machine guns were captured.

East of Lemberg the Austro-Hungarian troops have pressed forward into the enemy positions. The army under Field Marshal von Mackensen is continuing to press forward between the Bug and Vistula Rivers. West of the Vistula, after stubborn fighting by the Russians, the Teutonic allies are advancing on both sides of the Kamenna in pursuit.

The total amount of captures during June made by the Teutonic allied troops under General von Linsingen, Field Marshal von Mackensen, and General von Woyrich amounts to 409 officers and 140,650 men and 80 cannon and 268 machine guns.

From Vienna—The following official communication was issued on July 1 by the War Office:

Battles in Eastern Galicia continued on July 1 on the Gnila Lipa and in the region east of Lemberg. Our troops advanced in several places on the heights east of the Gnila Lipa and broke through hostile positions. The allied troops also succeeded, after stubborn fighting, in reaching the eastern bank of the Rohatyn.

On the Dniester complete calm prevails. In the region of the source of the Wieprz we occupied Zamoso, north of the Tanew all lower lands are occupied. West of the Vistula our troops

pursued the flying enemy up to Tarlow.

The total booty taken during June by the allied troops during the fighting in the northeast comprises 521 officers and 194,000 men, 93 guns, 164 machine guns, 78 caisson, and 100 military railroad carriages.

KRASNIK REACHED

The statement issued by German Army Headquarters on July 2 says:

In the Eastern Theatre: Southwest of Kalwarya, after stubborn fighting we took a mine position from the enemy and made 600 Russians prisoners.

In the Southeastern Theatre: After storming the heights southeast of Bukaszowice, north of Halicz, the Russians along the whole front from the district of Maryampol to just north of Firzilow have been obliged to retreat. Troops under General von Linsingen are pursuing the defeated enemy.

Up to yesterday we had taken 7,765 prisoners, of whom 11 are officers. We also captured eighteen machine guns.

The German official report of July 3 reads:

In the Southeastern Theatre: North of the Dniester River our troops are advancing under continuous fighting in pursuit of the enemy and penetrating by way of the line of Mariampol, Narajoa and Miasto toward the Zlota Lipa section. They have reached the Bug at several places between Kamionka and Strzumilowa and below Krylow and are quickly advancing in a northerly direction between the Bug and the Vistula.

The lowlands of the Labunka now are in our possession, after our opponents had offered stubborn resistance at certain places.

German troops also obtained a firm foothold on the northern bank of the river in the Wysnica section, between Krasnik and the mouth of the Labunka.

Between the left bank of the Vistula and the Pilica River the situation remains generally unchanged.

A Russian counter-attack southeast of Radom was repulsed.

The following Austrian official war statement was given out in Vienna on July 3:

In East Galicia the Teutonic allied troops are advancing, pursuing the enemy east of Halicz and across the Narajowska, and to the north attacking successfully on the heights east of Janozyn. On the Bug River the situation is unchanged.

Between the Vistula and the Bug Rivers the Teutonic allied troops are steadily advancing, with fierce fighting. Zamosc has been stormed. West of there the Russians everywhere have been repulsed beyond the Por Plain, which is in our possession. At several places we forced a passage of the brook.

East of Krasnik, for which fighting is still proceeding, Studzianki has been captured. The village of Wysnica, west of Krasnik, also was stormed. Here and elsewhere in this sector the enemy was repulsed.

Friday on the Por and near Krasnik, 4,800 prisoners were captured, and three machine guns were taken.

West of the Vistula there were artillery duels.

Following is the official report of the operations on the front in Galicia and Southern Poland, wirelessly July 4 from Berlin to Sayville, N. Y.:

General von Linsingen's army, in full pursuit of the enemy, is advancing toward the Zlota Lipa. Three thousand Russians were taken prisoners yesterday. Under pressure of the Germans the enemy is evacuating his positions from Narajow to Miasto, and to the north of Przemyslany from Kamionka to Krylow.

ON ZLOTA LIPA RIVER

Following is the Austrian official war statement given out from Vienna on July 6:

In Eastern Galicia the Teutonic allied troops under General von Linsingen, after two weeks of successful battles, have reached the Zlota Lipa River, the western bank of which has been cleared of the enemy. In the sectors of Kami-



H. R. H. PRINCE GEORGE
Duke of Sparta and Crown Prince of Greece
(Photo from P. S. Rogers.)



ADMIRAL SIR HENRY B. JACKSON
Who Succeeded Lord Fisher as First Sea Lord of the British Admiralty
(Photo by Elliott & Fry.)

onka Strumilowa and Krasno battles against the Russian rearguards are continuing.

Near Krylow (on the Bug River), in Southern Russian Poland, near the Galician border, the enemy has evacuated the western bank of the Bug and burned the village of Krylow.

Fighting is proceeding on both banks of the Upper Wieprz.

The Teutonic allied troops drove the enemy from positions north of the small River Por and advanced to Faras and Plonka.

The western army, commanded by Archduke Joseph Ferdinand, after several days' battle, broke through the Russian front on both sides of Krasnik and drove the Russians back with heavy losses in a northerly direction. We captured twenty-nine officers and 8,000 men and took six caissons and six machine guns.

West of the Vistula River the situation is unchanged.

The Petrograd correspondent of The London Times telegraphed on July 6:

No apprehension is entertained as to the fate of Warsaw, for the city bids fair to be protected. Even if the Germans should reach Ivangorod, this would not necessarily involve the surrender of Warsaw.

The Russian waiting game in fact has been justified. The critic of the *Novoe Vremya* correctly explains the withdrawal as a manœuvre deliberately undertaken with the object of accepting battle under the best conditions for the Russians. He adds that on the Vistula front the ground which offers the Russians the greatest advantage is that with Brest Litovsk as a base, Ivangorod on the right flank and a strong army occupying the flank and rear positions in relation to the right flank of General von Boehm-Ermolli's Army.

The War Department at Vienna on July 6 gave out the following official statement:

The Russians, who, in the second battle of Krasnik, were defeated by the army of Archduke Joseph Ferdinand,

are retreating in a northern and north-eastern direction, pursued by the Austrians who are pressing to attack.

The Austrians on Monday captured the district of Cieszanow and the heights north of Wysnica. Under pressure of our advance the enemy is retreating on the Wieprz beyond Tarnogora. Our booty in this fighting has increased to 41 officers and 11,500 men and 17 machine guns.

On the Bug River and in East Galicia the situation is unchanged.

On the Zlota Lipa and Dniester Rivers quiet prevails.

German Army Headquarters wireless the following report from Berlin to Sayville, N. Y., on July 7:

During pursuit of the Russians to the Zlota Lipa River from July 3 to July 5 the Germans captured 3,850 men. The number of prisoners made south of Biale River has been increased to seven officers and about 800 men.

In Poland, south of the Vistula, the Germans stormed Height 95, to the east of Dolowatka and south of Borzymow. The Russian losses were very considerable. Ten machine guns, one revolver gun and a quantity of rifles were taken.

More to the northward, near the Vistula, a Russian charge was repulsed.

The Czernowitz, Bukowina, correspondent of the *Zeitung am Mittag*, says:

"The scarcity of rifles with the Russians is growing greater daily. The reserves are unarmed until they begin the attack, and then they take rifles from their fallen comrades. The Russian artillery fire, however, has grown more active."

DEFEAT AT KRASNIK

From Austrian Army Headquarters in Galicia, July 11, came the following:

The relative subsidence of activity on the part of the Teutonic allies during the last week may be explained by the fact that the goal set for the Lemberg campaign already has been attained. This was the recapture of the city and the securing of strong defensive posi-

tions to the eastward and northward. These positions have now been secured along the line of the Złota Lipa and Bug Rivers and the ridge to the northward of Krasnik.

The Russians attempted a counter-offensive from Lubin against the Austro-German positions north of Krasnik, bringing up heavy reinforcements for this purpose. Owing to this movement the Austrian troops, which had rushed beyond the positions originally selected, withdrew to the ridge, where they have been successfully resisting all Russian attacks. They feel secure in their present positions, and it is believed here that they can be easily held against whatever forces Russia can throw against them.

Indications now point to a period of quiet along the Russo-Galician front, while the Teutonic allies are preparing for operations in other quarters.

This statement from Russian General Headquarters was published in Petrograd on July 14:

In the direction of Lomza (Russian Poland) on the evening of July 12 and also on the 13th, the enemy developed an intensive artillery fire. On the right bank of the Pissa, on July 13, the Germans succeeded in capturing Russian trenches on a front of two versts (about one and one-third miles). They, however, were driven back by a counter-attack and the trenches were recaptured.

On both banks of the Shikva stubborn fighting has taken place. Considerable enemy forces between the Orjetz (Orzyc?) and the Lydymia adopted the offensive and the Russians, declining a decisive engagement, retreated during the night of the 13th to their second line of positions. On the left bank of the Vistula the situation is unchanged.

In the battle near Wilkolaz, south of Lublin, during the week ending July 11 the Russians captured 97 officers and 22,464 men.

In the Cholm region engagements have taken place along the Volitzia River, and on the night of July 13 we captured over 150 prisoners.

On the rest of the front there have been the usual artillery engagements. On the evening of July 12 the enemy assumed the offensive on the Narew front.

PRZASNYSZ OCCUPIED

In the eastern theater: In the course of minor fights on the Windau below Koltany 425 Russians were taken prisoners.

South of the Niemen River, in the neighborhood of Kalwarya, our troops captured several outer positions at Franziskowa and Osowa and maintained them against fierce counter-attacks.

To the northeast of Suwalki the Heights of Olszauka were taken by storm.

South of Kolno we captured the village of Konsya, and the enemy positions east of this village and south of the Tartak line. Two thousand four hundred prisoners and eight machine guns fell into our hands.

Battles in the neighborhood of Przasnysz are being continued. Several enemy lines were captured by our troops, and the City of Przasnysz, for which we were fighting hotly in the last days of February, and which was strongly fortified by the Russians, we have occupied by our troops.

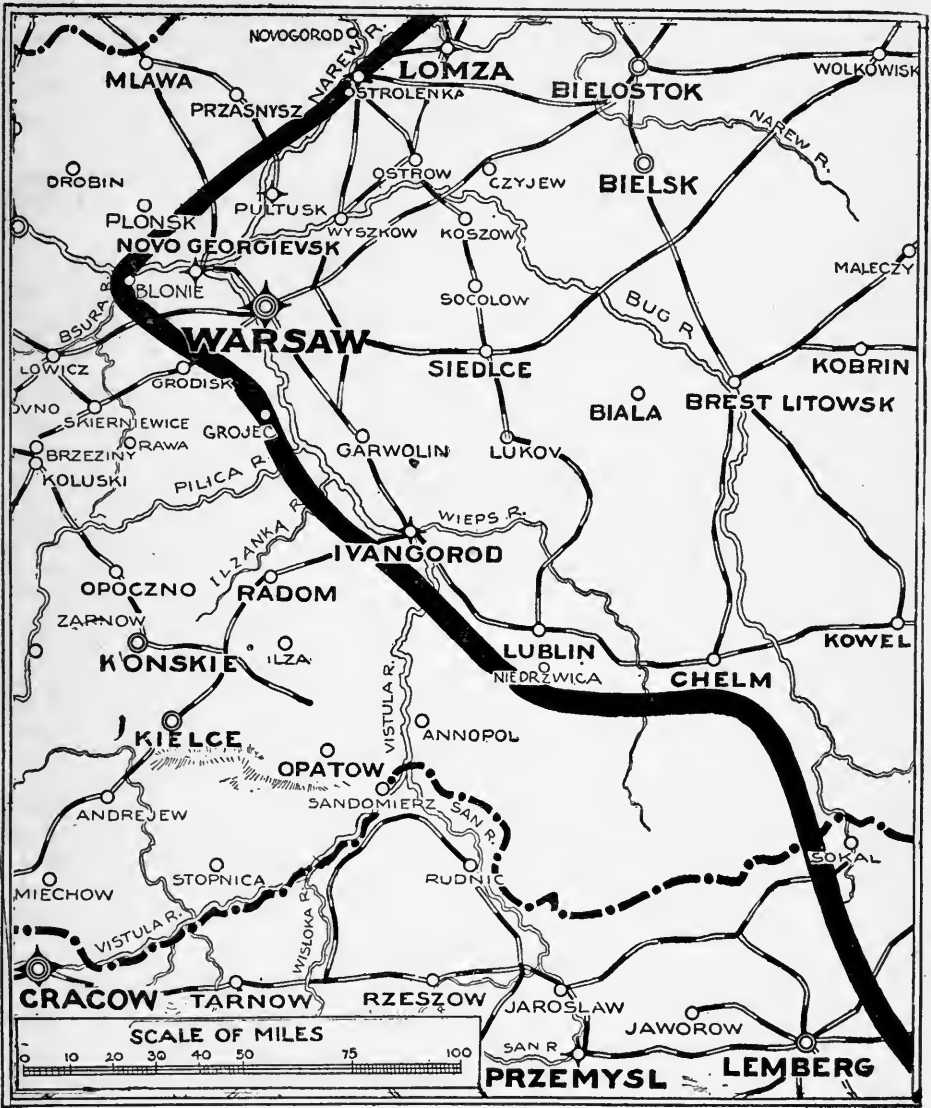
In the southeastern theater the situation generally is the same.

GERMAN "NUT-CRACKER"

A Petrograd dispatch to the London Morning Post said on July 15:

The Germans have opened a new campaign for the conquest of Russia. Their plan is to catch the Russian armies like a nut between nutcrackers.

The German line of advance from the northwest lies between the Mława-Warsaw Railway line and the River Pissa and from the south from the Galician line. On paper the German scheme is that these two fronts shall move to meet one another and everything between them must be ground to powder. But the nut to be cracked is rather a formidable area of space and well fortified, the kernel sound and healthy,



The German battle line on July 24, in Russian Poland.

being formed of the Russian armies inspired not merely with the righteousness of their cause, but the fullest confidence in themselves and absolute devotion to the proved genius of their Commander in Chief. The area referred to cannot be less than eighty miles in extent, north to south, by 120 miles west to east. That is the mere nucleus and minimum area, as contained between the Novo Georgievsk fortress

in the north to the Ivangorod fortress in the south and the Russian lines on the Bzura in the west to Brest-Litovsk on the east.

The Germans have an incalculable amount of fighting to face before they win to that area, the nut to be cracked, and then the cracking is still to be done. It is all sheer frontal fighting. The Germans have been twelve months trying frontal attacks against Warsaw

on a comparatively narrow front, and in vain. What chance have they of success by dividing their forces against the united strength of Russia?

BREAKING RUSSIA'S LINES

An official German bulletin dated Berlin, July 17, reported:

The offensive movement begun a few days ago in the eastern theatre of war, under command of Field Marshal von Hindenburg, has led to great results. The army of General von Bülow, which on July 14 crossed the Windau River near and north of Kurshany, continued its victorious advance. Eleven officers and 2,450 men were taken prisoners, and three cannon and five machine guns were captured.

The army of General von Gallwitz proceeded against the Russian positions in the district south and southeast of Olawa. After a brilliant attack three Russian lines, situated behind each other northwest and northeast of Przasnysz, were pierced. Dzielin was captured and Lipa was reached and attacked by pressure exerted from both these directions. The Russians retreated, after the evacuation of Przasnysz on the 14th, to their line of defense from Ciechanow to Krasnosielo, lying behind them. On the 15th German troops also took these enemy positions by storm, and pierced the position south of Zielona, over a front of seven kilometers, forcing their opponents to retreat. They were supported by troops under General von Scholtz, which are occupied with a pursuit from the direction of Kolno. Since yesterday the Russians have been retreating on the center front, between the Pissa and Vistula Rivers, in the direction of Narew.

Southeastern Theatre of War.—After the Teutonic allies had taken during the last few days a series of Russian positions on the River Bug and between the Bug and the Vistula, important battles developed yesterday on this entire front under the leadership of Field Marshal von Mackensen. West of the Vierpz, in the district southwest of Krasnostav, German troops broke through the enemy's line. So far 28

officers and 6,380 men have fallen into our hands, and 9 machine guns have been captured.

West of the Upper Vistula the offensive has again been begun by the army of General von Woyrich.

An official statement issued by general headquarters in Vienna on July 18 says:

On the Bug River, in the region of Sokol, our troops drove the enemy from a series of stubbornly defended places. To the northeast of Sienvno we broke through the Russian front.

The enemy is evacuating his positions between the Vistula and the Kielce-Radom Railway.

An earlier bulletin, dated July 17, read as follows:

Between the Vistula and the Bug Rivers important battles have developed favorably for the allied troops. Some Austro-Hungarians, operating closely with the Germans west of Grabovetz, took an important enemy point of support after storming it several times, and pressed forward into the enemy's main position.

Southwest of Krasnostav the Germans broke through the enemy's lines.

On the Upper Bystrcz and north of Krasnik our troops took advanced positions of the enemy. The offensive also was resumed successfully west of the Vistula.

BERLIN'S REJOICING

An Associated Press dispatch from Berlin via London on July 18 said:

The news of Field Marshal von Hindenburg's newest surprise for the Russians, which the War Office announces has resulted in important victories, was made known late yesterday, causing general rejoicing and the appearance of flags all over the city.

Military critics attach great significance to the breaking of the Russian lines and the consequent Russian retreat toward the Narew River, particularly as the German advance between the Pissa and Vistula rivers threatens to crumple the right flank positions of the Russians.

With Field Marshal von Mackensen proceeding against the other flank, the maintenance of communications offers a serious problem for the Russians. The breaking of the Russian line near Krasnostav, thirty-four miles south of Lublin, brings the Germans dangerously near Cholm and Lublin, both of which points are of the highest importance for the Russians in maintaining their position in the vistula region.

The following official bulletin concerning the operations was issued tonight by the War Office:

Portions of the army of General von Buelow have defeated the Russian forces near Autz, where 3,620 men and six guns and three machine guns were captured. They are pursuing the enemy in an easterly direction.

Other portions of this army are fighting to the northeast of Kurshany. East of that town an enemy advance position has been stormed.

On the southeastern front the offensive was taken by the army under General von Woyrich, which made successful progress under the heavy fire of the enemy.

Our troops on Saturday morning took a narrow point in the wire entanglements of a strongly fortified enemy main position, and through this opening stormed an enemy trench on a front of 2,000 meters (about a mile and a third). In the course of the day the wedge was widened and pushed forward, with tenacious hand-to-hand fighting, far into the enemy's position.

In the evening the enemy's Moscow Grenadier Corps was defeated by our landwehr and reserve troops. The enemy retreated during the night behind the Iljanka River to the district south of Zwolen, suffering heavy losses in their retirement.

Between the Pissa and Vistula Rivers the Russian troops are retreating and the troops of General von Schaltz and von Gallwitz are close behind them.

The enemy is attacked and driven back where he offers resistance in prepared positions.

Reserve troops and a levy of troops of General von Schaltz have stormed the towns of Poremky and Wykplock,

and regiments of General von Gallwitz have broken through the extended positions of Mlodzi, Nome and Kaniewo. The number of prisoners was considerably increased and four guns were captured.

From the north of the Vistula to the Pilica the Russians also have begun to retreat. Our troops in a short engagement during the pursuit made 620 prisoners.

Between the Upper Vistula and the Bug fighting continues under the command of Field Marshal von Mackensen. The Russians have been driven by the German troops from the hills of Biclaczkowice, south of Piaski, as far as Krosnoskow, and both these places have been taken by storm. The fire of the Siberian army corps could not ward off defeat. We made more than 1000 prisoners.

WARSAW'S EVACUATION

An Associated Press dispatch from London dated July 20 recorded the doubt in the English capital of Warsaw's holding out, as follows:

The Morning Post's Budapest correspondent reports that the gradual evacuation of Warsaw has been ordered by the Russians.

Continued successes of the great Teutonic movement against the Polish capital were indicated in the German official bulletin received from Berlin this morning. This stated that the Russians were retreating along the whole front between the Vistula and the Bug. The bulletin reads:

The Germans have occupied Tukum and Windau (Province of Courland).

Between the Vistula and the Bug the battle continues with unabated violence.

The Austro-Hungarians have forced a crossing of the Wolicza River in the neighborhood of Grabovetz and advanced across the Bug to the north of Sokal, the Russians having during the night retreated along the whole front between the Vistula and the Bug.

The Germans captured from July 16 to July 18 16,000 prisoners and twenty-three machine guns.

That German columns have occupied Tukum, thirty-eight miles west of Riga,



Scene of German operations in Courland

and Doblen eighteen miles west of Mitau, is admitted by an official statement issued at the headquarters of the Russian general staff. The same report admits that the Austrians have gained the right bank of the Volitza and have crossed the Bug River on a front reaching to Sokal. The bulletin says:

On the Narew front the night of the 18th the enemy took the offensive, capturing the village of Poredy, on the right bank of the Pissa River. On the left bank of the Skwa enemy attacks against the villages of Vyk and Pchetchniak were repulsed with success. West of the Omulew our troops, retiring progressively toward a bridgehead on the Narew, delivered on the evening of the 17th a rear-guard action of a stubborn character near the town of Mahoff. Near the village of Karnevo we made a brilliant counter-attack.

"In the direction of Lublin enemy attacks during the 18th on the front Wilkolaz-Vychawa (east and north of Krasnik) were successfully repulsed.

At dawn of the 18th the enemy captured Krasnostav, thirty-four miles south of Lublin on the Vieprz, and crossed upstream. During the course of the 19th enemy attacks between the stream flowing from Rybtchevbitze toward the village of Piaski and the Vieprz remained without result. On the right bank of the Vieprz we repulsed near Krasnostav

and the River Volitza many extremely stubborn enemy attacks.

Nevertheless, near the mouth of the Volitza and the village of Gaevniki the enemy succeeded in establishing himself on the right bank of this river, after which we judged it advisable to retire to our second-line positions.

In the region of the village of Grabovetz on the 18th we repulsed four furious enemy attacks on a wide front, supported by a curtain of fire from his artillery.

Between Geneichva and the Bug on the evening of the 17th, after a desperate fight we drove the enemy from all the trenches previously occupied by him.

On the Bug energetic fighting continued against the enemy, who crossed on the 18th on the front Skomorsky-Sokal.

"Can Warsaw be held?" is the question now being asked here.

With the German Field Marshals, von Hindenburg on the north and von Mackensen on the south, whipping forward the two ends of a great arc around the city, it is realized in England that Grand Duke Nicholas, Commander in Chief of the Russian armies, has the most severe task imposed on him since the outbreak of the European war, and the military writers of some of the London papers seem to think that the task is well-nigh impossible.

There was sustained confidence that Germany's previous violent attacks along the Bzura-Rawka front would never pierce the Russian line, but the present colossal co-ordinate movement was developed with such suddenness, and has been carried so far without meeting serious Russian resistance, that more and more the British press is discounting the fall of the Polish capital, and, while not giving up all hope of its retention, is pointing out the enormous difficulty the Russian armies have labored under from the start by the existence of such a salient.

An Associated Press dispatch from London on July 21 said:

From the shores of the Gulf of Riga in the north to that part of Southern

Poland into which they drove the Russians back from Galicia, the Austro-German armies are still surging forward, and if Warsaw can be denied them it will be almost a miracle.

This seems to be the opinion even among those in England who heretofore have been hopeful that the Russians would turn and deliver a counter-blow, and news of the evacuation of the Polish capital, followed by the triumphant entry of the Germans amid such scenes as were enacted at Przemysl and Lemberg, would come as no surprise.

The German official statement, beginning at the northern tip of the eastern battle line, records the progress of the German troops to within about fifty miles of Riga. Then, following the great battle arc southward, chronicles further successes in the sector northeast of Warsaw, culminating in the capture of Ostrolenka, one of the fortresses designed to shield the capital.

The acute peril to Warsaw is accentuated by the Russian official communication which says that German columns are within artillery range of the fortress of Novo Georgievsk, the key to the capital from the northwest, and only about twenty miles from it.

Immediately southwest of the city, seventeen miles from it, Blonie has fallen, and further south Grojec, twenty-six miles distant, while German cavalry have captured Radom, capital of the province of that name, on the railroad to the great fortress of Ivangorod. The Lublin-Chelm Railway is still in the hands of the Russians, so far as is known, but the Russian Commander-in-Chief has issued, through the Civil Governor, an order that in case of a retreat from the town of Lublin, the male population is to attach itself to the retiring troops.

The belief is expressed in Danish military circles, according to a Copenhagen dispatch to the Exchange Telegraph Company, that the Germans intend to use Windau and Tukum as bases for operations designed to result in the capture of Riga, which would be used as a new naval base after the Gulf of Riga had been cleared of mines.

OSTROLENKA FORT TAKEN

From Berlin on July 20 came this report from the German War Office:

Eastern theatre of war: In Courland the Russians were repulsed near Grosschmarden, east of Tukum, and near Gruendorf and Usingen. East of Kurshany the enemy also is retreating before our attack.

North of Novgorod, on the Narew, German troops captured enemy positions north of the confluence of the Skroda and Pissa rivers. Fresh Landsturm troops who were under fire for the first time especially distinguished themselves. North of the mouth of the Skwa we reached the Narew. The permanent fortifications of Ostrolenka, on the north-west bank of the river, were captured.

South of the Vistula our troops advanced into hostile positions to Blonie and Grojec. (Blonie is seventeen miles west of Warsaw, and Grojec twenty-six miles south of the city.) In rearguard fighting the Russians lost 560 prisoners and two machine guns.

Southeastern theatre of war: German Landwehr and reserve troops of the army of General von Woyrich repulsed superior forces of the enemy from their position at Ilzanka. All counter attacks made by Russian reserves, which were brought up quickly, were repulsed. We captured more than 5,000 prisoners. Our troops are closely pursuing the enemy. Our cavalry already has reached the railway line from Radom to Ivangorod.

Between the upper Vistula and the Bug we are following the retreating enemy.

A bulletin, issued early on July 20, had announced the capture of the Baltic port of Windau, thus bringing the Germans within a few miles of Riga, seat of the Governor General of the Baltic Provinces. It read:

German troops occupied Tukum and captured Windau. (Windau is a seaport in Courland on the Baltic Sea at the mouth of the Windau River, 100 miles northwest of Mitau.) Pursuing the enemy, who was defeated on the Aa River at Alt Autz, our troops yesterday

reached the district of Hofzumberge and northwest of Mitau, where the enemy occupied previously prepared positions.

East of Popeliany and Kurszany the fighting continues.

Between the Pissa and the Skwa the Russians evacuated a position which had been penetrated at several points by our troops, and are retreating toward the Narew. The German reserve Landwehr, fighting in this district of woody and marshy ground, which is extremely favorable to the resistance of the enemy, accomplished notable deeds.

The army of General von Gallwitz, advancing further, is now standing with all its troops on the Narew line southwest of Ostrolenka and Novo Georgievsk (about ten miles northwest of Warsaw). The Russians who did not find protection in their fortifications and bridgehead positions already have retreated across the Narew. (The Narew joins the Bug at Sierock, eighteen miles north of Warsaw.) The number of prisoners taken by us has been increased to 101 officers and 28,760 men.

In Poland, between the Vistula and the Pilica, the Russians are retreating eastward.

In the southeastern theatre: The enemy, defeated on the 17th by the army under General von Woyrisch northwest of Sienna, attempted to arrest our pursuit in his previously prepared positions behind the Ilzanka sector. Yesterday afternoon the Silesian Landwehr stormed the enemy advanced positions near Ciepilow. The same troops during the night entered the line near Krasanow and Baranow, which also is wavering with a decision imminent.

Between the upper Vistula and the Bug the battle of the allied troops under Field Marshal von Mackensen is proceeding with unabated violence. At the eruption point near Pilaskovice and Krasnostaw the Russians made desperate efforts to avert a defeat. Fresh troops sent against ours were defeated, however.

Further east, in the Grabovetz district, allied troops forced a crossing of the Volitz. Austro-Hungarian troops advanced across the Bug to a point north

of Sokol. Under pressure of our pursuit the enemy retreated during the night on the entire front, stopping only at the eruption point near Krasnostaw, where he attempted some resistance, but suffered a severe defeat.

German troops and the corps under the command of Field Marshal von Arz captured, from the 16th to the 18th, 16,250 prisoners and twenty-three machine guns.

According to written orders which have come into our possession the commanders of the enemy were resolved to maintain, without regard to losses, the positions which we now have captured.

RUSSIAN NATION IN PRAYER

A Petrograd dispatch to The London Times reported on July 21:

Novo Georgievsk, one of the greatest Russian fortresses, is effectively sentinelling Warsaw from the northwest. The range of its great guns attains the Bzura line and the German advance column on the Narew. The fight for the possession of the right bank of this river is expected to take some time.

Meanwhile the advance of the Teutons on the southern flank of the Warsaw salient is being warmly contested south of the Lublin and Cholm Railway. But here the assailants are believed to have reformed the phalanx which pierced the Russian line on the Dunajec and hope to repeat their exploit. It is difficult, however, to move huge forces and heavy guns without a railway, and here also the Russians are expected to check the foe.

Evidently the last word has not yet been said before the Russians withdraw from the positions guarding the Polish capital, but the public are prepared for the worst, and today throughout the empire millions of worshippers are joining their prayers in intercession for victory.

The London Daily Mail's Petrograd correspondent, telegraphing on July 21, said:

Yesterday evening the bells in all the churches throughout Russia clanged a

call to prayer for a twenty-four hours' continual service of intercession for victory.

Today, in spite of the heat, the churches were packed. Hour after hour the people stand wedged together while the priests and choirs chant interminable litanies. Outside the Kamian Cathedral here an open air mass is being celebrated in the presence of an enormous crowd.

MORE TEUTONIC VICTORIES

The War Office at Berlin on July 21 gave out the following account of operations on the Russian front:

In the Eastern Theatre: To the east of Popeljany-Kurtschany the enemy is withdrawing before our advancing troops. To the west of Shavli the last hostile intrenchment has been stormed and occupied, and the pursuit continues eastward.

On the Dubyssa, east of Rossieny, a German attack broke through the Russian line. Here, too, the enemy is falling back.

South of the road of Mariampol-Kovno we attacked and captured the villages of Kiekieryszki and Janowka. Three Russian positions lying one behind the other were captured.

Likewise attacks by our Landwehr against positions held by the enemy north of Nocogorod (on the Narew) were completely successful. The Russians retreated, leaving 2,000 prisoners and two machine guns in our hands.

Further south on the Narew River a strong outwork at Rozan was stormed. We took 560 prisoners and captured three machine guns.

The enemy endeavored to offer obstinate resistance on the Narew. His desperate counter attacks with hastily gathered troops on the bridgehead position of Rozan, Pultusk, and Novo Georgievsk failed. The Russian losses were heavy. We took 1,000 prisoners.

The Blonie-Grojec position offered the enemy only brief respite. Under the compulsion of our troops, who had been reinforced from all sides, the Russians began to give up their forfeited posi-

tions to the west of Grojec and to retire to the eastward.

In the Southeastern War Theatre: German troops under General von Wyrsch yesterday reached the advanced bridgehead positions South of Ivanogorod. An immediate attack brought them into possession of a hostile line near Wladislavow. Fighting continues for the adjoining positions.

Between the Vistula and Bug Rivers the enemy has again opposed Field Marshal von Mackensen's army.

Despite stubborn resistance Austro-Hungarian troops near Skrzyniec, Nie-drzwica and Mala, southwest of Lublin, and German detachments southeast and north of Krasnostava, have entered hostile positions. The attack is progressing.

The War Office at Berlin on July 23 issued the following:

Eastern theatre of war: In Courland there is continual fighting. We are pursuing eastward the retreating Russians. Yesterday we captured three machine guns and many ammunition cars and field kitchens.

Our troops advanced closer to the Narew bridgehead position. Before Rozan we stormed at the point of the bayonet the village of Miluny and the fortification at Izygi. At the latter place we captured 290 prisoners. Night sorties from Novo Georgievsk failed.

Southeastern theatre of war: The west bank of the Vistula was cleared of the enemy from Janowiec, west of Kazmierz, to Granica. In the wooded ground southeast of Koziencza fighting is proceeding with Russian rear guards.

Between the Vistula and the Bug the Teutonic allies succeeded in breaking the obstinate resistance of the enemy at several points and forced the Russians to retreat.

Granica is ten kilometers south of Ivanogorod.

An Associated Press dispatch from London, dated July 24, reported:

The Austrians and Germans are pushing their three great attacks against the Russian armies defending Warsaw with

undiminished energy, and at some points report that progress has been made.

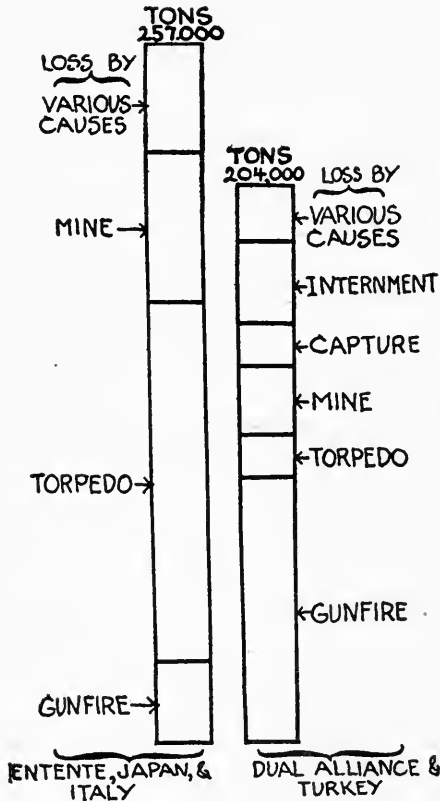
They are operating, however, through country which the retiring troops have laid waste and in which what roads there are, are little suited for the movement of the heavy artillery which is necessary for the bombardment of the great fortresses that bar their way.

It is not expected, therefore, that decisive actions on any of the fronts will

be fought for a few days yet, although the battle between the Vistula and the Bug Rivers, where the German Field Marshal von Mackensen's army is advancing toward the Lublin-Chelm Railroad, has about reached a climax. Here, according to the German official communication issued this afternoon, the Germans have succeeded in breaking the obstinate resistance of the Russians at several points and forced them to retreat.

Naval Losses During the War

The following diagram, compiled mainly from information given in a June number of the Naval and Military Record and appearing in the London Morning Post of July 8, 1915, shows the different causes of loss to each side in tonnage of capital ships, gunboats, destroyers, submarines, torpedo-boats, and armed merchantmen to the end of May. The diagram being drawn to scale the true proportion of each loss from each cause can be accurately gauged at a glance. It will be seen that the Triple Entente and Japan have had no loss from capture or internment, that the Entente's characteristic of fighting has been "above board," *i.e.*, by gunfire, while that of the enemy has been by submarines and mines.



Battles in the West

Sir John French's Own Story

France's "Eyewitness" Reports and Germany's Offensive in the Argonne

Since June 15, 1915, the British army, reinforced by divisions of the "new" army now in France, has held practically the same position on the front to the north and south of Ypres. The subjoined report by Sir John French, Commanding-in-Chief the British forces in France, published July 12, covers the operations from April 5 down to June 15, and deals particularly with the great poison-gas attacks by the enemy, the capture and loss of Hill 60, the second battle of Ypres, and the battle of Festubert. It embodies the story by Sir Herbert Plumer of the terrible fighting that began May 5. France's official reports, following, tell of the battle of Hligenfirst in the Vosges, the week's battle in the Fecht valley, the 120 days' struggle between Bethune and Arras, and the battle of Fontenelle. The Crown Prince's "drive" in the Argonne resulting in German advantages is also dealt with.

FROM THE FIELD-MARSHAL COMMANDING-IN-CHIEF THE BRITISH ARMY IN FRANCE

To the Secretary of State for War, War
Office, London, S. W.

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS,
June 15, 1915.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honor to report that since the date of my last dispatch (April 5, 1915) the Army in France under my command has been heavily engaged opposite both flanks of the line held by the British Forces.

1. In the North the town and district of Ypres has once more in this campaign been successfully defended against vigorous and sustained attacks made by large forces of the enemy and supported by a mass of heavy and field artillery, which, not only in number, but also in weight and caliber, is superior to any concentration of guns which has previously assailed that part of the line.

In the South a vigorous offensive has again been taken by troops of the First Army, in the course of which a large area of entrenched and fortified ground has been captured from the enemy, whilst valuable support has been afforded to the attack which our Allies have carried on with such marked success against the enemy's positions to the east of Arras and Lens.

2. I much regret that during the period under report the fighting has been characterized on the enemy's side by a cynical and barbarous disregard of the well-known usages of civilized war and a flagrant defiance of The Hague Convention.*

* In a long statement seeking to justify the use of asphyxiating gases in warfare the semi-official Wolff Telegraph Bureau asserted in German newspapers of June 25 that the Allies first used such gases against the Germans, and it cites French documents as proof that France in February, months before the German advance at Ypres, made extensive preparations for the application of gases and for counteracting their effects on the attacking troops.

After quoting the official German war report of April 16 that the French were making increased use of asphyxiating bombs, the statement says:

"For every one who has kept an unbiased judgment, these official assertions of the strictly accurate and truthful German military administration will be sufficient to prove the prior use of asphyxiating gases by our opponents. But let whoever still doubts consider the following instructions for the systematic preparation of this means of warfare by the French, issued by the French War Ministry, under date of Feb. 21, 1915:

Minister of War, Feb. 21, 1915.

Remarks concerning shells with stupefying gases:

The so-called shells with stupefying gases that are being manufactured by our central factories contain a fluid which streams forth after the explosion, in the form of vapors that irritate the eyes, nose, and throat. There are two kinds: hand grenades and cartridges.

Hand Grenades.—The grenades have the form of an egg; their diameter in the middle is six centimeters, their height twelve centimeters, their weight 400 grams. They are intended for short distances, and have an appliance for throwing by hand. They are equipped with an inscription giving directions for use. They are lighted with a small bit of material for friction pasted on the directions, after which they must be thrown away. The explosion follows seven seconds after lighting. A small cover of brass and a top screwed on protect the lighted matter. Their purpose is to make untenable the surroundings of the place where they burst. Their effect is often considerably impaired by a strong rising wind.

Cartridges.—The cartridges have a cylindrical form. Their diameter is twenty-eight millimeters, their height ten centimeters, their weight 200 grams. They are intended for use at longer distances than can be negotiated with the hand grenades. With an angle of twenty-five degrees at departure they will carry 230 meters. They have central lighting facilities and are fired with ignition bullet guns. The powder lights a little internal ignition mass by means of which the cartridges are caused to explode five seconds after leaving the rifle. The cartridges have the same purpose as the hand grenades but because of their very small amount of fluid they must be fired in great numbers at the same time.

Precautionary measures to be observed in attacks on trenches into which shells with asphyxiating gases have been thrown.—The vapors spread by means of the shells with asphyxiating gases are not deadly, at least when small quantities are used and their effect is only momentary. The duration of the effect depends upon the atmospheric conditions.

It is advisable therefore to attack the trenches into which such hand grenades have been thrown and which the enemy has nevertheless not evacuated before the vapors are completely dissipated. The attacking troops, moreover, must wear protective goggles and in addition be instructed that the unpleasant sensations in nose and throat are not dangerous and involve no lasting disturbance.

"Here we have a conclusive proof that the French in their State workshops manufactured

shells with asphyxiating gases fully half a year ago at least," says the semi-official Telegraph Bureau. "The number must have been so large that the French War Ministry at last found itself obliged to issue written instructions concerning the use of this means of warfare. What hypocrisy when the same people grow 'indignant' because the Germans much later followed them on the path they had pointed out! Very characteristic is the twist of the French official direction: 'The vapors spread by the shells with asphyxiating gases are not deadly, at least not when used in small quantities.' It is precisely this limitation that contains the unequivocal confession that the French asphyxiating gases work with deadly effect when used in large quantities."

All the scientific resources of Germany have apparently been brought into play to produce a gas of so virulent and poisonous a nature that any human being brought into contact with it is first paralyzed and then meets with a lingering and agonizing death.

The enemy has invariably preceded, prepared and supported his attacks by a discharge in stupendous volume of these poisonous gas fumes whenever the wind was favorable.

Such weather conditions have only prevailed to any extent in the neighborhood of Ypres, and there can be no doubt that the effect of these poisonous fumes materially influenced the operations in that theater, until experience suggested effective counter-measures, which have since been so perfected as to render them innocuous.

The brain power and thought which has evidently been at work before this unworthy method of making war reached the pitch of efficiency which has been demonstrated in its practice shows that the Germans must have harbored these designs for a long time.

As a soldier I cannot help expressing the deepest regret and some surprise that an Army which hitherto has claimed to be the chief exponent of the chivalry of war should have stooped to employ such devices against brave and gallant foes.

BATTLE OF HILL 60

3. On the night of Saturday, April 17, a commanding hill which afforded the enemy excellent artillery observation

toward the west and north-west was successfully mined and captured.

This hill, known as Hill 60, lies opposite the northern extremity of the line held by the 2d Corps.

The operation was planned and the mining commenced by Major-General Bulfin before the ground was handed over to the troops under Lieutenant-General Sir Charles Fergusson, under whose supervision the operation was carried out.

The mines were successfully fired at 7 P. M. on the 17th inst., and immediately afterwards the hill was attacked and gained, without difficulty, by the 1st Battalion Royal West Kent Regiment and the 2d Battalion King's Own Scottish Borderers. The attack was well supported by the Divisional Artillery, assisted by French and Belgian batteries.

During the night several of the enemy's counter-attacks were repulsed with heavy loss, and fierce hand-to-hand fighting took place; but on the early morning of the 18th the enemy succeeded in forcing back the troops holding the right of the hill to the reverse slope, where, however, they hung on throughout the day.

On the evening of the 18th these two battalions were relieved by the 2d Battalion West Riding Regiment and the 2d Battalion King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry, who again stormed the hill under cover of heavy artillery fire, and the enemy was driven off at the point of the bayonet.

In this operation fifty-three prisoners were captured, including four officers.

On the 20th and following days many unsuccessful attacks by the enemy were made on Hill 60, which was continually shelled by heavy artillery.

On May 1 another attempt to recapture Hill 60 was supported by great volumes of asphyxiating gas, which caused nearly all the men along a front of about 400 yards to be immediately struck down by its fumes.

The splendid courage with which the leaders rallied their men and subdued the natural tendency to panic (which is inevitable on such occasions), combined with the prompt intervention of sup-

ports, once more drove the enemy back.

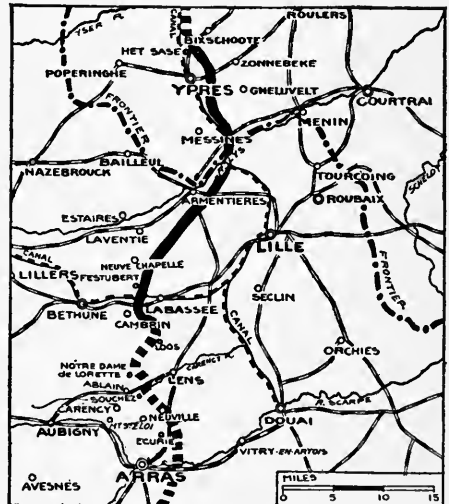
A second and more severe "gas" attack, under much more favorable weather conditions, enabled the enemy to recapture this position on May 5.

The enemy owes his success in this last attack entirely to the use of asphyxiating gas. It was only a few days later that the means, which have since proved so effective, of counteracting this method of making war were put into practice. Had it been otherwise, the enemy's attack on May 5 would most certainly have shared the fate of all the many previous attempts he had made.

SECOND BATTLE OF YPRES

4. It was at the commencement of the second battle of Ypres on the evening of April 22, referred to in paragraph 1 of his report, that the enemy first made use of asphyxiating gas.

Some days previously I had complied with General Joffre's request to take over the trenches occupied by the



The British battle line in Flanders, Belgium.

French, and on the evening of the 22d the troops holding the lines east of Ypres were posted as follows:

From Steenstraete to the east of Langemarck, as far as the Poelcapelle Road, a French Division.

Thence, in a south-easterly direction

toward the Passchendaele-Becelaere Road, the Canadian Division.

Thence a Division took up the line in a southerly direction east of Zonnebeke to a point west of Becelaere, whence another Division continued the line south-east to the northern limit of the Corps on its right.

Of the 5th Corps there were four battalions in Divisional Reserve about Ypres; the Canadian Division had one battalion of Divisional Reserve and the 1st Canadian Brigade in Army Reserve. An Infantry Brigade, which had just been withdrawn after suffering heavy losses on Hill 60, was resting about Vlamernighe.

Following a heavy bombardment, the enemy attacked the French Division at about 5 P. M., using asphyxiating gases

What follows almost defies description. The effect of these poisonous gases was so virulent as to render the whole of the line held by the French Division mentioned above practically incapable of any action at all. It was at first impossible for any one to realize what had actually happened. The smoke and fumes hid everything from sight, and hundreds of men were thrown into a comatose or dying condition, and within an hour the whole position had to be abandoned, together with about fifty guns.

I wish particularly to repudiate any idea of attaching the least blame to the French Division for this unfortunate incident.

After all the examples our gallant Allies have shown of dogged and tenacious courage in the many trying situations in which they have been placed throughout the course of this campaign it is quite superfluous for me to dwell on this aspect of the incident, and I would only express my firm conviction that, if any troops in the world had been able to hold their trenches in the face of such a treacherous and altogether unexpected onslaught, the French Division would have stood firm.

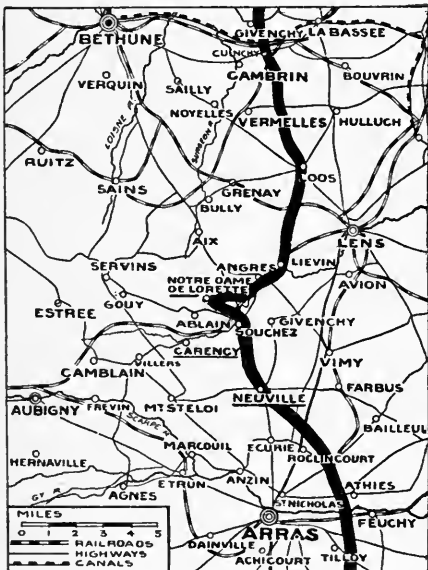
THE CANADIANS' PART

The left flank of the Canadian Division was thus left dangerously exposed to serious attack in flank, and there appeared to be a prospect of their being overwhelmed and of a successful attempt by the Germans to cut off the British troops occupying the salient to the East.

In spite of the danger to which they were exposed the Canadians held their ground with a magnificent display of tenacity and courage; and it is not too much to say that the bearing and conduct of these splendid troops averted a disaster which might have been attended with the most serious consequences.

They were supported with great promptitude by the reserves of the divisions holding the salient and by a brigade which had been resting in billets.

Throughout the night the enemy's attacks were repulsed, effective counter-



The Arras region, showing battle line and scene of fiercest battle in recent months.

for the first time. Aircraft reported that at about 5 P. M. thick yellow smoke had been seen issuing from the German trenches between Langemarck and Bixchoote. The French reported that two simultaneous attacks had been made east of the Ypres-Staden Railway, in which these asphyxiating gases had been employed.

attacks were delivered, and at length touch was gained with the French right, and a new line was formed.

The 2d London Heavy Battery, which had been attached to the Canadian Division, was posted behind the right of the French Division, and, being involved in their retreat, fell into the enemy's hands. It was recaptured by the Canadians in their counter-attack, but the guns could not be withdrawn before the Canadians were again driven back.

During the night I directed the Cavalry Corps and the Northumbrian Division, which was then in general reserve, to move to the west of Ypres, and placed these troops at the disposal of the General Officer Commanding the Second Army. I also directed other reserve troops from the 3d Corps and the First Army to be held in readiness to meet eventualities.

In the confusion of the gas and smoke the Germans succeeded in capturing the bridge at Steenstraete and some works south of Lizerne, all of which were in occupation by the French.

The enemy having thus established himself to the west of the Ypres Canal, I was somewhat apprehensive of his succeeding in driving a wedge between the French and Belgian troops at this point. I directed, therefore, that some of the reinforcements sent north should be used to support and assist General Putz, should he find difficulty in preventing any further advance of the Germans west of the canal.

At about ten o'clock on the morning of the 23d connection was finally ensured between the left of the Canadian Division and the French right, about 800 yards east of the canal; but as this entailed the maintenance by the British troops of a much longer line than that which they had held before the attack commenced on the previous night, there were no reserves available for counter-attack until reinforcements, which were ordered up from the Second Army, were able to deploy to the east of Ypres.

Early on the morning of the 23d I went to see General Foch, and from him I received a detailed account of what had happened, as reported by General

Putz. General Foch informed me that it was his intention to make good the original line and regain the trenches which the French Division had lost. He expressed the desire that I should maintain my present line, assuring me that the original position would be re-established in a few days. General Foch further informed me that he had ordered up large French reinforcements, which were now on their way, and that troops from the North had already arrived to reinforce General Putz.

I fully concurred in the wisdom of the General's wish to re-establish our old line, and agreed to co-operate in the way he desired, stipulating, however, that if the position was not re-established within a limited time I could not allow the British troops to remain in so exposed a situation as that which the action of the previous twenty-four hours had compelled them to occupy.

During the whole of the 23d the enemy's artillery was very active, and his attacks all along the front were supported by some heavy guns which had been brought down from the coast in the neighborhood of Ostend.

The loss of the guns on the night of the 22d prevented this fire from being kept down, and much aggravated the situation. Our positions, however, were well maintained by the vigorous counter-attacks made by the 5th Corps.

During the day I directed two brigades of the 3d Corps, and the Lahore Division of the Indian Corps, to be moved up to the Ypres area and placed at the disposal of the Second Army.

In the course of these two or three days many circumstances combined to render the situation east of the Ypres Canal very critical and most difficult to deal with.

The confusion caused by the sudden retirement of the French Division, and the necessity for closing up the gap and checking the enemy's advance at all costs, led to a mixing up of units and a sudden shifting of the areas of command, which was quite unavoidable. Fresh units, as they came up from the South, had to be pushed into the firing line in an area swept by artillery fire,

which, owing to the capture of the French guns, we were unable to keep down.

HEAVY CASUALTIES

All this led to very heavy casualties, and I wish to place on record the deep admiration which I feel for the resource and presence of mind evinced by the leaders actually on the spot.

The parts taken by Major-General Snow and Brigadier-General Hull were reported to me as being particularly marked in this respect.

An instance of this occurred on the afternoon of the 24th, when the enemy succeeded in breaking through the line at St. Julien.

Brigadier-General Hull, acting under the orders of Lieutenant-General Alderson, organized a powerful counter-attack with his own brigade and some of the nearest available units. He was called upon to control, with only his brigade staff, parts of battalions from six separate divisions which were quite new to the ground. Although the attack did not succeed in retaking St. Julien, it effectually checked the enemy's further advance.

It was only on the morning of the 25th that the enemy were able to force back the left of the Canadian Division from the point where it had originally joined the French line.

During the night, and the early morning of the 25th, the enemy directed a heavy attack against the Division at Broodseinde cross-roads, which was supported by a powerful shell fire, but he failed to make any progress.

During the whole of this time the town of Ypres and all the roads to the East and West were uninterruptedly subjected to a violent artillery fire, but in spite of this the supply of both food and ammunition was maintained throughout with order and efficiency.

During the afternoon of the 25th many German prisoners were taken, including some officers. The hand-to-hand fighting was very severe, and the enemy suffered heavy loss.

During the 26th the Lahore Division and a Cavalry Division were pushed up

into the fighting line, the former on the right of the French, the latter in support of the 5th Corps.

In the afternoon the Lahore Division, in conjunction with the French right, succeeded in pushing the enemy back some little distance toward the north, but their further advance was stopped owing to the continual employment by the enemy of asphyxiating gas.

On the right of the Lahore Division the Northumberland Infantry Brigade advanced against St. Julien and actually succeeded in entering, and for a time occupying, the southern portion of that village. They were, however, eventually driven back, largely owing to gas, and finally occupied a line a short way to the south. This attack was most successfully and gallantly led by Brigadier-General Riddell, who, I regret to say, was killed during the progress of the operation.

Although no attack was made on the south-eastern side of the salient, the troops operating to the east of Ypres were subjected to heavy artillery fire from this direction, which took some of the battalions, which were advancing north to the attack, in reverse.

Some gallant attempts made by the Lahore Division on the 27th, in conjunction with the French, pushed the enemy further north; but they were partially frustrated by the constant fumes of gas to which they were exposed. In spite of this, however, a certain amount of ground was gained.

The French had succeeded in retaking Lizerne, and had made some progress at Steenstraete and Het Sas; but up to the evening of the 28th no further progress had been made toward the recapture of the original line.

I sent instructions, therefore, to Sir Herbert Plumer, who was now in charge of the operation, to take preliminary measures for the retirement to the new line which had been fixed upon.

STRONG REINFORCEMENTS

On the morning of the 29th I had another interview with General Foch, who informed me that strong reinforce-



COUNT ZEPPELIN

Inventor of the Air-ship that has Still to Demonstrate its Efficiency
as an Engine of War



GENERAL ERICH VON FALKENHAYN
Chief of the General Staff of the German Army

(Photo from Ruschin.)

ments were hourly arriving to support General Putz, and urged me to postpone issuing orders for any retirement until the result of his attack, which was timed to commence at daybreak on the 30th, should be known. To this I agreed, and instructed Sir Herbert Plumer accordingly.

No substantial advance having been made by the French, I issued orders to Sir Herbert Plumer at one o'clock on May 1 to commence his withdrawal to the new line.

The retirement was commenced the following night, and the new line was occupied on the morning of May 4.

I am of opinion that this retirement, carried out deliberately with scarcely any loss, and in the face of an enemy in position, reflects the greatest possible credit on Sir Herbert Plumer and those who so efficiently carried out his orders.

The successful conduct of this operation was the more remarkable from the fact that on the evening of May 2, when it was only half completed, the enemy made a heavy attack, with the usual gas accompaniment, on St. Julien and the line to the west of it.

An attack on a line to the east of Fortuin was made at the same time under similar conditions.

In both cases our troops were at first driven from their trenches by gas fumes, but on the arrival of the supporting battalions and two brigades of a cavalry division, which were sent up in support from about Potijze, all the lost trenches were regained at night.

On May 3, while the retirement was still going on, another violent attack was directed on the northern face of the salient. This was also driven back with heavy loss to the enemy.

Further attempts of the enemy during the night of the 3d to advance from the woods west of St. Julien were frustrated entirely by the fire of our artillery.

During the whole of the 4th the enemy heavily shelled the trenches we had evacuated, quite unaware that they were no longer occupied. So soon as the retirement was discovered the Germans commenced to entrench opposite our new

line and to advance their guns to new positions. Our artillery, assisted by aeroplanes, caused him considerable loss in carrying out these operations.

Up to the morning of the 8th the enemy made attacks at short intervals, covered by gas, on all parts of the line to the east of Ypres, but was everywhere driven back with heavy loss.

Throughout the whole period since the first break of the line on the night of April 22 all the troops in this area had been constantly subjected to violent artillery bombardment from a large mass of guns with an unlimited supply of ammunition. It proved impossible whilst under so vastly superior fire of artillery to dig efficient trenches, or to properly reorganize the line, after the confusion and demoralization called by the first great gas surprise and the subsequent almost daily gas attacks. Nor was it until after this date (May 8) that effective preventatives had been devised and provided. In these circumstances a violent bombardment of nearly the whole of the 5th Corps front broke out at 7 A. M. on the morning of the 8th, which gradually concentrated on the front of the Division between north and south of Frezenberg. This fire completely obliterated the trenches and caused enormous losses.

The artillery bombardment was shortly followed by a heavy infantry attack, before which our line had to give way.

SIR H. PLUMER'S STORY *

I relate what happened in Sir Herbert Plumer's own words:

"The right of one brigade was broken about 10.15 A. M.; then its centre, and then part of the left of the brigade in the next section to the south. The Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry, however, although suffering very heavily, stuck to their fire or support

* General Sir Herbert Charles Onslow Plumer, K.C.B., was born in 1857. He entered the York and Lancaster Regiment in 1876, and served with distinction in the Sudan and South Africa. He was Q.M.G. and third military member of the Army Council, 1904-5, and commanded the 5th Division Irish Command, 1906-9. He was knighted in 1906.



GENERAL ERICH VON FALKENHAYN

Chief of the General Staff of the German Army

(Photo from Ruschin.)

ments were hourly arriving to support General Putz, and urged me to postpone issuing orders for any retirement until the result of his attack, which was timed to commence at daybreak on the 30th, should be known. To this I agreed, and instructed Sir Herbert Plumer accordingly.

No substantial advance having been made by the French, I issued orders to Sir Herbert Plumer at one o'clock on May 1 to commence his withdrawal to the new line.

The retirement was commenced the following night, and the new line was occupied on the morning of May 4.

I am of opinion that this retirement, carried out deliberately with scarcely any loss, and in the face of an enemy in position, reflects the greatest possible credit on Sir Herbert Plumer and those who so efficiently carried out his orders.

The successful conduct of this operation was the more remarkable from the fact that on the evening of May 2, when it was only half completed, the enemy made a heavy attack, with the usual gas accompaniment, on St. Julien and the line to the west of it.

An attack on a line to the east of Fortuin was made at the same time under similar conditions.

In both cases our troops were at first driven from their trenches by gas fumes, but on the arrival of the supporting battalions and two brigades of a cavalry division, which were sent up in support from about Potijze, all the lost trenches were regained at night.

On May 3, while the retirement was still going on, another violent attack was directed on the northern face of the salient. This was also driven back with heavy loss to the enemy.

Further attempts of the enemy during the night of the 3d to advance from the woods west of St. Julien were frustrated entirely by the fire of our artillery.

During the whole of the 4th the enemy heavily shelled the trenches we had evacuated, quite unaware that they were no longer occupied. So soon as the retirement was discovered the Germans commenced to entrench opposite our new

line and to advance their guns to new positions. Our artillery, assisted by aeroplanes, caused him considerable loss in carrying out these operations.

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trenches throughout the day. At this time two battalions were moved to General Headquarters second line astride the Menin road to support and cover the left of their division.

"At 12.25 P. M. the center of a brigade further to the left also broke; its right battalion, however, the 1st Suffolks, which had been refused to cover a gap, still held on, and were apparently surrounded and overwhelmed. Meanwhile, three more battalions had been moved up to reinforce, two other battalions were moved up in support to General Headquarters line and an infantry brigade came up to the grounds of Vlaerminghe Chateau in corps reserve.

"At 11.30 A. M. a small party of Germans attempted to advance against the left of the British line, but were destroyed by the 2d Essex Regiment.

"A counter-attack was launched at 3.30 P. M. by the 1st York and Lancaster Regiment, 3d Middlesex Regiment, 2d East Surrey Regiment, 2d Royal Dublin Fusiliers, and the 1st Royal Warwickshire Regiment. The counter-attack reached Frezenberg, but was eventually driven back and held up on a line running about north and south through Verlorenhoek, despite repeated efforts to advance. The 12th London Regiment on the left succeeded at great cost in reaching the original trench line, and did considerable execution with their machine gun.

"The 7th Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders and the 1st East Lancashire Regiment attacked in a northeasterly direction toward Wieltje, and connected the old trench line with the ground gained by the counter-attack, the line being consolidated during the night.

"During the night orders were received that two Cavalry Divisions would be moved up and placed at the disposal of the 5th Corps, and a Territorial Division would be moved up to be used if required.

"On the 9th the Germans again repeated their bombardment. Very heavy shell fire was concentrated for two hours on the trenches of the 2d Gloucestershire Regiment and 2d Cameron Highlanders, followed by an infantry attack

which was successfully repulsed. The Germans again bombarded the salient, and a further attack in the afternoon succeeded in occupying 150 yards of trench. The Gloucesters counter-attacked, but suffered heavily, and the attack failed. The salient being very exposed to shell fire from both flanks, as well as in front, it was deemed advisable not to attempt to retake the trench at night, and a retrenchment was therefore dug across it.

"At 3 P. M. the enemy started to shell the whole front of the center Division, and it was reported that the right Brigade of this Division was being heavily punished, but continued to maintain its line.

"The trenches of the Brigades on the left center were also heavily shelled during the day and attacked by infantry. Both attacks were repulsed.

"On the 10th instant the trenches on either side of the Menin-Ypres road were shelled very severely all the morning. The 2d Cameron Highlanders, 9th Royal Scots, and the 3d and 4th King's Royal Rifles, however, repulsed an attack made, under cover of gas, with heavy loss. Finally, when the trenches had been practically destroyed and a large number of the garrison buried, the 3d King's Royal Rifles and 4th Rifle Brigade fell back to the trenches immediately west of Bellewaarde Wood. So heavy had been the shell fire that the proposal to join up the line with a switch through the wood had to be abandoned, the trees broken by the shells forming an impassable entanglement.

"After a comparatively quiet night and morning (10th-11th) the hostile artillery fire was concentrated on the trenches of the 2d Cameron Highlanders and 1st Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders at a slightly more northern point than on the previous day. The Germans attacked in force and gained a footing in part of the trenches, but were promptly ejected by a supporting company of the 9th Royal Scots. After a second short artillery bombardment the Germans again attacked about 5.15 P.M., but were again repulsed by rifle and machine-gun fire. A third bombardment

followed, and this time the Germans succeeded in gaining a trench—or rather what was left of it—a local counter-attack failing. However, during the night the enemy were again driven out. The trench by this time being practically non-existent, the garrison found it untenable under the very heavy shell fire the enemy brought to bear upon it, and the trench was evacuated. Twice more did the German snipers creep back into it, and twice more they were ejected. Finally, a retrenchment was made, cutting off the salient which had been contested throughout the day. It was won owing solely to the superior weight and number of the enemy's guns, but both our infantry and our artillery took a very heavy toll of the enemy, and the ground lost has proved of little use to the enemy.

“On the remainder of the front the day passed comparatively quietly, though most parts of the line underwent intermittent shelling by guns of various calibers.

“With the assistance of the Royal Flying Corps the 31st Heavy Battery scored a direct hit on a German gun, and the North Midland Heavy Battery got on to some German howitzers with great success.

“With the exception of another very heavy burst of shell fire against the right Division early in the morning the 12th passed uneventfully.

“On the night of the 12th-13th the line was reorganized, the center Division retiring into Army Reserve to rest, and their places being taken in the trenches by the two Cavalry Divisions; the Artillery and Engineers of the center Division forming with them what was known as the ‘Cavalry Force,’ under the command of General De Lisle.

“On the 13th, the various reliefs having been completed without incident, the heaviest bombardment yet experienced broke out at 4.30 A. M., and continued with little intermission throughout the day. At about 7.45 A. M. the Cavalry Brigade astride the railway, having suffered very severely, and their trenches having been obliterated, fell back about 800 yards. The North Somerset Ye-

manry, on the right of the Brigade, although also suffering severely, hung on to their trenches throughout the day, and actually advanced and attacked the enemy with the bayonet. The Brigade on its right also maintained its position; as did also the Cavalry Division, except the left squadron, which, when reduced to sixteen men, fell back. The 2d Essex Regiment, realizing the situation, promptly charged and retook the trench, holding it till relieved by the cavalry. Meanwhile a counter-attack by two cavalry brigades was launched at 2.30 P. M., and succeeded, in spite of very heavy shrapnel and rifle fire, in regaining the original line of trenches, turning out the Germans who had entered it, and in some cases pursuing them for some distance. But a very heavy shell fire was again opened on them, and they were again compelled to retire to an irregular line in rear, principally the craters of shell holes. The enemy in their counter-attack suffered very severe losses.

“The fighting in other parts of the line was little less severe. The 1st East Lancashire Regiment were shelled out of their trenches, but their support company and the 2d Essex Regiment, again acting on their own initiative, won them back. The enemy penetrated into the farm at the north-east corner of the line, but the 1st Rifle Brigade, after a severe struggle, expelled them. The 1st Hampshire Regiment also repelled an attack, and killed every German who got within fifty yards of their trenches. The 5th London Regiment, despite very heavy casualties, maintained their position unflinching. At the southern end of the line the left brigade was once again heavily shelled, as indeed was the whole front. At the end of a very hard day's fighting, our line remained in its former position, with the exception of the short distance lost by one cavalry division. Later, the line was pushed forward, and a new line was dug in a less exposed position, slightly in rear of that originally held. The night passed quietly.

“Working parties of from 1,200 to 1,800 men have been found every night by a Territorial Division and other units

for work on rear lines of defence, in addition to the work performed by the garrisons in reconstructing the front line trenches which were daily destroyed by shell fire.

"The work performed by the Royal Flying Corps has been invaluable. Apart from the hostile aeroplanes actually destroyed, our airmen have prevented a great deal of aerial reconnaissance by the enemy, and have registered a large number of targets with our artillery.

"There have been many cases of individual gallantry. As instances, may be given the following:

"During one of the heavy attacks made against our infantry gas was seen rolling forward from the enemy's trenches. Private Lynn, of the 2d Lancashire Fusiliers, at once rushed to the machine-gun without waiting to adjust his respirator. Single-handed he kept his gun in action the whole time the gas was rolling over, actually hoisting it on the parapet to get a better field of fire. Although nearly suffocated by the gas, he poured a stream of lead into the advancing enemy and checked their attack. He was carried to his dug-out, but, hearing another attack was imminent, he tried to get back to his gun. Twenty-four hours later he died in great agony from the effects of the gas.

"A young subaltern in a cavalry regiment went forward alone one afternoon to reconnoiter. He got into a wood 1,200 yards in front of our lines, which he found occupied by Germans, and came back with the information that the enemy had evacuated a trench and were digging another—information which proved most valuable to the artillery as well as to his own unit.

"A patrol of two officers and a non-commissioned officer of the 1st Cambridgeshires went out one night to reconnoiter a German trench 350 yards away. Creeping along the parapet of the trench they heard sounds indicating the presence of six or seven of the enemy. Further on they heard deep snores apparently proceeding from a dug-out immediately beneath them. Although they knew that the garrison of the trench outnumbered them they decided to pro-

cure an identification. Unfortunately in pulling out a clasp knife with which to cut off the sleeper's identity disc, one of the officer's revolvers went off. A conversation in agitated whispers broke out in the German trench, but the patrol crept safely away, the garrison being too startled to fire.

"Despite the very severe shelling to which the troops had been subjected, which obliterated trenches and caused very many casualties, the spirit of all ranks remains excellent. The enemy's losses, particularly on May 10 and 13, have unquestionably been serious. On the latter day they evacuated trenches (in face of the cavalry counter-attack) in which were afterwards found quantities of equipment and some of their own wounded. The enemy have been seen stripping our dead, and on three occasions men in khaki have been seen advancing."

JOINT BRITISH AND FRENCH ATTACKS

The fight went on by the exchange of desultory shell and rifle fire, but without any remarkable incident until the morning of May 24. During this period, however, the French on our left had attained considerable success. On May 15 they captured Steenstraete and the trenches in Het Sas, and on May 16 they drove the enemy headlong over the canal, finding 2,000 German dead. On May 17 they made a substantial advance on the east side of the canal, and on May 20 they repelled a German counter-attack, making a further advance in the same direction, and taking 100 prisoners.

On the early morning of May 24 a violent outburst of gas against nearly the whole front was followed by heavy shell fire, and the most determined attack was delivered against our position east of Ypres.

The hour the attack commenced was 2.45 A. M. A large proportion of the men were asleep, and the attack was too sudden to give them time to put on their respirators.

The 2d Royal Irish and the 9th Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, overcome

by gas fumes, were driven out of a farm held in front of the left Division, and this the enemy proceeded to hold and fortify.

All attempts to retake this farm during the day failed, and during the night of May 24-25 the General Officer Commanding the left Division decided to take up a new line which, although slightly in rear of the old one, he considered to be a much better position. This operation was successfully carried out.

Throughout the day the whole line was subjected to one of the most violent artillery attacks which it had ever undergone; and the 5th Corps and the Cavalry Divisions engaged had to fight hard to maintain their positions. On the following day, however, the line was consolidated, joining the right of the French at the same place as before, and passing through Wieltje (which was strongly fortified) in a southerly direction on to Hooge, where the cavalry have since strongly occupied the chateau, and pushed our line further east.

In pursuance of a promise which I made to the French Commander-in-Chief to support an attack which his troops were making on May 9 between the right of my line and Arras, I directed Sir Douglas Haig to carry out on that date an attack on the German trenches in the neighborhood of Rougebane (north-west of Fromelles) by the 4th Corps, and between Neuve Chapelle and Givenchy by the 1st and Indian Corps.

The bombardment of the enemy's positions commenced at 5 A. M.

Half an hour later the 8th Division of the 4th Corps captured the first line of German trenches about Rougebane, and some detachments seized a few localities beyond this line. It was soon found, however, that the position was much stronger than had been anticipated and that a more extensive artillery preparation was necessary to crush the resistance offered by his numerous fortified posts.

Throughout May 9 and 10 repeated efforts were made to make further progress. Not only was this found to be impossible, but the violence of the enemy's

machine-gun fire from his posts on the flanks rendered the captured trenches so difficult to hold that all the units of the 4th Corps had to retire to their original position by the morning of May 10.

GENERAL PLAN OF ATTACK

The 1st and Indian Divisions south of Neuve Chapelle met with no greater success, and on the evening of May 10 I sanctioned Sir Douglas Haig's proposal to concentrate all our available resources on the southern point of attack.

The 7th Division was moved round from the 4th Corps area to support this attack, and I directed the General Officer Commanding the First Army to delay it long enough to insure a powerful and deliberate artillery preparation.

The operations of May 9 and 10 formed part of a general plan of attack which the Allies were conjointly conducting on a line extending from the north of Arras to the south of Armentieres; and, although immediate progress was not made during this time by the British forces, their attack assisted in securing the brilliant successes attained by the French forces on their right, not only by holding the enemy in their front, but by drawing off a part of the German reinforcements which were coming up to support their forces east of Arras.

On May 15 I moved the Canadian Division into the 1st Corps area and placed them at the disposal of Sir Douglas Haig.

The infantry of the Indian Corps and the 2d Division of the 1st Corps advanced to the attack of the enemy's trenches which extended from Richebourg L'Avoué in a south-westerly direction.

Before daybreak the 2d Division had succeeded in capturing two lines of the enemy's trenches, but the Indian Corps were unable to make any progress owing to the strength of the enemy's defenses in the neighborhood of Richebourg L'Avoué.

BATTLE OF FESTUBERT

At daybreak the 7th Division, on the night of the 2d, advanced to the attack, and by 7 A. M. had entrenched them-

selves on a line running nearly north and south, halfway between their original trenches and La Quinque Rue, having cleared and captured several lines of the enemy's trenches, including a number of fortified posts.

As it was found impossible for the Indian Corps to make any progress in face of the enemy's defenses, Sir Douglas Haig directed the attack to be suspended at this point and ordered the Indian Corps to form a defensive flank.

The remainder of the day was spent in securing and consolidating positions which had been won, and endeavoring to unite the inner flanks of the 7th and 2d Divisions, which were separated by trenches and posts strongly held by the enemy.

Various attempts which were made throughout the day to secure this object had not succeeded at nightfall in driving the enemy back.

The German communications leading to the rear of their positions were systematically shelled throughout the night.

About 200 prisoners were captured on May 16.

Fighting was resumed at daybreak; and by eleven o'clock the 7th Division had made a considerable advance, capturing several more of the enemy's trenches. The task allotted to this Division was to push on in the direction of Rue D'Ouvert, Chateau St. Roch and Canteleux.

The 2d Division was directed to push on when the situation permitted toward the Rue de Marais and Violaines.

The Indian Division was ordered to extend its front far enough to enable it to keep touch with the left of the 2d Division when they advanced.

On this day I gave orders for the 51st (Highland) Division to move into the neighborhood of Estaires to be ready to support the operations of the First Army.

At about noon the enemy was driven out of the trenches and posts which he occupied between the two Divisions, the inner flanks of which were thus enabled to join hands.

By nightfall the 2d and 7th Divisions had made good progress, the area of

captured ground being considerably extended to the right by the successful operations of the latter.

The state of the weather on the morning of May 18 much hindered an effective artillery bombardment, and further attacks had, consequently, to be postponed.

Infantry attacks were made throughout the line in the course of the afternoon and evening, but, although not very much progress was made, the line was advanced to the La Quinque Rue-Bethune Road before nightfall.

On May 19 the 7th and 2d Divisions were drawn out of the line to rest. The 7th Division was relieved by the Canadian Division and the 2d Division by the 51st (Highland) Division.

Sir Douglas Haig placed the Canadian and 51st Divisions, together with the artillery of the 2d and 7th Divisions, under the command of Lieutenant-General Alderson, whom he directed to conduct the operations which had hitherto been carried on by the General Officer Commanding First Corps; and he directed the 7th Division to remain in Army Reserve.

During the night of May 19-20 a small post of the enemy in front of La Quinque Rue was captured.

During the night of May 20-21 the Canadian Division brilliantly carried on the excellent progress made by the 7th Division by seizing several of the enemy's trenches and pushing forward their whole line several hundred yards. A number of prisoners and some machine guns were captured.

On May 22 the 51st (Highland) Division was attached to the Indian Corps, and the General Officer Commanding the Indian Corps took charge of the operations at La Quinque Rue, Lieutenant-General Alderson with the Canadians conducting the operations to the north of that place.

On this day the Canadian Division extended their line slightly to the right and repulsed three very severe hostile counter-attacks.

On May 24 and 25 the 47th Division (2d London Territorial) succeeded in taking some more of the enemy's

trenches and making good the ground gained to the east and north.

I had now reason to consider that the battle, which was commenced by the First Army on May 9 and renewed on May 16, having attained for the moment the immediate object I had in view, should not be further actively proceeded with; and I gave orders to Sir Douglas Haig to curtail his artillery attack and to strengthen and consolidate the ground he had won.

In the battle of Festubert above described the enemy was driven from a position which was strongly entrenched and fortified, and ground was won on a front of four miles to an average depth of 600 yards.

The enemy is known to have suffered very heavy losses, and in the course of the battle 785 prisoners and ten machine guns were captured. A number of machine guns were also destroyed by our fire.

During the period under report the Army under my command has taken over trenches occupied by some other French divisions.

I am much indebted to General D'Urval, commanding the 10th French Army, for the valuable and efficient support received throughout the battle of Festubert from three groups of French 75 centimetre guns.

In spite of very unfavorable weather conditions, rendering observation most difficult, our own artillery did excellent work throughout the battle.

As an instance of the successful attempts to deceive the enemy in this respect it may be mentioned that on the afternoon of May 24 a bombardment of about an hour was carried out by the 6th Division with the object of distracting attention from the Ypres salient.

Considerable damage was done to the enemy's parapets and wire; and that the desired impression was produced on the enemy is evident from the German wireless news on that day, which stated, "West of Lille the English attempts to attack were nipped in the bud."

I have much pleasure in again expressing my warm appreciation of the admirable manner in which all branches

of the Medical Services now in the field, under the direction of Surgeon-General Sir Arthur Sloggett, have met and dealt with the many difficult situations resulting from the operations during the last two months.

The medical units at the front were frequently exposed to the enemy's fire, and many casualties occurred amongst the officers of the regimental Medical Service. At all times the officers, non-commissioned officers and men, and nurses carried out their duties with fearless bravery and great devotion to the welfare of the sick and wounded.

The whole organization of the Medical Services reflects the highest credit on all concerned.

I have once more to call your Lordship's attention to the part taken by the Royal Flying Corps in the general progress of the campaign, and I wish particularly to mention the invaluable assistance they rendered in the operations described in this report, under the able direction of Major-General Sir David Henderson.

The Royal Flying Corps is becoming more and more an indispensable factor in combined operations. In co-operation with the artillery, in particular, there has been continuous improvement both in the methods and in the technical material employed. The ingenuity and technical skill displayed by the officers of the Royal Flying Corps in effecting this improvement have been most marked.

Since my last dispatch there has been a considerable increase both in the number and in the activity of German aeroplanes in our front. During this period there have been more than sixty combats in the air, in which not one British aeroplane has been lost. As these flights take place almost invariably over or behind the German lines, only one hostile aeroplane has been brought down in our territory. Five more, however, have been definitely wrecked behind their own lines, and many have been chased down and forced to land in most unsuitable ground.

In spite of the opposition of hostile aircraft, and the great number of anti-

aircraft guns employed by the enemy, air reconnaissance has been carried out with regularity and accuracy.

I desire to bring to your Lordship's notice the assistance given by the French military authorities, and in particular by General Hirschauer, Director of the French Aviation Service, and his assistants, Colonel Bottieaux and Colonel Stammeler, in the supply of aeronautical material, without which the efficiency of the Royal Flying Corps would have been seriously impaired.

In this dispatch I wish again to remark upon the exceptionally good work done throughout this campaign by the Army Service Corps and by the Army Ordnance Department, not only in the field, but also on the lines of communication and at the base ports.

To foresee and meet the requirements in the matter of ammunition, stores, equipment, supplies, and transport has entailed on the part of the officers, non-commissioned officers and men of these services a sustained effort which has never been relaxed since the beginning of the war, and which has been rewarded by the most conspicuous success.

The close co-operation of the Railway Transport Department, whose excellent work, in combination with the French Railway Staff, has ensured the regularity of the maintenance services, has greatly contributed to this success.

The degree of efficiency to which these services have been brought was well demonstrated in the course of the second battle of Ypres.

The roads between Poperinghe and Ypres, over which transport, supply and ammunition columns had to pass, were continually searched by hostile heavy artillery during the day and night; whilst the passage of the canal through the town of Ypres, and along the roads east of that town, could only be effected under most difficult and dangerous conditions as regards hostile shell fire. Yet, throughout the whole five or six weeks during which these conditions prevailed the work was carried on with perfect order and efficiency.

THE "NEW" BRITISH ARMY

Since the date of my last report some divisions of the "New" Army have arrived in this country.

I made a close inspection of one division, formed up on parade, and have at various times seen several units belonging to others.

These divisions have as yet had very little experience in actual fighting; but, judging from all I have seen, I am of opinion that they ought to prove a valuable addition to any fighting force.

As regards the infantry, their physique is excellent, whilst their bearing and appearance on parade reflects great credit on the officers and staffs responsible for their training. The units appear to be thoroughly well officered and commanded. The equipment is in good order and efficient.

Several units of artillery have been tested in the firing line behind the trenches, and I hear very good reports of them. Their shooting has been extremely good, and they are quite fit to take their places in the line.

The Pioneer Battalions have created a very favorable impression, the officers being keen and ingenious, and the men of good physique and good diggers. The equipment is suitable. The training in field works has been good, but, generally speaking, they require the assistance of Regular Royal Engineers as regards laying out of important works. Man for man in digging the battalions should do practically the same amount of work as an equivalent number of sappers, and in riveting, entanglements, etc., a great deal more than the ordinary infantry battalions.

During the months of April and May several divisions of the Territorial Force joined the Army under my command.

Experience has shown that these troops have now reached a standard of efficiency which enables them to be usefully employed in complete divisional units.

Several divisions have been so employed; some in the trenches, others in the various offensive and defensive operations reported in this dispatch.

In whatever kind of work these units have been engaged, they have all borne an active and distinguished part, and have proved themselves thoroughly reliable and efficient.

The opinion I have expressed in former dispatches as to the use and value of the Territorial Force has been fully justified by recent events.

The Prime Minister was kind enough to accept an invitation from me to visit the Army in France, and arrived at my Headquarters on May 30.

Mr. Asquith made an exhaustive tour of the front, the hospitals and all the administrative arrangements made by Corps Commanders for the health and comfort of men behind the trenches.

It was a great encouragement to all ranks to see the Prime Minister amongst them; and the eloquent words which on several occasions he addressed to the troops had a most powerful and beneficial effect.

As I was desirous that the French Commander-in-Chief should see something of the British troops, I asked General Joffre to be kind enough to inspect a division on parade.

The General accepted my invitation, and on May 27 he inspected the 7th Division, under the command of Major-General H. de la P. Gough, C.B., which was resting behind the trenches.

General Joffre subsequently expressed to me in a letter the pleasure it gave him to see the British troops, and his appreciation of their appearance on parade. He requested me to make this known to all ranks.

The Moderator of the Church of Scotland, the Right Rev. Dr. Wallace Williamson, Dean of the Order of the Thistle, visited the Army in France between May 7 and 17, and made a tour of the Scottish regiments with excellent results.

In spite of the constant strain put upon them by the arduous nature of the fighting which they are called upon to carry out daily and almost hourly, the spirit which animates all ranks of the Army in France remains high and confident.

They meet every demand made upon them with the utmost cheerfulness.

This splendid spirit is particularly manifested by the men in hospital, even amongst those who are mortally wounded.

The invariable question which comes from lips hardly able to utter a sound is, "How are things going on at the front?"

In conclusion, I desire to bring to your Lordship's special notice the valuable services rendered by General Sir Douglas Haig in his successful handling of the troops of the First Army throughout the Battle of Festubert, and Lieutenant-General Sir Herbert Plumer for his fine defence of Ypres throughout the arduous and difficult operations during the latter part of April and the month of May.

I have the honor to be your Lordship's most obedient servant,

J. D. P. FRENCH,

Field-Marshal, Commanding-in-Chief, the British Army in France.

France's "Eyewitness" Reports

HILGENFIRST

The following details published in Paris on July 11 by an official "Eyewitness" with the French army of the desperate fighting which resulted in the capture of the summit of Hilgenfirst, more than 3,000 feet high, in the Langensfeldkopf region, in the Vosges Moun-

tains, are given in an account of the struggle written by an official eyewitness with the French army.

In the fight for the capture of the eminence of Hilgenfirst, one company of our advance guard which forced a breach in the German lines was cut off from its battalion as the result of a

German counter-attack. This company, nevertheless, succeeded in maintaining the conquered position four days until finally relieved.

On June 14 the Sixth Company of the Seventh Battalion crawled from its trenches and deployed toward a clearing in the woods opposite. It then charged, taking the German trenches. The Germans fled to the woods, leaving a quick-firer. Our men immediately began fortifying the position, but our sentries reported that German patrols had been seen encircling the French. Other companies were ordered forward immediately to support the one in the trench.

Meanwhile large German reinforcements had been brought up, making it impossible to reach our men. The captain in the trench, realizing that he was surrounded, ordered some of his men to form a hollow square and defend the position while others dug trenches on four sides. The Germans attacked in great force with quick firers and rifles, but withdrew at nightfall after a battle lasting two hours. Our men defending the position numbered 137, including five officers. One officer and twenty-seven men were wounded.

The following day, despite a well-directed fire from our main positions, the Germans again attacked in large numbers, advancing in columns of four. The situation now began to look critical, but at the crucial moment a hail of shrapnel from our 75.8 completely decimated one advancing column. The edge of the wood out of which the column advanced was piled high with German bodies and the remainder of the force scattered in flight.

In the afternoon the Germans again prepared for an attack, but the attempt was frustrated by our infantry fire. During the night the captain told off men to rest in squads, the others being constantly on the alert. At dawn a second lieutenant and a few men surprised a small German scouting detachment of twenty men commanded by a non-commissioned officer. Our men threw themselves upon the Ger-

mans, killing the officer and two men, the others taking to their heels at top speed.

At 10 o'clock the main body of our troops succeeded in establishing communications with the isolated company which called for help in the provincial dialect. We answered that we would attack at nightfall, but that the attack would be preceded by a heavy bombardment.

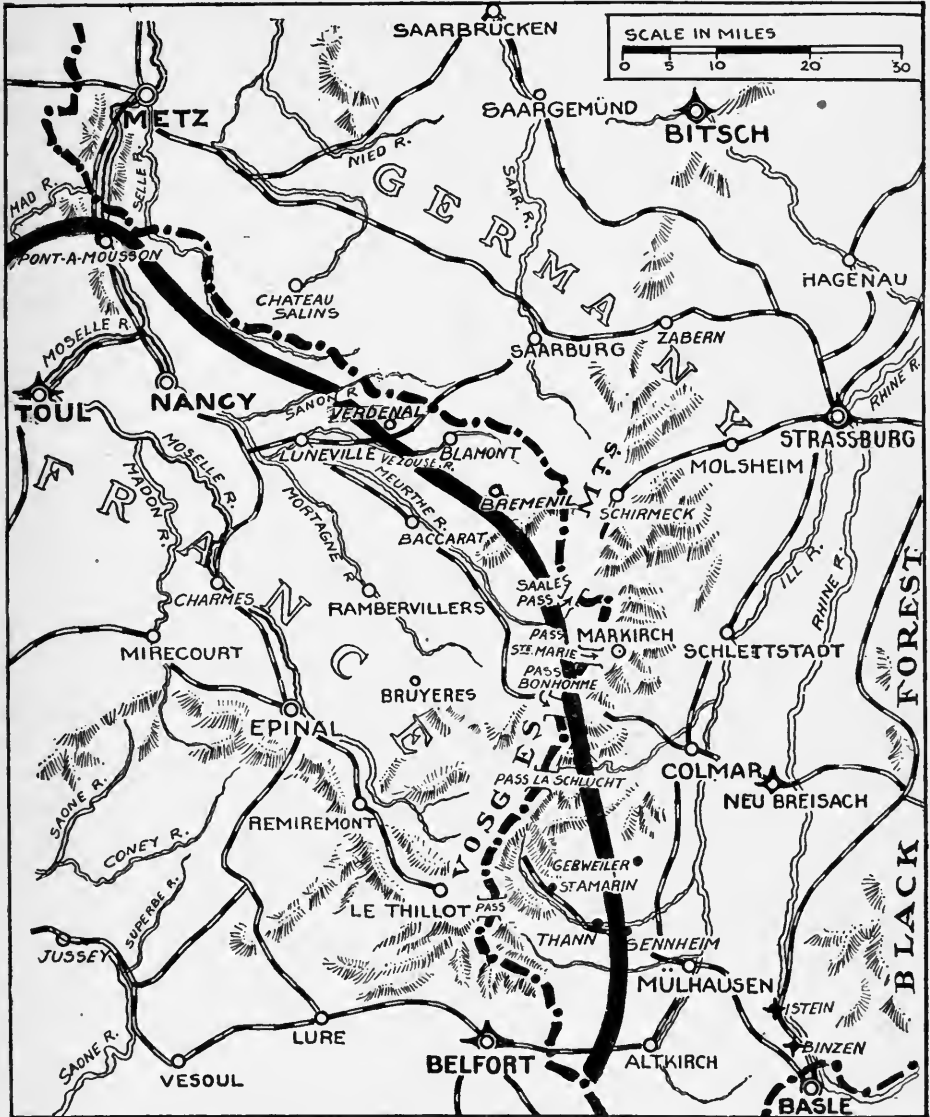
Accordingly, they constructed heavy bomb-proof shelters on the four sides of the square and anxiously waited. At 9 o'clock the attack was begun with artillery, quick firers and rifles, but it was insufficient to drive out the Germans, who had in the meanwhile established well-protected trenches and, with an excellent telephone system, made any surprise movement impossible.

The company's rations were now becoming very low. Delirious cries of the wounded added to the discomfiture of the men. The following morning a German patrol tried to take the position by storm, and some of the men succeeded even in mounting the parapet. These were driven off by a quick firer which had been captured from the Germans. On other advancing troops of the enemy huge boulders, dug from the hillside, were rolled down and we succeeded in dispersing the attack.

Another attack was prepared by us for that night, but the danger was great on account of the narrowness of the position occupied by the company. The captain of the company was ordered to light fires at the opposite ends of his position, so that our artillery could better regulate its fire, as there was great danger of killing our own men.

The artillery opened a crushing fire, and the Germans began to retreat. As they passed the company's position their men were mowed down by the exactness of the fire of our troops, and finally the brave company was delivered.

The general in command of the army in the Vosges said, in complimenting the men for their bravery, the company henceforth should be called "Company Sid Ibrahim."



Battle line in the Vosges, July 20

BATTLE OF FONTENELLE

The official French "Eyewitness" at the front reported on July 18 giving details of the French success in the battle of Fontenelle, in the Vosges. The scene of the conflict is in the neighborhood of the village of Senones and the forest of Ormont, and the ground is described as undulating and cut by deep ravines.

It was in this region, says the observer, that the Germans, after the battle of the Marne, took up a position on a summit commanding the surrounding countryside. This hill was Height 627, which is known as Fontenelle.

On June 22, after severe losses, the enemy succeeded in occupying Fontenelle, says the observer. Although we counter-attacked vigorously, taking

142 prisoners, the enemy held the summit. General Van Kuderzen, in a report dated July 3, said that after a careful inspection of the German works and trenches he finally believed that the hill had been transformed into an impregnable fortress, and that its capture would necessitate tremendous losses.

On July 8 all necessary preparations for the attack had been completed. The same day, at nightfall, three columns, aided by a remarkably accurate artillery fire, took a portion of the enemy's trenches. In the center we also attacked, forcing the enemy to the west of Launois in ten minutes. The attack on the left proceeded more slowly, but, aided by gathering darkness, we took possession of the northwestern portion of the hill.

At daybreak not only the whole of the summit had been retaken, but a majority of the German defenses as far as the road from Launois to Moyen-Moutier. Thanks to our artillery, all preparations for counter-attacks were immediately stopped.

During the battles of July 8 and 9 we took 881 prisoners, including 21 officers. When questioned the prisoners gave great praise to our excellent artillery marksmanship, saying: "We did not believe there could be such a hell of fire."

BETWEEN BETHUNE AND ARRAS

An Associated Press dispatch dated on the heights, of Notre Dame de Lorette, near Arras, July 10, gave the following account of the 120 days' fight ended successfully by the use of high explosives:

After fighting 120 days for the hill country between Bethune and Arras, the French forces are in possession of all the eminences looking out upon the plain of Flanders. Lille, Douai, and Chambrai all are visible from here.

Every position along the broad national road between Arras and Bethune has been won except Souchez, and last night another quarter mile of trenches in the Souchez web was torn away. The attack was made under parachute

rocket lights, the French burning bluish white and the Germans greenish white, covering the scene of the desperate conflict with a ghastly glow.

The most desperate fighting has been along the short ten-mile front from Arras to Aix-Noulette, which began March 9 with the taking of a few hundred yards of trenches on the watershed of Notre Dame de Lorette, where there are the ruins of an old Merovingian military road. Every day since then some section of the German trenches has been taken, lost, or retaken.

Each side has been employing formidable artillery both of small and heavy calibre, the French guns being somewhat more numerous and served with unlimited quantities of high explosive shells.

A correspondent of The Associated Press today went through five or six miles of the trenches formerly held by the Germans and reconstructed by the French, who now have abandoned them to move forward. Upward of 100,000 Germans have fallen or been captured in these trenches, according to the French official count, since the second week of March. The French losses, the correspondent was confidentially informed, while serious, have been much smaller than those of the Germans. There are thickets of little crosses made of twigs tied together, marking the graves between the trenches. Some of these graves have been torn up by the shell fire.

Almost every square yard of this region is marked by miniature craters caused by exploding shells. Spots where shells penetrated the earth without exploding are indicated by signs bearing the words "Live Shell."

One line of the German works was just below the summit of a steep slope which, from the nature of the ground, could not be shelled without danger to the French position a little higher up. The Germans were sheltered in dugouts under the hillside, and their French assailants, sliding or jumping down into the trenches, were shot or bayoneted from caves. The line was finally taken by tossing grenades by the bas-

ketful into the trenches until most of the defenders in the concaved shelters were killed or wounded. Every curve or angle in the miles of labyrinthine cuttings has its story of tragedy and heroism.

In the party which went over this ground and into the firing trenches within calling distance of the German lines with The Associated Press correspondent were Owen Johnson, Arnold Bennett, Walter Hale and George H. Mair, the last representing the British Foreign Office. As they approached the lines one shell from a four-inch gun burst within twenty-five yards of them, while others exploded only thirty or forty yards away. This incident seemed greatly to amuse the soldiers in the trenches, who laughed heartily at the embarrassment of the civilians.

The visitors were invited by the soldiers into their shelters, which are dry caves with narrow entrances and with clay floors covered with matting or sacking and faintly illuminated by the light which filters in from the entrance or by bits of candle on the inside. Men who had been on duty throughout the night were sleeping in these caves.

The men on the firing line express the utmost confidence that what was done yesterday and this morning they can keep on doing until the war has been won. They never hear the vague, unverified reports circulated in Paris, sometimes of tremendous and impossible victories, sometimes sinister hints of disaster. They know what they have done since March 9, when they were ordered to act on this part of the Aisne. They talk as a matter of course of another winter campaign, because, they say, it will take another year to break the German power.

ARRAS' GRASS-GROWN STREETS

An Associated Press dispatch of July 9 from Arras via Paris reads:

Shells have been dropping into Arras at intervals today, as they have been for 250 days. Each twenty-four hours a few more buildings crumple or burn, although the Fire Department still is efficient in extinguishing flames.

One thousand civilians out of a former population of 35,000 are still here. There were 4,000 in December when The Associated Press correspondent first visited the town. A few scores of the inhabitants have been killed or wounded, while the others have been persuaded by the military authorities to go away. None of those remaining thinks of sleeping anywhere except in a cellar. The rest of their time they spend out of doors, when no shells are falling.

The streets, which formerly were filled with traffic, are now grassgrown. Two postmen deliver the mail, which comes regularly once a day by military post. Several shops located underground are open for business. Displayed on cellar doors are baskets of fresh vegetables, which can be bought at about the same prices as in Paris. Inside the principal grocery are many standard brands of American, French, and British canned goods.

About half the outer walls of the beautiful City Hall are still standing, but there remains only one jagged corner of the imposing belfry which once adorned the great square of Arras. A citizen occupying a cellar on the other side of the square counted the shells which struck the belfry, and says it took 360 to shatter the beautiful bit of architecture.

ARRAS CATHEDRAL

An Associated Press dispatch from Paris dated July 13 reports:

Since June 27 the Germans have systematically bombarded various parts of Arras with projectiles of all calibres, says an official communication given out today by the French War Department.

On June 27 the bombardment was extremely violent and was executed by six-inch, eight-inch and seventeen-inch guns, between the hours of 8 A. M. and 2 P. M., and between 6 P. M. and 7:30 P. M. The fire was directed particularly at the citadel and neighboring streets.

On July 3, toward 6:30 o'clock in the

evening, a further bombardment took place in which incendiary shells were used, and they started a most violent fire.

On July 5 at 4:30 P. M., the statement continues, the enemy recommenced its bombardment of the city, concentrating its fire upon the environs of the cathedral, more especially upon St. Vaast, the ancient Bishop's palace, which had been transformed into a museum. Incendiary shells set the building on fire, and the use of fuse shells from three-inch and four-inch guns prevented our organizing to combat the fire, which soon assumed great proportions and completely destroyed the palace. During the night there was an intermittent bombardment.

On July 6, about 7 A. M., shells fell on the Cathedral, the roof of which took fire, and, despite the efforts of our troops, was entirely consumed, as were the Cathedral organs.

The departmental archives, which had been deposited in the Palace of St. Vaast, had been placed in the cellar of the palace before the bombardment and were saved. The sacred ornaments and part of the furnishings in the Cathedral were removed.

IN THE FECHT VALLEY

The French official "Eyewitness" reported on July 15 the French victory in the battle of Metzeral in upper Alsace, as follows:

The operations by which our troops captured the towns of Metzeral and Sondernach, which are situated in the Fecht Valley, have been remarkable because of the means employed and the results obtained, and as the Alpine troops have been forced to surmount all possible difficulties.

Metzeral, the eyewitness explains, is situated in a valley surrounded by high hills, the sides of which dropped precipitously down to the Fecht region. On these hills was stationed artillery, to the rear of which, within easy access, large reinforcements could be massed and brought to the front when needed. He continued:

From prisoners we learned that the Germans considered their position impregnable. It was surrounded by several lines of trenches and barbed wire entanglements. We made long preparations for the attack, concentrating troops and bringing supplies up the Vosges through winding, narrow, and hastily constructed roads, twenty miles in length. New trenches were dug, mines laid, and various other details attended to.

On June 15, after prolonged and heavy artillery fire on both sides of the valley, the attack was begun against Hill 830, on which we captured trenches situated on the slopes, taking two companies prisoners. A portion of the trenches on Braunkopf also fell into our hands.

At Eichwald we gained less, as here the German fortifications were strongest. At Anlass, also, although many grenades were thrown, the fortifications were of such a character as to make it impossible to break through.

On the day following the attack was resumed, with the purpose of gaining us all the positions on Braunkopf and Hill 830. We began at this point to encircle Eichwald, as the road to Metzeral now lay open. The Germans remained at Anlass, where our attack always stopped, and with their fire across the valley on Braunkopf made it impossible for us to proceed.

All our efforts were now concentrated on Anlass. We attacked on June 18 and 19, and on the 20th the German positions fell into our hands. Our troops continued on down the valley, capturing 6 officers, 11 non-commissioned officers, and 140 men.

An attack directed at the same time against Winterhagel, situated to the south of Anlass, was marked by a sad incident. A small group of chasseurs who succeeded in breaking through the barbed-wire entanglements found themselves under a crossfire of quick-firers. The men tried to construct a shelter with the tools they carried. The Germans cried "Surrender!" Not one man answered. The quick-firers accomplished their work, and the men were

found lying with faces to the ground, as if they had dropped when drawn up in line for parade.

Our attacks were now centred on Metzeral. The factory at Steinbruck was taken on the night of June 17, and a battalion entered Altenkof the day following. On June 21 our men came down from Braunkopf, surrounded the village on the north, and took the railway station. The Germans in Metzeral, threatened with capture, placed quick-firers in several houses to protect their retreat and prepared to set the place on fire. Our artillery quickly demol-

ished the houses in which German artillery had been placed, and our troops entered the flaming streets from the north and west. The village was burned.

On the two following nights, while our troops harassed the retreating enemy, Winterhagel and Sondernach fell into our hands and our line was established along the length of the valley of the Fecht as far as Sondernach.

The action resulted in the capture of 20 officers, 53 non-commissioned officers, and 638 men.

The Crown Prince in the Argonne

An Associated Press dispatch from Paris stated on June 30 that the German attempt to divert the attention of the French from the latter's offensive in the region north of Arras has been productive of gains in the Argonne, where a three-days' bombardment of the French trenches was followed by the capture of French positions near Bagatelle. Elsewhere, particularly on the Yser, to the north of Arras, north of Verdun and near Metzeral in Alsace, there have been artillery exchanges without notable results.

The dispatch recorded the following French official communication, issued June 30:

In the Argonne, after a bombardment lasting three days, the Germans attacked our positions on the road between Binarville and Le Four de Paris, but were twice repulsed. They succeeded only in their third attack in gaining a foothold in some parts of our lines near Bagatelle, and they were everywhere else thrown back after a violent engagement.

There has been a bombardment on the front north of Verdun, in the Bois d'Ailly, as well as in the region of Metzeral.

On July 4 Berlin's official report said:

In the Argonne the Germans con-

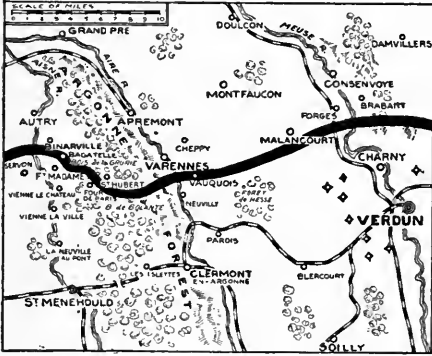
tinued their offensive. Our booty has increased considerably, and amounted on July 1 and 2 to 2,556 prisoners—among them 37 officers—25 machine guns, 72 mine throwers, and one revolver gun.

It was reported from London on July 14 that the attack of the German Crown Prince's army in the Argonne, having for its objective the investment of the French forts of the Verdun area, had resulted in an advance of two-thirds of a mile and the capture of 2,581 prisoners and several pieces of artillery, according to German official reports. A communiqué issued in Paris, while admitting the German success, asserts that nowhere did the assailants gain more than a quarter of a mile and announces that the Crown Prince's offensive had been definitely checked.

Following is the text of the German official statement of July 14:

In the Argonne a German attack resulted in complete success northeast of Vienne-le-Château. Our troops took by storm the enemy positions in the hills extending over a width of three kilometers (about a mile and three-quarters) and a depth of one kilometer. Hill No. 285, La Fille Morte, is in our possession. Two thousand five hundred and eighty-one uninjured prisoners, including fifty-one officers, fell into our

hands. In addition, 300 wounded were taken under our care. Two field cannon, two revolver cannon, six machine guns, and a large quantity of tools were captured. Our troops advanced as far as the positions of the French artillery and rendered eight cannon useless. These are now standing between the French and German lines.



Scene of the German Crown Prince's drive in the Argonne.

The official statement issued at Berlin on July 15 says:

The French made repeated attempts yesterday, which lasted into the night, to recapture the positions we took from them in the Forest of Argonne. Notwithstanding the employment of large quantities of ammunition and of strong forces recently brought up, all their attacks broke down. In many places there was bitter fighting with hand grenades and encounters at close quarters.

The enemy paid for his unsuccessful efforts with extraordinarily heavy losses. The number of French prisoners has been increased to 68 officers and 3,688 men.

The success of our troops was all the more remarkable as, according to corresponding statements made by pris-

oners, the French had prepared for a great attack against our positions on the Argonne front on July 14, their national festival day.

The text of the German official statement published July 16 is as follows:

French attacks delivered yesterday and the day before to the west of the Argonne Forest failed in the face of the North German Landwehr, who inflicted large and sanguinary losses on the enemy in bitter hand-to-hand fighting. We captured 462 prisoners.

Since June 20 our troops have fought continually in the Argonne and to the west of that forest, with the exception of short interruptions. In addition to the gain in territory and booty in materials a total of 116 officers and 7,009 French prisoners has been reached up to the present.

On our front which joins the Argonne to the east, lively artillery battles are in progress. Attacks made by the enemy in this region were repulsed without difficulty.

In a dispatch from Berlin, dated July 16, by Wireless to Sayville, N. Y., it is reported that in the news items given out by the Overseas News Agency was the following:

German military tacticians point out that the German victory in the Forest of Argonne, in France, is of special importance, as it shows that the connections toward Western France are gradually being cut.

The large amount of war materials captured by the Germans in the last battle illustrates the importance attributed to the positions by the French commanders. The French, however, were unable to resist the terrific offensive of the Crown Prince's army.



Gallipoli's Shambles

Allied Operations Around the Turks' Fortress of Achi Baba

The subjoined narratives, official and semi-official, show clearly the formidable nature of the Allies' land undertaking in the attempt to force the passage of the Dardanelles. It will be noted that Compton Mackenzie, the novelist, has temporarily replaced E. Ashmead-Bartlett as the British press "eyewitness" on the peninsula, and that General Sir Ian Hamilton's reports have for the first time begun to appear. A notable sketch of his career appears in the *Atlantic Monthly* for July by the pen of Alfred G. Gardiner. A poet and a man of romantic ancestry and taste, experienced in commands in India, in Egypt, and in South Africa, General Hamilton was called by the late Lord Roberts the ablest commander in the field. For his qualities of daring and inspiration, as well as for his coolness in directing the complex movements of the battlefield, he was chosen for this most dangerous and bloody of enterprises against the German-officered Turks.*

Mr. Mackenzie estimates the losses of the Turks up to June 30 at not less than 70,000. Prime Minister Asquith in the House of Commons, on July 1, announced that the British naval and military losses up to May 31 aggregated 38,635 officers and men. Yet the great fortress of Achi Baba, by that time one of the most powerful in the world, was untaken up to July 20, and the French and British Allies held but a small corner of the area to be conquered.

BATTLE OF THE LONGEST DAY

By Compton Mackenzie

Authorized Press Representative at the Dardanelles.

Dardanelles, via Alexandria,
June 30, 1915.

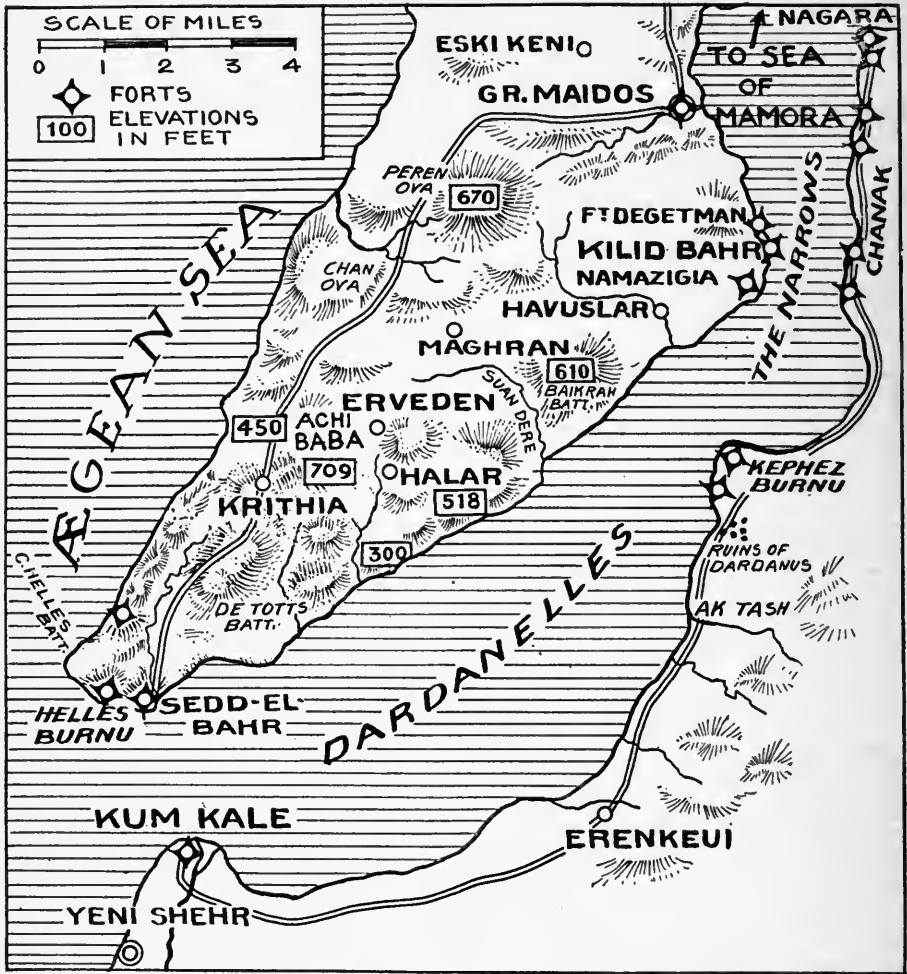
THE battle of the Fourth of June ended with substantial progress on our centre, although on our left and on our right, notwithstanding the most violent charges and counter-charges, we were unable to consolidate some of our initial gains. The reason of this may be found in the natural strongholds of the Turkish flanks, natural strongholds that are helped by the most elaborate fortifications.

The British and French line from the Aegean to the Dardanelles is confronted by rising ground that culminates in the centre with the flat summit of Achi Baba, 800 ft. high. On either side the ground falls away to the sea in ravines and dry watercourses (*deres*), which the Turks have had time to make impregnable to any except those superb troops that are now fighting to pass over them.

* His first report, covering the actions from March 13, when he left London, to May 20, is here omitted because other official reports covering the same period were printed in the June and July numbers of *CURRENT HISTORY*.

There is no room upon the Gallipoli Peninsula to find weak points, and we are now in the position of having to storm an immensely strong fortress, the advanced works of which, by an amazing feat of arms, we already hold, and the glacis of which has to be crossed before we move forward to the assault upon the bastion of Achi Baba and beyond to the final assault upon the very walls of that fortress, the Kilid Bahr Plateau.

Farther up the coast the Australians and New Zealanders have made a lodgment upon one of the strongest advanced works of the Kilid Bahr Plateau. As seen from the northwest here they threaten the communications of the "fortress" and are drawing against them a large part of the garrison. This is composed of the flower of the Turkish Army, and, notwithstanding casualties that must already amount to 70,000, the troops are fighting with gallantry—with desperation, indeed, because they realize that when the bastion of Achi Baba falls the occupation of the Kilid Bahr Plateau becomes a mere question of time,



Map of Gallipoli Peninsula, showing the mountainous nature of the terrain, and Achi Baba.

and that when Kilid Bahr falls the doom of Constantinople is at hand. In view of the difficulties—were it not for the landing one would be tempted to say the impossibilities—which confront our men, the gain of a score of yards in the Gallipoli Peninsula may fairly represent for the purposes of comparison a gain of 500 yards in the Western theatre of war. Therefore, to find its importance the gain of 500 yards on June 4 must be measured with affairs like Neuve Chapelle; and the few quiet days that succeeded may be accepted as repose.

After a violent effort on the night of

June 11 to 12 there was a brilliant little action by the Border Regiment and the South Wales Borderers which resulted in the gain of two trenches. On the 16th the enemy, led by a Turkish and a German officer, made an assault on the trenches of the 88th Brigade, but were driven off with loss. However, that night the trenches gained by the two regiments on the 11th were heavily bombed, so heavily that our men were forced to retire about 30 yards and dig themselves in. At dawn we were able to enfilade with machine-guns the vacated trenches.

Then the Dublin Fusiliers charged with the bayonet, and once more gave us possession of our gains at heavy cost to the Turks, whose dead filled one trench.

On the evening of the 18th the enemy bombarded very heavily another portion of our trenches on this side of the line. They were evidently attempting in miniature our own methods of Neuve Chapelle and June 4, as immediately after the bombardment they were seen to be massing for an attack. However, the imitation ended rather abruptly at this point, and the affair petered out.

On the evening of the 19th the Turks by a fierce attack, managed to get into an awkward salient which had remained in our hands after June 4. For some time there was great difficulty in recovering this, but the 5th Royal Scots and a company of the Worcesters, led by Lieut.-Colonel Wilson of the former regiment, made a glorious attack, and drove out the Turks.

Of the Royal Scots, one can add nothing but that they are Edinburgh Territorials brought in by the fortune of war to make the twelfth regiment of the immortal 29th Division whose deeds since April 25 might have stirred the ghost of Homer to sing their valour.

Mention has been made already of the difficulties that oppose our advance upon the two flanks. On June 21 it was determined to straighten the line upon the extreme right, and at 1.30 A.M. the preliminary bombardment began. The dawn had been clear, but soon a curtain of silver, through which gleamed the ghost of the rising sun, hung over the Kereves Dere. This was the smoke of bursting shells. Slowly as the sun climbed up the curtain became more substantial. Then it seemed to droop and sweep along the hollows like a vanishing mist of dawn, and during a respite the thin blue smoke of the bivouac fires came tranquilly up into the still air. The respite was very brief, and the bombardment began again with greater fierceness than before. The 75's drummed unceasingly. The reverberation of the 125's and of the howitzers shook the observation post. Over the

Kereves Dere, and beyond, upon the sloping shoulders of Achi Baba, the curtain became a pall. The sun climbed higher and higher. All that first mirage of beauty had disappeared, and there was nothing but the monstrous shapes of bursting shells, giants of smoke that appeared one after another along the Turkish lines. All through the morning the cannonade went on.

By noon the Second Division of the French had on the left stormed and captured all the Turkish trenches of the first two lines. Even the Haricot Redoubt, with its damnable entanglements and its maze of communicating trenches, was in French hands. On the right, however, the First Division, after reaching their objective, had been counter-attacked so effectively that they had fallen back. Again they advanced; again they took the trenches; again they were driven out. It began to look as if the victory upon the left would be fruitless, that the position would become an untenable salient and the Haricot Redoubt revert to the enemy.

At this moment a message was sent to say that the trenches must be recaptured, and, when recaptured, held. There were still five hours of daylight for this battle of the longest day. British guns and howitzers were asked for and were lent at once. The bombardment was resumed throughout that afternoon, and at half-past five it seemed as if every gun on earth were pouring shells on the Turkish lines.

At six o'clock the third assault was delivered. In one trench there was a temporary shortage of ammunition, but the enemy fought even with stones and sticks and fists. A battalion came hurrying up from the Turkish right to reinforce it, was caught on open ground by the drumming 75's, and it melted away. Six hundred yards of Turkish trenches were taken, and still the bombardment was continued in order to ward off the counter-attack that was anticipated.

The smoke of the shells, which at dawn had been ethereal, almost translucent, was now, in the sunset, turbid and sinister, yet the sunset was very

splendid, flaming in crimson streamers over Imbros, tinting the east with rosy reflections and turning the peaks of Asia to sapphires. It had a peculiar significance on this longest day of the year, crowning as it did those precious five hours of daylight that, for the French, had been fraught with such achievement. Slowly the colour faded out, and now, minute by minute, the flashes of the guns became more distinct; the smoke was merged in the gathering dusk, and away over the more distant Turkish lines the bursts of shrapnel came out like stars against the brief twilight. One knew the anxiety there would be in the darkness that now was falling upon this 21st of June, but in the morning we heard gladly that the enemy's counter-attacks had failed, and that our Allies were indeed firmly established.

The Turkish casualties were at least 7,000. One trench, 200 yards long and 10 feet deep, was brimming over with the dead. They were valiant those dead men. French officers who have fought in the West say that, as a fighting unit, one Turk is worth two Germans; in fact, with his back to the wall, the Turk is magnificent. The French casualties were marvellously few considering what a day it had been, what an enemy was being attacked, and how much had been gained.

The right of the line now commands Kereves Dere, and the profile of Achi Baba seems to write itself less solidly against the sky.

ATTACK BY LAND AND SEA

The British Press Bureau on June 30, 1915, issued the following:

General Sir Ian Hamilton reports that the plan of operations on the 28th was to throw forward the left of his line south-east of Krithia, pivoting on a point about one mile from the sea, and after advancing on the extreme left for about half a mile to establish a new line facing east on ground thus gained. This plan entailed the capture in succession of two lines of the Turkish trenches east of the Saghir Dere, and

five lines of trenches west of it. The Australian Corps was ordered to co-operate by making a vigorous demonstration.

The action opened at nine o'clock with a bombardment by heavy artillery. The assistance rendered by the French in this bombardment was most valuable.

At 10.20 the Field Artillery opened fire to cut wire in front of Turkish trenches, and this was effectively done. The effect on the enemy's trench near the sea was great. The very accurate fire of his Majesty's ships Talbot, Scorpion and Wolverine succeeded in keeping down his artillery fire from that quarter.

At 10.45 a small Turkish advanced work in the Saghir Dere known as the Boomerang Redoubt was assaulted. This little fort, which was very strongly sited and protected by extra strong wire entanglements, has long been a source of trouble. After special bombardment by trench mortar, and while bombardment of surrounding trenches was at its height, part of the Border Regiment at the exact moment prescribed leapt from their trenches as one man like a pack of hounds, and pouring out of cover raced across, and took the work most brilliantly.

The artillery bombardment increased in intensity till 11 A. M., when the range was lengthened, and infantry advanced. The infantry attack was carried out with great dash along the whole line.

West of Saghir Dere three lines of trenches were captured with little opposition. The trenches were full of dead Turks, many buried by the bombardment, and one hundred prisoners were taken in them.

East of the Ravine the Royal Scots made a fine attack, capturing the two lines of trenches assigned to their objective, but the remainder of the Brigade on their right met with severe opposition and were unable to get forward.

At 11.30 the Royal Fusiliers led its Brigade in the second phase of the attack west of the Ravine. The Brigade advanced with great steadiness and resolution through the trenches already captured, and on across the open, and

taking two more lines of trenches reached the objective allotted to them, the Lancashire Fusiliers inclining half-right and forming line to connect with our new position east of the Ravine.

The northernmost objective had now been attained, but the Gurkhas pressing on under the cliffs captured an important knoll still further forward, actually due west of Krithia. This they fortified and held during the night, making our total gain on the left precisely one thousand yards.

During the afternoon the trenches, a small portion of which remained uncaptured on the right, were attacked, but the enemy held on stubbornly supported by machine-guns and artillery, and the attacks did not succeed.

During the night the enemy counter-attacked the furthest trenches gained, but was repulsed with heavy loss. A party of Turks, who penetrated from the flank between two lines of captured trenches, was subjected to machine-gun fire at daybreak, suffered very heavily, and the survivors surrendered.

Except for a small portion of trench already mentioned, which is still held by the enemy, all and more than was hoped for from operations has been gained. On the extreme left the line has been pushed forward to a specially strong point well beyond the limit of the advance originally contemplated.

All engaged did well, but certainly the chief factor in the success was the splendid attack carried out by the 29th Division, whose conduct on this, as on previous occasions, was beyond praise.

AUSTRALIANS IN ACTION

The British Press Bureau states on July 1 that, in continuation of his last message respecting the British advance in the Gallipoli Peninsula, Sir Ian Hamilton had reported as follows:

Further details have now been received with regard to the part played by the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps in the operations of the 29th. As previously stated, the General Officer Commanding the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps was instructed to

undertake operations with a view to preventing the enemy in his front from detaching troops to the southern area.

Between 11.30 A. M. and 12 noon the action was opened, His Majesty's ships Humber, Pincher, and Chelmer engaging enemy's heavy guns. At 1 P. M. part of the Second Light Horse Brigade and the Third Infantry Brigade moved out on the right of the position, advancing some 700 yards, when the enemy was encountered in strength. Meanwhile the artillery engaged the enemy's reserves, which were collecting in the ravine opposite right centre, by shelling them effectively with guns and howitzers.

About 2.30 P. M. the enemy appeared to be preparing a counter-attack against the left of our advanced troops, but on howitzer and machine-gun fire being turned on the enemy's attacks were easily repulsed. The retirement of the advanced troops was begun at 3 P. M., well covered by rifle, machine-gun, and artillery fire, and the troops were all back in the trenches between 4.30 and 5.30 P. M.

Our machine-guns and artillery did considerable execution. Naval gun fire also gave valuable assistance. Demonstrations made after dark at 8.45 and 11.30 P. M. with flares, star shell, and destroyer bombardment were successfully carried out.

The Eighth Corps report 180 prisoners taken since the morning of the 28th, namely, 38 of the Sixteenth Regiment, 139 of the Thirty-third Regiment, and three of the Thirteenth Regiment. A Circassian prisoner carried a wounded private of Royal Scots into our lines under fire.

ATTACKED BY THE TURKS

Sir Ian Hamilton reported, as published by the British Press Bureau on July 6, the following details of the attack made by the Turks on the night of 29th-30th June:

About 2 A. M. searchlights of His Majesty's ship Scorpion discovered half a Turkish battalion advancing near the sea north-west of Krithia. Scorpion

opened fire, and few of the enemy got away. Simultaneously the enemy attacked the knoll we captured due west of Krithia, advancing from a nullah in close formation in several lines. The attack came under artillery and enfilade rifle fire, and the enemy lost heavily. The foremost Turks got within forty yards of the parapet, but only a few returned.

The Turks made several heavy bomb attacks during the night, our troops being twice driven back a short distance. Early in the morning we regained these trenches by bayonet attack, and they have since been strengthened.

At 5.30 A. M. 2,000 Turks, moving from Krithia into the ravine, were scattered by machine-gun fire. The operations reflect great credit on the vigilance and accurate shooting of His Majesty's ship Scorpion. The Turkish losses in the nullah and ravine are estimated at 1,500 to 2,000 dead.

About 10 P. M. on the 30th of June the Turks again attacked with bombs a portion of the most northerly trench captured by us on 28th. An officer of the Gurkhas being wounded, not dangerously as it turned out, the men became infuriated, flung all their bombs at the enemy, and then charging down out of the trench used their kukris for the first time and with excellent effect. About dawn the Turks once more attempted an attack over the open, but nearly the whole of these attacking forces, about half a battalion, were shot down, and a final bomb attack, though commenced, failed utterly.

Further reports from Australia and New Zealand Corps, as to the enemy's attack on 29th-30th on our right flank, state that the action commenced by very heavy fire from midnight till 1.30 A. M., to which our men only replied by a series of cheers. The Turks then launched their attack, and came right on with bayonet and bombs. Those who succeeded in getting into our saps were instantly killed; the remainder were dealt with by bomb and rifle fire from the 7th and 8th Light Horse. By 2 A. M. the enemy broke, and many were killed while withdrawing. The enemy's

attack was strongest on his right. They were completely taken aback by a concealed sap constructed well ahead of our main line, and the dead are lying thickly in front of this. Some got into the sap and several across it; all these were wiped out by fire from the main parapet farther back.

Following the defeat of this attack, the enemy attacked at 3 A. M. on our left, and 30 men came over the parapets in front of the right of Quinn's Post. These were duly polished off. Prisoners brought in state that three fresh battalions were employed in the main attack, which was made by the personal order of Enver Pasha, who, as they definitely assert, was present in the trenches on June 29. This is confirmed by the statement of an intelligent Armenian prisoner captured on that date. According to him, stringent orders were recently issued that no further attacks were to be made, because if the Turks remained on the defensive the British would be forced to attack, and would suffer as severely as the Turks had hitherto suffered. But Enver Pasha, when he arrived in the northern section, overrode this instruction, and orders were received by the prisoner's regiment that the Australians were to be driven into the sea.

On July 2, after a heavy bombardment of our advanced positions by high explosives and shrapnel, lasting half an hour, the enemy infantry advanced, but were driven back to the main nullah about a mile to our front by the accurate shooting of His Majesty's ship Scorpion and by our rifle and machine-gun fire. About 7 P. M. the Turkish artillery recommenced their bombardment, under cover of which two battalions emerged from the nullah to the north-east of our most advanced trench and commenced an attack across the open, advancing in two regular lines. At the outset very effective shrapnel fire from the 10th Battery Royal Field Artillery caused great execution among the attackers. Gurkha supports then advanced, and there being insufficient room in trenches took up a position on some excavated earth in rear, whence

deadly rifle fire was poured into the advancing lines. Turkish officers could be seen endeavouring to get their men forward, but they would not face the fire and retreated in disorder after suffering heavy casualties.

The ground in front of our trenches in every direction can be seen covered with Turkish dead, and patrols sent out at night report that the valleys and ravine are also full of them. There can be no possible doubt that the enemy's losses have been very heavy. After checking and counter-checking reports from all sources, I put down their total casualties between June 28 and July 2 at 5,150 killed and 15,000 wounded. The number of killed is, therefore, approximately correct, while the wounded is an estimate based partly on the knowledge of the number already reported arrived at Constantinople, and on experience of proportion of wounded to killed in previous engagements. Since June 29 the total amount of Turkish arms and ammunition collected is 516 rifles, 51 bayonets, 200 sets of equipment, 126,400 rounds of ammunition, 100 bombs.

The following is an extract from captured divisional orders "There is nothing that causes us more sorrow, increases the courage of the enemy, and encourages him to attack more freely, causing us great losses, than the losing of these trenches. Henceforth commanders who surrender these trenches, from whatever side the attack may come, before the last man is killed will be punished in the same way as if they had run away. Especially will the commanders of units told off to guard a certain front be punished if, instead of thinking about their work, supporting their units and giving information to the higher command, they only take action after a regrettable incident has taken place.

"I hope that this will not occur again. I give notice that if it does I shall carry out the punishment. I do not desire to see a blot made on the courage of our men by those who escape from the trenches to avoid the rifle and machine-gun fire of the enemy. Hence-

forth I shall hold responsible all officers who do not shoot with their revolvers all the privates who try to escape from the trenches on any pretext. Commander of the 11th Div., Colonel Rifaat."

To the copy from which this extract was taken the following note is appended: "To Commander of the 1st Battalion. The contents will be communicated to the officers, and I promise to carry out the orders till the last drop of our blood has been shed. Sign and return. Signed. Hassan, Commander, 127th Regiment. Then follow signatures company commanders."

HEAVY TURKISH LOSSES

The British Press Bureau on July 7 issued this report by General Ian Hamilton:

The night of July 3-4 was quiet in the northern section, but at 4 A. M. the enemy started a heavy bombardment of the trenches. All the guns previously used against us, and some new ones, were in action, but the bombardment died away about 6 A. M. without doing much damage. During the bombardment about twenty 11.2-inch shells were dropped from a Turkish battleship in the strait.

In the southern section the Turks kept up a heavy musketry fire along the whole line during the night and did not leave their trenches. At 4 A. M. their batteries started the most violent bombardment that has yet been experienced. At least 5,000 rounds of artillery ammunition were expended by them.

Meanwhile this shelling of our lines on the peninsula proved the preliminary to a general attack on our front with special efforts at certain points. The principal effort was made at the junction of the Royal Naval Division section with that of the French.

Here, at 7.30 A. M., the Turks drove back our advanced troops and assaulted a portion of the line held by the Royal Naval Division. Some fifty Turks gained a footing in our trench, where, nevertheless, some men of the Royal Naval Division held on to our supports,

and the men who had retired counter-attacked immediately and hurled the Turks out of the trench again.

Another attack on the right of the Twenty-ninth Division section was practically wiped out by rifle and machine-gun fire. On our left the Turks massed in a nullah, to the northeast of our newly-captured trenches, and attempted several attacks. None of these was able to get home owing to the steadiness of our troops and our effective artillery support. The bombardment died down toward 11 A. M., though it was resumed at intervals.

Not only was the result a complete failure, but while our losses were negligible and no impression was made on our line, the enemy added a large number to his recent very heavy casualties. It seems plain from the disjointed nature of his attack that he is finding it difficult to drive his infantry forward to face our fire.

SLAUGHTER BY CANNON LIGHT

In a dispatch by George Renwick to The London Daily Chronicle, dated at Lemnos, July 11, the following description of fighting, followed by heavy Turco-German casualties, appeared:

The heaviest fighting which has taken place on Gallipoli Peninsula since the allied forces landed there began late on Tuesday and lasted well into Wednesday. It resulted in a swing forward of the southern line of the allied armies for five furlongs and in the infliction of staggering losses on the enemy. Those who were in the battle place the Turco-German casualties at 7,000 killed and from 14,000 to 15,000 wounded. Many prisoners were taken.

The whole army in the southern part of the peninsula was engaged, and the Australians and New Zealanders further north also played a part. The victory marks a definite stage in the initial work of throwing forces around Achi Baba, which may now be de-

scribed as one of the strongest fortresses in the world.

The Allies had been resting in comparative tranquillity and the Turks had evidently become persuaded the enemy was experiencing a shortage of ammunition. This belief convinced them of the excellent opportunity of driving the invaders into the sea. Late Tuesday night the first signs of the enemy's movement were detected. No time was lost in flashing a warning message to headquarters. The French were soon alert and the artillery at that portion of the line against which the attack was being prepared was quickly and strongly reinforced.

French and British machine guns were rushed to the front until a perfect wall of heavy and light guns was in position. Then there came a short interval of silence and waiting, almost oppressive. Suddenly the stillness was broken by a tremendous burst of shells from the Turkish guns, and for a time shrapnel poured down on the French front. But the men were safely positioned in dugouts and little loss resulted. From the strait loud booming began. The battered Goeben was at work again, and during the bombardment she pounded our right with some forty 11-inch shells. Many did not burst—they were apparently of Turkish manufacture.

This hail of shells lasted just an hour and a half and was the severest bombardment to which our lines have been subjected during the weeks of struggle on the peninsula. No sooner had the heavy fire ceased than great solid masses of Turks leaped forward to the attack. On they came, the silence unbroken save for their shouts, until they reached a point within sixty or seventy yards of the French position. Then from 200 well placed machine guns a devastating answering fire burst from our Allies' trenches, and the rifles joined in, 20,000 of them. The big guns flared and cast a lurid light over the scene.

Italy's War on Austria

Second Month Closes with Offensive Operations in Swing Against Gorizia

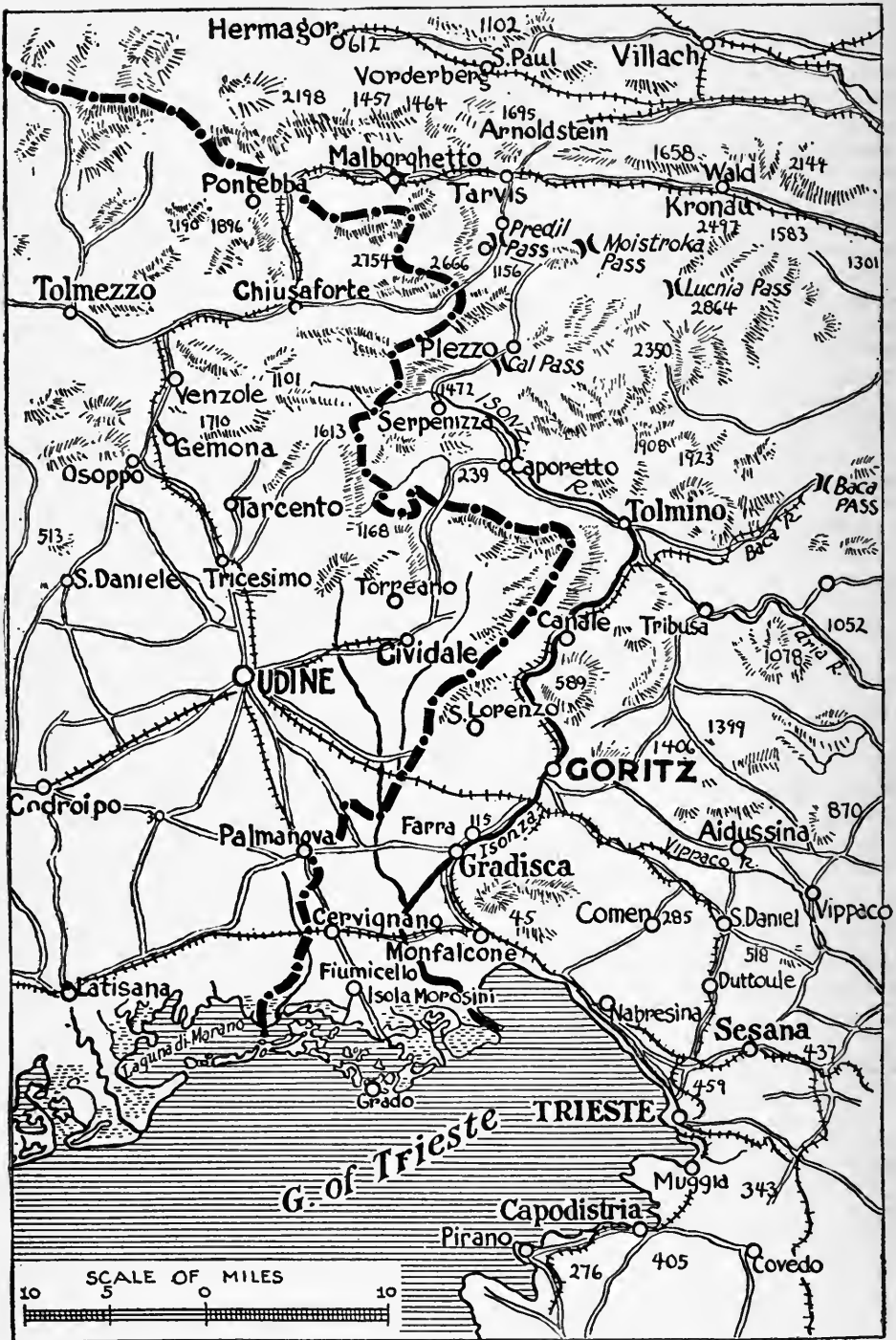
On July 23, after two months of her war against Austria, an appraisal may be taken of Italy's extensive and business-like preparation for the conflict. Rapidly the passes leading to the Trentino, Carinthia, Friuli, and the valley of the Isonzo were secured, almost overnight; and then, with the regularity of a railway time-table, the Italians began their hard, patient work, in hitherto impassable regions, of neutralizing the Trentino, so as to make impossible an invasion from that territory, and of linking up their columns along the Isonzo, so that now, at the beginning of August, a battle-front of seventy-five miles extending from Tarvis to the Adriatic, is ready to move eastward in the direction of Klagenfurt, beyond which there are no Austrian fortifications until Vienna is reached, 170 miles away—about as far as Cape Cod is from New York City. The right flank of this battle-front has been developed along the Carso plateau so as to neutralize, as the Trentino was neutralized, the Peninsula of Istria with the great commercial port of Trieste, the naval base of Pola, and the Hungarian Free City of Fiume.

THE Italian field of activity saw during the week ended July 24 the blazing out of the Italian offensive. Italy apparently was then satisfied that all the passages by means of which Austria could pour troops to attack her rear are effectively stopped and has therefore begun a determined advance along the Isonzo front from Tarvis to the Adriatic, with the object of breaking down completely Austria's first defensive screen. The battle is, as is natural, centring around Gorizia.

Once Gorizia falls, the Italian problem in so far as Trieste is concerned, will be near solution. The Italians have made notable advances in Cadore and along the Isonzo, on the plateau of Carso. But Gorizia must be taken before a decided local victory can be recorded. The fighting has not progressed as yet to the point where definite information is available, but in late July it seemed to have reached the culminating stage. The surroundings of Gorizia, which is the key to the Isonzo district and the junction of five main roads and four main railway lines, are protected with all manner of fortifications. The official report from Rome on June 25 recorded the Italian occupation of Globna, north of Plava, and of the edge of the plateau between Sagrado and Monfalcone. From that date reports from Vienna recorded continuous and heavy Italian attacks from the bridgehead at Goritz to the sea.

The correspondent of the Berliner Tageblatt at the Isonzo front reported on July 7 that the second great Italian offensive had forced its way into the Austrian line at Podzora—a height covering the bridgehead at Goritz—and at Vermeigliano, between Doberdo and Monfalcone. A Geneva dispatch, dated July 14, reported the capture by the Italians of two miles of trenches in the Carnic Alps, the Alpine troops dragging their artillery to an altitude of 6,600 feet near Roskopel, and capturing to the south of Gorizia two important forts. On July 16 a dispatch from Rome told of a war council at the front held by King Victor Emmanuel and Premier Salandra, with Count Cadorna, Chief of the General Staff, and General Porro, his chief assistant. A Vienna official dispatch of that date reported increased artillery activity in the coast district and in Carinthia. Two passes at a height of over 10,000 feet were taken by the Italians at Venerodolol and Brizio, as reported July 17, and on July 18 they began an advance in Cadore, attacking a ring of powerful forts at a great height at Paneveggio, San Pellegrino, Monet, Livinallongo, and Tresassi, while Goritz was shelled from land and air.

Then began, on July 20, a great general Italian assault on a 75-mile line from Tarvis to the Adriatic shore. A dispatch from Turin from the correspondent of The London Daily Chronicle



The Austro-Italian frontier, the scene of the fighting.

announced a victorious advance by the Italians on the Carso plateau, east of Sagrado, with the capture of 2,000 Austrian prisoners. The War Office in Rome reported on July 21 that while the Italian defense continued to develop energetically in Cadore, and the artillery was effectively working in Carnia, the struggle in the Isonzo zone continued with increasing intensity. Toward Goritz the Italians gained part of the line of the heights which form the right bank of the river commanding the town and the Isonzo bridges. On the Carso Plateau the Austrians were reported driven from some trenches, and 3,500 prisoners and much material captured. On July 22 the fall of Goritz and Tolmino was reported to be near, the War Office in Rome announcing a development of the offensive "along the whole

front from Monte Nero to the Carso Plateau. Vienna reported that the heavy attacks were being repulsed. But on July 23 the official report from Rome for the first time declared that the Italian armies in the battle along the whole Isonzo front were achieving success," which was "constantly becoming more clearly apparent." On July 24 a dispatch from Udine said that General Cadorna was personally directing the battle in the presence of King Victor Emmanuel and the Duke of Aosta. A Milan dispatch to The London Daily News on July 25 reported the evacuation of Goritz by the Austrian General Staff in view of the imminence of its fall. Below appears a prospective account of Italy's formidable task, written on July 1 by an Italian correspondent of The London Morning Post.

The Task of Italy

[By a Special Correspondent of The London Morning Post]

Cormons, July 1.

The Italian battle for the conquest of the fortified lines on the Isonzo and the entrenched camps of Gorizia is one of the most important in the European conflict. The battle of the Isonzo is not to be regarded as a mere episode, but a prolonged siege over a front of more than a hundred miles of a natural fortress, consisting of a chain of precipitous mountains. Perhaps never before in a European war has the value of individual qualities been shown so conclusively as by the Italian troops in this war. The very steep cliffs, which are almost perpendicular, along the course of the river are almost impossible to scale. The mountain passes which open along the river are very few and also narrow. In addition the geological nature of that district, composed of strong walls of granite towers, which dominate the River Isonzo, is favorable to its defence.

To this natural defense have been added strong fortifications built by the Austrians during past years in anticipation of being used for the subjugation of Italians at some time or other. Finally, during the last nine months

of Italy's neutrality the Austrians have employed the latest technical improvements in defensive warfare, and I have never seen their equal during my excursions to the front in France and Belgium, not even at Antwerp. This remark applies especially to Carso and Gorizia.

The artillery officers of the Italian Military Staff whom I met at the front have explained to me the nature of the Austrian defensive works. Upon the Carso and around Gorizia the Austrians have placed innumerable batteries of powerful guns mounted on rails and protected by armor plates. Numerous other artillery advantages are possessed by the Austrians in the form of medium and smaller guns, though the efficiency of their action is modified by the long distances separating the armies.

In view of these advantages possessed by the Austrians, the Italians have accomplished marvels and are worthy of great admiration. The infantry is much exposed while crossing large and deep rivers. With the exception of the two positions of Podgora and Sabotino, all the Austrian line on the Isonzo has been taken by the Italians.

To the conquest of Gorizia are directed the efforts of the Eastern Italian Army. The Italian infantry which crossed the Isonzo ran against a net of trenches which the Austrians had excavated and constructed in cement all along the edge of the hills which dominate the course of the river. These trenches, already occupying a position nearly impregnable because so mountainous, are defended by every modern protective device. They are armed with numerous machine-guns surrounded by wire entanglements, through which runs a strong electric current. These lines of trenches follow without interruption from the banks of the Isonzo to the summit of the mountains which dominate it. They form a kind of formidable staircase, which must be conquered step by step with enormous sacrifice. The Italian troops have accomplished this marvel.

The crossing of the Isonzo and the conquest of the first mountainous positions were accomplished by the Italians in four strategic places: At Caporetto,

at Tolurino, at Plava, and at Segrado. These four places, situated in the strong line of Austrian defense, are about twenty miles distant from one another. The chain of fortifications of which Gorizia is a center was broken in these four essential points. The immediate effect has been the disorganization of the defensive plans of the enemy. The crossing of the river was accomplished generally at night, and was conducted with a rapidity which took the enemy by surprise. Complete regiments crossed in the night upon light bridges constructed in a short time by the engineers, whose technical skill was equal to their audacity. These "bridge-heads," which were constructed with incredible courage, made possible an attack by the reinforcements which followed them. When these came in contact with the lower lines of the Austrian trenches they attacked the defenders in such a way that the latter were unable to impede seriously the more important work of the construction of strong bridges.

Two Devoted Nations

By MAURICE MAETERLINCK

The subjoined letter, dedicated by the Belgian writer to stricken Poland, was received on July 12, 1915, by the Polish Relief Committee of New York, of which Mme. Marcella Sembrich is President.

In the Name of Belgium I Bring the Homage of a Martyred Nation to the Nation Crucified:

Of all the people engaged in this frightful war, Poland and Belgium will have suffered most, and we must add (though all the horrors of war are most revolting) they will have suffered most innocently. They are two victims of their innocence and grandeur of soul.

In misfortune and in glory their fates are the same. One, in sacrificing herself wholly to a cult, to an unparalleled passion for honor, has by breaking the first blow of barbarous invasion probably saved Europe, just as the other, the older sister, in grief and heroism several centuries ago saved Europe many times.

They are now joined forever in the memory of men. Across the combats and the sorrows which they are now enduring their hands meet in the same sacrifice, in the same invincible hope. To-day these countries are but ruins. Nothing remains of them. They appear to be dead. But we, who are their sons and who know them as we know our mother, we know, we feel in our hearts, that they were never more alive, never purer, never more beautiful.

After having offered to the world a great example of pride, of abnegation, of heroism, they are again giving to it a deeper lesson, a more valuable, a more efficacious one. They are proving that no misfortune counts, that nothing is lost while the soul does not abdicate. The powers of darkness will never prevail against the forces of light and love that are leading humanity towards the heights which victory is already making clear to us on the horizon.

Rumania, Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece

Comment About Continued Neutrality from the Balkan and Russian Capitals

AN elaborate argument that Italy is about to co-operate with the Allies at the Dardanelles in order to influence Greece and the Balkan States generally to intervene against the Germanic Powers appeared in *The Frankfurter Zeitung* near the close of June. A dispatch from Bucharest on July 12 announced that Austria had made concessions to Rumania in the hope of averting intervention by that Power, accompanying the offer with an ultimatum setting a month for Rumania's reply. The German Social-Democratic paper *Vorwaerts* published on July 17 a statement that Rumania had definitely refused to permit German arms and ammunition to traverse her territory to Turkey. This shows a distinct turning away from the German propaganda in that kingdom, which on May 26 spoke through the editorial columns of *Moldova*, a daily of Bucharest, as follows:

We must tread in the path opened to us by the late King Carol and the great Rumanian statesmen. We must always be attached to the Central European Powers, from which we shall secure the fulfilment of our aspirations, on that day when we shall move against Russia.

From *Lupte*, a Nationalist daily of Bucharest, a definite declaration of the kingdom's policy was demanded on June 4:

The smaller a nation is the more dangerous to her existence are diplomatic intrigues. Mr. Bratiano's Government has for the past eight months been coquetting with Petrograd as well as with Berlin and Vienna. With which side are we in this war? The two belligerent groups are asking this and the same question is asked of Bulgaria and Greece. We must have a sound national policy, for in this most modern war there is no profit in the old Machiavellian tactics.

That a crisis is approaching in Balkan affairs is clearly indicated in an

editorial warning headed "Beware, ye Balkan Peoples!" appearing on May 29 in *Dnevnik*, an independent Bulgarian daily of Sofia. It says:

The lust of Europe for territorial aggrandizement becomes every day more pronounced. From a struggle for self-defense this has become a war of conquest. Germany has appropriated Belgium, Russia fights for the Bosphorus and Constantinople, Italy has almost taken Albania—with the approval of Austria, as we have discovered. The westernmost edge of the Balkan Peninsula has fallen; tomorrow the easternmost extremity will fall, together with Constantinople. Will the European Powers then spare us? . . . What the United States of America did for the preservation of their independence against foreign conquest we Balkan peoples must do unless we would see our doom sealed.

"The Dangers of a Neutral Policy" is the theme of *Mir*, the organ of the Bulgarian Nationalist Party of Sofia, which on May 29 said: "If Bulgaria remains neutral to the end of the war, she runs the risk of being condemned to live forever within the narrow limits she has today, hemmed in on every side. The duty of the Balkan States is to act in a war which will solve all pending political and national problems."

Serbia's jealousy of Italy, despite that nation's late adhesion to the Allies, was voiced on May 25 by *Politika*, a Nationalist daily of Belgrade, which accuses Italy of trying to profit at Serbia's expense. The Entente Powers must pay for Italian aid, this paper says; and Italy may be "satisfied with Savoy, Corsica, Malta, Tunis, Algiers, Asia Minor, or Egypt."

The Ottoman Empire being under martial law, comment by the Turkish papers regarding military and political events is restricted by the Government. But Enver Pasha, the all-powerful young Turk leader, and his colleague for the Interior, Talaat Bey, early in May

Balkan Newspapers

17 DECEMBER 1934

НАРОДНИ ПРАВА

органъ на Либералната парти

ИЗДАВА СЕ ПЕТИ ПЪТЪТ

ПРЕДПЛАТНИ ЦЕНИ: ПОСРЕДНО ПОЩАТА

СЪСТАВЪ: Д-Р Б. РАДОСЛАВОВ, Д-Р В. ВЕНЕЦОВ, Д-Р П. ВЕЛИЧКОВ, Д-Р П. РАДИСЛОВ

РЕДАКТОР: Д-Р В. ВЕНЕЦОВ

УРЕДИТЕЛ: Д-Р П. РАДИСЛОВ

ОБЯВЛЕНИЯ

ВЪВЕЖДЕНО ОТ Д-Р П. РАДИСЛОВ

ПРЕДПЛАТНИ ЦЕНИ: ПОСРЕДНО ПОЩАТА

СЪСТАВЪ: Д-Р Б. РАДОСЛАВОВ, Д-Р В. ВЕНЕЦОВ, Д-Р П. ВЕЛИЧКОВ, Д-Р П. РАДИСЛОВ

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17 DECEMBER 1934

ПОЛИТИКА

НАШ ГРЕХ.

КРАЙ МОСТА.

ИЗДАВА СЕ ПЕТИ ПЪТЪТ

ПРЕДПЛАТНИ ЦЕНИ: ПОСРЕДНО ПОЩАТА

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УРЕДИТЕЛ: Д-Р П. РАДИСЛОВ

17 DECEMBER 1934

ДИМИНЕАТА

Пенру intrarea în acțiune

Marele meeting național de Duminică 14 Iunie

ИЗДАВА СЕ ПЕТИ ПЪТЪТ

ПРЕДПЛАТНИ ЦЕНИ: ПОСРЕДНО ПОЩАТА

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РЕДАКТОР: Д-Р В. ВЕНЕЦОВ

УРЕДИТЕЛ: Д-Р П. РАДИСЛОВ

In left upper corner, the Bulgarian daily Narodni Prava (National Rights) of Sofia, semi-official organ of the Bulgarian Government of Dr. B. Radoslavov; upper right, the Athenian daily Athina (Athens), representing the extreme anti-Venizelists; at lower right, the daily Politika (Politics), an independent paper of Belgrade, Serbia; lower left, the Bucharest (Romania) daily Dimineata (Morning), an interventionist paper, and, at center, the Constanti-nople Khavarr (Star), a Pan-Islamist daily.

gave an interview printed in the Vienna *Neue Freie Presse*. Enver Pasha predicts the collapse of the Allied campaign on the Gallipoli Peninsula, where the French and British hold a small corner against overwhelming odds. "The bringing thither of provisions is extremely difficult," he says, and "even the drinking water for the troops must be brought from the ships." Both he and Talaat Bey report the morale of the Turkish troops to be excellent, "as many of the older officers have been replaced by energetic young men."

Greece is in suspense. The *Kairoi*, an independent daily of Athens, said on June 22 that, while Greece does not forget her debt to the three protective powers, France, England, and Russia, she must nevertheless weigh the promise of Germany to give full protection to Greek interests in the event of her continued neutrality. "Just how Germany keeps her promises," this paper says, is "shown by Cavalla, the Macedonian city allotted to Greece after the second Balkan war at the express instance of the Kaiser;" and it notes that the Entente Powers are now eager to cede this territory to Bulgaria. The *Embros*, an independent daily of Athens, prophesied on June 22:

We can afford to follow events with growing solicitude and remain neutral as long as we may. Whether or not we maintain this neutrality to the end our action can change neither the fortunes of Greece nor the position of other Powers. It is to be presumed that the power driving this giant conflict to the conclusion has more remote motives and that to all appearance, the war will end without any of the participants suffering a crushing defeat.

While Russian aspirations are generally considered to be in harmony with those of the Balkan kingdoms, the following extracts from Russian papers representing varying shades of Muscovite opinion show now an unfavorable or critical attitude. Thus the foremost organ of the Pan Slavist Party, the Russian weekly *Slavianski Izvestija*, April No. 8, disapproved the Bulgarian plea to give Thrace and Adrianople through

Russian influence. Of the Macedonian question this paper said:

Bulgarians expect that Russia will get for them Macedonia Thrace, and Dobrudja, to reward their honest labors. Alas, they must learn that not every day, but every hour, Macedonia is receding from their grasp. For Russia the Macedonian question hardly exists. If Macedonia finds it hard to be under heroic and benevolent Serbia, what would become of her on the day when she should fall into the hands of Bulgaria? And should we Russians, in order to assure Macedonia such a future, grieve now our dear ally Serbia?

The semi-official *Novoye Vremya* of Petrograd comment on May 27, on the statement of the Bulgarian Premier Radoslavoff published in Vienna, that Bulgaria cannot engage to intervene without a formal treaty, a policy, it believes, that says but one thing, namely: "You Russians tricked us Bulgarians once; you shall not trick us again." This attitude of Bulgaria shows, the *Novoye Vremya* thinks, "how thick-headed and insensate its people are." The *Birjevaja Viedomosti*, a standpat Russian daily of Petrograd, on May 23 warned Serbia that, whereas the war began in her behalf and on her account rivers of blood are flowing, her complaints of the allotment of Dalmatia to Italy should not "assert principles which have nothing to do with actualities." The same newspaper says of the whole Balkan situation:

The German policy of von Buelow, having failed in Rome, is courting failure in Bucharest. In fact, all the German promises to Rumania seem to go no further than sharpening the Rumanian appetite for Russian Bessarabia, while holding out as a last bait the cession of a small parcel of Bukovina—supposing the Hungarians never consent to yielding Transylvania to Rumania.

On the other hand, Germany promises Bulgaria the Turkish province of Thrace and Serbian and Greek Macedonia; but these compensations have as much value as the cessions of Corsica and Nice and Tunis in the early days of the war.

But Germany cannot give to Bulgaria Serbian Macedonia so long as the Austrian armies are not masters of the whole of Serbia; she cannot give her Thrace because Turkey objects to such

cession, and Turkey is her ally; and, finally, she cannot urge Greece too closely to cede Cavalla to Bulgaria, because such a pressure may bring a contrary result, i.e. make Greece to declare herself openly an ally of the Entente. Therefore both Bulgaria and Rumania must perforce side with the great European Alliance. Had Italy remained neutral matters would be differ-

ent, but as it is now Bulgars and Rumanians, and the Balkan peoples in general, have to fight with us, unless they want the diplomacy of the Entente to disappoint utterly the evergrowing appetite of these small nationalities. . . .

It will be noted that all the opinions quoted concerning the Balkans relate to the division of territory as the price of neutrality or intervention.

Dr. Conybeare's Recantation

By SIR WALTER RALEIGH

To the Editor of the [London] Times:

Sir,—During a recent visit to America I saw Dr. Conybeare's letter in a paper called the *Vital Issue*. All who know Dr. Conybeare know him to be honest and frank, and to be very deeply distressed by the sufferings and cruelties of the war. After my return, I wrote to him, pointing out that his letter is being widely circulated in America, and that the material points in his accusation of Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Asquith have been answered. I enclose Dr. Conybeare's reply, for which he desires the fullest publicity.

Yours faithfully,

WALTER RALEIGH.

The Hangings, Ferry Hinksey, near Oxford, July 1, 1915.

Banbury-road, Oxford, June 30.

Dear Sir Walter Raleigh,—During the past week I have been studying afresh the published records of the diplomatic transactions of last July, and on my return to Oxford I find your kind letter, and therefore take the liberty of addressing this to yourself. My new study has forced upon me the conviction that in my letter to a friend residing in America, which, against my wishes and injunctions, was published there, apart from the deplorable tone of my allusions to Sir E. Grey and Mr. Asquith, I was quite wrong in imputing the motives which I did, especially to the former. It does appear to me, as I read these dispatches over again, that Sir Edward throughout had in view the peace of Europe, and that I ought to have set down to the awful contingencies with which he was faced many passages which I was guilty of grossly misinterpreting. I was too ready to forget that in the years of the Balkan wars it was after all he alone who, by his patient and conciliatory treatment of the situation, held in check the antagonistic forces which last July he was ultimately unable to control. I was too ready to ascribe to want of good will on his part results which harsh necessity entailed on him; and I deeply regret that I mistook his aims and, in my endeavour to be fair to the enemy, was grossly unjust to him. I am only anxious to undo, if it be still possible, some of the harm which my hasty judgment and intemperate language has caused.

If you think it would do any good to print this, I beg you to send it to *The Times* and *Morning Post*, whose remarks led me to go back once more to the documentary sources. Second thoughts are best, and if I had only kept my American letter till the morning for revision, I should first have struck out all the vituperation and all the imputation of motives, and have ended by never sending it at all.

I remain yours very sincerely,

FRED. C. CONYBEARE.

The Case of Muentner

Attack on Mr. Morgan's Life and the Setting of Fire-Bombs on Ships

THAT a group of bankers in New York City, headed by J. P. Morgan & Company, was negotiating with the British Treasury authorities for the flotation in the United States of \$100,000,000 of the new British war loan was announced in the newspapers on July 3, 1915. Mr. Morgan's firm had handled contracts to furnish war munitions to the Allies, amounting to \$500,000,000, and this had been widely published. On the morning of July 3 J. P. Morgan was attacked and wounded with a revolver at his country estate on East Island, near Glen Cove, Long Island, by Erich Muentner, alias Frank Holt. Holt was an Instructor in German at Cornell University; Muentner was a Harvard instructor for whom the police had been seeking since the spring of 1906 on a charge of murdering his wife. After his suicide in jail on July 6, Professor C. N. Gould, of the University of Chicago, and Professor Hugo Muensterberg, of Harvard, among others, identified Holt and Muentner as the same person.

Muentner's insane attack on Mr. Morgan, because he had failed to "use his influence to prevent the exportation of arms and ammunition," followed the wrecking of the United States Senate reception room in the Capitol at Washington on July 2 by the explosion of an infernal machine set by Muentner. On July 6 a trunk owned by Muentner containing twenty pounds of explosives was found in New York. During his stay in jail Muentner wrote to his wife that two ships were to sink at sea on July 7, if his calculations went right, naming the Philadelphia and the Saxonia. The ships were duly warned by wireless, but no bombs were found aboard them, nor were any confederates of Muentner discovered. On July 7 the

steamship Minnehaha reported by wireless a "fire caused by explosion" under control.

Incendiary bombs had been discovered aboard four freight steamships sailing from New York for Havre in April and May. On July 12 Secretary of the Navy Daniels, acting on advices received from The New Orleans Picayune, directed the naval radio station at Arlington, Virginia, to flash a warning to all ships at sea to be on the lookout for bombs supposed to have been placed on board certain vessels, and warning particularly the steamers Howth Head and Baron Napier that information had come to the Navy Department that explosive bombs might have been placed on those two vessels. All ships were requested to try to communicate with the Howth Head and the Baron Napier. On July 11 a written threat to assassinate J. P. Morgan, Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, the British Ambassador, and destroy by bombs British ships clearing from American ports, thus carrying out some of the plans of Erich Muentner, was reported in a letter signed "Pearce," who styled himself a partner and intimate associate of Muentner. This letter was received by The New Orleans Times-Picayune.

Two more "Pearce" letters were received on July 13 by an afternoon newspaper of New Orleans and by its Chief of Police, saying that Erich Muentner had taught the writer the use of explosives. On the same day the Samland of the Atlantic Transport Line and the Strathlay, chartered by the Fabre Line, survived attempts to destroy them by fire bombs, and on July 15 "Pearce" threatened in another letter to destroy the Rochambeau. A bomb thought to be intended for the Orduna in a car loaded with coal consigned to the Cunard Line was discovered at Mor-

risville, N. J., on July 18. The Washington Times, the Philadelphia Public-Ledger and the Brooklyn Eagle received on July 16, 19 and 20, respectively, letters from "Pearce" declaring that henceforth persons leaving America on British ships would do so at their peril, and harking back to the German Embassy's warning before the Lusitania was torpedoed. On July 26 an S O S call was received at the Fire Island station, at the Brooklyn Navy Yard, and by the coast guard ship Mohawk, but the distressed ship's appeal for help was broken off before her name or position could be given. "Pearce's" letter to The Brooklyn Eagle reads as follows:

"Sir: You people of Brooklyn have already had one experience with the work of our men, and so, perhaps, it will be unnecessary to say more than a few words of warning. The Kirkoswald affair is still fresh in your memory; therefore, we will not waste words discussing this matter. The purpose of this communication is to warn the American citizens living in your vicinity to keep clear of British vessels sailing from Brooklyn, New York, New Orleans, Savannah, Newport News, and Montreal. Our men are now operating from each of these ports, and Americans will do well to heed this warning ere it is too late.

"The Imperial German Government derives no satisfaction or profit from the killing of neutral Americans, and we are instructed to go to great lengths in order to give timely warnings to all Americans who contemplate voyages to Europe within the next two months. The explosive operations will supplement the submarine operations, which have proved inadequate to prevent the enemy from importing munitions from America.

"We earnestly advise Americans who find it imperative to travel to Europe to sail only on vessels flying the American flag. Such steamers as those of the American Line, for instance, will be perfectly immune from either submarine or explosive operation. The Imperial German Government will, if requested, offer no objection to the American Government pressing into service the interned German vessels if the American vessels are found to be unable to accommodate the traffic to Europe. By publishing this warning American lives may be spared.

"The circumstances under which this communication is written make it impossible for us to affix our proper signatures; therefore, we trust that you will accept for a signature our pen name.

"PEARCE."

Devotion to the Kaiser

The annual general conference of the clergy of the North German Lutheran Churches met in Berlin during the week of June 24, 1915, and sent the following "telegram of devotion" to the Kaiser:

"Your Imperial and Royal Majesty will most graciously deign to accept this most humble blessing and the assurance of true German devotion from the preachers of the North German Evangelical Conference assembled in conference. We raise our eyes with respect and love to your Majesty, the powerful and purposeful leader of the German nation. We are filled with the consciousness that the sources of German power are unconquerable, not only because of the complete union of the German princes and peoples, but because of the unexampled spirit of sacrifice which animates rich and poor alike, and, before all else, because we are a praying nation.

"However great the pressure of our enemies may be on our victorious armies, the army of those who are praying at home will wrestle all the more earnestly in prayer, praying before God's throne for victory."

Scientists and the Military

Movement in Great Britain and the United States to Consult Civilian Experts

EARLY in June, H. G. Wells, the "novelist of science," wrote to the London Times a letter urging the necessity of mobilizing Great Britain's scientific and inventive forces for the war. On June 22 The London Times printed a second letter from Mr. Wells proposing the establishment of a bureau for inventors—"a small department collateral rather than subordinate to the War Office and Admiralty." At the annual meeting in London of the British Science Guild on July 1, eminent scientists and chemists, Sir William Mather, Sir William Ramsay, Sir Boverton Redwood, Sir Philip Magnus, Professor Petry, Sir Ronald Ross, Sir Archibald Geikie and Sir Alexander Pedler, condemned the attitude adopted by the British Government toward science in connection with the war, and demanded that in future greater use should be made of the opportunities afforded by scientific knowledge in the prosecution of the struggle. A letter conveying this opinion was sent by these scientists to Prime Minister Asquith. On July 18 it was announced in London that a number of eminent scientists and inventors had been appointed to assist Admiral Lord Fisher, as Chairman of the Invention Board, to coordinate and encourage scientific work in relation to the requirements of the British navy. Lord Bryce was said to be instrumental in this undertaking.

In the United States a similar movement was in progress. THE NEW YORK TIMES published on May 30 an interview with Thomas A. Edison declaring that in its preparations for war the American Government should "maintain

a great research laboratory, jointly under military and naval and civilian control." In this could be developed the "continually increasing possibilities of great guns, the minutiae of new explosives, all the technique of military and naval progression, without any vast expense." If any foreign power should seriously consider an attack upon this country "a hundred men of special training quickly would be at work here upon new means of repelling the invaders," Mr. Edison said; "I would be at it, myself."

Secretary of the Navy Daniels thereupon wrote to Mr. Edison a congratulatory letter, saying: "I think your ideas and mine coincide if an interview with you recently published in THE NEW YORK TIMES was correct." He added:

One of the imperative needs of the navy, in my judgment, is machinery and facilities for utilizing the natural inventive genius of Americans to meet the new conditions of warfare as shown abroad, and it is my intention if a practical way can be worked out, as I think it can be, to establish at the earliest moment a department of invention and development, to which all ideas and suggestions, either from the service or from civilian inventors, can be referred for determination as to whether they contain practical suggestions for us to take up and perfect. . . .

What I want to ask is if you would be willing, as a service to your country, to act as an adviser to this board, to take such things as seem to you to be of value, but which we are not, at present, equipped to investigate, and to use your own magnificent facilities in such investigation if you feel it worth while.

The consequence was Mr. Edison's appointment to head an advisory board of civilian inventors and engineers for a Bureau of Invention and Development created in the Navy Department. After a conference with Mr. Edison Secretary Daniels on July 19 wrote to eight leading scientific societies asking each of them to select two members to serve on

the Naval Advisory Committee, and as a first fruit of the movement it was announced on July 23 that at the request of Mr. Edison, the American Society of Aeronautic Engineers had been formed

with Henry A. Wise Wood as President and Orville Wright, Glenn H. Curtiss, W. Starling Burgess, Peter Cooper Hewitt, Elmer A. Sperry and John Hays Hammond, Jr., as Vice-presidents.

Hudson Maxim on Explosives

THE NEW YORK TIMES on July 11 printed an interview with Hudson Maxim, the inventor of explosives, in which Mr. Maxim said:

Modern war is a warfare of explosives. The highly developed methods of defense, designed especially against explosives, are practically proof against everything but them.

Attacking forces must disembarrow the defending forces; they must be blasted out of the ground. This warfare amounts, literally, to that. It is as if boys hunted woodchucks with dynamite.

Each of the hard-won successes of the war has been a victory for well-placed high explosives. In the last fight around Przemysl the Germans fired in one hour, from field guns, 200,000 shells carrying high explosives.

Reports indicate that the result of this was literally unprecedented. It actually changed the topography of the country. Valleys were dug and hills razed.

Recently Lloyd George used an expressive phrase. "The trenches," he said, "were sprayed with exploding shells."

Such "spraying" only could be possible through the use of an incredible number of explosive projectiles.

America's plants for the production of explosives, cartridges, shrapnel, and rifles have so increased their capacity that we have today ten times the capacity which we had at the time of the war's outbreak, and, for certain things, the increase has been even greater. By the middle of next winter our capacity will be thirtyfold what it was at the beginning of the war.

Thus the fighting among other nations has done much toward preparing

us for war, and, therefore, much toward insuring international peace for us, but even our tremendous contribution to the supplies of the Allies amounts to only about 2 per cent. of what they are consuming, and the war has not been running a year.

This indicates that if we should suddenly be involved in warfare with a great power we should be whipped unless we devised means for the increase of our productivity of war supplies, especially explosives and all ammunition materials, by a hundredfold.

The consumption of war material has been unprecedented, and this indicates what may be expected in future wars. In trench fighting, for example, it is estimated that four times as many rifles as men are required. The fighting man must have two because one quickly gets hot and becomes unusable; he must have a third so that he may still have two if one is hit by the return fire or otherwise rendered inefficient; he must have the fourth so that at least one of his weapons may be in the arms hospital undergoing repairs if necessary, and be ready for him in case one of his others is demolished. This development of modern warfare means that a million modern soldiers need four million modern rifles.

This indicates the enormous necessities which would devolve upon this country in case we were forced into a war. During the past week I have received a cable from an old friend in England who has been selling war munitions to the Allies. He asked me how quickly I could get a million rifles made in the United States. The best bids I have been able to obtain have guaranteed a first delivery at the end of one

year and final deliveries at the end of three years.

One of the chief developments in the matter of explosives has been the fact that the United States has found it possible to teach Europe much during this war in regard to smokeless powder. Several years ago the du Pont Powder Company developed a smokeless rifle powder which permits the firing of more than 20,000 rounds from an ordinary army rifle without destroying its accuracy.

When the du Ponts developed their new rifle powder the best European powder destroyed the rifling and accuracy of the gun at about 3,000 rounds. This American invention, therefore, has increased the life of military rifles by sevenfold. Say that an equipment of military rifles cost at the rate of, say, \$20, each, and we will find that this means a saving of, roughly, \$100,000,000 in the equipment of a million men with one rifle each, and, as they need four rifles each, it means a saving of \$400,000,000.

American smokeless powder for cannon also has its advantages. It erodes

the guns much less than any European powder except, possibly, that of the Germans. They have a pure nitro-cellulose powder somewhat similar in quality to that of the United States, but ours has an advantage in being multi-perforated, whereby a higher velocity is insured at a lower pressure with, in consequence, a lessened erosive effect upon the guns.

In the early nineties I made the discovery that tri-nitro-cellulose, when combined with pyro-nitro-cellulose, could be much more readily gelatinated and made an excellent smokeless powder, while powder made from pure nitro-cellulose would warp and crack all to pieces in drying. The present German powder is made from such a compound of tri-nitro-cellulose and soluble nitro-cellulose.

Nevertheless, this compound is a makeshift as compared with the nitro-cellulose used by this Government. Ours is a far better explosive, and is less erosive on the guns, because the gases which it generates are not so hot. We have the best smokeless powder in the world, and, after this war is over, our powder will be universally used.

Thor!

By BEATRICE BARRY

I am the God of War—yea, God of
Battle am I,

And the evil men speak about me has
moved me to fierce reply.

Does not the surgeon's knife
Torture—to save a life?

So, for the life of nations, men learn
to fight and die—

Even die!

Craven through love or fear do the
weak of the earth await me

Tensely, with bated breath—yea, teach-
ing their sons to hate me.

Lured by my rolling drum,
Nevertheless they come

Proudly, their youth and manhood offer-
ing up to sate me!

You who would grudge me aught but
harvest of woe and shame—

Answer me, you who hate me, cursing
my very name—

When was a serf made free,
Save and alone through me?

When was a tyrant vanquished, save
through my purging flame?

After an age of peace do your sons wax
soft, their weakness

Shown in a love of ease, of sensuous-
ness, and sleekness;

Then, lest a nation die,
Loud rings my battle-cry!

Lo, they forsake snug warmth for deso-
late cold and bleakness!

I am the God of War—yea, God of Bat-
tle am I,

And the bolts of my savage anger I hurl
from a threatening sky.

Speak of me as you will,
Swift though I be to kill,

I have made men of weaklings—I teach
men how to die—

Even I!

"I am the Gravest Danger"

By George Bernard Shaw

In a cablegram to THE NEW YORK TIMES, dated July 17, 1915, it is reported that an article by George Bernard Shaw in The New Statesman begins with a review of Professor Gilbert Murray's book, "The Foreign Policy of Sir Edward Grey," and ends with the following characteristic reference to himself:

"Like other Socialists, I have been too much preoccupied with the atrocities of peace and the problems they raise to pay due attention to the atrocities of war, but I have not been unconscious of the European question and I have made a few shots at solutions from time to time. None of these have been received with the smallest approval, but at least I may be permitted to point out that they have all come out right.

"I steadily ridiculed anti-armament agitation, and urged that our armaments should be doubled, trebled, quadrupled, as they might have been without costing the country one farthing that we were not wasting in the most mischievous manner.

"I said that the only policy which would secure the peace of Europe was a policy of using powerful armament to guarantee France against Germany and Germany against Russia, aiming finally at a great peace insurance league of the whole northwest of Europe with the United States of America in defense of Western democratic civilization against the menace of the East and possible crusades from primitive black Christians in Africa.

"When the war broke out I said some more things which were frantically contradicted and which have all turned out to be precisely true. I set the example of sharp criticism of the Government and the War Office, which was denounced as treasonable and which now proves to be the only way of saving our army from annihilation, the Government having meanwhile collapsed and vanished, as every ordinarily self-possessed person foresaw that it must.

"One fact seems established by this beyond doubt; to wit, that I am the gravest public danger that confronts England, because I have the strange power of turning the nation passionately away from the truth by the simple act of uttering it. The necessity for contradicting me, for charging heroically in the opposite direction to that pointed out by me, is part of the delirium of war fever.

"Sir Edward Grey, on the other hand, is spoken well of by all men, but he, too, is the victim of a mysterious fate. He is, as Professor Murray has repeatedly testified, the most truthful of men, yet he never opens his mouth without deceiving us. He is the most loyal of simple, manly souls, yet he is accused of betraying every country and every diplomatist who trusted him. He is the kindest of men, and yet he has implicated us in the tortures of Denshawai and brought upon us the slaughters of Armageddon.

"Clearly, there are two men in England who must be sent into permanent retirement. Depend on it, there is something fundamentally wrong with them. It is a pity, for they are stuffed with the rarest of virtues—though I say it, who should not. One of them is Sir Edward Grey and the other is G. B. S."

THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[American Cartoon]

The Postscript



—From *The Tribune*, New York.

The Paper Blockade



—From *Lustige Blaetter*, Berlin.

“Look out there, mate; don’t puff so hard, or you’ll smash up Churchill’s blockade!”

Donnerwetter!



—From *The World*, New York.

Germany Dishonored: None Drowned.

The Powder Chest



—From *Lustige Blätter*, Berlin

John Bull: “Don’t be afraid, Mister Moneymaker. There’s no safer way to travel to Europe than on my peaceful vessel!”

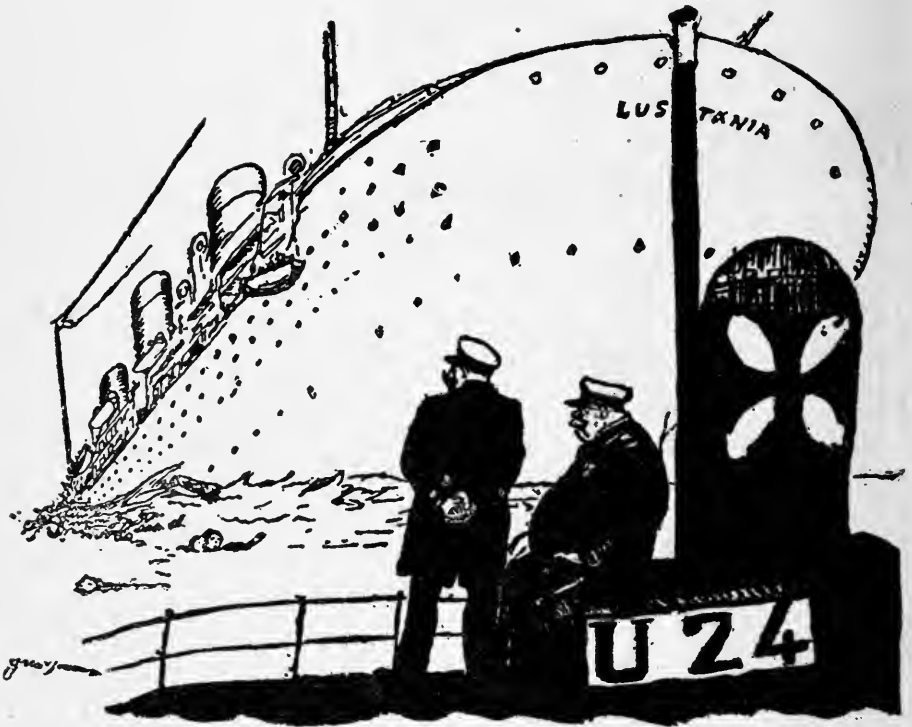
In the Eastern Arena



—From Punch, London.

It was the policy of the *retiarius* to retreat in order to gather his net together for a fresh cast.

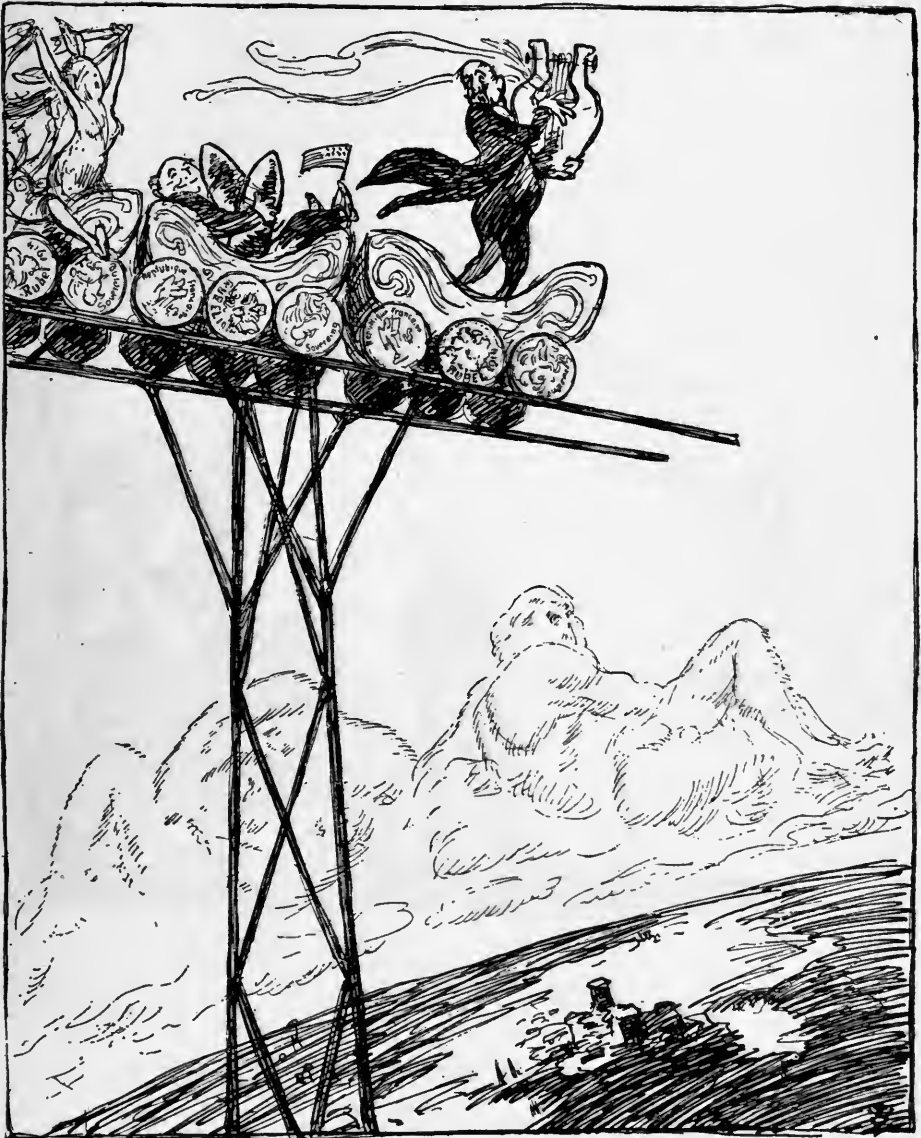
Circumstances Alter Cases



—From *La Revue Hebdomadaire*, Paris.

When Wilson's daughter is aboard one of these days it won't be a laughing matter.

A Risky Road



—From *Jugend*, Munich.

Destruction awaits them even though the wheels are made of dollars.

Sherman Was Right!

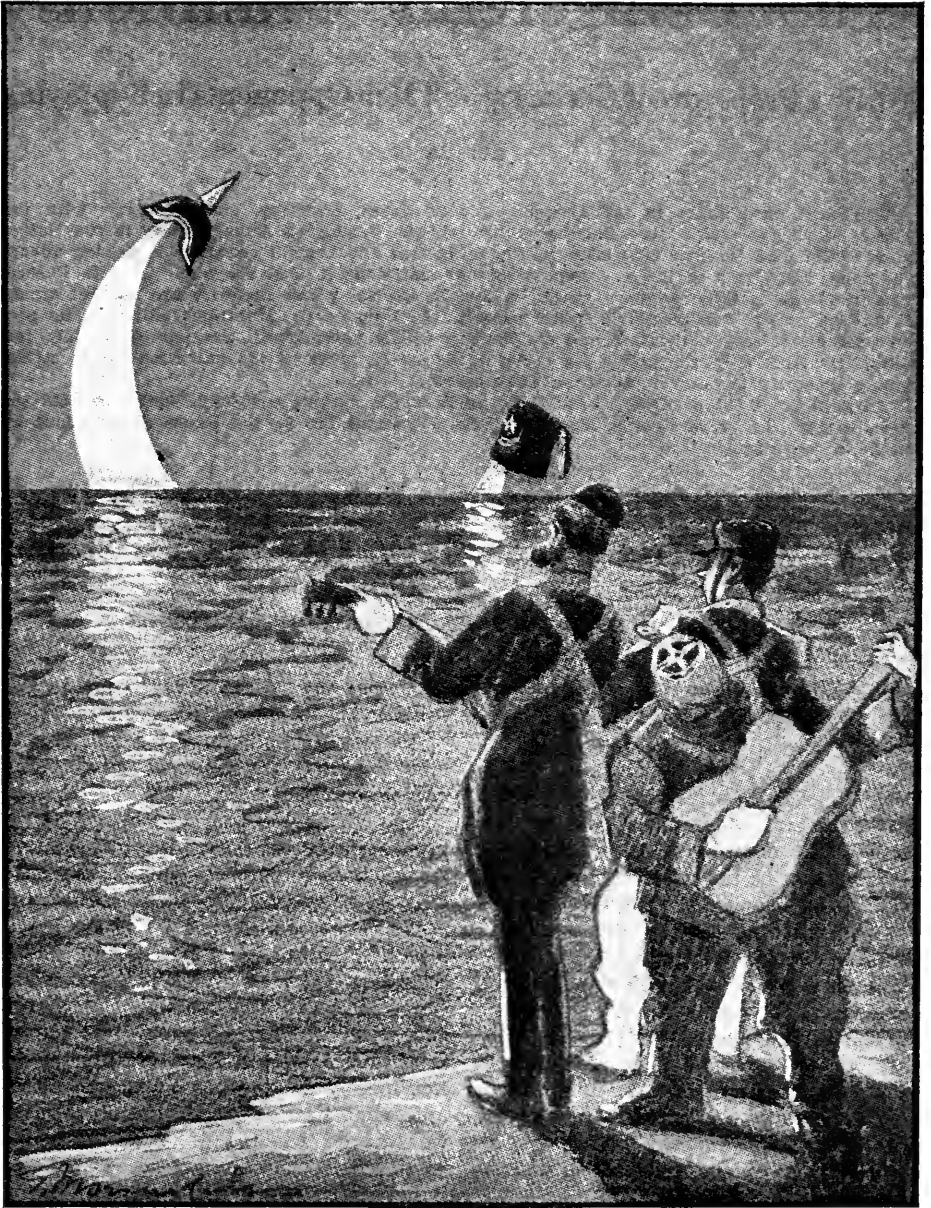


—From *The Sun*, New York.

“Close up these factories! Be neutral!”

[Italian Cartoon]

On the Bosphorus



—From *Numero*, Turin.

The last serenade.

The Belligerents' Munitions

Growing Problems of Germany and Her Opponents in Supplying Arms

The threatened strike in the Krupp works at Essen, Germany, simultaneously with the strike of the Welsh coal miners and the walk-out in the Remington Arms Factory in the United States, would tend to show that labor in the belligerent and neutral countries is seeking advantages under the strain of the enormous output of munitions to feed the war. Only in France, whose people are making supreme sacrifices, and in Russia, whose factories are not yet organized for the nation, does industrial peace prevail. In England the Munitions bill, with its proposals for compulsory arbitration and for limiting profits unweakened, was passed on July 1st. The bill retained, also, the power for the Government to proclaim the extension of its strike-stopping authority to other trades than the munitions trades.

An account of the conditions relating to labor in the various countries, beginning with the speech, in part, of Lloyd George, introducing the Munitions bill in the House of Commons on June 20, appears below.

A Volunteer Army of Workers

By Lloyd George, British Minister of Munitions

Addressing the House of Commons on June 20, 1915, Mr. Lloyd George said, in part:

WHAT I want to impress not merely upon the House but on the country is that the duration of the war, the toll of life and limb levied by the war, the amount of exhaustion caused by the war, the economic and financial effect—and in order to understand the whole depth and meaning of the problem with which we are confronted I would state the ultimate victory or defeat in this war—depend on the supply of munitions which the rival countries can produce to equip their armies in the field. That is the cardinal fact of the military situation in this war. (Cheers.)

I heard the other day on very good authority—and this will give the House an idea of the tremendous preparations made by the enemy for this war and of the expansion which has taken place even since the war—that the Central European Powers are turning out 250,000

shells per day. That is very nearly eight million shells per month. The problem of victory for us is how to equal, how to surpass, that tremendous production. (Hear, hear.)

The Central European Powers have probably attained something like the limits of their possible output. We have only just crossed the threshold of our possibilities. In France I had the privilege of meeting M. Thomas, the Under Secretary for War, a man to whose great organizing capacity a good deal of the success of the French provisions of war is attributable, and I am very reassured not merely as to what France is doing and what France can do but as to what we can do when I take into account what France has already accomplished.

Let us see the position France is in. Her most important industrial provinces were in the hands of the enemy. Seventy per cent. of her steel production was in the hands of the enemy. She had mobilized an enormous army and therefore had withdrawn a very considerable proportion of her population from industry.

She is not at best as great an industrial country as we are. She is much of an agricultural and pastoral country. It is true that we have certain disadvantages compared with France, and they are important. She has not the same gigantic Navy to draw upon the engineering establishments of the country. That makes a very great difference. She has more complete command over her labor. That makes an enormous difference, not merely in the mobility of labor and the readiness with which she can transfer that labor from one center to another, but in the discipline which obtains in the workshops. She has another advantage with her arsenals, which at the outbreak of war corresponded to the magnitude of her Army—a huge Army. We had a small Army to provide for. She, in addition to that, had undoubtedly a very great trade with other countries in the production of munitions of war. These are the advantages and disadvantages. Still, knowing these things and taking them all into account, the surplus of our engineering resources available for the materials of war is undoubtedly greater than that of France, and if we produce these things within the next few months as much as they are likely to produce the Allies would not merely equal the production of the Central Powers, but they would have an overwhelming superiority over the enemy in the material essential to victory. That is the first great fact I would like to get into the minds of all those who can render assistance to the country.

Germany has achieved a temporary preponderance of material. She has done it in two ways. She accumulated great stores before the war. She has mobilized the whole of her industries after the war, having no doubt taken steps before the war to be ready for the mobilization of the workshops immediately after war was declared. Her preponderance in two or three directions is very notable. I mention this because it is essential they should be understood in inviting the assistance of the community to enable us to compete with this formidable enemy. The superiority of the Germans in ma-

terial was most marked in their heavy guns, their high explosive shells, their rifles, and perhaps most of all their machine-guns. These have turned out to be about the most formidable weapons in the war. They have almost superseded the rifle and rendered it unnecessary.

The machinery for rifles and machine-guns takes eight and nine months to construct before you begin to turn a single rifle or machine-gun. The Germans have undoubtedly anticipated the character of the war in the way no other Power has done. They realized it was going to be a great trench war. They had procured an adequate supply of machinery applicable to those conditions. The professional man was essentially a very conservative one—(hear, hear)—and there are competent soldiers who even today assume that his phase is purely a temporary one, that it would not last long, and we shall be back on the old lines.

I have no doubt much time was lost owing to that opposition. The Germans never harbored that delusion, and were fully prepared to batter down the deepest trenches of the enemy with the heavy guns and high explosives, and to defend their own trenches with machine-guns. That is the story of the war for ten months. We assumed that victory was rather due as a tribute from fate, and our problem now is to organize victory, and not take it for granted. (Cheers.) To do that the whole engineering and chemical resources of this country—of the whole Empire—must be mobilized. When that is done France and ourselves alone, without Italy or Russia, can overtop the whole Teutonic output.

The plan on which we have proceeded until recently I explained to the House in April. We recognized that the arsenals then in existence were quite inadequate to supply the new Army or even the old Army, giving the necessary material and taking into account the rate at which ammunition was being expended. We had, therefore, to organize new sources of supply, and the War Office was of opinion that the best method of attaining that object was to work

through existing firms, so as to have expert control and direction over companies and workshops, which up to that time had no experience in turning out shells and guns and ammunition of all sorts. There was a great deal to be said for that. There was, first of all, a difficulty unless something of that kind was done of mobilizing all the resources at the disposal of the State. The total Army Estimates were £28,000,000 in the year of peace. They suddenly became £700,000,000. All that represents not merely twenty or twenty-five times as much money; it means twenty or twenty-five times as much work. It means more than that, because it has to be done under pressure. The sort of business which takes years to build up, develop, strengthen, and improve has suddenly to be done in about five, six, seven, or eight months. The War Office came to the conclusion that the best way of doing that was to utilize the skill of existing firms which were capable of doing this work. The War Office staff are hard-working, capable men, but there are not enough. There is one consideration which cannot be left out of account, and that is that men who are quite equal to running long-established businesses run on old-established lines, may not always be adequate to the task of organizing and administering a business thirty times its size on novel and original lines.

To be quite candid, the organizing firms—the armament firms—were also inadequate to the gigantic task cast upon them of not merely organizing their own work but of developing the resources of the country outside. They could not command the stock, and sub-contracting has undoubtedly been a failure. Sub-contracting has produced something like 10,000 shells a month. We have only been at it a few days, and we have already placed with responsible firms orders for 150,000 shells a month. In a very short time I am confident it will be a quarter of a million or 300,000. (Cheers.) It is a process of inviting business men to organize themselves and to assist us to develop the resources of their district.

We have secured a very large number of business men; many business men are engaged in organizing and directing their own business, business which is just as essential to the State in a period of war as even the organization of this office; but still there are the services of many able business men which are available, and we propose to utilize them to the full, first, in the Central Office to organize it; secondly, in the localities to organize the resources there; and, thirdly, we propose to have a great Central Advisory Committee of business men to aid us to come to the right conclusions in dealing with the business community.

I should like just to point out two or three of the difficulties, in order to show the steps which are taken to overcome them. The first difficulty, of course, is that of materials. There is, as I pointed out, material of which you have abundance in this country, but there are others which you have got to husband very carefully, and there is other material on which you have got to spend a considerable sum of money in order to be able to develop it at a later stage. With regard to this question, I think that it might be necessary ultimately for us to take complete control of the Metal Market, so that available material should not be wasted on non-essential work. (Hear, hear.) To a certain extent we have done that.

I should like to say a word with regard to raw material for explosives. We are building new factories so that the expansion of explosives shall keep pace with that of shells, and in this respect, again, I should like to dwell upon the importance of keeping up our coal supplies in this country. It is the basis of all our high-explosives, and if there were a shortage for any reason the consequences would be very calamitous.

Sometimes we do not get the best in these yards through the slackness of a minority and sometimes through regulations, useful, perhaps essential, in times of peace for the protection of men against undue pressure and strain, but which in times of war have the effect of restricting output. If these are with-

drawn no doubt it increases the strain on the men, and in a long course of years they could not stand it. But in times of war everybody is working at full strain, and therefore it is difficult to exaggerate the importance of suspending restrictions which have the effect of diminishing the output of war material.

The fourth point is that the danger of having stoppages of work by means of strikes and lock-outs ought to be removed during the time of the war. (Hear, hear.) I should have liked to have seen strikes and lock-outs during the war made impossible in any trade, and I do not despair of getting the assent of those who object to compulsory arbitration under normal conditions to a temporary application of that principle during the period of the war.

The next step is one in which the Trade Unions are concerned. There was a very frank discussion between the leaders of the Trade Unions and myself, and I was bound to point out that if there were an inadequate supply of labor for the purpose of turning out munitions of war which are necessary for the safety of the country compulsion would be inevitable.

They put forward as an alternative that the Government should give them the chance of supplying that number of men. They said, "Give us seven days, and if in seven days we cannot get the men we will admit that our case is considerably weakened." They asked us to place the whole machinery of Government at their disposal, because they had not the organization to enlist the number. We have arranged terms upon which the men are to be enlisted, and tomorrow morning the seven days begin. Advertisements will appear in all the papers, an office has been organized, and the Trade Union representatives are sitting there in council directing the recruiting operations. I am not sure, but I believe my honorable friend Mr. Brace is the Adjutant-General. Tomorrow we hope to be able to make a start. We have 180 town halls in different parts of the country placed entirely at our disposal as recruiting offices. We invite

the assistance of everybody to try to secure as many volunteers as they possibly can—men who are not engaged upon Government work now, skilled men—to enroll themselves in the Trade Union army for the purpose of going anywhere where the Government invited them to go to assist in turning out different munitions of war. If there are any honorable friends of mine who are opposed to compulsion, the most effective service they can render to voluntarism is to make this army a success. (Cheers.) If we succeed by these means—and the Board of Trade, the Munitions Department, and the War Office are placing all their services at the disposal of this new recruiting office—if within seven days we secure the labor, then the need for industrial compulsion will to that extent have been taken away.

CALL TO BRITISH WORKERS

In a special cable dispatch to THE NEW YORK TIMES, dated June 24, appeared the following:

"England expects every workman to do his duty," is the new rendering of Nelson's Trafalgar signal which is being flagged throughout the country today. Lloyd George has issued an appeal to organized labor to come forward within the next seven days in a last supreme effort on behalf of the voluntary system, and if it fails nothing remains but compulsion.

The appeal is being put before them by advertisements in newspapers, by speeches from labor leaders, and by meetings throughout the country. A new workmen's army is being recruited just as Kitchener's army was, and only seven days are given to gather together what may be termed a mobile army of industry. It is estimated that a quarter of a million men well equipped for the purposes required are available outside the ranks of those already engaged in the manufacture of munitions. Nearly two hundred industrial recruiting offices throughout the country opened at six o'clock last night, and, judging by reports already to hand, the voluntary

system seems again likely to justify itself.

"To British Workmen: Your skill is needed," runs one advertisement. "There are thousands of skilled men who are burning to do something for King and country. By becoming a war munitions volunteer each of them can do his bit for his homeland. Get into a factory and supply the firing line."

Posters and small bills with both an artistic and literary "punch" are being prepared and sent out for distribution. Newspapers with special working class clientèle are making direct appeals to their readers.

TEN THOUSAND MEN A DAY

Mr. H. E. Morgan, of the War Munitions Ministry, said in an interview printed by The London Daily Chronicle on July 1:

The War Munition Volunteers have amply justified their formation. During the last two days the enrolments throughout the country have averaged ten thousand skilled and fully qualified mechanics, who are exactly the type of worker we want. So far as the men are concerned, the voluntary principle in industrial labor has triumphed.

We have already transferred a large number of skilled mechanics from non-war work to munition making, and daily the number grows. London compares excellently with other places as regards the number of volunteers, but naturally most of the men are coming from the great engineering centres in the North and Midlands.

A REGISTER OF 90,000

In a London dispatch of the Associated Press, dated July 16, this report appeared:

After upward of a fortnight's work in the six hundred bureaux which were opened when the Minister of Munitions, David Lloyd George, gave labor the opportunity voluntarily to enroll as munitions operatives, closed today with a total registration of ninety thousand

men. Registration hereafter will be carried out through the labor exchanges.

More men are needed, but the chief difficulty now is to place them on war work with a minimum of red tape. H. G. Morgan, assistant director of the Munitions Department, said today that this problem was causing some unrest among the workers, but that the transfers would take time, for the Government was anxious not to disturb industry more than necessary.

"The problem almost amounts to a rearrangement of the whole skilled labor of the country," said Mr. Morgan. "This, of course, will take considerable time."

THE CAMPAIGN CONTINUED

A cable dispatch from London to THE NEW YORK TIMES said on July 15:

The Daily Chronicle says that a campaign to urge munition workers to even greater efforts is to open today with a meeting at Grantham, and next week meetings will be held at Luton, Gloucester, Stafford, Preston, and other centres. In the course of the next few weeks hundreds of meetings will take place in all parts of the Kingdom.

The campaign has been organized by the Munitions Parliamentary Committee, the secretaries of which have received the following letter from Munitions Minister Lloyd George:

"I am glad to hear that members of the House are responding so enthusiastically to my pressing appeal to them to undertake a campaign in the country to impress upon employers and workers in munitions shops the urgent and even vital necessity for a grand and immediate increase in the output of munitions of war."

Professor Mantoux has been asked by the French Munitions Minister to keep in touch with the campaign and to report from time to time as to the results achieved. It is felt that what affects England affects France, and later a similar campaign may be inaugurated in that country.

Sixty members of Parliament have promised to speak at the meetings.

COAL STRIKE IN WALES

Most of the coal for Great Britain's navy comes from South Wales, and the supply was reduced by the enlistment of sixty thousand Welsh miners in the army. The labor crisis was first threatened three months ago, when the miners gave notice that they would terminate the existing agreements on July 1, and, in lieu of these, they proposed a national program, giving an all-around increase in wages. The owners objected to the consideration of the new terms during the war and asked the miners to accept the existing agreements plus a war bonus. After a series of conferences the union officials agreed to recommend a compromise, which was arranged through the Board of Trade. The miners, however, voted yesterday against this, and the Government was obliged to take action.

On July 16 the Associated Press cabled from London:

The Executive Committee of the South Wales Miners' Federation, most of the members of which are opposed to the strike, came to London today and conferred with Walter Runciman, President of the Board of Trade, who, it is understood, made new proposals for a settlement of the trouble, which will be considered at a meeting in the morning.

There is no indication of any weakening on the part of the men. Even the men in one district who last night decided to resume work reversed their decision, and not a pick was moving today.

However, the impression still prevails that a few days will see an end of the walkout. It is not believed that the introduction of the Munitions of War act can force the men to return to work, for it is impossible to bring 150,000 men before the courts to impose fines for contravening the act.

In fact, the resort to this measure is believed rather to have made the situation worse, and the men's demands now include its withdrawal so far as coal mining is concerned.

An Associated Press dispatch from Cardiff, Wales, on July 20 reported:

Subject to ratification by the miners themselves through delegates who will assemble tomorrow, representatives of the Government and of the coal mine owners on the one hand, and the Executive Committee of the South Wales Miners' Federation on the other, agreed today to terms that, it is thought, will end the coal miners' strike, which, since last Thursday, has tied up the South Wales coal fields and menaced the fuel supply of the navy.

The terms arrived at grant a substantial increase in wages and involve concessions to the strikers which are considered by their Executive Committee as tantamount to an admission of the miners' claims on nearly all the outstanding points. Tonight the delegates were visiting their districts, canvassing the sentiment there preparatory to tomorrow's vote.

If tomorrow's meeting should bring a settlement of the strike the thanks of the country will go chiefly to David Lloyd George, the Munitions Minister, for it was his arrival here last night that paved the way for breaking the deadlock between the miners and the mine owners.

If the vote tomorrow is favorable to ending the strike, two hundred thousand men will return to work immediately and agree to abide by the terms of the settlement until six months after the termination of the war.

AMMUNITION IN FRANCE

M. Millerand, French Minister of War, after the Senate had approved, on June 29, the bill appropriating \$1,200,000,000 for war expenses of the third quarter of the year, reported as quoted by the Associated Press:

From August 1 to April 1 France has increased her military production six-fold. The curve for munitions has never ceased to mount, nor that representing the manufacture of our 75s. I can give satisfying assurances also regarding the heavy artillery and small arms. From the 1st of January to the 15th of May the other essentials of the war have been equally encouraging. We

are determined to pursue our enemies, whatever arms they may employ.

Yves Guyot, the economist and late Minister of Public Works in France, said to the NEW YORK TIMES correspondent on July 3:

France can hold her own against Germany. She herself makes all the shells that play such havoc in the enemy's ranks, and she will keep on making all she needs.

The munitions problem in France is not so acute as in England. In France as soon as the war started we began turning out the shells as fast as our factories could work. So, in a short time, they were going full blast. We have been able to supply our army with ample ammunition and to have shells enough to shake up the enemy whenever we put on spurts.

It is vitally important that England has come to the realization of the need of equipping her own army with adequate ammunition. Up to now the English Army has been sadly handicapped, but with the energetic Lloyd George in command the munitions output in the near future is certain to bring a sudden change in the status of England in the war.

We in France being in such immediate contact with the horrors of war had a stern sense of the necessity of fully equipping our army forced upon us at the very beginning of the conflict. The only thing we have lacked has been steel, and we have been getting some of that from our old friend, the United States. France has steel plants, and they do a tremendous amount of work, but altogether they do not turn out enough for our ammunition works. So we had to turn elsewhere for some of this product, and it was America that came to our aid.

We have got the steel with which to make shells. Our workmen are well organized and the whole spirit prevailing among them is to help France to win the bloodiest war of her history.

The London Daily Chronicle in an interview with Albert Thomas, French Minister of Munitions, quoted him as follows on July 8:

It is our duty to organize victory. To this we are bending all our energies. The war may be long; difficulties may reach us of which we had no prevision at the start; but we shall keep on until the end.

We know how great are the resources of Britain. We know what immense efforts she has put forth, which have been a surprise not only to us but to the enemy as well, and we have every reason for believing and knowing that these immense resources will continue to be used in the service of the Allies.

Understand me, I do not say that our common task is an easy one, nor do I say that we are on the eve of a speedy victory; but what I do say is that be the struggle long or short, we are both ready to double, to treble, to quadruple, and, if necessary, to increase tenfold the output of munitions of war.

We have pooled our resources, and I, for one, have no doubt, that these resources are great enough to stand any strain which we may be called upon to put upon them; nor have I any fear of an ultimate triumph. All the great moral forces of the world are on our side. The Allies are fighting for the freeing of Europe from the domination of militarism; and that is fighting into which every democrat can throw himself heart and soul. Defeat in such a cause is unthinkable.

RUSSIAN INDUSTRIALISTS RALLY

The Petrograd correspondent of the London Morning Post reported on June 11th the annual assembly of leading members of the world of commerce and industry, as follows:

Speakers urged a general rally round the Rulers of the States, and proposals were made that they should express collectively to the Ministers the readiness of the whole industrial and mercantile class represented at that congress to place themselves at the disposal of the State for the purpose of making better provision for the war. The example of England in instituting a Ministry of Munitions should serve as a

guide to Russia. A deputation, it was urged, should be appointed to lay at the feet of the Emperor the heartfelt desire of all to devote themselves to the sole purpose of obtaining victory over Germanism and to expound the ideas of their class for the best means of employing their resources. England had turned all its manufacturing resources into factories of munitions of war, and Russia must do the same.

Some speakers referred to the lack of capital for the proper exploitation of the resources of the country, saying that this would be especially felt after the war was over. The Congress, however, declined to look beyond the all-important need of the moment, namely, to direct the entire resources of the country to the achievement of victory over Germanism.

The final sitting was attended by the President of the Duma, M. Rodzjanko, whose speech was listened to with profound feeling. The Congress passed with acclamation various patriotic resolutions, its main decision being to establish immediately a Central Committee for the provision of munitions of war. It is expected that by this means Russia will be able to accomplish what England is believed to be achieving in the same direction. Every factory and workshop throughout the country is to be organized for the supply of everything needed by the armies in the field.

SPEEDING GERMAN WORKMEN

A "Neutral" correspondent of The London Daily Chronicle, just returned from Germany, was thus quoted in a cable dispatch to THE NEW YORK TIMES on June 28:

It is in towns, particularly industrial towns, where one sees how entirely the German nation is organized for war. Into these towns an enormous number of men have been drafted from the country to work in factories, which are humming day and night with activity to keep up the supply of all things necessary for the fighting line.

In general, the relations between cap-

ital and labor there have experienced notable amelioration. Indeed, the impression one gains in traveling about Germany is one of absolute settled industrial peace, but I know this has only been secured because all parties know that the first signs of dissatisfaction would be treated "with the utmost rigor of the law."

At some of the largest factories men are often at work fifteen, twenty, and even thirty hours on a stretch, with only short intervals for rest. Though it is said that there are ample stocks of all kinds of ammunition, there is noted daily and nightly a feverish haste in the factories where it is made.

The Government has not officially taken over the factories, but it is well known that all factory owners who want Government work can get it, and, as this is almost the only profitable use to which factories can just now be put, there is no lack of candidates for recognition as army contractors.

Whenever a Government contract is given out there is a clause in the contract which fixes rates of wages for every grade of workmen so that any questions of increases that the men might raise are out of the hands of the employer, and he points to the fact that both he and the workmen are in the hands of the State. Strikes are therefore unknown, a further deterrent being the knowledge that any man who does not do his utmost without murmuring will quickly be embodied in some regiment destined for one of the hottest places at the front.

In factories where Government work is being done wages are high, and even in the few cases where wages of certain unskilled workers have fallen, the men are allowed to work practically until they drop and so make up by more hours what they have lost by the lowered rates.

There is keen competition to obtain work in the factories working for the State, as the men engaged in these know almost certainly that for some time at least they will not be sent to the front,

which seems to be the chief dread underlying all other thoughts and feelings.

For work done on Sunday wages are 50 per cent. higher than the usual rate. The men are encouraged to work on Sundays and overtime on weekdays and the prices of food are so high they need little encouragement. Where women have taken the places of men their wages are in most cases lower.

KRUPPS' IMPENDING STRIKE

An Associated Press dispatch from Geneva on July 15 said:

A report has reached Basle that a big strike is threatened at the Krupp Works at Essen, Germany, the movement being headed by the Union of Metallurgical Workmen and the Association of Mechanics. They demand higher wages, the report says, because of the increased cost of living and shorter hours because of the great strain under which they work.

The workmen, according to these advices, are in an angry mood and threaten the destruction of machinery unless their demands are granted immediately, as they have been put off for three months with promises. Several high officials have arrived at the Krupp Works in an effort to straighten out matters and calm the workmen, the advices add, and Bertha Krupp is expected to visit the plant and use her great influence with the workers.

The Frankfort Gazette, according to the news reaching Basle, has warned the administration of the Krupp plant of the seriousness of the situation, and has advised that the men's demands be granted. Meanwhile, the reports state, several regiments have been moved to the vicinity of the works to be available should the trouble result in a strike.

A dispatch to The London Daily Chronicle, dated Chiasso, July 16, reported:

According to a telegram from Munich to Swiss papers, the German military authorities have informed the management and union officials of the Krupps, where disputes occasioned by the in-

creased cost of living have arisen in several departments, that in no circumstances will a strike be tolerated.

On July 19 an Associated Press dispatch from Geneva reads:

An important meeting was held at Essen yesterday, according to advices received at Basle, between the administration of the Krupp gun works and representatives of the workmen, in order to settle the dispute which has arisen over the demands of the men for an increase in wages.

Directly and indirectly, about one hundred thousand men are involved. Minor cases in which machinery has been destroyed have been reported.

The military authorities before the meeting, the Basle advices say, warned both sides that unless an immediate arrangement was reached severe measures would be employed.

The Krupp officials are understood to have granted a portion of the demands of the employees, which has brought about a temporary peace, but the workmen still appear to be dissatisfied, and many have left the works.

A strike would greatly affect the supply of munitions, and for this reason the military have adopted rigorous precautions.

On the same date the following brief cable was sent to THE NEW YORK TIMES from London:

A telegram to The Daily Express from Geneva says many men have already left the Krupp works because they are unable to bear the strain of incessant labor, and would rather take their chances in the trenches than continue work at Essen under the present conditions.

Some minor cases of sabotage have already been reported.

REMINGTON ARMS STRIKE

In a special dispatch to THE NEW YORK TIMES, dated Bridgeport, Conn., July 14, appeared the following news of labor trouble in the American munitions factory:

One hundred workmen, twenty guards, and the Bridgeport police reserves took a hand in a riot tonight at the new plant of the Remington Arms Company, where it is planned to make small arms for the Allies. The riot brings to fever heat the labor excitement of the last week, which yesterday caused the walk-out of the structural ironworkers at the plant and today a walkout of the millwrights and the ironworkers on the new plant of the sister company, the Remington Union Metallic Cartridge Company.

The three thousand workmen have been stirred into a great unrest, in the last week by some unseen influence. Major Walter W. Penfield, U. S. A., retired, head of the arms plant, says pro-Germans are back of the strike. This the labor leaders deny.

On July 15 the spread of the strike was reported in a special dispatch from Bridgeport to THE NEW YORK TIMES:

The strike at the giant new plant of the Remington Arms Company under construction to make arms for the Allies, as well as, it is supposed, for the United States Government, spread to-day from the proportions of a picayune family labor quarrel to an imminent industrial war which would paralyze Bridgeport, curtailing the shipment of arms and ammunition from this centre, and which threatens to spread to other cities in the United States, especially to those where munitions of war are being manufactured.

On July 20 THE NEW YORK TIMES published the demands of the workmen at the Remington Arms plant, as outlined by J. J. Keppler, vice-president of the Machinists' Union:

Mr. Keppler was asked to tell concisely just what the unions wanted.

"There are at present," he replied, "just three demands. If the strike goes further the demands will increase. The demands are:

"1. Recognition of the millwrights as members of the metal trade unions and not of the carpenters', and fixing of the

responsibility for the order some one gave for the millwrights to join the carpenters' union, an attempt on the part of the Remington or the Stewart people to dictate the international management of the unions.

"2. A guarantee of a permanent eight-hour day in all plants in Bridgeport making war munitions. This carries with it a demand for a guarantee of a minimum wage and double pay for overtime.

"3. That all men who go on strike will be taken back to work."

In addition, of course, Mr. Johnston demands that Major Penfield retract his charge of German influence being back of the strike.

A check, if not a defeat, administered to the fomenters of the strike was reported to THE NEW YORK TIMES in a Bridgeport dispatch dated July 20, as follows:

John A. Johnston, International vice-president of the Iron Workers' Union, and J. J. Keppler, vice-president of the Machinists', were on hand to inaugurate the big strike. All of Bridgeport's available policemen were on duty at the plant.

As the whistle blew the crowd surged about the gates, where barbed wire and guards held them back. Five minutes passed, ten, twenty, and 12.30 saw Keppler and Johnston pacing up and down before the plant awaiting their men. At 1 o'clock not a machinist had issued from the portals. The hoarse whistle blew, calling back the two thousand workers to their task, and Keppler and Johnston and the rest were left in wonder.

A cog had slipped in this way:

Before the noon whistle blew, Major Walter G. Penfield, works manager of the plant, placed guards at all the exits to ask the machinists to wait a few minutes. They did. The foreman told them that, on behalf of the Remington Company, Major Penfield desired to assure them a permanent eight-hour day, beginning August 1, and to guarantee a dollar a day increase in pay.

The Power of the Purse

How "Silver Bullets" Are Made in Britain

By Prime Minister Asquith

For the first time in the financial history of Great Britain, Prime Minister Asquith declared in his Guildhall speech of June 29, an unlimited and democratic war loan was popularized, appealing to all classes, including the poorest, and advertising the sale through the Post Office of vouchers for as low as 5 shillings to be turned into stock. His speech was intended also to initiate a movement for saving and thrift among the people as the only secure means against national impoverishment by the war.

A statement by Reginald McKenna, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the House of Commons on July 13, showed that approximately £600,000,000, or \$3,000,000,000, had been subscribed, making this the greatest war loan raised in the history of any nation. The total number of subscribers through the Bank of England was 550,000, aggregating £570,000,000, or \$2,850,000,000, while 547,000 persons had subscribed \$75,000,000 through the Post Office. Besides this no estimate of the small vouchers taken out had been made, and the Post Office subscriptions had not been closed. The gigantic total, Mr. McKenna said, represented only new money, and not any stock which will be issued for purposes of conversion. Prime Minister Asquith's speech appears in full below.

In his speech in the Guildhall, London, on June 29, 1915, Mr. Asquith said:

THIS is, I think, the third time since the war began that I have had the privilege of addressing you in this hall. On the first occasion, as far back as September last, I came here to appeal to you to supply men to be trained to fight our battles at the front. Today I have come to ask you here in the City of London for what is equally necessary for the success of our cause—for the ways and means which no community in the Empire is better qualified to provide, to organise, and to replenish.

This is the costliest war that has ever been waged. A hundred years ago our ancestors spent eight hundred millions to vindicate, as we are vindicating today, the freedom of Europe, in a war which lasted the best part of 20 years, which brings out a rough average of considerably less than a million pounds a week. Our total expenditure today approaches for one year a thousand millions, and we are spending now, and are likely to spend for weeks and months to come, something like three million pounds a day. Our daily revenue from

taxation, I suppose, works out less than three-quarters of a million per day.

Those are facts which speak for themselves, and they show the urgent necessity, not only for a loan, but for a national loan—a loan far larger in its scale, far broader in its basis, and far more imperious in its demand upon every class and every section of the community than any in our history.

For the first time in our financial experience no limit has been placed on the amount to be raised; and that means that every citizen in the country is invited to subscribe as much as he can to help us to a complete and speedy victory. I need not dwell on its attractiveness from the mere investor's point of view. Indeed, the only criticism which I have heard in or outside the House of Commons is that it is perhaps a little too generous in its terms. That is a fault, if it be a fault, upon the right side.

For £100 in cash you get £100 in stock, with interest at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the credit of the British Exchequer. The loan is redeemable in thirty years, when every subscriber, or those who succeed him, must get his money back

in full, and the Government retain an option to repay at the end of ten years. That is the earliest date on which any question of re-investment can arise. Further, the stock or bonds will be accepted at par, with an allowance for accrued interest as the equivalent of cash, for subscription to any loan that the Government may issue in this country throughout the war.

I want especially to emphasise that this is for the first time in our financial history a great democratic loan. The State is appealing to all classes, including those whose resources are most limited, to step in and contribute their share to meet a supreme national need. The Post Office will receive subscriptions for £5, or any multiple of £5, and will sell vouchers for 5s. and upwards which can be gradually accumulated, and by December 1st next turned into stock of the new loan.

Every advantage which is given to the big capitalist is granted also in the same degree to the smallest supporter of the country's credit and finance. And, under such conditions, I am confident that the success of the loan as a financial instrument ought to be, and indeed is now, absolutely secured. (Cheers.)

This meeting was called not only to advertise the advantages of the War Loan, but to initiate a concerted national movement for what may be called war economy. My text is a very simple one. It is this: "Waste on the part either of individuals or of classes, which is always foolish and shortsighted, is, in these times, nothing short of a national danger." According to statisticians, the annual income of this country—I speak of the country and not of the Government—the annual income of this country is from two thousand two hundred and fifty to two thousand four hundred millions, and the annual expenditure of all classes is estimated at something like two thousand millions. It follows that the balance annually saved and invested, either at home or abroad, is normally between three hundred and four hundred millions.

Upon a nation so circumstanced, and with such habits, there has suddenly descended—for we did not anticipate it, nor prepared the way for it—the thundercloud of war—war which, as we now know well, if we add to our own direct expenditure the financing of other countries, will cost us in round figures about a thousand millions in the year. Now how are we, who normally have only three hundred or four hundred millions to spare in a year, to meet this huge and unexpected extraordinary draft upon our resources?

The courses open are four. The first is the sale of investments or property. We have, it is said, invested abroad something like four thousand millions sterling. Can we draw upon that to finance the war? Well, there are two things to be said about any such suggestion. The first is that our power of sale is limited by the power of other countries to buy, and that power, under existing conditions, is strictly limited.

The second thing to be said is this: That, if we were to try, assuming it to be practicable, to pay for the war in this way, we should end it so much poorer. The war must, in any case, impoverish us to some extent, but we should end it so much poorer, because the income we now receive, mainly from goods and services from abroad, would be proportionately, and permanently, reduced. I dismiss that, therefore, as out of the question.

Similar considerations seem to show the impracticability on any considerable scale of a second possible expedient, namely, borrowing abroad. The amount that could be raised in any foreign market at this moment, in comparison with the sum required, is practically infinitesimal, and, if it were possible on any considerable scale, we should again have to face the prospects of ending the war a debtor country, with a huge annual drain on our goods and our services, which would flow abroad in the payment of interest and the redemption of principal. That again, therefore, for all practical purposes, may be brushed aside.

There is a third course—payment out of our gold reserve, but that need only be stated to be discarded. We cannot impair the basis of the great system of credit which has made this City of London the financial centre and capital of the world.

There remains only one course, the one we have come here today to advocate, and to press upon our fellow-countrymen—to diminish our expenditure and to increase our savings.

If you save more you can lend the State more, and the nation will be proportionately enabled to pay for the war out of its own pocket. A second proposition, equally simple, and equally true, is this. If you spend less, you either reduce the cost and volume of our imports, or you leave a larger volume of commodities available for export.

The state of the trade balance between ourselves and other countries at this moment affords grounds—I do not say for anxiety, but for serious thought. If you look at the Board of Trade returns for the first five months—that is, to the end of the month of May—of the present year—you will find, as compared with the corresponding period of last year, that our imports have increased by thirty-five and a half millions; while our exports and re-exports have decreased by seventy-three and three-quarter millions. What does that mean? It means a total addition in five months of our indebtedness to other countries of nearly a hundred and ten millions, and if that rate were to continue till we reached the end of a completed year, the figure of indebtedness would rise to over two hundred and sixty millions.

That is a serious prospect, and I want to ask you, and those outside, how can that tendency be counteracted? The answer is a very simple one—by reducing all unnecessary expenditure, first, of imported goods—familiar illustrations are tea, tobacco, wine, sugar, petrol; I could easily add to the list—and that would mean that we should have to buy less from abroad: and next, as regards goods which are made at home—you can take as an illustration beer—setting a

larger quantity free for export, which means that we have more to sell abroad, and enable capital and labour here at home to be more usefully and appropriately applied. That may seem a rather dry and technical argument—(laughter)—but it goes to the root of the whole matter.

If you ask me to state the result in a sentence, it is this: All money that is spent in these days on superfluous comforts or luxuries, whether in the shape of goods or in the shape of services, means the diversion of energy which can be better employed in the national interests, either in supplying the needs of our fighting forces in the field or in making commodities for export which will go to reduce our indebtedness abroad.

And, on the other hand, every saving we make by the curtailment and limitation of our productive expenditure increases the resources which can be put by our people at the disposal of the State for the triumphant vindication of our cause.

I said our cause. That, after all, is the summary and conclusion of the whole matter. We are making here and throughout the Empire a great national and Imperial effort, unique, supreme. The recruiting of soldiers and sailors, the provision of munitions, the organisation of our industries, the practice of economy, the avoidance of waste, the accumulation of adequate war funds, the mobilisation of all our forces, moral, material, personal—all these are contributory and convergent streams which are directed to and concentrated upon one unifying end, one absorbing and governing purpose.

It is not merely with us a question of self-preservation, of safeguarding against hostile design and attack the fabric which has withstood so many storms of our corporate and national life. That in itself would justify all our endeavours. But there is something even larger and worthier at stake in this great testing trial of our people.

There is not a man or a woman among us but he or she is touched even

in the faintest degree with a sense of the higher issues which now hang in the balance, who has not, during this last year, become growingly conscious that, in the order of Providence, we here have been entrusted with the guardianship of interests and ideals which stretch far beyond the shores of these islands, beyond even the confines of our world-spread Empire, which concern the whole future of humanity. (Cheers.)

Is right or is force to dominate mankind? Comfort, prosperity, luxury, a well-fed and securely sheltered existence,

not without the embellishments and concentrations of art and literature, and perhaps some conventional type of religion—all these we can purchase at a price, but at what a price! At the sacrifice of what makes life, national or personal, alone worth living. My Lord Mayor and citizens of London, we are not going to make that sacrifice (loud and prolonged cheers, the audience rising and waving their hats). Rather than make it, we shall fight to the end, to the last farthing of our money, to the last ounce of our strength, to the last drop of our blood. (Loud cheers.)

Cases Reserved

By SIR OWEN SEAMAN

[From Punch.]

"The Government are of opinion that the general question of personal responsibility shall be reserved until the end of the War."—*Mr. Balfour in the House.*

Let sentence wait. The apportionment of blame
To those who compassed each inhuman wrong
Can bide till Justice bares her sword of flame;
But let your memories be long!

And, lest they fail you, wearied into sleep,
Bring out your tablets wrought of molten steel;
There let the record be charàctered deep
In biting acid, past repeal.

And not their names alone, of high estate,
Drunk with desire of power, at whose mere nod
The slaves that execute their lust of hate
Laugh at the laws of man and God;

But also theirs who shame their English breed,
Who go their ways and eat and drink and play,
Or find in England's bitter hour of need
Their chance of pouching heavier pay;

And theirs, the little talkers, who delight
To beard their betters, on great tasks intent,
Cheapening our statecraft in the alien's sight
For joy of self-advertisement.

To-day, with hands to weightier business set,
Silent contempt is all you can afford;
But put them on your list and they shall get,
When you are free, their full reward.

New Recruiting in Britain

By Field Marshal Earl Kitchener, Secretary of State for War

State registration of all persons, male and female, between the ages of fifteen and sixty-five, the particulars to include each person's age, work, and employers, and his registering to be accompanied by an invitation that he volunteer for work for which he may have special fitness, was the provision introduced in the House of Commons on June 29, 1915, and passed by that body on July 8. In explaining the bill's intent its introducer, Mr. Walter Long, who is President of the Local Government Board, replied on July 9 to the objection of critics who saw in it the first steps to compulsory service. He said that the National Register stood or fell by itself. So far as the use of it went, so far as the adoption of compulsion went, he declared frankly that the Prime Minister would be the last man in England to say, in the face of the situation in which Britons found themselves, anything which would prevent the Government adopting compulsory service tomorrow if they believed it to be right and necessary in order to bring this war to an end. Their hands were absolutely free. On the same day Earl Kitchener opened a recruiting campaign with a speech in the London Guildhall, which appears in part below.

The Lord Mayor of London, in calling upon Lord Kitchener, said the Empire had indeed been highly fortunate in having him at the head of the War Office in this great national crisis. Earl Kitchener was received with cheers as he said:

HITHERTO the remarks that I have found it necessary to make on the subject of recruiting have been mainly addressed to the House of Lords; but I have felt that the time had now come when I may with advantage avail myself of the courteous invitation of the Lord Mayor to appear among you, and in this historic Guildhall make another and a larger demand on the resources of British manhood. Enjoying as I do the privilege of a Freeman of this great City—(hear, hear!)—I can be sure that words uttered in the heart of London will be spread broadcast throughout the Empire. (Cheers.) Our thoughts naturally turn to the splendid efforts of the Oversea Dominions and India, who, from the earliest days of the war, have ranged themselves side by side with the Mother Country. The prepared armed forces of India were the first to take the field, closely followed by the gallant Canadians—(cheers)—who are now fighting alongside their British and French comrades in Flanders, and are there presenting a solid and impenetrable front

against the enemy. In the Dardanelles the Australians and New Zealanders—(cheers)—combined with the same elements, have already accomplished a feat of arms of almost unexampled brilliancy, and are pushing the campaign to a successful conclusion. In each of these great Dominions new and large contingents are being prepared, while South Africa, not content with the successful conclusion of the arduous campaign in South-West Africa, is now offering large forces to engage the enemy in the main theatre of war. (Cheers.) Strengthened by the unflinching support of our fellow-citizens across the seas, we seek to develop our own military resources to their utmost limits, and this is the purpose which brings us together today.

Napoleon, when asked what were the three things necessary for a successful war, replied: "Money, money, money." Today we vary that phrase, and say: "Men, material, and money." As regards the supply of money for the war, the Government are negotiating a new loan, the marked success of which is greatly due to the very favorable response made by the City. To meet the need for material, the energetic manner in which the new Ministry of Munitions is coping with the many difficulties which confront the production of our great requirements affords abundant proof that this very important work is being dealt with in a highly satisfactory

manner. (Cheers.) There still remains the vital need for men to fill the ranks of our Armies, and it is to emphasize this point and bring it home to the people of this country that I have come here this afternoon. When I took up the office that I hold, I did so as a soldier, not as a politician—(loud cheers)—and I warned my fellow countrymen that the war would be not only arduous, but long. (Hear, hear.) In one of my earliest statements made after the beginning of the war I said that I should require "More men, and still more, until the enemy is crushed." I repeat that statement today with even greater insistence. All the reasons which led me to think in August, 1914, that this war would be a prolonged one hold good at the present time. It is true we are in an immeasurably better situation now than ten months ago—(hear, hear)—but the position today is at least as serious as it was then. The thorough preparedness of Germany, due to her strenuous efforts, sustained at high pressure for some forty years, have issued in a military organization as complex in character as it is perfect in machinery. Never before has any nation been so elaborately organized for imposing her will upon the other nations of the world; and her vast resources of military strength are wielded by an autocracy which is peculiarly adapted for the conduct of war. It is true that Germany's long preparation has enabled her to utilize her whole resources from the very commencement of the war, while our policy is one of gradually increasing our effective forces. It might be said with truth that she must decrease, whilst we must increase.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the value of the response that has been made to my previous appeals, but I am here today to make another demand on the manhood of the country to come forward to its defence. I was from the first unwilling to ask for a supply of men in excess of the equipment available for them. I hold it to be most undesirable that soldiers, keen to take their place in the field, should be thus checked and possibly discouraged, or that the com-

pletion of this training should be hampered owing to lack of arms. We have now happily reached a period when it can be said that this drawback has been surmounted, and that the troops in training can be supplied with sufficient arms and material to turn them out as efficient soldiers.

When the great rush of recruiting occurred in August and September of last year, there was a natural difficulty in finding accommodation for the many thousands who answered to the call for men to complete the existing armed forces and the New Armies. Now, however, I am glad to say we have throughout the country provided accommodation calculated to be sufficient and suitable for our requirements. Further, there was in the early autumn a very natural difficulty in clothing and equipping the newly raised units. Now we are able to clothe and equip all recruits as they come in, and thus the call for men is no longer restricted by any limitations, such as the lack of material for training.

It is an axiom that the larger an army is, the greater is its need of an ever-swelling number of men of recruitable age to maintain it at its full strength; yet, at the very same time the supply of those very men is automatically decreasing. Nor must it be forgotten that the great demand which has arisen for the supply of munitions, equipment, etc., for the armed forces of this country and of our Allies also, as well as the economic and financial necessity of keeping up the production of manufactured goods, involves the retention of a large number of men in various trades and manufactures, many of whom would otherwise be available for the Colors. In respect of our great and increasing military requirements for men, I am glad to state how much we are indebted to the help given to the Recruiting Staff of the Regular Army and to the Territorial Associations throughout the country by the many Voluntary Recruiting Committees formed in all the counties and cities, and in many important boroughs for this purpose.

The public has watched with eager interest the growth and the rapidly ac-

quired efficiency of the New Armies, whose dimensions have already reached a figure which only a short while ago would have been considered utterly unthinkable. (Cheers.) But there is a tendency, perhaps, to overlook the fact that these larger armies require still larger reserves, to make good the wastage at the front. And one cannot ignore the certainty that our requirements in this respect will be large, continuous, and persistent; for one feels that our gallant soldiers in the fighting line are beckoning, with an urgency at once imperious and pathetic, to those who remain at home to come out and play their part too. Recruiting meetings, recruiting marches, and the unwearied labors of the recruiting officers, committees, and individuals have borne good fruit, and I look forward with confidence to such labors being continued as energetically as hitherto.

But we must go a step further, so as to attract and attach individuals who from shyness — (laughter) — or other causes—(renewed laughter)—have not yet yielded to their own patriotic impulses. The Government have asked Parliament to pass a Registration Bill, with the object of ascertaining how many men and women there are in the country between the ages of fifteen and sixty-five eligible for the national service, whether in the navy or army, or for the manufacture of munitions, or to fulfil other necessary services. When this registration is completed we shall anyhow be able to note the men between the ages of nineteen and forty not required for munition or other necessary industrial work and therefore available, if physically fit, for the fighting line. Steps will be taken to approach, with a view to enlistment, all possible candidates for the Army—unmarried men to be preferred before married men, as far as may be. (Loud cheers.) Of course, the work of completing the registration will extend over some weeks, and meanwhile it is of vital and paramount importance that as large a number of men as possible should press forward to enlist, so that the men's training may be complete when they are required for the

field. I would urge all employers to help in this matter, by releasing all men qualified for service with the Colors and replacing them by men of unrecruitable age, or by women, as has already been found feasible in so many cases.

When the registration becomes operative I feel sure that the Corporation of the City of London will not be content with its earlier efforts, intensely valuable as they have been, but will use its great facilities to set an example of canvassing for the cause. This canvass should be addressed with stern emphasis to such unpatriotic employers as, according to returns, have restrained their men from enlisting.

What the numbers required are likely to be it is clearly inexpedient to shout abroad. (Hear, hear.) Our constant refusal to publish either these or any other figures likely to prove useful to the enemy needs neither explanation nor apology. It is often urged that if more information were given as to the work and whereabouts of various units, recruiting would be strongly stimulated. But this is the precise information which would be of the greatest value to the enemy, and it is agreeable to note that a German Prince in high command ruefully recorded the other day his complete ignorance as to our New Armies. (Laughter and cheers.)

But one set of figures, available for everybody, and indicating with sufficient particularity the needs of our forces in the field, is supplied by the casualty lists. With regard to these lists, however—serious and sad as they necessarily are—let two points be borne in mind, first, that a very large percentage of the casualties represents comparatively slight hurts, the sufferers from which in time return to the front; and, secondly, that, if the figures seem to run very high, the magnitude of the operations is thereby suggested. Indeed, these casualty lists, whose great length may now and again induce undue depression of spirits, are an instructive indication of the huge extent of the operations undertaken now reached by the British forces in the field.

American War Supplies

By George Wellington Porter

The subjoined article appraising the stimulation given to the war industries of the United States by the European conflict appeared originally in THE NEW YORK TIMES of July 18.

WITHIN the last ten months contracts for war supplies estimated to exceed \$1,000,000,000 have been placed in the United States.

When war was declared last August this country was suffering from acute industrial depression; many factories shut down, others operating on short time, and labor without employment. After the paralyzing effect of the news that war was declared had worn away, business men here realized the great opportunity about to be afforded them of furnishing war supplies which must soon be in demand. Their expectations were soon fulfilled, as almost immediately most of the Governments sent commissions to the United States. Some had orders to buy, while others were authorized to get prices and submit samples.

It was not long until mills and factories were being operated to capacity, turning out boots and shoes, blankets, sweaters, socks, underwear, &c. The manufacturers of these articles were merely required to secure additional help in order to increase their plants' production.

The situation was different in relation to filling orders for arms and ammunition. At first, as was natural, this business was placed with concerns engaged in the manufacture of these commodities. Shortly they were swamped with orders, and to be able to fill them plants were enlarged, new equipment added, and additional help employed.

More and more orders came pouring in, and, as the arms and munition houses were by this time up to and some over capacity, acceptance by them of further business was impossible. Here, then, was the opportunity for the manufacturers of rails, rivets, electrical and agricultural

machinery, locomotives, &c., to secure their share of this enormous business being offered. The manner in which they arose to the occasion is striking testimony of the great resourcefulness, efficiency, ingenuity, and adaptability of the American manufacturer.

The question of labor was of minor importance, due primarily to the fact that many thousands of men were without employment and anxious to secure work, and secondarily for the reason that skilled labor was not an essential factor. Most of the work is done by machinery and in a short period of time a mechanic of ordinary intelligence will become proficient in running a machine. The necessary trained labor could be secured without difficulty. Numbers of highly trained employes at Government arsenals are now with private arms and ammunition concerns. The labor problem therefore was negligible. However, three serious difficulties had yet to be overcome by the manufacturers wishing to engage in this new line of business—the securing of new machinery, raw materials, and capital.

The larger concerns had machinery and apparatus on hand suitable to most of the work, but much new machinery was needed, especially for the manufacture of rifles, and needed in a hurry. Time is the essence of these war supplies contracts, and, as many manufacturers agreed to make early deliveries, it was up to them to secure this new machinery and have it installed without delay; otherwise they could not manufacture and make deliveries as agreed to.

In this event they would suffer the penalty for non-fulfillment, as stipulated in the bond given by them to the purchaser at the time of signing the contract. These bonds are known as "ful-

fillment bonds" and are issued by responsible surety companies, usually to the amount of 5 per cent. of the total contract price, on behalf of the vendors, guaranteeing their deliveries and fulfillment of the contract.

In the earlier stages of this war supply business the question of his ability to secure raw materials with which to manufacture arms and ammunition or picric acid—this latter being used to manufacture higher explosives—was of no great concern to the manufacturer taking an order; but as orders came pouring in from abroad for ever larger amounts of supplies it was clearly evident that the demand for raw materials would shortly equal, if not exceed, the supply thereof. This condition was soon brought about, and today is one to be most seriously reckoned with by the manufacturer before accepting a contract.

Some of the materials needed with which to manufacture the supplies are mild carbon steel for the barrels, bayonets, bolt, and locks; well-seasoned ash or maple, straight-grained, for the stocks; brass, iron, powder, antimony, benzol or phenol, sulphuric acid, nitric acid, and caustic soda, &c. Of these various materials the most difficult to secure are those used in the manufacture of picric acid.

Today it is almost impossible to secure phenol, certainly in any considerable quantities, and it is almost as difficult to secure sulphuric acid and nitric acid. Germany has been the source of supply in the past for picric acid. Before the war it sold around 35 cents to 40 cents per pound, dry basis; recently it has sold at over \$2 per pound for spot, that is immediate delivery, and is quoted at from \$1.25 to \$1.60 per pound for early future deliveries.

Antimony is becoming so scarce, never having been produced in any great quantity in this country, that in the new contracts being submitted for shrapnel shell it is stipulated that some other hardening ingredients may be substituted in the bullets, either totally or partly replacing the antimony.

Brass is essential to the manufacture of cartridges. The term "brass" is com-

monly understood to mean an alloy of copper and zinc.

Up to a short time ago electrolytic copper was selling at 20½ cents a pound, lead at 7 cents a pound, commercial zinc at 29½ cents a pound. Zinc ore, from which spelter is obtained, reached the price of \$112 a ton. American spelter was nearly \$500 a ton, compared with \$110 a ton before the war. Spelter was almost unobtainable. In England the situation was acute, the metal there being quoted only nominally at around \$550 a ton for immediate delivery.

Within the last few days prices have dropped materially, but how long they will remain at these lower levels it is impossible to predict. If the war continues for any length of time the demand for all these metals is certainly bound to increase, and this will automatically again send up prices.

The world's production of spelter in 1913 (the latest authentic figures obtainable) was 1,093,635 short tons. Of this the United States produced 346,676 tons, or 31.7 per cent.; Germany, 312,075 tons, or 28.6 per cent.; Belgium, 217,928 tons, or 19.9 per cent.; France and Spain, 78,289 tons; and Great Britain, 65,197 tons. The world's production of spelter in 1913 exceeded that of 1912 by 25,590 tons, or 2.2 per cent. The greatest increase was contributed by Germany, which exceeded its production of 1912 by 4.4 per cent. The United States made a gain of 2.3 per cent. The excess of the world's production over consumption in 1913 was only 27,316 tons.

As can be seen from the above figures, Germany has control of practically one-half, possibly now over one-half, of the world's production of spelter. Her position with respect to iron and coal is equally strong, the United States not included. In 1913 Germany's production of pig iron was 19,000 tons; Great Britain, 10,500 tons; France, 5,225 tons; Russia, 4,475 tons; Austria and Belgium, over 2,000 tons each; Italy, negligible. She has captured a large proportion of the coal resources of France as well. Her strength is her own plus that of conquered territory.

Before a contract for war supplies is let, more particularly with reference to contracts for arms and ammunition, the manufacturer is requested to "qualify." This means he must show his ability to "make good" on the contract he wishes to secure. If he is now or has been in the past successfully engaged in the manufacture of the particular article in question, this is usually sufficient; if it is out of his regular line, then he must prove to the satisfaction of the War Department or the purchasing agent, as the case may be, that he has the technical knowledge necessary for its production. In either event he must have an efficient organization, suitable plants, with proper equipment and men to operate same; also the necessary raw materials in hand or under option to purchase.

In most instances the manufacturer taking these war orders has been obliged to enlarge his plants, add new machinery and purchase raw materials so as to be able to handle the business. This meant the expenditure of large amounts of money on his part.

He did not have to depend, however, upon his own normal financial resources, as the contracts carry a substantial cash payment in advance, usually 25 per cent. of the total contract price. This advance payment is deposited in some New York bank simultaneously with the manufacturer's depositing a surety bond guaranteeing his deliveries, and upon the manufacturer executing an additional surety bond guaranteeing his responsibility he could draw down all or any part of the cash advance he might wish to use for his immediate needs.

Before issuing these bonds the surety companies make rigid examination as to the ability of the manufacturer to fulfill his contract. The commission charged for issuing these bonds is from 2½ to 5 per cent. on the amount involved. The demand for bonds has been so great during the last six months that it has taxed to the limit the combined resources of all the surety companies in the country.

The remaining part of the contract price is usually guaranteed by bankers' irrevocable letters of credit or deposits

made with New York banks, to be drawn against as the goods are delivered, f. o. b. the factory—that is, free on board the cars—or f. a. s. the seaboard—that is, free alongside ship—as the terms may provide.

Banks here are beginning to purchase bank acceptances or bank-accepted bills of exchange, and in this manner payment is also being made to American manufacturers for goods sold to the Allies. For example, when a purchasing agent in Paris places an order for ammunition here he makes arrangements whereby the manufacturer will be authorized to draw on a New York banking institution at a stipulated maturity, and after acceptance of his drafts by such banking institution he could then negotiate these time drafts with his own banker—thus making them, less the discount, equivalent to cash—through whom they could be rediscounted by the Federal Reserve banks. These bank-accepted bills are discounted at a nominal rate of interest.

Before the war we were a debtor nation; today we are rapidly becoming, if we have not already become, a creditor nation. A year ago we were selling abroad only about as much goods as we were buying; now the balance of trade is greatly in our favor, due to the enormous export of foodstuffs and war supplies of all kinds. Monthly our exports are exceeding our imports by many millions of dollars. This indicates that foreign nations are going into debt to us.

At the time of writing this article foreign exchange was quoted as follows: London exchange, sterling, 4.76½; Paris exchange, franc, 5.45¼. By paying down \$4.76½ in New York you can get £1 in London, which on a par gold basis is equivalent to \$4.86 in London. By paying down 94½ cents in New York you can get the equivalent to 100 cents in Paris.

We now come to another interesting phase of this war supply business, namely, how some persons thought these war orders could be secured and how they are actually being placed. Almost immediately after the declaration of war, most of the belligerent Governments dispatched "commissions" to the United

States. Some had orders to buy, and others were authorized to get prices and submit samples. In an incredibly short period of time it became generally known that foreign Governments were shopping and buying in our markets. The knowledge of this fact brought about a condition unique in our business life.

Men in all walks of life, from porters, barbers, clerks in offices, to doctors, lawyers, real estate agents, merchants, Wall Street brokers and bankers, seemed suddenly imbued with the idea of securing or bringing about the placing of a war order. Self-appointed agents, middlemen and brokers sprang up over night like mushrooms, each and every one claiming he had an order or could get an order for war supplies; or, as the case might be, he personally knew some manufacturer, or he knew a friend who had a friend who knew a manufacturer, who in turn wished to secure a contract. An official in one of our large steel companies told me some weeks ago that among others who had called at his company's offices, asking prices on shrapnel, was an undertaker.

In most instances the lack of salesmanship experience, to say nothing of any knowledge of the business and how the particular articles are manufactured, was of no consequence to the self-appointed agent in his mad desire for business.

The lobbies of our New York hotels were filled with horsemen and would-be horsemen, some months ago, almost every State being represented as far west as California; also with manufacturers and manufacturers' agents, all eager to secure a "war contract," be it for horses, shrapnel, rifles, picric acid, guncotton, toluol, cartridges, boots, shoes, sweaters, blankets, machinery and

materials, &c. The very atmosphere of Manhattan Island seems impregnated with "war contractitis." We breathe it, we think it, we see it, we talk it, on our way downtown, at our offices and places of business, at our clubs, on our way home at night, in our homes, and I have been told that some have even slept it, the disease taking the shape of a nightmare.

The day of the broker, if indeed he ever had one in this business, is passed. The original commissioners have been withdrawn, or those who have been kept here are now acting as inspectors and have been replaced by purchasing agents. The firm of J. P. Morgan & Co. has been acting as purchasing agent for the English Government for some months past, is now acting in like capacity for the French Government, and has also done considerable buying for the Russian Government.

In order properly to handle this vast volume of business, a separate department was created, known as the Export Department. Connected with this department are experts in all lines—men who are thoroughly familiar with the various Governments' requirements, who know what prices should be paid, who are in close touch with each market, and who understand fully the materials they are buying.

There are a few more concerns, among which are one or two banks, trust companies, and Wall Street houses, which also have formed separate organizations for the purpose of purchasing war supplies for the Allies. As all these concerns are in close touch with the manufacturers and will only deal directly with them, the brokers and middlemen have very little, if any, chance of doing business.



Magazinists of the World on the War

Condensed from the Leading Reviews

While the armies and generals of the belligerents are trying to execute by force the policies of their respective Governments, their publicists are not less busy in the work of voicing the national aspirations. Moreover, such a critical examination of the status of each armed Power, from its own standpoint and in comparisons and contrasts with its opponents, has never been conducted before the peoples of the world. It is a time of national heart-searchings, both among the warring nations and of neutrals whose destinies are only less affected. Résumés of this great process as reflected in the world's leading reviews appear below, beginning with the British publications.

Germany's Long-Nourished Powers

THAT Germany has been preparing forty years for this war is flatly contradicted by J. Ellis Barker in his article entitled "The Secret of Germany's Strength," appearing in the *Nineteenth Century* and *After* for July.

Not forty years, but for 260 years, since Frederick William, the Great Elector, came to the Prussian throne, the slow-growing plants of German efficiency and thoroughness have steadily unfolded, Mr. Barker says, in the administrative, military, financial, and economic policy that make modern Germany. It was the Great Elector who "ruthlessly and tyrannously suppressed existing self-government in his possessions, and gave to his scattered and parochially minded subjects a strong sense of unity," thus clearing the way for his successors. Frederick William I. founded in the Prussia prepared by his grandfather "a perfectly organized modern State, a model administration, and created a perfectly equipped and ever ready army." Of him Mr. Barker says:

The German people are often praised for their thoroughness, industry, frugality, and thrift. These qualities are not natural to them. They received them from their rulers, and especially from Frederick William the First. He was an example to his people, and his son carried on the paternal tradition. Both Kings acted not only with thoroughness, industry, frugality, and economy, but they enforced these qualities upon their subjects. Both punished idlers of every rank of society, even of the most exalted. The regime of Thor-

ough prevailed under these Kings who ruled during seventy-three years. These seventy-three years of hard training gave to the Prussian people those sterling qualities which are particularly their own, and by which they can easily be distinguished from the easy-going South Germans and Austrians who have not similarly been disciplined.

While the Great Elector prepared the ground, and King Frederick William I. firmly laid the foundations, "Frederick the Great erected thereon the edifice of modern Germany." Mr. Barker adds:

Among the many pupils of Frederick the Great was Bismarck. It is no exaggeration to say that the writings which Frederick the Great addressed to posterity are the *arcana imperii* of modern Germany. Those who desire to learn the secret of Germany's strength, wealth, and efficiency, should therefore most carefully study the teachings of Frederick the Great.

Frederick's "Political Testament" of 1752 addressed to his successors begins with the significant words:

"The first duty of a citizen consists in serving his country. I have tried to fulfil that duty in all the different phases of my life."

Frederick William I. looked out for the education of his successors in his own militarist ideals. Instructing Major Borce in 1751 on the tutoring of his grand-nephew, the Heir-Presumptive of Prussia, he wrote:

It is very important that he should love the Army. Therefore he must be told at all occasions and by all whom he meets that men of birth who are not soldiers are pitiful wretches. He must be taken to see the troops drilling as often as he

likes. He ought to be shown the Cadets, and be given five or six of them to drill. That should be an amusement for him, not a duty. The great point is that he should become fond of military affairs, and the worst that could happen would be if he should become bored with them. He should be allowed to talk to all, to cadets, soldiers, citizens and officers, to increase his self-reliance.

A thorough monarchist, who noted that "when Sweden was turned into a republic it became weak," Frederick the Great preached a doctrine not different from that which inspires the speeches of Kaiser Wilhelm II. when he said in his "Political Testament" of 1752:

As Prussia is surrounded by powerful states my successors must be prepared for frequent wars. The soldiers must be given the highest positions in Prussia for the same reason for which they received them in ancient Rome when that State conquered the world. Honors and rewards stimulate and encourage talent and praise arouses men to a generous emulation. It encourages men to enter the army. It is paradoxical to treat officers contemptuously and call theirs an honored profession. The men who are the principal supports of the State must be encouraged and be preferred to the soft and insipid society men who can only grace an ante-chamber.

Mr. Barker comments on the fact that in 1776, thirteen years after the ruinous Seven Years' War, Frederick the Great had accumulated financial resources sufficient to pay for another war lasting four years, and that he pursued the food policy of his fathers "which is still pursued by the Prusso-German Government." Moreover, he first exalted the German professor:

A hundred and fifty years ago Prussia was a land peopled by boors. Now it is a land peopled by professors, scientists, and artists. Frederick the Great was the first Prussian monarch to realize that sci-

ence and art increase the strength and prestige of nations. Hence, he began cultivating the sciences and arts, and his successors followed his example. As science and art were found to be sources of national power, they were as thoroughly promoted as was the army itself, while in this country [England] education remained amateurish. Men toyed with science and the universities rather taught manners than efficiency.

The lesson of this centuries-old efficient governmental machine is a supreme one to democratic England, Mr. Barker thinks. Not that it is hopeless for a democracy to compete with a highly organized monarchy, for has not Switzerland shown that "a democracy may be efficient, businesslike, provident, and ready for war?" England, on the other hand, has been a lover of luxury and ease. She must gird up her loins and fight or die. The Anglo-Saxon race is fighting for its existence, and delay is dangerous:

War is a one-man business. Every other consideration must be subordinated to that of achieving victory. When the United States fought for their life, they made President Lincoln virtually a Dictator. The freest and most unruly democracy allowed Habeas Corpus to be suspended and conscription to be introduced, to save itself. Great emergencies call for great measures. The War demands great sacrifices in every direction. However, if it leads to England's modernization, to the elimination of the weaknesses and vices of Anglo-Saxon democracy, if it leads to the unification and organization of the Empire, the purification of its institutions, and the recreation of the race, the gain may be greater than the loss, the colossal cost of the War notwithstanding. The British Empire and the United States, the Anglo-Saxon race in both hemispheres, have arrived at the turning point in their history. The next few months will confirm their greatness or mark the beginning of their fatal decline.

"To Avenge"

Stern is the denunciation of W. S. Lilly, in the same issue of *The Nineteenth Century and After*, upon the atrocities recounted in an article on German atrocities in France by Pro-

fessor Morgan, appearing in the next preceding number. Mr. Lilly quotes Thomas Carlyle's sarcastic words about the "blind loquacious prudence of indiscriminate Philanthropism" that com-

mands no revenge for great injustice. He says:

Apart from the "fierce and monstrous gladness," with which the German people have welcomed the bellish cruelty of their soldiery, they must be held responsible for its crimes. General von Bernhardt, indeed, assures them that "political morality differs from individual morality because there is no power above the State." And they have been given over to a strong delusion to believe this lie. Above the State is the Eternal Rule of Right and Wrong: above the State is the Supreme Moral Governor of the Universe; yes, above the State is God. Let us proclaim this august verity though in France Atheism has been triumphant; in England Agnosticism is fashionable; in Lutheran Germany—worst of all—evil has been enthroned in the place of good, and "devils to adore for deities" is the proper cult.

The resolution of the old Roman patriot that "Carthage must be destroyed" is quoted by this writer. He adds:

As stern a resolution is in the minds and on the lips of all true lovers of their country and of mankind, be they English or French, Russian, Italian, Japanese, and I do not hesitate to add American. German militarism must be utterly destroyed and the monstrous creation of blood and

iron overthrown. Such is the plainest dictate of the instinct of self-preservation. It is also the plainest dictate of justice. Germany must be paid that she has deserved. When the triumphant Allies shall have made good their footing on her soil, they will not indeed rival her exploits or violating women and butchering children, of murdering prisoners and wounded, of slaying unoffending and peaceful peasants, of destroying shrines of religion and learning. But they will assuredly shoot or hang such of the chief perpetrators of these and the like atrocities as may fall into their hands. They will strip her of ill-gained territory. They will empty her arsenals and burn her war workshops. They will impose a colossal indemnity which will condemn her for long years to grinding poverty. They will confiscate her fleet. They will remove the treasures of her galleries and museums, and take toll of her libraries, to make compensation for her pillage and incendiarism in Belgium. The measure of punishment is always a matter of difficulty. But surely anything less than this would be wholly disproportionate to the rank offences of Germany. The reckoning, the restitution, the retaliation to be just must be most stern. The victorious Allies, who will be her judges, will not be moved by "mealy-mouthed philanthropes." "Justice shall strike and Mercy shall not hold her hands: she shall strike sore strokes, and Pity shall not break the blow."

The Pope, the Vatican, and Italy

In The Fortnightly Review for July E. J. Dillon is sweeping in his arraignment of the new Pope Benedict XV. and the Vatican, of the Pope because of his "neutrality in matters of public morality," and of the Vatican because of its hostility to the cause of Allies. Toward martyred Belgium and suffering France the Pope "has been generous in lip sympathy and promises of rewards in the life to come," Mr. Dillon says; but he has "found no word of blame for their executioners." Mr. Dillon personally offered Benedict XV. "some important information on the subject which seemed adequate to change his views or modify his action," but he "turned the conversation to other topics." In fairness he adds that "personally Benedict XV. had been careful to keep aloof from Buelow

and his band," and has neither said nor done anything blameworthy with the sole exception of the interview and message which he was reported to have given "to an American-German champion of militarism at the instigation of his intimate counsellor, Monsignor Gerlach"—an interview, by the way, which the Pope has since expressly repudiated.

Monsignor Gerlach, Mr. Dillon says, is "one of the most compromising associates and dangerous mentors that any sovereign ever admitted to his privacy," and continues:

Years ago, the story runs, Gerlach made the acquaintance of a worldly minded papal Nuntius in the fashionable salons of gay Vienna, and, being men of similar tastes and proclivities, the two enjoyed life together, eking out the wherewithal for their costly amusements in specula-

tions on the Exchange. When the Nuntius returned to Rome, donned the Cardinal's hat, and was appointed to the See of Albano as Cardinal Agliardi, he bestowed a canonry on the boon companion who had followed him to the eternal city. The friendship continued unabated, and was further cemented by the identity of their political opinions, which favored the Triple Alliance. Gerlach became Agliardi's tout and electioneering agent when that Cardinal set up as candidate for the papacy on the death of Leo XIII. But as his chances of election were slender, the pair worked together to defeat Rampolla, who was hated and feared by Germany and Austria. Their bitter opponent was Cardinal Richard, a witty French prelate who labored might and main for Rampolla, and told me some amusing stories about Agliardi. Some years ago Gerlach's name emerged above the surface of private life in Rome in connection with what the French term *un drame passionnel*, which led to violent scenes in public and to a number of duels later on. That this man of violent Pan-German sentiments should be the Pope's mentor and guide through the labyrinth of international politics seems a curious anachronism.

Although Cardinal della Chiesa, shortly before he became Benedict XV., was spoken of as the inheritor of Rampolla's Francophile leanings, it is "now conjectured that at the Conclave this legend secured from his not only the votes of the Teutonic Cardinals, who knew what his sentiments really were, but also those of the French and Belgians, who erroneously fancied that they knew," Dr. Dillon says. He does not hesitate to believe that the Pope is "at heart a staunch friend of Austria and a warm admirer of Germany, whom he looks upon as the embodiment of the principle of authority and conservatism." For the Vatican his words are more unsparring:

The Vatican, as distinguished from the Pope, was and is systematically hostile to the Allies. Its press organs, inspired by an astute and influential Italian ecclesiastic named Tedeschini, by Koeppenberg, a rabid German convert, and by the Calabrian Daffina, organized a formidable campaign against the King's Government and their supposed interventionist leanings. Its agents, including the priest Boncompagni and the German Catholics Erzberger, Koeppenberg, and others, were wont to meet in the Hotel de Russie to arrange their daily plan of campaign, and when at last the peo-

ple rose up against Giolitti and his enormities, the Vatican had its mob in readiness to make counter-demonstrations, and was prevented from letting it loose only by the superhuman efforts of decent Catholics and orderly citizens. It is a fair thing to add that the attitude of the Roman Catholic clergy throughout Italy has with some few exceptions been consistently patriotic. Even the bishops and archbishops of the provinces have deserved well of their King and country, while their flocks have left nothing to be desired on the score of loyalty and patriotism.

Buelow's mission to Italy and his relations with Giolitti, the defeated abettor of Austria in the business preceding Italy's declaration of war, when they encountered the statecraft of Sonnino and Salandra, are given in this version of Buelow's playing of his "trump card";

Although the die was cast and Italy's decision taken, he had the Austrian concessions greatly amplified, and he offered them, *not to the King's Government*, but to Giolitti, his secret ally, who was not in office, but was known to be the Dictator of Italy. And Giolitti accepted them on the condition, to be fulfilled after the Cabinet's fall, that the territory would be further enlarged and consigned to Italy before the end of the war. The increase of prestige which this concession would bestow on the tribune was to be his reward for co-operation with the German Ambassador. Giolitti having thus approved the offer, undertook to have it ratified by Parliament, in spite of the engagements which the Cabinet had already entered into with the Allied Powers. In this sense he spoke to the King, wrote a letter designed for the nation, and obtained the public adhesion of a majority of the Chamber which was not then sitting. Thereupon the Cabinet resigned and left the destinies of Italy in the hands of the King and the nation. On the part of the Cabinet this was a brilliant tactical move and a further proof of the praiseworthy moral courage which it had displayed throughout the crisis. Indeed, the firmness, perseverance, and dignified disregard of mild invective and more deliberate criticism manifested by Sonnino and Salandra, entitle these Ministers to the lasting gratitude of their country. For it should be borne in mind that they had against them not only the Senate, the Chamber, a section of the Press, the "cream" of the aristocracy, the puny sons and daughters of the leaders of the Risorgimento, but also, strange to say, the majority of Italian diplomatists in the capitals of the Great Powers, one of whom actually fell ill at the thought that Italy

was about to fight shoulder to shoulder with the State to which he was accredited. It would be interesting to psychologists to learn how this diplomatist and one or two

of his colleagues felt when a few days later they were serenaded by enthusiastic crowds whom they were constrained to address.

Are the Allies Winning?

In a Doubting Thomas article headed "Are We Winning?" the anonymous "Outis" in *The Fortnightly Review* concludes that "the Allies are winning, but very slowly. If their conquest is to be assured, Great Britain's task is to mobilize every soldier and every workman, in order to prove that whoever may fail, she at least does not intend to desist until the final triumph is won." Moreover, the conquest must be in the West "if anywhere," and he looks somewhat askance at the Dardanelles adventure:

A good many competent authorities have disliked the idea of the Dardanelles expedition, on the strength of a general prin-

ciple applicable to all military operations. It is said that in every war there is one distinct objective, and that that should never be neglected for any subsidiary operations. Thus, in the present instance, our main effort is to drive the Germans out of France and Belgium, and then to attack them in their own territory. Anything which interferes with this or throws it, however temporarily, into the background, is held to be unwise, because it leads to the most dangerous of results in warfare—the dissipation of forces, which, if united, would win the desired success, but if disunited will probably fail. Thus we are told that we must not fritter away our energies in enterprises which, however important in themselves, are not comparable with the one unique preoccupation of our minds—the conquest of Germany in Europe.

Selling Arms to the Allies

Horace White has no two opinions in his article in *The North American Review* for July as to the wisdom and justice of the practice of American manufacturers in selling munitions which the Allies are using to kill their Germanic enemies. Mr. White expresses it as the belief of the great majority of people in the United States that Germany's war is without sufficient cause, and that when she invaded Belgium she "made herself the outlaw of the nations—a country whom no agreements can bind." Therefore he can see why no limit should ever be put to the world's expenditure for armaments "while one incorrigible outlaw is at large." He adds:

It is the opinion of most Americans that the most incorrigible and dangerous outlaw and armed maniac now existing is Germany, and that the first and indispensable step toward a restriction of armaments and a quiet world is to throttle and disarm her, and that no price is too great to pay for such a consummation.

Any result of the present war which falls short of this will be the preliminary to a new armament and another war on a wider scale than the present one, since the United States will make preparations for the next one and most probably take part in it.

Hence proceeds Mr. White's justification for this neutral nation's supplying the Allies with arms:

Germany, by bursting her way through Belgium, was enabled to seize eighty to ninety per cent of the coal and iron resources of France and the greater part of her apparatus for the production of arms. She holds also the entire resources of Belgium, both of raw material and finished product. The foul blow by which she possessed herself of these indispensable treasures had two consequences which she did not look for—the active hostility of England and the moral indignation of all other nations. In helping France to make good the loss which she sustained through such perfidy the American people think that they are doing God's service, and their only regret is that they cannot do more of it. If they had foreseen the present

conditions they would have enlarged their gun factories and powder mills to meet the emergency more promptly.

A German writer in the *New York Times* of May 30, Mr. Vom Bruck, says: "If the German nation is wiped out with the help of American arms and ammunition no man of the white race in the United States would be able to think of such a catastrophe without horror and

remorse." All of the contending nations say that they are fighting for existence, which means that if they do not win in the end they will be wiped out. With such an alternative staring us in the face very few tears would be shed by Americans, of any color, if both the Hohenzollerns and the Hapsburgs, with all their belongings, should be wiped off the face of the earth.

War and Non-Resistance

The pacifist "mollycoddle," as Theodore Roosevelt dubbed him in his San Francisco Exposition speech, finds expression in these words of Bertrand Russell in the August number of the *Atlantic Monthly*:

All these three motives for armaments—cowardice, love of dominion, and lust for blood—are no longer ineradicable in civilized human nature. All are diminishing under the influence of modern social organization. All might be reduced to a degree which would make them almost innocuous, if early education and current moral standards were directed to that end. Passive resistance, if it were adopted deliberately by the will of a whole nation, with the same measure of courage and discipline which is now displayed in war, might achieve a far more perfect protection for what is good in national life than armies and navies can ever achieve, without demanding the carnage and waste and welter of brutality involved in modern war.

But it is hardly to be expected, Mr. Russell reluctantly concludes, that progress will come in this way, because "the

imaginative effort required is too great." He adds:

It is much more likely that it will come, like the reign of law within the state, by the establishment of a central government of the world, able and willing to secure obedience by force, because the great majority of men will recognize that obedience is better than the present international anarchy.

A central government of this kind would command assent not as a partisan, but as the representative of the interests of the whole. Very soon resistance to it would be seen to be hopeless and wars would cease. Force directed by a neutral authority is not open to the same abuse or likely to cause the same long-drawn conflicts as force exercised by quarrelling nations, each of which is the judge in its own cause. Although I firmly believe that the adoption of passive instead of active resistance would be good if a nation could be convinced of its goodness, yet it is rather to the ultimate creation of a strong central authority that I should look for the ending of war. But war will end only after a great labor has been performed in altering men's moral ideals, directing them to the good of all mankind, and not only of the separate nations into which men happen to have been born.

"Good Natured Germany"

The leading article in the June issue of the *Süddeutsche Monatshefte* (Munich) is by Dr. George Grupp, one of Germany's most able scholars, and is entitled, "Never Can Germany be Overcome if She be United." Dr. Grupp finds evidences for this assertion all through history, and quotes some of the

earliest commentators and historians to this effect:

As early as 1487 Felix Fabri, a Dominican of Ulm wrote: "Si Germani essent ubique concordēs, totum orbem domarent." (If the Germans were united they would conquer the whole world.)

The sentence is an echo of the fiery address which one Aeneas Silvius, later

to become pope, delivered to the German princes after the fall of Constantinople, and from which Felix Febri himself gives a quotation. . . .

To Germany alone the Greeks looked for any considerable help. An evidence of this is the beautiful and often quoted remark of the Athenian Laonikos Chalkokondylas: "If the Germans were united and the princes would obey, they would be unconquerable and the strongest of all mortals."

We encounter similar statements very frequently, both earlier and later, from the Roman courtier Dietrich von Nieheim and from the humanists, from the Alsatian Wimpfeling and Sebastian Brant, from the Swabian Naucerus, and the Frank Pirckheimer. "What could Germany be," they cry, "if she would only make use of her own strength, exploit her own resources for herself! No people on earth could offer her resistance!"

Dr. Grupp claims that Germany's lack of unity has resulted only from her rule of good-will toward all, within her borders as well as without.

It never occurred to the Germans as to other peoples to disturb the peaceful development of their neighbors. They allowed mighty powers to build themselves up unmolested and to rise above Germany's head. In their internal affairs they observed the same principle of justice; no line, no class, no province, no grant succeeded in obtaining so oppressive an ascendancy, that other lines and classes, other provinces and grants were simply annihilated. The unfortunate consequence was lack of unity.

Nowhere were or are there so many

cultural centres, so many different movements, tendencies, parties. This great multifariousness of the German life was recognized and admired by others. But this very multifariousness had its darker side, the fatal, much deplored lack of unity.

Through the centuries, Dr. Grupp claims, Germany has been altogether too good-natured, allowing other nations to all but bleed her to death.

In her peaceable disharmony Germany has dreamed along carelessly and good-naturedly for centuries until the abrupt awakening when she saw a yawning abyss opened up at her feet. Good-naturedly she has allowed herself to be plundered and faithfully she has fought other nations' battles. As early as the 15th century the humanists remarked the fact that alien states gladly took German soldiers into their service, and later on it was worse than that. Foreign countries gladly waged their wars on German territory. Here was decided for the most part the fate of the Spanish world-empire, here France and England battled for supremacy. The Seven Years' War was not only a question of Schleswig; it was a question of whether North America and even far-away India should be French or English.

Now the condition is suddenly reversed; the Germans are fighting for themselves, and the fact arouses the limitless rage of their opponents. Let us console ourselves with the fact that even in the Middle Ages it was said: "Teutonici nullius amici," in spite of their peaceableness.

Italy's Defection

Dr. Eduard Meyer has contributed an article to the *Süddeutsche Monatshefte* (Munich) on "Ancient Italy and the Rise of the Italian Nation." Dr. Meyer is professor of history in the University of Berlin, and is a brother of Dr. Kuno Meyer who recently attracted much attention in this country by severing his connection with Harvard University because of a prize "war poem" written by one of the undergraduates. A postscript reflects Dr. Meyer's present feeling toward Italy's defection:

The views which I have presented in this article are the fruit of long years of study and research; and I feel myself constrained to state explicitly that they are in no wise influenced by the events which we have experienced during the last few weeks. But it may be that a short postscript is necessary.

Italy has not won her present national unity by reason of her own strength; she owes it to the combinations of the changing world-situation and the victories of foreign powers, which her statesmen have known how to use to the best advantage.

According to Dr. Meyer, Italy's claim to be one of the great powers is not

based on any actual ability to uphold that claim; it merely happens that her assertion has not been challenged.

She has claimed for herself the status of a great power on a par with the other large nations of the world; but she has not possessed the inner strength of herself to support such a claim without the help of stronger powers.

In August, 1914, Italy had the opportunity to decide her fate. If she could have made the choice then, if she could have gone into the world-war with all the might that she possessed and, staking her whole existence, have fought toward the highest goal, she might have won for herself a powerful and self-sufficient place in the world.

On account of his many utterances since the outbreak of the war, Ludwig Thoma's *März* (Munich), a weekly founded by him, has attracted much attention. An article entitled "Italy's Defection," in a recent issue, is most bitter in tone, accusing Italy of long-standing intrigue and treachery.

We know that Italy went still further from the fact that at the renewal of the alliance in 1912 in Paris she expressly announced that she would not march against France. It will be remembered how quick the French army command was to take stock of relations on the southeastern border, with the result that in the very first days of mobilization their troops were called from the Savoy Alps and by the eighth of August were giving battle on the Alsatian border.

But Italy still guarded the neutrality which she had proclaimed and with apparent reasonableness she was able to hold that the letter of the Triple Alliance did not compel her to enter the con-

flict. Laughing in her sleeve she could even give it out that her sympathetic neutrality would sufficiently guarantee to her allies certain suspended contracts of an economic nature. Neutral Italy furnished Germany to a considerable extent with products of its own land and others which were not unwelcome.

That the mobilization of an Italian army on France's borders might have been able to decide the war as far back as September, is a consideration which, in the face of this hypocritical neutrality, one cannot face without driving one's nails into one's flesh!

It was through the connivance of England that Italy weakly found herself forced to enter the war against her former allies.

Sir Edward Grey found the way to do it. Italy learned that England was no longer in a situation to hold the Straits of Gibraltar and the Suez Canal open and was obliged to take over the control of Italian imports. Even before this British agents had control of the port of Genoa and there was no doubt that through most irritating measures on England's part which skillfully concealed the motive behind them, a blow would be struck at the very roots of Italy's existence and famine would set in. Presently the Italian politicians and the crown were confronted with a dilemma which left them the choice only between war and revolution. . . .

Not every people has the political government which it deserves; the Italian people are the victims of a government, essentially undeserved but traditionally faithless.

But Mars is now shaking the dice and behind the curtain of the future Revolution stands waiting.

Apologies for English Words

An indication of the height to which the "Gott Strafe England" feeling has climbed in Germany is shown in the following announcement by the management of *Die Woche* (Berlin):

TO OUR READERS!

Many readers of *Die Woche* have taken offense at the words "Copyright by . . ." (in English) and demand that this En-

glish formula be rendered hereafter in German. This desire, springing from patriotic motives, is easily understood, but unfortunately cannot be carried out for the form "Copyright by . . ." is demanded by the American copyright law in this form. If we did not print these words in English, which is the official language of the United States, our copyright in America would be void and the protection both of ourselves and our writers would be forfeited.

Germanic Peace Terms

[From the Budapest Correspondent of The London Morning Post.]

To the *Revue de Hongrie*, the only French paper in Budapest, Count Andrassy contributes an article for July entitled "Les garanties d'une paix durable," and discusses the peace terms the Central Empires are to put forward in the event of final victory. He objects to the idea of annexation or anything more than "boundary corrections," and says:

Our war is a defensive war, which will achieve its aim when our enemies have been expelled from our territory and their ring has been broken. This aim could be best served by making peace with one or other of our enemies and winning him over to our cause. This would be of immense advantage to the future of civilization and ensure us against the horrors of a prolonged war. A separate peace would be the best chance for certain Powers to change their international policy. To my mind the issues of this war will greatly change the attitude of some hostile States toward us, and will bring about more intimate relations between them and ourselves, besides widening the foundations of the alliance between Hungary and her allies. And this is to be the rock upon which the European balance of power is to rest in the future. Our war is not a war of conquest, and the boundary changes of which some people speak are not the *sine qua non* of a good peace. Therefore I do not even wish to speak about certain territorial alterations, which, nevertheless, might be necessary.

Regarding the question of England and nationality, Count Andrassy says:

Victory no doubt affords us the right to demand the alteration of the map of Europe, yet, this not being our aim and not to our interest, we can be satisfied with certain compensations, as no doubt our enemies would not spare us if they were victorious. Lloyd George said that the States are to be shaped in the future according to nationalities, which means that the Monarchy is to be disrupted. An

English scholar not long ago expressed the same view, and, in fact, in England this idea is being impressed upon the people. This policy is sounded in a country which dominates so many millions of alien nationalities. If England speaks in this way, though she is not in direct conflict with us, what can we expect from Russia or Italy? Everyone knows that Russia wants Galicia, the Bukovina, Maramoros; Serbia wants Bosnia, Herzegovina, Croatia, Slavonia, and the Banat; Italy they won to their side by promising her our territory; Transylvania is promised to the one who cares to take it; henceforth, if we wish to defend it, we shall have to prepare for a new attack from another quarter. Yet nothing would be more alien to our thoughts than that if victorious we should annex foreign territory, for we would have seriously to consider if such conquest would be to our advantage or not. The same policy ought to be applied in Germany. Though her enemies would not spare her either, she must be cautious not to go too far in her appetites, and should seek for monetary compensations. Most of all she has to be careful not to claim territory, which would mean everlasting unrest and a new irredentism. It would be a bad policy even to touch the Balkans, for such interference would sooner or later bring Russia back to the Balkans, and the peoples there, menaced in their independence by us, would turn to Russia. We would thus place nations used to independence under alien rule, and such an act would neither be a wise nor a paying policy.

As regards Italy, Count Andrassy has also a solution which is quite generous. He says:

We would not do well if we were influenced by just revenge and turned our eyes on Italian territory. To force territory from a country whose people are so patriotic would be a source of weakness on our part. In the worst case, only boundary corrections can be thought of, and no conquest. Italy must recompense us by money and not territory, for not the Italian people, but its Government, committed a breach of faith against us.

France's Bill of Damages

The agricultural problem in France is the subject of an article by Professor Daniel Zolla in *La Revue Hebdomadaire*

(Paris). Professor Zolla is a leader in the agricultural school at Grignon, and the main part of his article is a discus-

sion of France's agricultural losses and how to repair them. He sums the present situation as follows:

At the end of May the enemy were occupying territory amounting to about two million hectares. In this zone as in the regions invaded though immediately evacuated, the agricultural losses have been admittedly severe; harvests, livestock, implements, fodder, have been stolen or destroyed; the buildings, burned or ruined, will have to be entirely rebuilt. The soil itself, ploughed with trenches, dug up by shells, infested with weeds, has lost much of its fertility. . . .

In the invaded region which is one of the richest and most fertile in all France, the farming capital amounts at the least to five hundred francs per hectare, not counting the value of the buildings and of the land itself. For a total of two million hectares, the sum thus represented in the personal advances of farmers reach or surpass a billion, for in French Flanders and in Artois this minimum estimate of five hundred francs is greatly exceeded.

Concerning future indemnification for these losses, Professor Zolla writes:

It is the entire country at which the enemy wished to strike by ruining a certain number of the people; it is the country which should repair the ruin and indemnify the losses. Never will the principle of national solidarity apply with more justice and reason. The interest of the state can demand, it is true, that the victim who has become a creditor of the country shall not exact immediate payment of the sums due him. This is a question of the time needed to enable the country to pay and the representatives of the nation must be the judges of that.

But admitting the principle, it will suffice if it be known that the Treasury accepts the liability; it will be sufficient if certain annuities are promised and managed so that the parties can procure through the ordinary avenues of credit, the necessary indemnities.

This is the method which the National Assembly adopted in 1873. A sum of one hundred and eleven millions voted as relief, was represented by twenty-six annuities including interest at five per cent and redemption.

Professor Zolla admits that France is going to encounter a serious difficulty in the scarcity of labor which is sure to follow the close of the war. It is not too early, he advises, to begin working on the solution of this problem so that France will be ready to meet it when it arises:

There are in the main, two methods by which the scarcity of farm labor can be offset:

1. By multiplying the machines which replace manual labor,

2. By modifying our agricultural methods so that preference is given to those which demand the least proportion of manual labor. . . .

All the associations which are fortunately so numerous in our country, all the agricultural societies, all the co-operative societies which are already formed, should double their efforts to put at the disposition of their members those implements which on account of their high price are not available for the individual farmer.

Prices will rise after the war, but this, argues Professor Zolla, will be beneficial rather than otherwise.

High prices will be offset by large production; this excess of production will, however, follow on the activity of the rural producer, and that activity will be maintained and increased by high prices which always insure large profits.

In short, the rise in price will be most favorable to the agricultural interests just at a time when the difficulties of obtaining labor will come to swell the necessary expenses of production. The crisis which might be in store is thus dissipated and the agricultural situation remains much as it was before the war—that is to say, very satisfactory.

The losses undergone will be considerable in the invaded regions, the obstacles which the farmer must overcome will be great but not insurmountable, but success will recompense the valor and the hard labor of our countrymen. And to be just we must not forget that this will be made possible by the work of the French women in the fields.

A French Rejoinder

In the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (Paris), of which he is managing editor, M. Francis Charmes, of the Académie

Française, replies to a speech made by von Bethmann-Hollweg before the Reichstag, in which the German Chan-

cellor expressed sympathy for the deluded French soldiers, who had not an inkling of the true course which the war was taking. M. Charmes ironically remarks:

We do not publish, he [von Bethmann-Hollweg] claims, any of the German dispatches, so that opinion is quite unenlightened as to what is actually happening on the field of battle.

One would think, according to M. de Bethmann-Hollweg, that the German dis-

patches are a source on which one can rely with full confidence, and one would imagine, too, since he had thus reproached us, that the German newspapers published the French dispatches.

As a matter of fact, they do not and if it is necessary to hear both sides to know the truth then the Germans are quite ignorant of it. They are indeed very far removed from knowing it, and it is a constant surprise to our officers and our soldiers to discover when they question their prisoners, the profound illusions under which they labor.

Dr. von Bode's Polemic

Some time ago Dr. Wilhelm von Bode, the well-known director of the Berlin Art Museums and Germany's authority in matters of art, issued a justification of German conduct in Rheims and Louvain, which he supported by a review of Germany's world-contribution to art. "The German Science of Art and the War," was the title of the article. Jacques Mesnil, writing in the *Mercure de France*, presents a reply to Dr. von Bode's polemic.

He brands as infantile the reasoning by which Dr. Bode proves the German soldier incapable of destroying a work of art. The German professor stated that civilization, and with it art, could not have survived were it not for the protection of German militarism. M. Mesnil replies:

M. Bode should have been able to separate a little better two things which have nothing to do with each other: strategy and the history of art. He should have explained the conduct of the soldiers by the service which is required of them; he should have pointed out precisely the point of view of the archeologist as incompatible with that of the warrior and he should have freed of responsibility those who, loving the picturesque old

cities and the pure creations of artists, could not sympathize with those who destroy them.

Far from this, he has invoked the merits of German science to justify the outrages of the soldiery and in his eyes the fact that German savants have added to the progress of archeology suffices to prove that the German army is incapable of destroying works of art.

Examination of Professor von Bode's claim that Germany leads the world in the "science of art," would seem to M. Mesnil to show that the German art-scientist is little more than a painstaking classifier, a mere cataloguer.

Taken as a whole, the art historians in Germany are a lot of excellent laborers, energetic and conscientious, who could render valuable service were they well directed. But it is precisely their direction which is at fault. Those among them who play the rôle of leader do not know how to distinguish the relative importance of the problems which come to their consideration; in confused multitude of facts, they follow a purely exterior and quite military order in their classifications; in the same way that a man in the army is a man only and that all the human units are in rigid divisions, so for the apostles of "the science of art" a fact is a fact and automatically falls under the head destined for it.

"Carnegie and German Peace"

An article in *La Revue* (Paris), "Carnegie and the German Peace," would seem to indicate that France is not yet looking toward peace. The article is by

Jean Finot himself, the well-known editor and publisher of *La Revue*, and it gives the pacifists short shrift indeed. The American peace propaganda, M.

Finot characterizes as "the attempt at corruption," and he holds Mr. Carnegie responsible:

Unfortunately Mr. Carnegie endeavors to keep them [his opinions regarding peace] alive by supporting them with considerable sums of money for their diffusion abroad. A movement for "a German peace" has thus sprung up in America and it is taking on more and more disquieting proportions. . . .

Mr. Carnegie has been accused and not perhaps without reason, of subsidizing many Germanophile publications and thus of aiding in the work of corruption which Germany and her agents are carrying on throughout the whole world.

The recent peace congress of women at The Hague comes in for some strong language:

The International congress of women pacifists seems to be due to Mr. Carnegie's generosity. This poisoning of public opinion, carried out systematically by his agents and his money, has become particularly odious. We do not suspect the honesty of his intentions, but we deplore his profound lack of comprehension of the events which have been taking place before his eyes.

Among the American women noted for their talent and character, Miss Jane Addams occupies a prominent place. But it seems that her sturdy honesty was not sufficient to resist the temptation of putting herself at the heels of Mr. Carnegie. We are convinced the charges of other than purely disinterested motives against Miss Addams are wholly unjustified. But she has participated in the women's congress at The Hague under truly regrettable conditions.

M. Finot's references to Chautauqua and the part it plays in the preparation of American opinion are veiled but none the less suggestive:

The important rôle which the Chautauqua conferences play in the United States is well known. These conferences of teachers which have so profound an influence on American opinion have been supported by Mr. Carnegie in the interests of realizing this idea of a precipitate peace, of a German peace. All manner of adventurers and seekers of easy fortunes have gathered around this strange deviation of the pacifist ideal represented by the multi-millionaire and the men of his stripe.

Russia's Supply of Warriors

In an article headed "Ought the War to Last Long—and Can It Last Long?" V. Kuzmin-Karavaeff says in the Russian European Messenger for June:

It is, of course, impossible to say how long the war will last. But the case is altered if the question be put in another form: *Ought* the war to last long, and *can* it last long? The ten months which have elapsed make it entirely possible to answer it, for, in answering it, there is no need to guess at the thoughts, wishes, and hopes of the Germans which are bound up with the war.

In the eyes of Russia and her Allies the present war has as its object the crushing and dispersing of "the nest of militarism," constructed in the centre of Europe by the hand of Bismarck and the vainglory of Wilhelm II. That was clearly defined last autumn by our diplomatic department. That is precisely the way in which it was and is defined by all classes of the Russian people, not excluding those who are represented by Kropotkin and Plekhanoff. The present war became far more for Germany than a war

for the integrity of her territory, for her colonial interests, or for her commercial supremacy, from the moment when three—now four—great powers rose at her arrogant challenge. Germany is everywhere attacking, but, in reality, she is conducting a desperate war of defence for the organization of her existence, which, for the space of forty years, has rested on a nervous anticipation of war with her neighbors. Germany's offensive is a strategical manoeuvre. As a matter of fact, she is fighting like a wild animal surrounded on all sides. And, of course, she will carry on the war until the last degree of exhaustion is reached. She has accumulated within her many forces—technical forces. Mere technical forces cannot stand their ground in the end. But no little time must still elapse. And the war *must* continue for a long time still, if the "nest of militarism" is to be annihilated.

But, on the other hand, *can* it continue a long time? We Russians have a complete right to say, with conviction: Yes. Ten months of war have plainly demonstrated that we still possess a land which



TAKE JONESCO

A Former Cabinet Minister, and Leader of Pro-Ally Party in Rumania
(Photo from Central News.)



DEMETRIOS GOUNARIS
Leader of the Neutralist Party, who Succeeded Venizelos as
Premier of Greece

is still intact, and personal and economic forces.

To the east of the Dnieper and Moscow the war is hardly felt at all. This is particularly true of the principal foundations of our life—the peasant country parts numbering their hundred millions. The villages have sent to the war millions of young men, and even fathers of families, heads of households. Many tears have already been shed in the country, and there are many orphans, many cripples. But the peasant countryside has not suffered economically. On the contrary, after ten months of war and closed liquor-shops, it has reconstructed itself and smartened itself up to a noteworthy degree. The fields have been sown. From among the huge mass only those laboring hands have been withdrawn for the war which would not have remained at home in any case, but would have been lured away to earn money elsewhere.

The same thing is observable also in the towns. The masses in the towns have increased their deposits in the savings

banks tenfold, while consuming more meat than before the war, and resorting less frequently to the loan banks. Information made its way out of Germany long ago to the effect that all the males there, with the exception of decrepit old men and small children, have been called to the army. The peculiar "crisis in men" in Berlin has frequently served as a subject of jest in the humorous press.

In Russia, every railway station swarms with young, healthy, powerful porters who offer their services; every large restaurant has a host of waiters; the wharves on the Volga and, in conclusion, the mere throngs on the streets bear witness to the fact that nothing resembling the "crisis in men" exists with us. Numerous as have been the soldiers who have gone to the war, the supply of men who are capable of bearing arms is still colossal with us. Consequently, we have the material to fill up losses in the army. And that being the case, we can go on with the war for a long time to come—for as long a time as may be necessary to bring it to a proper ending.

Austria and the Balkans

Germanic influences in the Balkan Peninsula are discussed by A. Pogodin in the magazine *Russian Thought*. Mr. Pogodin says:

Without having in view any acquisitions whatsoever in the northern part of the Peninsula, Russia is deeply interested in seeing to it that Germanic influence does not acquire preponderance there, because that influence, in its turn, has no aims save territorial acquisition. The Balkan Peninsula is admitted to be the most influential camp of Pan-Germanism for the colony desired by the Germanic world, from which it is but a step to Central Asia. And it was this plan that Russia was compelled to combat. Unfortunately, she resisted too feebly, and our diplomacy betrayed an extremely poor comprehension of Russian problems. Austria's snatching appetite was fully revealed in the formula of partition of the Peninsula into two spheres of influence: Austria was to have Serbia and Bosnia, Russia the Bulgarian provinces of the Ottoman Empire. We all know how that ended: Serbia was abandoned by Russia at the Berlin Congress, and had no choice but to throw herself into the arms of Austria, which wrought fearful demoralization in the land. Tens of years were required before little, tormented Serbia—which had not, neverthe-

less, lost her freshness of spiritual power—"found herself," that is to say, turned again to Russia, and did not reject her even during the period of the persecutions of 1908 which followed. This constituted the great service rendered to his people by the King of Serbia, Peter. Serbia has not perished, has not fallen into ruin, and has shown herself able to endure a war with Turkey, as she is now bearing the incredible blows of Austria-Hungary. But Bulgaria, which rejected Russia, has been seized in the grip of internal disturbances; she stands distracted before her Slavonic duty, and knows not whither she must go or why. If, at the last moment, she has sufficient sense to find her only way of salvation, which is in friendship with Slavdom, that, again, will be to the credit of Russia.

That is why, at the present moment, when the last act of the Balkan tragedy, begun long ago, is being played, we can look history in the face with calm eyes. Whatever may be formed after the end of this war, whether a Slavonic Federation, in which Russia could hardly take much interest, since she requires, first of all, the concentration of her own forces, or a series of independent, separate Slavonic kingdoms, we may say that, in having summoned the Slavs to unity, Russia has not deceived them, has not led them along a false road to destruction.

Italy's Publications in War-Time

Absolutely nothing is published in the Italian papers or reviews concerning military or naval operations until the result of a given movement is known. Meanwhile, what are Italians reading and what is the intellectual food given them to sustain the wonderful sentimental enthusiasm with which they welcomed the war?

Previous to Italy's declaration of war against Austria-Hungary, on May 24, the press in general dealt with the negotiations between the two Governments from the point of view of domestic politics, which gave foreigners the impression that Italy was only waiting to receive her price to remain neutral until the end of the war. Austrian intrigue and dilatoriness were alike criticized. Little was said about Germany in regard to Italy, although her military methods in Belgium and northern France, her raids on the defenseless coast towns of England, and her submarine activities in the War Zone were severely condemned. This censure, however, was entirely academic and objective. The reviews republished a quantity of English, French, Russian, and even American articles as to the causes of the war, and the illustrations which accompanied them could hardly be considered pro-Teutonic. Only the comic press—and this in spite of its augmenting circulation which should have indicated to observers the sentiment that was elsewhere suppressed—gave full vent to popular emotion.

The moment war was declared there was a complete change. To be sure the "Green Book" was published in numerous 20-cent editions and sold by the hundreds of thousands and the closing speeches of Italian and Austrian diplomats were given in full with comments, yet little time was wasted with explanations of the failure of the Italo-Austrian negotiations and the meaning of the Seventh Article of the Triple Alliance. The daily press, the weekly periodicals, and the monthly reviews suddenly changed their objective expositions

of Germany's conduct in regard to others and began to expound, explain, and elucidate, in an intimate subjective manner, how that conduct affected Italy.

Austria was almost ignored. The anti-German riots at Milan and other cities, where thousands of dollars worth of property was systematically destroyed before the authorities could interfere, showed the volcano that had been lying dormant beneath the surface. Articles which must have been prepared months before suddenly appeared in the press and reviews showing how Germany had come to control the banks and steamship lines of the Peninsula and how German capital, under the guise of promoting Italian enterprises, had laid hold of vast industries whose profits went to fill the pockets of the Germans; and, worst of all, how the savings of Italian immigrants in America had gone, through the German-conducted banks, to enrich the same persons without any contingent benefit to Italians.

Indeed, it almost seemed as though the press and reviews alike had been organized as completely as had the army and navy for the prosecution of the war with the sole object in view of preventing Germany ever again from using the Peninsula as a territory for exploitation. The propaganda for *Italia Irredenta* suddenly sank into insignificance beside the determination to throw off, once and for all, the German commercial, industrial, and financial yoke, revealing the abiding faith of the Italian people that their army would attend to the former as completely as desirable and without the advice and criticism of civilians. Faith in their King and their army and in their ultimate success is not a matter for argument among Italians.

Meanwhile, the staffs of all publications, from editors to compositors, have felt the weight of conscription—sacrifices they enthusiastically make for the common cause. Their pages may be fewer and some favorite contributors may be heard of no more, but they are sure that the public will bear with them.

On the other hand, a new periodical has sprung into existence called *La Guerra d'Italian nel 1915*—The Italian War of 1915—the first number of which has just come to hand. Its introduction accompanied with several well-made portraits constructs the basis of Italy's action—how Italy having been tricked through a fancied fear of France and the apparent unresponsiveness of England into entering the Triple Alliance in 1882, had been forced to remain there, possibly protected thereby from actual Austrian aggression, but ever a prey to German exploitation. Then comes an analysis of the Italo-Austrian negotiations, conducted directly and through Prince von Bülow, the Special German Ambassador in Rome, showing why these negotiations could not possibly have succeeded. Like the Government itself the new periodical is in no haste to describe military operations.

The first review to devote almost its entire space to the war was *La Vita Internazionale* of Milan. The opening article is by the well-known publicist E. T. Moneta. He begins:

Without boast but with self-esteem secure, Italy has taken her place in the combat among the nations which for ten months have been fighting for the liberty of the people and the cause of civilization. The enthusiasm with which this announcement has been received in France, Russia, and England, and especially in martyred Belgium, is enormous. For they have all understood what decisive effect our army would produce on the destiny of the Great War.

The fighters for liberty and civilization who have always hoped for an ultimate victory, today feel the certainty of that hope, and that the duration of the war with the loss of millions of other lives will be shortened. For this reason, from those governments and people, from their parliaments and from their press, from workingmen's societies and from institutions of learning there have come to our country warm words of admiration and of social unity. All these things form an added inspiration for us to do our best to hasten the end of this slaughter of men.

Signor Moneta goes on to compliment the diplomacy of Premier Salandra for resigning from office and thus giving the people the opportunity to show through

their demonstrations that they desired war and to silence once and forever the propaganda of Giolitti who had declaimed in vain that the people did not want war, as they could secure by negotiations unredeemed Italy—as though that were all.

Another article is by D. Giuseppe Antonini and is entitled "The German Madness." Its subject, full of quotations from Treitschke, Nietzsche, and Bernhardt, is not new to Americans. For Italians it may come as a revelation. It demonstrates the formative influences which have found expression in what is called "Prussian Militarism," as an attitude of mind which believes in the supremacy of force over all things—over goodness, virtue, kindness, and all else that make life worth living. It declares that Prussian Militarism has so possessed all Germans that not only their moral but their logical point of view has become distorted, so that they behold nought but virtue in applying science to bring about Mediaeval results. The conflict, he declares, is between absolutism which pretends to be sufficient unto itself and democracy which receives its power from the people, and that the latter must win unless centuries of the power, by revolutions without number, for the benefit of the masses are to end in failure.

Paolo Baccari deals with "The Supreme Duty." He says that the intervention of Italy was not merely to complete Unification by uniting all Italians of the Peninsula and the Adriatic littoral under one flag and government, but to register herself as standing for justice, law, and humanity against organized barbarity, injustice, illegality, and inhumanity, which, if victorious, would not rest until it had conquered the world. He calls the peace propaganda at this time a "vile lie of conventionality" because its success could only mean the victory of those forces which all honest nationalities and persons condemn.

As to the other serious reviews, such as the *Nuova Antologia* and the *Rivista d'Italia*, their June numbers, aside from expounding Italy's relations to Germany, have not gone beyond academic

discussion of the causes of the war and the economic phases as revealed by the budgets of France, England, and Russia, and the sacrifices that Italy must endure in order to make her a worthy ally of these countries, all putting forth their greatest efforts in the battle for the world's salvation.

There are in Italy a large number of popular, well illustrated, monthly magazines, which, taking it for granted that their readers have already been thoroughly instructed as to the diplomatic phases of the war, have started a campaign of education in regard to the war itself. There are articles contrasting the armies of the days of Garibaldi and the great King Victor Emmanuel with those of the present. There are also articles, historical and descriptive, sociological and economic, on Trieste, Trent, and other cities of Unredeemed Italy, and historical monographs showing the bonds that formerly bound Italy to England

and to France which have now been cemented anew, free from all Teutonic influence.

Among the magazines of this class are the *Secolo XX*, the *Noi e il Mondo*, and *La Lettura*; all, whenever the occasion offers, deal generously and enthusiastically with Italy's allies.

In all this published matter one thing has been revealed since Italy entered the war. Previously all the Italian writers placed in the same category of contempt the alleged attempts that were being made to influence Italy by the Central Empires as well as by the Entente Powers and unblushingly declared that if Italy ever entered the war it would not be for the benefit of one party or the other but for the benefit of herself alone. Now they frankly confess that the Entente Powers made no attempt to influence Italy, knowing all the time that when she was ready she would line up on their side.

Sweden and the Lusitania

By SWEDISH ARTISTS AND PROFESSORS

Stockholm, May 10, 1915.

English people know that the Swedish nation is practically unanimous in supporting the Government in its policy of strict neutrality. Yet a large section of the people, whether the majority or not we cannot say, is anything but neutral in their feelings at the methods of warfare which have been adopted in this terrible war, and have culminated in the sinking of the *Lusitania*.

The misconception that war suspends all laws of humanity must prove fatal to the future of civilization and disastrous for that human solidarity that is of such vital interest to the smaller nations especially.

(Signed)

SVANTE ARHIENIUS, Professor.
 BARON ADELWARD.
 VICTOR ALMQUIST, Chief Director
 for State Prisons.
 W. LECS, Professor.
 KNUT KJELLBERG, Professor.
 JULES AKERMAN, Professor.
 TORGNY SEGERSTEDT, Professor.
 ISRAEL HOLMGREN, Professor.
 G. KOBBER, Professor.
 OTTOR ROSENBERG, Professor.
 GUNNAR ANDERSSON, Professor.
 GERHARD DE GEER, Professor.
 OLOF KINBERG, M.D.
 ALFRED PETREN, M.D.
 JOHN TJERNELD, barrister.

TOR HEDBERG, author.
 HJALMAR SODERBERG, author.
 G. STJERNSTEDT, barrister.
 IVAN HEDQUIST, actor at Royal
 Theatre.
 IVAN BRATT, M.D.
 T. FOGELQUIST, Rector.
 MRS. EMILIA BROOME.
 MISS SIGNE HEBBA.
 CHRISTIAN ERIKSEN, sculptor.
 LUDVIG MOBERG, M.D.
 KARL NORDSTROM, artist.
 NILS KREUGER, artist.
 ARNOLD JOSEFSON, M.S.
 CARL ELDH, sculptor.
 MISS ALMA SUNDQUIST, M.D.

A Threatened Despotism of Spirit

By Gertrude Atherton

The subjoined article, appearing as a letter to THE NEW YORK TIMES, was provoked by the appearance on hundreds of billboards in New York of flaring appeals to American women that they use their influence to prevent the further exportation of arms and munitions to the enemies of Germany.

New York, July 5, 1915.

To the Editor of The New York Times:

As I do not belong to any of the suffrage or other woman's organizations in New York, may I say in your columns that for the honor of my sex, if for no other reason, I hope the Mayor will consent to the obliteration of those disingenuous posters addressing "American citizens," and so cunningly worded and signed as to produce an impression of representing the women of the United States? If the people that are spending their thousands so freely had come out frankly and stated that they were pro-German, and that the success of their propaganda would mean defeat for the Allies, short of ammunition, and victory for a nation that has nine-tenths of all the ammunition in Europe, then at least we should have the sheep separated from the goats; we could put it down to masculine influence over the weaker female vessel, which at least was trying to be honest, and let it go at that.

But I hold that such a poster, flaring from every billboard, is a defamation of patriotic American women, and a distinct blow to the cause of suffrage. It will not only antagonize men, who alone have the power to grant the franchise in those States still obdurate, but disgust thousands of women not yet won over to the cause, and far too intelligent not to know the precise meaning behind those lying and hypocritical words. For if that poster were really representative of American women it would mean that American women were traitors to their country, just as all pro-German American men, whatever their descent, are traitors, whether they realize it or not. What was the cause of

the roar of indignation that went up all over the United States on Aug. 1? Anti-Germanism? Not a bit of it. If Russia had made the declaration of war the roar would have been as immediate and as loud. It was the spontaneous protest of the spirit of democracy against an arrogant autocracy that dared to plunge Europe into war and the world into panic, without the consent of the people; the manifest of a mediaeval power by an ambitious and unscrupulous group over millions of industrious, peace-loving men who had nothing to gain and all to lose.

It has been pointed out over and over again how diametrically opposed are the German and American ideals; therefore, it seems incredible that every American who champions the cause of a powerful and sublimely egotistic nation does not realize that what he hopes to see is not only the victory of the German arms in Europe, but the eventual destruction of democracy, the annihilation of the spirit of America as epitomized in the Declaration of Independence. I have not the least apprehension of immediate war with Germany, any more than of physical defeat at her hands did she, with the rest of Europe prostrate, make a raid on our shores; but it seems hardly open to question that with Europe Prussianized, we, the one heterogeneous race, and always ready to absorb and imbibe from the parent countries, should lose, in the course of half a century, our tremendous individual hustle, and gratefully permit a benevolent (and cast iron) despotism (not unnecessarily of our own make) to do our thinking, perhaps to select our jobs and apportion our daily tasks.

For that is what it almost amounts to now in Germany, and it is for this reason, no less than to escape military service, that so many millions of Germans have immigrated to this country. Unlike the vast majority of the bourgeois and lower classes, a kindly but stupid people, they were born with an alertness of mind and an energy of character which gave them the impetus to transfer themselves to a land where life might be harder but where soul and body could attain to a complete independence. Their present attitude is, however unconsciously, hypocritical, but it is not altogether as traitorous as that of the American born, who has not the excuse of that peculiar form of sentimentality which has fermented in Germans at home and abroad during this period of their Fatherland's peril. It is this curious and wholly German brand of sentimentality which is the cohering force in the various and extraordinarily clever devices by which modern Germany has been solidified. It is a sentimentality capable of rising to real exaltation that no other nation is capable of, and that alone should make the American pro-German pause and meditate upon a future United States where native individualism was less and less reluctantly heading for the iron jaws of the Prussianized American machine; and, furthermore, upon the weird spectacle of the real gladiatorial contest—German sentimentality wrestling in a death grapple with American downright unpicturesque common sense.

During the seven years that I lived in Munich I learned to like Germany better than any state in Europe. I liked and admired the German people; I never suffered from an act of rudeness, and I never was cheated out of a penny. I was not even taxed until the year before I left, because I made no money out of the country and turned in a considerable amount in the course of a year. When my maid went to the Rathaus to pay my taxes, (moderate enough,) the official apologized, saying that he had disliked to send me a bill, but the increased cost of the army compelled the country to raise money in

every way possible. This was in 1908. The only disagreeable German I met during all those years was my landlord, and as we always dodged each other in the house or turned an abrupt corner to avoid encounter on the street, we steered clear of friction. And he was the only landlord I had.

I left Munich with the greatest regret, and up to the moment of the declaration of war I continued to like Germany better than any country in the world except my own.

The reason I left was significant. I spent, as a rule, seven or eight months in Munich, then a similar period in the United States, unless I traveled. I always returned to my apartment with such joy that if I arrived at night I did not go to bed lest I forget in sleep how overjoyed I was to get back to that stately and picturesque city, so prodigal with every form of artistic and aesthetic gratification. But that was just the trouble. For as long a time after my return as it took to write the book I had in mind I worked with the stored American energy I had within me; then for months and in spite of good resolutions and some self-anathema I did nothing. What was the use? The beautiful German city so full of artistic delight was made to live in, not to work in. The entire absence of poverty in that city of half a million inhabitants alone gave it an air of illusion, gave one the sense of being the guest of a hospitable monarch who only asked to provide a banquet for all that could appreciate. I look back upon Munich as the romance of my life, the only place on this globe that came near to satisfying every want of my nature. And that is the reason why, in a sort of panic, I abruptly pulled up stakes and left it for good and all. It is not in the true American idea to be too content; it means running to seed, a weakening of the will and the vital force. If I remained too long in that lovely land—so admirably governed that I could not have lost myself, or my cat, had I possessed one—I should in no long course yield utterly to a certain resentfully admitted tendency to dream

and drift and live for pure beauty; finally desert my own country with the comfortable reflection: Why all this bustle, this desire to excel, to keep in the front rank, to find pleasure in individual work, when so many artistic achievements are ready-made for all to enjoy without effort? For—here is the point—an American, the American of today—accustomed to high speed, constant energy, nervous tenseness, the uncertainty, and the fight, cannot cultivate the leisurely German method, the almost scientific and impersonal spirit that informs every profession and branch of art. It is our own way or none for us Americans.

Therefore, if loving Germany as I did, and with only the most enchanting memories of her, I had not immediately permitted the American spirit to assert itself last August and taken a hostile and definite stand against the German idea (which includes, by the way, the permanent subjection of woman) I

should have been a traitor, for I knew out of the menace I had felt to my own future, as bound up with an assured development under insidious influences, what the future of my country, which stands for the only true progress in the world today, and a far higher ideal of mortal happiness than the most benevolent paternalism can bestow, had in store for it, with Germany victorious, and America (always profoundly moved by success owing to her very practicality) disturbed, but compelled to admire.

The Germans living here, destitute as their race seems to be of psychology when it comes to judging other races, must know all this; so I say that they are traitors if they have taken the oath of allegiance to the United States. If they have not, and dream of returning one day to the fatherland, then I have nothing to say, for there is no better motto for any man than: "My country, right or wrong."

"Gott Mit Uns"

By C. HUNTINGTON JACOBS

[Harvard Prize Poem]

Professor Kuno Meyer, of the University of Berlin, resigned his incumbency as Visiting Professor at Harvard University during the next season because of this poem, which was printed in *The Harvard Advocate* of April 9th, last, and won the prize in a competition for poems on the war conducted by that publication. This announcement of it appeared editorially: "Dean Briggs and Professor Bliss Perry, the judges of the *Advocate* war poem prize competition, have awarded the prize to C. Huntington Jacobs, 1916."

No doubt *ye* are the people: Wisdom's flame
Springs from *your* cannon—yea from yours alone.
God needs *your* dripping lance to prop His throne;
Your gleeful torch His glory to proclaim.
No doubt *ye* are the people: far from shame
Your Captains who deface the sculptured stone
Which by the labor and the blood and bone
Of pious millions calls upon His name.

No doubt *ye* are the folk; and 'tis to prove
Your wardenship of Virtue and of Lore
Ye sacrifice the Truth in reeking gore
Upon your altar to the Prince of Love.
Yet still cry we who still in darkness plod:
" 'Tis Antichrist ye serve and not our God!"

On the Psychology of Neutrals

By Friedrich Curtius

Friedrich Curtius, of Strassburg, had attained such distinction at the beginning of the century that Prince Chlodwig of Hohenlohe-Schillingfürst, who succeeded Count Caprivi as Chancellor of the German Empire, on his retirement in 1900, asked Curtius to co-operate with him in the preparation of the *Memoirs* (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1906) which have since become famous. But the joint work was brought to a sudden end by Prince Hohenlohe's death, and Friedrich Curtius devoted himself, for the next six or seven years, to the completion of the unfinished task. When the *Memoirs* were finally published, first in America and then in Germany, they were so outspoken as to bring down on Prince Alexander Hohenlohe and Friedrich Curtius the disfavour of the Kaiser. This article by Curtius appeared originally in the *Deutsche Revue*, May, 1915.

"All the world must hate or love; no choice remains. The Devil is neutral."

SO sang Clemens Brentano in the year 1813. To-day, we once more realize that the attempt to remain neutral through a conflict which is deciding the history of the world not only brings great spiritual difficulties, but is even felt to be a downright moral impossibility, just as the poet saw it a hundred years ago. Legal neutrality is, of course, a simple thing. Every state can itself practice it, and impose it as a duty on its citizens. One may even think that modern states should go further in this direction than they do. The indifference of the Government toward the business transactions of its citizens with foreign states is a political anomaly, comprehensible in an age when foreign policy in war and peace was viewed as something that concerned the ruler only, but contradictory in a democratic age, when wars are peoples' wars. To-day, in all civilized states, the Government is morally answerable for those activities of its subjects which have international results. The American policy which permits the supply of weapons to England but allows England to prevent the export of grain to Germany, is a bad neutrality, morally untenable, a mere passivity, which lacks the will to do right. Such a standpoint might exist in a despotically governed state, but in a democratic Republic it is incomprehensible. For, from a genuinely democratic point of view, it does

not signify whether the government or the citizens intervene to help or to hinder in an armed conflict. If we venture to speak at the right time of the development of international law, this, before all, must be demanded: that neutral states shall forbid the export of weapons, and that belligerents shall not hinder the import of foodstuffs for civilian populations.

Meanwhile the insecurity of the international attitude of neutrals is only a symptom of the difficulties to which neutrality of view is subject. These begin with the outbreak of the war. Each belligerent government believes itself to be in the right, and publishes a collection of documents which seem to it fitted to prove this right. This literature appearing in all the colours of the spectrum is really aimed at neutrals. For the belligerent nations themselves have weightier matters in hand than to sit in judgment upon their own governments. But the neutrals find themselves to decide which side is right. Yet this whole idea of a "just war" (coming to us from the moral philosophy of the Schoolmen) which shall expiate an injustice, as the judge punishes crimes, is antiquated. When, in the middle ages, the citizens of a town were maltreated or robbed by the authorities or citizens of another town, and the guilty party refused satisfaction, then the consequent feud might be viewed as a modified crim-

inal case, and the right of the wronged town to help itself must be recognized. In exactly the same way, differences over questions of inheritance between independent states could only be decided by force, where, as in a civil suit, each party was convinced of its own justice. But the great wars of our time arise from causes which are different from their immediate occasions, from opposed interests which can only be decided by discovering which side has the power to enforce its will. If one wishes to ascribe the blame for a war to one of the parties, one need only ask which of them pursued an aim which could not be reached through a peaceful understanding. In the present war, we Germans have clear consciences, for we know, concerning ourselves and our government, that we strove for nothing but the maintenance of our position as a world-power, bought with heavy sacrifices, and the free, peaceful expansion of our sphere of action in the world. On the other hand, Russia desired to get to Constantinople ahead of Berlin and Vienna, France desired to win back Metz and Strassburg, England desired to destroy our sea-power and commerce—goals which could only be reached over prostrate Germany. On this understanding, it would not be difficult for neutrals to arrive at a clear and just judgment. But as the belligerents themselves did not announce their purposes, but much rather took pains to turn public attention from the causes to the occasion of the conflict, the judgment of neutrals is affected by this, and if they are really impartial in their view, they suffer morally under the burden of an insoluble problem. But if outspoken sympathy draws them toward one of the belligerent powers, then their judgment is as little objective as that of the belligerents themselves. Their pretended neutrality gives to their expressions a loathsome Pharisaical aspect, because they come to a decision according to their opinions as if they stood on a height above the contestants and, from this lofty standpoint, were holding an anticipated Last Judgment on kings and statesmen.

The same phenomena show themselves with regard to judgments concerning methods of warfare. It goes without saying that each belligerent party reports all the atrocities which are committed by its opponents and is silent as to its own shortcomings. Once more, neutrals feel compelled to form a judgment, and therefore, if they are conscientious, read the reports of both sides, and, as a result, find themselves in a desperate situation, because it is impossible, from the assertions and counter-assertions of the belligerents, to ascertain the actual facts of the case. In practice, mere chance decides which set of reports one comes across. And the exact proof of details is impossible to the most zealous newspaper-reader. Therefore one's judgment remains vacillating, and one is likely to come to this conclusion: to believe nothing at all. Naturally, the case is different here also, if one is previously in sympathy with one party. Then one believes the reports coming from that side, and leaves out of consideration those that stand against them. In this case, again, neutrals become as one-sided as belligerents, without having the indubitable right to be one-sided which the belligerents have.

And finally, in the decisive question, neutrality is excluded. Whatever judgments one may form as to the cause of the war, and as to methods of waging it, the final outcome is always the decisive factor. Only a completely demoralized and stupid man can boast, in cynical indifference, that the result of the war leaves him cold. Where spiritual life functions, wishes and prayers, hopes and fears, are passionately involved in the course of the mighty conflict. For it is not a question whether this or that nation shall experience more pleasure or pain, but the form of all Europe and of the world, for long periods to come, will be fixed by the decision of this war. That cannot be a matter of indifference for any thinking human being. An equilibrium of view, a real neutrality is as little possible here as it would have been in the Persian or Punic wars, or, a hundred years ago, in the revolt of Europe, against the domination of

Napoleon. He who, invoking the neutrality of his state, does not take sides in this decisive question, debases himself and his people with him. For to stand indifferent, taking no part in the mightiest events of history, is a degradation of humanity.

The neutrals in this world-war are, therefore, to be pitied rather than esteemed happy. Either they are only legally uncommitted, but have, in feeling and thought, taken the side of one of the belligerent parties: in which case it must weigh heavily on their hearts not to be able to come out openly for that side and to aid it with all their power; or they hold to neutrality as a positive political ideal: then the ethical solution of the dark questions of the right and wrong of the war, and the methods of warfare become a torturing and hopeless problem, and, in considering the future, the weakness and impracticability of what one has accepted as a legal precept becomes evident.

If the world-war should last much longer, then neutrality, as such, will probably go bankrupt. The economic injuries of the war weigh on neutrals as heavily as on belligerents. But they

are far harder to bear when one has nothing to hope from the outcome of the war, when one must make continued sacrifices in sheer passivity, without knowing why. One would finally fall into despair, and accept anything that would bring this intolerable condition to an end. We hope that this extremity will not be reached, but rather that the decision of the war will come early enough to permit neutrals to preserve their attitude. That this should happen, is the common interest of mankind. For, in the collective life of civilized nations, neutrals have their own mission. Just because they share only the sufferings of the war, but do not partake of its inspiring and exalting forces, they are, of necessity, opponents of war, the providential mediators of the idea of peace, of international understanding, of the development and strengthening of international law. They can, during and after the conclusion of peace—if they unite and go forward with clearly formed ideals—have a notable effect. It will, in part, depend on their wisdom and firmness, whether it will be possible, within a conceivable time, to heal the deep wounds of humanity and international comity.

Chlorine Warfare

A Reuter dispatch, dated Amsterdam, June 26, 1915, reports that the "Kölnische Zeitung," in a semi-official defence of the German employment of gases, says:

"The basic idea of the Hague agreements was to prevent unnecessary cruelty and unnecessary killing when milder methods of putting the enemy out of action suffice and are possible. From this standpoint the letting loose of smoke-clouds which, in a gentle wind, move quite slowly towards the enemy is not only permissible by international law, but is an extraordinarily mild method of war. It has always been permissible to compel the enemy to evacuate positions by artificially caused flooding.

"Those who were not indignant, or even surprised, when our enemies in Flanders summoned water as a weapon against us, have no cause to be indignant when we make air our ally and employ it to carry stupefying (*betäubende*) gases against the enemy. What the Hague Convention desired to prevent was the destruction without chance of escape of human lives *en masse*, which would have been the case if shells with poisonous gas were rained down on a defenceless enemy who did not see them coming and was exposed to them irremediably. The changing forms of warfare make new methods of war continually necessary."

Rheims Cathedral

By Pierre Loti

This article by Pierre Loti (Captain Viaud) originally appeared in *L'Illustration* as the last of a series of three entitled "Visions of the Battle Front," and is translated for *THE NEW YORK TIMES CURRENT HISTORY* by Charles Johnston.

TO see it, our legendary and marvellous French basilica, to bid it farewell, before its fall and irremediable crumbling to dust, I had made my military auto make a detour of two hours on my return from completing a service mission.

The October morning was foggy and cold. The hillsides of Champagne were on that day deserted; with their vines with leaves of blackened brown, damp with rain, they seemed all clad in a sort of shining leather. We had also passed through a forest, keeping our eyes alert, our weapons ready, for the possibility of marauding Uhlans. And at last we had perceived the immense form of a church, far off in the mist, rising in all its great height above the plots of reddish squares, which must be the roofs of houses; evidently that was it.

The entrance to Rheims: defences of every kind, barriers of stone, trenches, spiked fences, sentinels with crossed bayonets. To pass, the uniform and accoutrements of a soldier are not enough. We must answer questions, give the pass-words. . . .

In the great city, which I had not visited before, I ask the way to the cathedral, for it is no longer visible; its silhouette which, seen from a distance, so completely dominates everything, as a giant's castle might dominate the dwellings of dwarfs, its high gray silhouette seems to have bent down to hide itself. "The cathedral," the people reply, "at first straight on; then you must turn to the left, then to the right, and so on." And my auto plunges into the crowded streets. Many soldiers, regiments on the march, files of ambulance wagons; but also many chance passers-by, no more concerned than if

nothing was happening; even many well-dressed women with prayer-books in their hands, for it is Sunday.

Where two streets cross, there is a crowd before a house, the walls of which have been freshly scratched; a shell fell there, just now, without any useful result, as without any excuse. A mere brutal jest, to say: "You know, we are here!" A mere game, a question of killing a few people, choosing Sunday morning because there are more people in the streets. But, in truth, one would say that this city has completely made up its mind to being under the savage field-glasses ambushed on the neighboring hillsides; these passers-by stop a minute to look at the wall, the marks of the bits of iron, and then quietly continue their Sunday walk. This time it was some women, they tell us, and little girls that this neat jest laid low in pools of blood; they tell us that; and they think no more of it, as if it were a very small thing in days like these. . . . Now the district becomes deserted; closed houses, a silence, as of mourning. And at the end of a street, the great gray doors appear, the high pointed arches marvellously chiseled, the high towers. Not a sound, and not a living soul on the square where the phantom basilica still sits enthroned, and an icy wind blows there, under an opaque sky.

It still keeps its place as by a miracle, the basilica of Rheims, but so riddled and torn that one divines that it is ready to founder at the slightest shock; it gives the impression of a great mummy, still upright and majestic, but which a mere nothing will turn to ashes. The ground is strewn with precious relics of it. It has been hurriedly surrounded with a solid barrier of white

boards, within which its holy dust has formed heaps: fragments of rose-windows, broken piles of stained glass, heads of angels, the joined hands of saints. From the top of the tower to the base, the charred stone has taken on a strange color of cooked flesh, and the holy personages, still upright in rows on the cornices, have been peeled, as it were, by the fire; they no longer have faces or fingers, and, with their human forms, which still persist, they look like the dead drawn up in files, their contours vaguely indicated under a sort of reddish grave-clothes.

We make the circuit of the square without meeting anyone, and the barrier which isolates the fragile and still admirable phantom is everywhere solidly closed. As for the old palace adjoining the basilica, the episcopal palace where the kings of France came to rest on the day of their consecration, it is no longer anything more than a ruin, without windows or roof, everywhere licked and blackened by the flame.

What a peerless jewel it was, this cathedral, still more beautiful than Notre Dame in Paris. More open and lighter, more slender also, with its columns like long reeds, wonderful to be so fragile, and yet to hold firm; a wonder of our French religious art, a masterpiece which the faith of our ancestors had caused to blossom there in its mystic purity, before they came to us from Italy, to materialize and spoil everything, the sensual heaviness of what we have agreed to call the Renaissance. . . .

Oh! the coarse and cowardly and imbecile brutality of those bundles of iron, launched in full flight against the lace-work, so delicate, that had risen confidently in the air for centuries, and which so many battles, invasions, scourges have never dared to touch! . . .

That great closed house, there, on the square, must be the Archbishop's residence. I try ringing the bell at the entrance to ask the favor of admission to the cathedral. "His Eminence," I am told, "is at mass, but will soon return." If I am willing to wait . . . And, while I wait, the priest who receives me re-

lates to me the burning of the episcopal palace: "Beforehand, they had sprinkled the roofs with I know not what diabolical substance; when they then threw their incendiary bombs, the timbers burned like straw, and you saw everywhere jets of green flame, which spread with the noise of fireworks."

In fact, the barbarians had premeditated this sacrilege, and prepared it long ago; in spite of their foolishly absurd pretexts, in spite of their shameless denials, what they wished to destroy here was the very heart of old France; some superstitious fancy drove them to it, as much as their instinct of savages, and this is the task they plunged into desperately, when nothing else in the city, or almost nothing, suffered.

"Could not an effort be made," I said, "to replace the burned roof of the cathedral?—to cover the vaulted roofs again as quickly as possible? For without this they cannot resist the coming winter."

"Evidently," he said, "at the first snows, at the first rains, there is a risk that everything will fall, the more so, as those charred stones have lost their power of resistance. But we cannot even try that, to preserve them a little, for the Germans never take their eyes off us; at the end of their field-glasses, it is the cathedral, always the cathedral; and as soon as a man ventures to appear on a turret, in a tower, the rain of shells immediately begins again. No, there is nothing to be done. It is in the hands of God."

Returning, the prelate graciously gives me a guide, who has the keys of the barrier, and at last I penetrate into the ruins of the cathedral, into the denuded nave, which thus appears still higher and more immense. It is cold there; it is sad enough to make one weep. This unexpected cold, this cold much keener than outside, is, perhaps, what from the first takes hold of you, disconcerts you; instead of the slightly heavy odor which generally fills ancient churches—the vapor of so much incense that has been burned there, the emanations of so many coffins that have been blessed there, of so many generations of

men that have crowded there, for agony and prayer—instead of this, a damp and icy wind, which enters rustling through all the crevices of the walls, through the breaches in the stained glass windows and the holes in the vaulted ceilings. Those vaulted roofs, up there, here and there smashed by grapeshot—one's eyes are immediately lifted up by instinct to look at them, one's eyes are, as it were, drawn to them by the up-springing of all these columns, as slender as reeds, which rise in sheaves to sustain them; they have retreating curves of exquisite grace, which seem to have been imagined, so as not to allow the glances sent heavenward to fall back again. One never grows weary of bending one's head back in order to see them, to see the sacred roofs which are about to fall into nothingness; and they are up there also, far up, the long series of almost aerial pointed arches, on which they are supported, pointed arches indefinitely alike from one end of the nave to the other, and which, in spite of their complicated carvings, are restful to follow in their retreating perspective, so harmonious are they.

And it is better to go forward beneath them with raised head, not too carefully looking where one walks, for this pavement, rather sadly sonorous, has recently been soiled and blackened by the charring of human flesh. It is known that, on the day of the fire, the cathedral was full of German wounded, stretched on straw beds which caught fire, and it became a scene of horror worthy of a dream of Dante; all these creatures, whose raw wounds were baked in the flames, dragging themselves, screaming, on their red stumps, to try to reach the narrow doors. One knows also the heroism of the ambulance bearers, priests and nuns, risking their lives in the midst of the bombs, to try to save these hapless brutes, whom their own brother Germans had not even thought of sparing; however, they did not succeed in saving them all; some remained, and were burned to death in the nave, leaving foul clots on the sacred flagstones, where of old processions of kings and queens slowly dragged

their ermine mantles, to the music of the great organ and the Gregorian chants. . . .

"Look!" says my guide to me, showing me a large hole in one of the aisles, "that is the work of a shell which they fired at us yesterday evening; then come and see a miracle." And he leads me into the choir, where the statue of Jeanne d'Arc, preserved, one would say, by some special grace, is still there, intact, with eyes of gentle ecstasy.

The most irreparable loss is that of the great stained glass windows, which the mysterious artists of the thirteenth century so religiously composed, in meditation and dream, gathering the saints by hundreds, with their translucent draperies, their luminous halos. There also German scrap-iron rushed in great stupid bundles, crushing everything. The masterpieces, which no one will ever reproduce, have scattered their fragments on the flagstones, forever impossible to separate, the golds, the reds, the blues, whose secret is lost. Ended, the rainbow transparencies, ended, the graceful, naïve attitudes of all these holy people, with their pale little ecstatic faces; the thousands of precious fragments of these stained glass windows which, in the course of centuries, had little by little become iris-tinted like opals, are lying on the ground—where they still shine like jewels. . . .

A whole splendid cycle of our history, which seemed to go on living in this sanctuary, with a life almost terrestrial, though immaterial, has just been plunged suddenly into the abyss of things that are ended, whose very memory will soon perish. The Great Barbarity has passed by, the modern barbarism from beyond the Rhine, a thousand times worse than the ancient, because it is stupidly and outrageously self-satisfied, and, in consequence, fundamental, incurable, final—destined, if it be not crushed, to throw a sinister night of eclipse over the world. . . .

Verily, this Jeanne d'Arc in the choir has very strangely remained, untouched, immaculate, in the midst of the disorder, with not even the slightest scratch on her dress. . . .

The English Falsehood

By Sven Hedin

Early in the war Sven Hedin, the Swedish explorer and writer, visited the German front to see the world-war at first hand. "A People in Arms," published in Leipzig and dedicated to the German soldiers, is the result. A preface proclaims the author's neutrality as a Swede and announces that he "swears before God that I have written not a line which is not the truth and have depicted nothing which I have not witnessed with my own eyes." This article is one of his concluding sketches.

I SHOULD like to have seen how the troops of India stood the raw autumn in Artois and Flanders.

But the Indian prisoners at Lille were transferred to the East in order to make room for fresh contingents. I, myself, have experienced the difficulty of transplanting Indians to a colder climate. On my last journey to Tibet I had two Radschputs from Cashmere with me. When we got into the mountains they nearly froze to death, and my caravan leader, Muhamed Isa, declared they would be about as useful as puppies. I had to send them back. The same thing happened to me with my Indian cook; outside India he was absolutely useless. In Tibet they live on meat, in India on vegetables. How could he stand so sudden a change of both climate and diet!

Now the press has been claiming that the English have ordered a full contingent from India to Europe. I found it hard to believe but at the front I learned that it was true. "How do you treat the Indian soldiers?" I once asked a couple of officers. "We just arrest them," answered one, and the other added: "We don't need to do even that; they will soon die in the trenches."

When I admit that I myself made a stupid blunder in thinking that Indians could do service in Tibet, I am justified in claiming that Lord Charles Beresford made ten times as stupid a blunder when he expressed the hope of seeing "Indian lances roaming the streets of Berlin and the little brown Gurkas making themselves comfortable in the park of Sans Souci."

But the import of Indian troops is more than a stupid blunder—it is a crime!

For almost a century and a half Great Britain has performed the shining mission of acting as India's guardian; no other people probably could successfully carry through so gigantic a task. Indian troops have fought with honor against their neighbors, and, moreover have assisted in maintaining order among the 300 millions of their people.

But never has it occurred to an English government as now to the Liberal government, to oppose black infidels to Christian Europeans! That is a crime against culture, against civilization and against Christianity. And if the English missionaries approve it, then are they hypocrites and false bearers of the Gospel.

India's English rulers despise—and rightfully—all marital relations between whites and Hindoos; the children of such marriages are regarded as mules, and are often called such; they are neither horse nor ass, they are half caste. In Calcutta they have their own quarter and are allowed to live in no other part of the city. But—when it comes to the question of overthrowing the "German barbarians," then an alliance with the bronze-skinned people is good enough for England!

Is it one of the twentieth century's worthy advances in culture and civilization that the unsuspecting Indian is brought hundreds of miles over land and sea that he may on the battlefields of Europe drive to destruction the first soldiers of the world, the German army? Even though some may answer

this question in the affirmative, I hold unshaken to my assertion that such a course of action is the very height of frightfulness! Not frightful to the German soldiers, for I know what sort of feeling the Indian fighters have for them—respect and sympathy!

And we aren't much nearer that "roaming about in the streets of Berlin," and the lindens of Sans Souci are not yet waving above the warriors from the slopes of the Himalayas.

What must these Indian troops think of their white masters! That the future will show. Whoever has seen something of the land of a thousand legends, who has ridden over the crests of the Himalayas, who has dreamed in the moonlight before the Taj Mahal, who has seen the holy Ganges slip gray and soft past the wharves of Benares, who has been entranced by the train of elephants under the mango trees of Dekkan—in short, whoever has loved India and admired the order and security which prevails there under the English rule, he will need no very powerful imagination to understand with what thoughts the Indian soldiers will go back, and with what feelings their families and their fellow countrymen in the little narrow huts on the slopes of the Himalayas will listen to their accounts. Only with a shudder can we think of this, for it must be said that here a crime against civilization and Christianity has been done in the name of civilization.

The question cannot be suppressed: Will the Indian contingent really be used? Will not the white millions of Great Britain, Canada and Australia suffice, to say nothing of the French, Belgians, Russians, Serbians, Montenegrins and Japanese? Apparently not. In *The Times* of September 5th appears in large letters: The need for more men. Already they are in need of more people to overthrow the Kultur of the "German barbarians"! The English people must be educated by a special method in order to understand both the cause and the aim of this war. Otherwise the Englishman will stay at home and play football and cricket.

And what is this education of the people? In regard to this the English press informs us daily. It is a systematic lie! The fatal reality, that England is slowly sliding to catastrophe, must be hidden by a strict censorship. The English people has no suspicion of Hindenburg's victories. The development of the German operations in Poland is translated into a victorious move of the Russians on Berlin! The most shameful slander concerning the Kaiser is spread abroad! The Germans are barbarians who must be annihilated, and the civilized peoples of Servia, Senegambia and Portugal must take part in this praiseworthy undertaking!

England carries on this war with a perversion of the truth, and truth is as rare in the English press as lies in the German.

But do the people really believe what they read in the English newspapers? Yes, blindly! I have been convinced of this by letters received from England. An appeal signed by many scholars—among them several Nobel prize winners—and sent to me, closes with the words:

We regret deeply that under the unwholesome influence of a military system and its unrestrained dreams of domination, the country which we have once honored now has become Europe's common enemy and the enemy of all people who respect the rights of nations. We must carry to an end this war which we have entered. For us as for the Belgians it is a war of defense, which will be fought through for peace and freedom.

The old story of the splinter and the beam! Is England's rule of the sea no military system then? Can there be conceived a more far-reaching militarism than that which stretches out its conquests over five continents? Which even clutches at the straw which republican Portugal holds out and announces "the need for more men" in the newspapers?

What was the Boer War then? An expression perhaps of this same humane solicitude for the small states which now causes England to break the lance for Belgium's independence?

It would be useless at this late day to attempt to determine what would have been the course of the great war had England stayed out of it. But this much is certain, that Belgium's loss of independence would have lasted only until the conclusion of peace. The war would then not have grown as now to be a world-war—to be the greatest and

most tragic catastrophe which the human race has ever suffered. No nation has ever incurred a greater, a more comprehensive responsibility than England! And one can only regret most deeply that these men will have to bear now and in the world to come the full and oppressive burden of that responsibility.

Calais or Suez?

Which Should be Germany's Objective?

By special cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES from London on July 1, 1915, came the following information:

Count von Reventlow, in last Sunday's *Deutsche Tageszeitung*, explains the importance and meaning of Calais as a German objective in the west and as a key to the destruction of the British Empire. Dr. Ernst Jaeckh, in an article called "Calais or Suez," maintained that if an English statesman had to make a choice he would undoubtedly give up Calais and cling to Suez rather than give up Suez and control Calais. Reventlow maintains there is no reality about this alternative.

About the importance of Suez, Jaeckh and Reventlow are agreed. Reventlow for his part declares England's main interest in the Dardanelles operations is the desire to protect Egypt and that this is the explanation of all her efforts to range the Balkan countries against Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Turkey. As translated in *THE TIMES* he proceeds:

"These efforts are not yet at an end, and they will be continued with a desperate expenditure of strength and all possible means. It was believed that the Russian armies and influence exercised upon the Balkan peoples would make Egypt safe. These hopes are now tottering or vanishing. All the greater must be the energy of our triple alliance in order completely to clear the way and then at the proper moment to take it with firm determination to see the thing through. Here also we see the correctness of our old argument, that for Germany and her allies success lies in a long war and that time works for them if they employ the time in working. Our forces are increasing with time and, as has been said, Germany has the assured possibility of gaining time. To strike our chief enemy at a vital point is worth the greatest efforts and sacrifice of time, quite apart from the fact that we owe it to the Turkish Empire to assist with all our strength in restoring Egypt, which was stolen by England."

Reventlow then says that a comparison of "the Calais idea" with Suez is as idle as the comparison of a chair with a table. He says Jaeckh is mistaken in supposing Calais does not concern more than the south coast of England or that it merely threatens one of many ways to and from England. Reventlow says:

"This by no means completes the Calais idea. From a military or political or economic point of view one should look at the matter with the eyes of Great Britain and define the Calais idea as a possibility for a seafaring continental power to conduct a war against Great Britain from the continental coast channel and with all military resources while holding open communication between the Atlantic Ocean and the North Sea."



GENERAL LOUIS BOTHA

The Boer Commander Who Added German Southwest Africa to the
British Crown

(Photo from Medem Photo Service.)



DR. ANTON MEYER-GERHARD

Sent by Count Bernstorff to inform the Kaiser upon the state of
American Opinion

(Photo from American Press Association)

Note on the Principle of Nationality

By John Galsworthy

This article, dealing with the consequences of the war, originally appeared in *La Revue of Paris*, and is here reproduced by permission of Mr. Galsworthy.

IN these times one dread lies heavy on heart and brain—the thought that after all the unimaginable suffering, waste, and sacrifice of this war, nothing may come of it, no real relief, no permanent benefit to Europe, no improvement to the future of mankind.

The pronouncements of publicists—“This must never happen again,” “Conditions for abiding peace must be secured,” “The United States of Europe must be founded,” “Militarism must cease”—all such are the natural outcome of this dread. They are proclamations admirable in sentiment and intention. But human nature being what it has been and is likely to remain, we must face the possibility that nothing will come of the war, save the restoration of Belgium, (that, at least, is certain;) some alterations of boundaries; a long period of economic and social trouble more bitter than before; a sweeping moral reaction after too great effort. Cosmically regarded, this war is a debauch rather than a purge, and debauches have always to be paid for.

Confronting the situation in this spirit, we shall be the more rejoiced if any of our wider hopes should by good fortune be attained.

Leaving aside the restoration of Belgium—for what do we continue to fight? We go on, as we began, because we all believe in our own countries and what they stand for. And in considering how far the principle of nationality should be exalted, one must well remember that it is in the main responsible for the present state of things. In truth, the principle of nationality of itself and by itself is a quite insufficient ideal. It is a mere glorification of self in a world full of other selves; and only of value in so far as it forms part of that larger ideal, an

international ethic, which admits the claims and respects the aspirations of all nations. Without that ethic little nations are (as at the present moment) the prey—and, according to the mere principle of nationality, the legitimate prey—of bigger nations. Germany absorbed Alsace-Lorraine, Schleswig, and now Belgium, by virtue of nationalism, of an overweening belief in the perfection of its national self. Austria would subdue Serbia from much the same feeling. France does not wish to absorb or subdue any European people of another race, because France, as ever, a little in advance of her age, is already grounded in this international ethic, of unshakable respect for the rights of all nations which belong, roughly speaking, to the same stage of development. The same may be said of the other western democratic powers, Britain and America. “To live and let live,” “to dwell together in unity,” are the guiding maxims of the international ethic, by virtue of which alone have the smaller communities of men—the Belgians, Bohemians, Polands, Serbias, Denmarks, Switzerlands of Europe—any chance of security in the maintenance of their national existences. In short the principle of nationality, unless it is prepared to serve this international ethic, is but a frank abettor of the devilish maxim, “Might is right.” All this is truism; but truisms are often the first things we forget.

The whole question of nationality in Europe bristles with difficulties. It cannot be solved by theory and rule of thumb. What is a nation? Shall it be determined by speech, by blood, by geographical boundary, by historic tradition? The freedom and independence of a country can and ever should be assured when with one voice it demands the same.

It is seldom as easy as all that. Belgium, no doubt, is as one man. Poland is as one man in so far as the Poles are concerned; but what of the Austrians, Russians, Germans settled among them? What of Ireland split into two camps? What of the Germans in Bohemia, in Alsace, in Schleswig-Holstein? Compromise alone is possible in many cases, going by favor of majority. And there will always remain the poignant question of the rights and aspirations of minorities. Let us by all means clear the air by righting glaring wrongs, removing palpable anomalies, redressing obvious injustices, securing so far as possible the independent national life of homogeneous groups; but let us not, dazzled by the glamour of a word, dream that by restoring a few landmarks, altering a few boundaries, and raising a paean to the word Nationality, we can banish all clouds from the sky of Europe, and muzzle the ambitions of the stronger nations.

In my convinced belief the one solid hope for future peace, the one promise of security for the rights and freedom of little countries, the one reasonable guarantee of international justice and general humanity, lies in the gradual growth of democracy, of rule by consent of the governed. When this has spread till the civilization of the Western world is on one plane—instead of as now on two—then and then only we shall begin to draw the breath of assurance. Then only will the little countries sleep quietly in their beds. It is conceivable, nay probable, that the despotic will of a perfect man could achieve more good for his country and for the world at large in a given time than the rule of the most enlightened democracy. It is certain that such men occupy the thrones of this earth but once in a blue moon.

If proof be needed that the prevalence of democracy alone can end aggression among nations, secure the rights of small peoples, foster justice and humaneness in man—let the history of this last century and a half be well examined, and let the human probabilities be weighed. Which is the more likely to advocate wars of aggression? They, who by age, position, wealth, are secure against the daily

pressure of life and the sacrifice that war entails, they who have passed their time out of touch with the struggle for existence, in an atmosphere of dreams, ambitions, and power over other men? Or they, who every hour are reminded how hard life is, even at its most prosperous moments, who have nothing to gain by war, and all, even life, to lose; who by virtue of their own struggles have a deep knowledge of, a certain dumb sympathy with, the struggles of their fellow-creatures; an instinctive repugnance to making those struggles harder; who have heard little and dreamed less of those so-called "national interests," that are so often mere chimeras; who love, no doubt, in their inarticulate way the country where they were born, and the modes of life and thought to which they are accustomed, but know of no traditional and artificial reasons why the men of other countries should not be allowed to love their own land and modes of thought and life in equal peace and security?

Assuredly, the latter of these two kinds of men are the less likely to favor ambitious projects and aggressive wars. According as "the people" have or have not the final decision in such matters, the future of Europe will be made of war or peace; of respect or of disregard for the rights of little nations. It is advanced against democracies that the workers of a country, ignorant and provincial in outlook, have no grasp of international politics. This is true in Europe where national ambitions and dreams are still for the most part hatched and nurtured in nests perched high above the real needs and sentiments of the simple working folk who form nine-tenths of the population of each country. But once those nests of aggressive nationalism have fallen from their high trees, so soon as all Europe conforms to the principle of rule by consent of the governed, it will be found—as it has been already found in France—that the general sense of the community informed by an ever-growing publicity (through means of communication ever speeding-up) is quite sufficient trustee of national safety; quite able, even enthusiastically

able, to defend its country from attack.

The problem before the world at the end of this war is how to eliminate the virus of an aggressive nationalism that will lead to fresh outbursts of death. It is a problem that I, for one, frankly believe will beat the powers and goodwill of all, unless there should come a radical change of Governments in Central Europe; unless the real power in Germany and Austria-Hungary passes into the hands of the people of those countries, as already it has passed in France and Britain. This is in my belief the only

chance for the defeat of militarism, of that raw nationalism, which, even if beaten down at first, will ever be lying in wait, preparing secret revenge and fresh attacks.

How this democratization of Central Europe can be brought about I cannot tell. It is far off as yet. But if this be not at last the outcome of the war, we may still talk in vain of the rights of little nations, of peace, disarmament, of chivalry, justice, and humanity. We may whistle for a changed world.

JOHN GALSWORTHY.

Singer of "La Marseillaise"

By H. T. SUDDUTH

[The body of Claude Joseph Rouget de Lisle, who composed "The Marseillaise," was placed, on July 15, 1915, in the Hotel des Invalides, Paris.]

Up from the land of fair Provence,
Land of the vineyard and olive green,
Flushed with a new hope's radiance
Glow of glorious visions seen,
Joyous Marseilles' Battalion came,
Singing a song since known to fame.

List as the drums the quickstep beat!
List to the Chant of Liberty!
Ringing through dawn or noonday heat—
"Allons enfants de la Patrie!"
List to the chant on the dusty way,
"Death to the tyrant! Vive le Marseillais!"

Orchards and vineyards caught up the song,
France seemed but waiting that martial lay,
Born of poet's heart-beats strong!
Sung by the sons of the South that day,
Voicing the hero-soul of strife,
Marching song of a nation's life!

Days of Terror that chant ushered in,
Falling of thrones and baubles and crowns—
Bastille walls and guillotine,
Sack of Tuileries, Temple frowns.
Heard that Chant of the Marseillais,
"Le jour de gloire est arrivé."

Reds of the Midi! The song you sung
Thrilled the hearts of all who heard!
Song of a people with hearts tense-strung,
Rhythm that every pulse quick stirred!
Echoes that song as France now pays
Honor to singer of "La Marseillaise!"

Depression—Common - Sense and the Situation

By Arnold Bennett

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The pessimistic attitude toward the military situation assumed by a large part of British society, after the arrival of warm weather, without the heralded concerted advance of the Allies in France and Belgium, is dealt with by Mr. Bennett in the subjoined article, which appeared in the London Daily News of June 16, 1915. It is here reproduced by Mr. Bennett's express permission.

IN a recent article I said that for reasons discoverable and undiscoverable the military situation had been of late considerably falsified in the greater part of the Press. This saying (which by the way was later confirmed by the best military experts writing in the Press) aroused criticism both public and private. That it should have been criticised in certain organs was natural, for these organs had certainly been colouring or manipulating their war news, including casualties, chiefly by headlines and type, and even influencing their expert analysis of war-news, to suit what happened to be at the moment their political aims.

Even the invasion scare was last week revived by the "Daily Mail" as an aid to compulsion. The "Daily Mail" asserted that, whatever we might say, invasion was possible. True. It is. Most things are. But invasion is responsibly held to be so wildly improbable that our military, as distinguished from our naval, plans are permitted practically to ignore the possibility. Compulsion or no compulsion, those plans will be the same. They will be unaffected by any amount of invasion-scaring, and therefore to try to foster pessimism in the public by alarms about invasion is both silly and naughty.

Newspapers quite apart, however, there has been in the country a considerable amount of pessimism which I have not been able to understand, much less sympathise with; pessimism of the kind that

refuses to envisage the future at all. It has not said: "We shall be beaten." But it has groaned and looked gloomy, and asked mute questions with its eyes. It has resented confident faith and demanded with sardonic superiority the reasons for such faith.

Of the tribe of pessimists I count some superlative specimens among my immediate acquaintances. The explanation of their cases is, I contend, three-fold. First, they lack faith, not merely in the Allied arms, but in anything. They have not the faculty of faith. Secondly, they unconsciously enjoy depression, and this instinct distorts all phenomena for them. Thus they exhibited no satisfaction whatever at the capture of Przemysl full of men and munitions by the Russians, whereas the recapture of Przemysl empty of men and munitions by the Germans filled them with delicious woe. Thirdly, they lack patience, and therefore a long-sustained effort gets on their nerves. Others I can inoculate with my optimism, but the effect passes quickly, and each succeeding reinoculation has been less and less effective, with the monotonous questioning, ever more sardonic in tone: "How can you be deluded by the official bulletins?" or: "What do you know about war, to make you so cocksure?"

The truth is that I am not deluded by the official bulletins. I don't know how long it is since I learnt to appreciate official bulletins at their true value, but it is a long while ago. A full perception

of the delusiveness of official bulletins can only be obtained by reading histories of the war. The latest I have read are those of Mr. John Buchan and Mr. Hillaire Belloc. (Mr. Buchan's is good. Mr. Belloc's is more than good: it is—apart from a few failures in style, due either to fatigue or to the machinery of dictation—absolutely brilliant, both militarily and politically. I am inclined to rate the last dozen pages of Mr. Belloc's book as the finest piece of writing yet produced by the war.) And when one compares, in these works, the coherent, impartial, and convincing accounts of, say, the first month of the war, with the official bulletins of the Allies during that month, one marvels that even officialism could go so far in evasion and duplicity, and the reputation of official bulletins is ruined for the whole duration of the conflict. No wonder the contents of the Allied newspapers in that period inspired the Germans with a scornful incredulity, which nothing that has since happened can shake.

It is not that official bulletins are incorrect; they are incomplete, and, therefore, misleading. The policy which frames them seems now to be utterly established, but my motion that it is a mistaken policy remains unaltered. When the policy is pushed as far as the suppression of isolated misfortunes which flame in the headlines of the enemy Press from Cologne to Constantinople, then I begin to wonder whether I am living in three dimensions or in four.

If, then, he does not rely on the official bulletins, and he has no military expertise, how is the civilian justified in being optimistic? The reply is that the use of his common-sense may justify his optimism. The realm of common-sense being universal, even war comes within it. And the fact is that the major aspects of the war are no more military than they are political, social, and psychological. Take one of the most important aspects—the character of generals. It cannot be denied that after ten months, confidence in Joffre has in-

creased. At the beginning of the war, when the German plan was being exactly followed and was succeeding, when the Germans had an immense advantage of numbers, when their reserves of men and munitions were untouched, when everything was against us, and everything in favour of the Germans, Joffre, aided by the British, defeated the Germans. He defeated them by superior generalship. Common-sense says that now, when the boot is on the other leg, Joffre will assuredly defeat the Germans—and decisively, and common-sense is quite prepared to wait until Joffre is ready. Again, take the case of the Grand Duke. The Grand Duke has shown over and over again that he is an extremely brilliant general of the first order. In the very worst days, when everything was against him and everything in favour of the Germans, as in the West, he held his own and he has continually produced many more casualties in the German ranks than the Germans have produced in his ranks. He still has many things against him, but it is not possible reasonably to believe that the Grand Duke will let himself in for a disaster. That he should avoid a disaster is all that the West front demands of him at present.

On the other side, General von Moltke, head of the German Great General Staff, has been superseded. What German General has advanced in reputation? There is only one answer—von Hindenberg. Von Hindenberg won the largest (not the most important) victory of the war in the Battle of Tannenberg. He won it because the ground was exceedingly difficult, and because he knew the ground far better than any other man on earth. He was entitled to very high credit. He got it. He became the idol of the German populace, and the bugbear of the Allied countries. But he has done nothing since. Soon after Tannenberg he made a fool of himself on the Russian frontier, and showed that success had got into his head. He subsequently initiated several terrific attempts, all of which were excessively costly and none of which was carried through. If he has not ceased to be

an idol, he has at any rate ceased to be a bugbear.

As for the average intelligence of the opposing forces, it may be said that Prussian prestige, though it dies very slowly, is dying, even in the minds of our pessimists. Their zest for elaborate organization of plan gave the Germans an immense advantage at the start, but it is proved that, once the plan has gone wrong, they are at the best not better in warfare than ourselves. Their zest for discipline, and their reserves, have enabled them to stave off a catastrophe longer than perhaps any other nation could have staved it off. But time is now showing that excessive discipline and organization produce defects which ultimately outweigh the qualities they spring from. The tenacity of the Germans is remarkable, but does it surpass ours? Man for man, a soldier of the Allies is better than a soldier of the Central Powers—or ten thousand observers have been deceived. As for the intelligence of the public upon whose moral the opposing forces ultimately depend, it is undeniable that the German public is extremely hysterical, and far more gullible even than ourselves at our very worst. The legends believed by the German public today are ridiculous enough to stamp Germany for a century as an arch-simpleton among nations. Its vanity is stupendous, eclipsing all previously known vanities. The Great General Staff must know fairly well how matters stand, and yet not the mere ignorant public, but the King of Bavaria himself, had the fatuity as late as last week to talk about the new territory that Germany would annex as a result of the war!

In numbers we in the West had got the better of them, and were slowly increasing our lead, before Italy, by joining us, increased the Allies' advantage at a stroke by over three-quarters of a million fully mobilised men, and much more than as many reserves.

In financial resources there is simply no comparison between the enemy and ourselves. We are right out of sight of the enemy in this fundamental affair.

We lack nothing—neither leading, nor brains, nor numbers, nor money—save ammunition. Does any pessimist intend to argue that we shall not get all the ammunition we need? It is inconceivable that we should not get it. When we have got it the end can be foretold like the answer to a mathematical problem.

Lastly, while the Germans have nothing to hope for in the way of further help, we have much to hope for. We have, for example, Rumania to hope for; and other things needless to mention. And we have in hand enterprises whose sudden development might completely change the face of the war in a few hours; but whose failure would not prejudice our main business, because our main business is planned and nourished independently of them. One of these enterprises is known to all men. The other is not. The Germans have no such enterprises in hand.

For all the foregoing argument no military expertise is necessary. It lies on a plane above military expertise. It appeals to common-sense and it cannot be gainsaid. I have not yet met anybody of real authority who has attempted to gainsay it, or who has not endorsed it. The sole question is, not whether we shall win or lose, but when we shall win.

For this reason I strongly object to statesmen, no matter who they be, going about and asserting to listening multitudes that we are fighting for our very existence as a nation. We most emphatically are not. It is just conceivable that certain unscrupulous marplots might by chicane produce such domestic discord in this country as would undermine the very basis of victory. I regard the thing as in the very highest degree improbable, but it can be conceived. The result might be an inconclusive peace, and another war, say, in twenty years, when we probably *should* be fighting for our very existence as a nation. But we are not now, and at the worst shall not be for a long time, fighting for our very existence as a nation. Nobody believes such an asser-

tion; pessimists themselves do not believe it. And when statesmen give utterance to it in the hope of startling the working-class into a desired course of conduct, they under-rate the intelligence of the working-class and the result of such oratory is far from what they could wish.

Our national existence is as safe as it has been any time this century; indeed, it is safer, for its chief menace has received a terrible blow, and the Prussian superstition is exploded. All that can be urged is that we have an international job to finish; that in order to finish it properly and within a reasonable period we must work with a will

and in full concord; and that if we fail to do this the job will be botched, with a risk of sinister consequences to the next generation. The notion that to impress the public it is necessary to pile on the agony with statements that no moderately enlightened person can credit, is a wrong notion, and, like all wrong notions, can only do harm. The general public is all right, quite as all right as the present Government or any other. Had it not been so we should not be where we are to-day, but in a far less satisfactory position. Not Governments, not generals, but the masses make success in these mighty altercations. Read Tolstoi's "War and Peace."

The War and Racial Progress

[From the Morning Post of London, July 2, 1915]

Major Leonard Darwin, in his presidential address on "Eugenics During and After the War" to the Eugenics Education Society at the Grafton Galleries yesterday, said that our military system seemed to be devised with the object of insuring that all who were defective should be exempt from risks, whilst the strong, courageous, and patriotic should be endangered. Men with noble qualities were being destroyed, whilst the unfit remained at home to become fathers of families, and this must deteriorate the natural qualities of the coming generations. The chances of stopping war were small, and we must consider how to minimize its evils. If conscription were adopted future wars would produce less injury to the race, because the casualty lists would more nearly represent a chance selection of the population; though whether a conscript army would ever fight as well as our men were doing in France was very doubtful. The injurious effects of the war on all useful sections of the community should be mitigated. Military training was eugenic if the men were kept with the colours only for short periods. Officers must, of course, be engaged for long periods, and amongst them the birth rate was very low. An increase of pay would be beneficial in this respect, but only if given in the form of an additional allowance for each living child. In the hope of increasing the birth rate attempts were likely to be made to exalt the "unmarried wife," a detestable term against which all true wives should protest. If a change in moral standards was demanded in the hope that an increase in the habit of forming irregular unions would result in an increase in the population, that plea entirely failed because the desired effect would not thus be produced. A special effort ought now to be made on eugenic as well as on other grounds to maintain the high standards of home life which had ever existed in our race, and which had been in large measure the basis of our social and racial progress in the past. If we did not now take some steps to insure our own racial progress being at least as rapid as that of our neighbours, and if our nation should in consequence cease in future to play a great part in the noble and eternal struggle for human advancement, then the fault would be ours.

The English Word, Thought, and Life

By Russian Men of Letters

A group of sixty-seven Russian writers and publicists, comprising the best men of letters of the nation, with the exception of Vladimir Korolenko, who is at present in France, have signed a reply to the tribute to the writers of Russia by English men of letters, a translation of which was printed in CURRENT HISTORY for February, 1915. The text of the reply, given below, is taken from the Moscow daily newspaper, *Outro Rossi*; its translation into English by Leo Pasvolksy appeared in the New York Evening Post of June 20th.

WE have known you for a long time. We have known you since we Russians came to a communion with Western Europe and began to draw from the great spiritual treasury created by our brethren of Western Europe.

From generation to generation we have watched intently the life of England, and have stored away in our minds and our hearts everything brilliant, peculiar, and individual, that has impressed itself upon the English word, the English thought, and the English life.

We have always wondered at the breadth and the manifoldness of the English soul, in whose literature one finds, side by side, Milton and Swift, Scott and Shelley, Shakespeare and Byron. We have always been amazed by the incessant and constantly growing power of civic life in England; we have always known that the English people was the first among the peoples of the world to enter upon a struggle for civic rights, and that nowhere does the word *freedom* ring so proud and so triumphant as it does in England.

With wonder and veneration, have we watched the English people, that combines the greatest idealism with the most marvellous creative genius, that constantly transforms words into deeds, aspirations into actions, thoughts and feelings into institutions, go onward, from step to step, reaching out into the heavens, yet never relinquishing the earth, higher and higher along its triumphant road, still onward in its work of creating the life of England.

Kingdoms and peoples, cultures and institutions, pass away like dreams. But thoughts and words remain, whether they be of white men, or black, or yellow, whether they be of Jews or of Hellenes, whether they be inscribed on slabs of stone, or on boards of clay, or on strips of papyrus. Words and

thoughts live to the present day; they still move us and uplift us, even though we have already forgotten the names of those who spoke them. And we know that only the winged words live on, the words that are intelligible to the whole of mankind, that appeal to the whole of humanity, to the common human mind, the common heart.

We know the vast power of the English word. We know what a marvellous contribution the English writers have made to the life not of England alone, but to that of the whole world, the whole humanity. It is with a feeling of long-standing affection and veneration that we turn to the ancient book, called "England," whose pages never grow yellow, whose letters are never effaced, whose thoughts never become dim, whose new chapters bear witness to the fact that the book is still being written, that new pages are still being added, and that these new pages are permeated with that same bright and powerful spirit of humanity that illumines and enlivens the pages of the past.

We feel proud because you have recognized the great individual worth of the Russian literature, and we are moved by your ardent expressions of sympathy and friendship. You scarcely know what Lord Byron was to us at the dawn of our literature, how our greatest poets, Pushkin and Lermontov, were swayed by him. You scarcely know to what an extent the Shakespearean Hamlet, the Prince of Denmark, has become a part of our literature, how near to us is Hamlet's tragedy.

We, too, pronounce the names of Coppenfield and Snodgrass with a little difficulty, but the name of Dickens is as familiar to us and as near to our hearts as the names of some of our own writers.

We trust, and we even permit ourselves to hope, that our friendship will

not end on the fields of battle, but that our mutual understanding will continue to grow, as it lives on together with those sincere and heartfelt words, with which you have addressed us. We trust that it will be transformed into a spiritual unity between us, a unity based on the universal achievements of the spirit of humanity.

We trust even further. We trust that evil will finally become extinguished in the hearts of men, that mutual ill-feeling will be bitter and poignant no longer, and that, when ears of corn will be

again fluttering upon the fields, mutilated by trenches and ramparts, and drenched in human blood, when wild flowers will begin to grow over the countless unknown graves, time will come, when the nations that are separated by such a tremendous gulf to-day, will come together again upon the one great road of humanity and will turn back once more to the great, universal words, that are common to all men.

We trust, and we hope.

Greetings to you.

(Signed)

L. ANDREEV,
K. ARSENIYEV,
I. BUNIN,
U. BUNIN,
I. BELOUSOV,
M. GORKY,
V. VERESAEV,
A. GRUSINSKY,
N. DAVYDOV,
S. ELPATIEVSKY,
I. IGNATOV,
S. MELGUNOV,
A. SERAFIMOVICH,
N. TELESHOV,
I. SHMELEV,
N. MOROZOV,
COUNT A. N. TOLSTOY,
N. RUSANOV,
F. KRIUKOV,
A. GORNFIELD,
A. PIESHECHONOV,
N. KAREYEV,
F. BATUSHKOV,
L. PANTELEYEV,
N. KOTLIAREVSKY,
V. MIAKOTIN,
V. VODOVOSOV,
P. SAKULIN,
OLNEM-TSEKHOVSKAYA,
A. KONI,
W. KRANIKHFELD,
B. LAZAREVSKY,
P. POTAPENKO,

TH. SOLOGUB,
T. SCHEPKINA-KUPERNIK,
W. BOGUCHARSKY,
K. BARANTSEVICH,
S. VENGEROV,
P. MLIUKOV,
A. PRUGAVIN,
M. KOVALEVSKY,
A. POSNIKOV,
E. LETKOVA-SULTANOVA,
D. OVSIANNIKO-KULIKOVSKY,
A. REMEZOV,
D. MEREZHKOVSKEY,
Z. HIPPIUS,
F. ZELINSKY,
N. TCHAIKOVSKY,
A. BLOK,
E. TCHIRIKOV,
A. PETRISCHEV,
I. BIELOKONSKY,
PRINCE A. SUMBATOV,
W. FRITCHE,
A. VESELOVSKY,
W. NEMEROVICH-DANCHENKO,
PRINCE E. TROUBETSKOY,
I. SHPAZHINSKY,
TH. KOKOSHKIN,
COUNT E. L. TOLSTOY,
N. TEMKOCOSKY,
M. ARTISIBASHEV,
U. BALTRUSHAITIS,
U. AICHENWALD,
PRINCE D. SHAKHOVSKY,
W. BRUSOV.



Evviva L'Italia

By William Archer

Mr. Archer's article praising the Italian decision and purpose appeared originally in The London Daily News.

ONE of the most beautiful and memorable of human experiences is to start, one fine morning, from some point in German Switzerland or Tyrol and, in two or three days—or it may be in one swinging stretch—to tramp over an Alpine pass and down into the Promised Land below. It is of no use to rush it in a motor; you might as well hop over by aeroplane. In order to savor the experience to the full, you must take staff and scrip; like the Ritter Tannhäuser, and go the pilgrim's way. It is a joy even to pass from the guttural and explosive place names of Teutonia to the liquid music of the southern vocables—from Brieg to Domo d'Ossola, from Göschenen to Bellinzona, from St. Moritz to Chiavenna, from Botzen and Brixen to Ala and Verona. It is a still greater joy to exchange the harsh, staring colors of the north for the soft luminosity of the south, as you zigzag down from the bare snows to the pines, from the pines to the chestnuts, from the chestnuts to the trellised vineyards. And just about where the vineyards begin, you come upon two wayside posts, one of them inscribed "Schweiz" or "Oesterreich," the other bearing the magic word "Italia." If your heart does not leap at the sight of it you may as well about-turn and get you home again; for you have no sense of history, no love of art, no hunger for divine, inexhaustible beauty. For all these things are implicit in the one word, "Italy."

Alas! the charm of this excursion has from of old made irresistible appeal to the northern barbarian. That has been Italy's historic misfortune. For certain centuries, under the dominance of Rome, she kept the Goths and Huns and Vandals aloof by what is called in India a "forward policy"—by throwing the outworks

of civilization far beyond the Alpine barrier. But Rome fell to decay, and, wave upon wave, the barbarian—generally the Teuton, under one alias or another—surged over her glorious highlands, her bounteous lowlands, and her marvelous cities. It is barely half a century since the hated Tedeschi were expelled from the greater part of their Cisalpine possessions; and now, in the fullness of time, Italy has resolved to redeem the last of her ravished provinces and to make her boundaries practically conterminous with Italian speech and race.

The political and military aspects of the situation have been fully dealt with elsewhere; but a lifelong lover of Italy may perhaps be permitted to state his personal view of her action. While the negotiations lasted, her position was scarcely a dignified one. It seemed that she was willing, not, indeed, to sell her birthright for a mess of pottage, but to buy her birthright at the cost of complicity in monstrous crime. Neither Italy nor Europe would have profited in the long run by the substitution of "Belgia Irredenta" for "Italia Irredenta." But now that she has repudiated the sops offered to her honor and conscience, her position is clear and fine. She has rejected larger concessions, probably, than any great power has ever before been prepared to make without stroke of sword; and she has thrown in her lot with the Allies in no time-serving spirit, but at a point when their fortunes were by no means at their highest. This is a gesture entirely worthy of a great and high-spirited people.

It is true that she had no guarantee for the promised concessions except the "Teutonica fides," which has become a byword and a reproach. But I am much mistaken if that was the sole or main

motive that determined her resort to arms. She took a larger view. She felt that even if Germany, by miracle, kept her faith, the world, after a German victory, would be no place for free men to live in. She was not moved by the care for a few square miles of territory, more or less, but by a strong sense of democratic solidarity and of human dignity. After the events of the past ten months, she felt that, to a self-respecting man or nation, German hate was infinitely preferable to German love. It was, in fact, a patent of nobility.

And now that Italy is ranked with us against the powers of evil, it becomes more than ever our duty to strain every nerve for their defeat. We are now taking our share in the guardianship of the world's great treasure house of historic memories and of the creations of genius. We have become, as it were, co-trustees of an incomparable, irreplaceable heritage of beauty. Italy has been the scene of many and terrible wars; but since she emerged from the Dark Ages I do not know that war has greatly damaged the glory of her cities. She has not, of recent centuries, had to mourn a Louvain or a Rheims. But if the Teuton, in his present temper, should

gain any considerable footing within her bounds, the Dark Ages would be upon her once more. What effort can be too great to avert such a calamity!

I am not by way of being versed in the secrets of Courts; but I recall today, with encouragement, a conversation I had some years ago with an ex-Ambassador to Italy (not a British Ambassador) who had been on intimate terms with the King, and spoke with enthusiasm of his Majesty's character. He told me of his bravery, his devotion to duty, his simple manners, his high intelligence. One little anecdote I may repeat without indiscretion. A Minister of Education said to my friend that when he had an interview with the King he felt like a schoolboy bringing up to an exacting though kindly master a half-prepared lesson; and when this was repeated to his Majesty, he smiled and said: "Ministers come and go, but I, you see, am always here." He merited far better than his grandfather (said my informant) the title of "il Re Galantuomo." Under such a Chief of State Italy may, with high hope and courage, set about her task of tearing away her unredeemed fringes from that patchwork of tyrannies known as the Austrian Empire.

Who Died Content!

[From the Westminster Gazette]

Rex and Wilfred Winslow were the first men who died on the field of German South West Africa. The epitaph on the cross on the grave ran thus:

"Tell England ye that pass this monument,
That we who rest here died content."

—DAILY NEWSPAPER.

Far the horizon of our best desires
Stretches into the sunset of our lives:
The wavering taper of the achieved expires,
And only the irrevocable will survives.
Content to die for England! How the words
Thrill those who live for England, knowing not
The stern, heroic passion that upgirds
The loins of such as, ardent, for her fought.
Content! It is a word that brooks no bounds,
If from the heights and depths it takes its name:
Upon the proud lips of great men it sounds
As if the clear note from the Heavens came;
A word that, sea-like, shrinks and grows again;
A little word on lips of little men!

JOHN HOGBEN.

“The Germans, Destroyers of Cathedrals”

By Artists, Writers, Musicians, and Philosophers of France

The subjoined extracts of official documents are translated from a book published in Paris by Hachette et Cie., the full title of which is “The Germans, Destroyers of Cathedrals and of Treasures of the Past: Being a Compilation of Documents Belonging to the Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Arts.” The official documents are offered to “the literary and artistic associations of foreign countries.” The editorial notes and comment are reproduced from the original text.

To the Artistic and Literary Associations of Foreign Countries and to all Friends of the Beautiful, in order that the System of Destruction of the German Armies be brought to their knowledge, the present Memorial is offered by:

- Mme. JULIETTE ADAM.
PAUL ADAM.
M. ANQUETIN.
ANDRE ANTOINE, Founder of the Théâtre Libre.
PAUL APPELL, Dean of the Faculty of Sciences, member of the Institute.
MAURICE BARRES, Deputy, member of the Académie Française.
ALBERT BARTHOLOME.
JEAN BERAUD.
TRISTAN BERNARD.
ALBERT BESNARD, Director of the Académie de France at Rome, member of the Institute.
PIERRE BONNARD.
LEON BONNAT, member of the Institute, Director of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts.
EMILE-ANTOINE BOURDELLE.
ELEMIR BOURGES, member of the Académie Goncourt.
EMILE BOUTROUX, member of the Institute.
ADOLPHE BRISSON, President of the Association de la Critique.
ALFRED BRUNEAU.
Dr. CAPITAN, Professor at the Collège de France, member of the Académie de Médecine.
ALFRED CAPUS, member of the Académie Française.
- M. CAROLUS-DURAN, member of the Institute.
GUSTAVE CHARPENTIER, member of the Institute.
CAMILLE CHEVILLARD, Director of the Concerts-Lamoureux.
PAUL CLAUDEL.
GEORGES CLEMENCEAU, Senator, former President of the Council.
ROMAIN COOLUS.
ALFRED CORTOT.
GEORGES COURTELINE.
P. A. J. DAGNAN-BOUVERET, member of the Institute.
CLAUDE DEBUSSY.
Mme. VIRGINIE DEMONT-BRETON.
JULES DESBOIS.
LUCIEN DESCAVES, member of the Académie Goncourt.
MAXIME DETHOMAS.
AUGUSTE DORCHAIN.
PAUL DUKAS.
J. ERNEST-CHARLES, President of the Société des Conférences Etrangères.
EMILE FABRE.
EMILE FAGUET, member of the Académie Française.
GABRIEL FAURE, member of the Institute, Director of the Conservatory of Music.
CAMILLE FLAMMARION, President of the Société Astronomique de France.
ROBERT DE FLERS.
ANDRE FONTAINAS.
PAUL FORT.
ANATOLE FRANCE, member of the Académie Française.
A. DE LA GANDARA.

FIRMIN GEMIER, Director of the Théâtre-Antoine.
 ANDRE GIDE.
 CHARLES GIRAULT, member of the Institute.
 EDMOND GUIRAUD.
 LUCIEN GUITRY.
 EDMOND HARAUCOURT.
 LOUIS HAVET, member of the Institute.
 MAURICE HENNEQUIN, President of the Société des Auteurs et Compositeurs Dramatiques.
 JACQUES HERMANT, President of the Société des Architectes Diplomes par le Gouvernement.
 A. F. HEROLD.
 PAUL HERVIEU, member of the Académie Française.
 VINCENT D'INDY, Director of the Schola Cantorum.
 M. INGHELBRÉGHTE.
 FRANCIS JAMMES.
 FRANTZ JOURDAIN, President of the Syndicat de la Presse Artistique, President of the Autumn Salon.
 GUSTAVE KAHN.
 VICTOR LALOUE, member of the Institute.
 HENRI LAVÉDAN, member of the Académie Française.
 GEORGES LECOMTE, President of the Société des Gens de Lettres.
 Mlle. MARIE LENERU.
 PIERRE LOTI, member of the Académie Française.
 MAURICE MAGRE.
 ARISTIDE MAILLOL.
 PAUL MARGUERITTE, member of the Académie Goncourt.
 HENRI MARTIN.
 M. MATISSE.
 MAX MAUREY.
 Mme. CATULLE MENDES.
 ANTONIN MERCIÉ, member of the Institute, President of the Société des Artistes Français.
 STUART MERRILL.
 ANDRÉ MESSAGER.
 OCTAVE MIRBEAU, member of the Académie Goncourt.
 CLAUDE MONET.
 Mme. DE NOAILLES.
 J. L. PASCAL, member of the Institute.

EDMOND PERRIER, President of the Institute, Director of the Muséum.
 GABRIEL PIERNE, Director of the Concerts-Colonne.
 M. PIOCH.
 CHARLES PLUMET.
 Mme. RACHILDE.
 J. F. RAFFAELLI.
 ODILON REDON.
 GEORGES RENARD, Professor at the Collège de France.
 JEAN RICHEPIN, member of the Académie Française.
 AUGUSTE RODIN.
 ALFRED ROLL, President of the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts.
 J. H. ROSNY, aîné, member of the Académie Goncourt.
 EDMOND ROSTAND, member of the Académie Française.
 SAINT-GEORGES DE BOUHELIER.
 CAMILLE SAINT-SAËNS, member of the Institute.
 GABRIEL SEAILLES.
 PAUL SIGNAC, President of the Société des Artistes Indépendants.
 M. STEINLEN.
 FRANCIS VIELE-GRIFFIN.
 ADOLPHE WILLETTE.

To the Literary and Artistic Associations of Foreign Countries and to all Friends of the Beautiful:

" * * * *It is not true that our troops brutally destroyed Louvain. It is not true that we make war in contempt of the rights of mankind. Our soldiers commit neither undisciplined nor cruel acts. * * **"

MANIFESTO OF THE GERMAN INTELLECTUALS.

"If the savants make science what it is, science does not make the character of the savants what it is."

EDMOND PERRIER.

" * * * *Scientific barbarism.*"

EMILE BOUTROUX.

I.

If we were able—at this hour, when, through the act of the Teutonic Empire, the world may witness unnamable deeds—if we were able to cite the most odious of them, we should say that, after the massacre of innocent people

and all the assaults on the rights of mankind committed by the German armies, the worst has seemed to us the shameless manner in which the superior intellects beyond the Rhine have dared to cover up these crimes. It is not that we ever believed that from any corner of Germany there could come to us an appearance of fellow-feeling, in these circumstances wherein no one has any other right than that of giving himself body and soul to his native land. We know that, before speaking for the universe, men threatened by the enemy should be faithful to their flag, in the face of everything and against everything—and with resolution. At no hour, therefore, have we thought that German savants and artists could raise their voice to repudiate their armies, when the latter were going to war with the object of further extending their empire. But, at least, they should keep silence, and before the horror of crimes to be judged especially by the tribunal of the élite they should not have shown their miserable enthusiasm. "You see," as a clear-sighted Dutch professor* has well written on this point, "if these intellectuals were not blinded they would rather have asked themselves if, in this war that stains Europe with blood, the Prussian military authorities were not losing for centuries the reputation of the great name of Germany." And suppose it were even a small matter if they had lost only the great name of Germany, that the epoch of Goethe, Kant, and Beethoven had covered with glory. But with it they have vilified as well the noble rôle of the philosopher, of the historian, of the savant, and of the artist. In truth they have betrayed their own gods, and the professions to which they belong can no longer be honored by them—so far as the question of conscience goes, at least. And as for the sacred thing called civilization, which is above our interests and our vanities of an hour, they may have served it usefully by their personal work in the past, but they were unequal to the task of remaining its protectors when their mere silence would perhaps have

helped to save it.† They have thus shown that, with their more or less sparkling black eagles and under the be-dizenment of their Court costumes, they are for the most part narrow fanatics or paid scribes whose pen is only a tool in the hands of their master of a day. It is not even sure whether through their cult of this "militarism," to which they have given the most shameful blind-signature, they have not hopelessly condemned it, by testifying that under the rule of the German sabre human thought has no other course than to humiliate itself! * * *

But on the score of what they are worth in professional morality and courage, agreement is certain today, everywhere.

Their great affair—and that of every thinking German—is to object, when spoken to of their crimes, either that they were born of necessity or that they did not take place. As against these allegations, unsupported by any proof, the most formal denials have officially been given. But to the latter we shall now add the true description of the facts. And we think that, in spite of the power and the dogmatic authority of its élite, the activity of its emissaries in all parts of the world, and, finally, all its vast apparatus of conquest—military and civil—Germany cannot long make its stand against the humble little truth, which advances, noiselessly but also fearlessly, with the tenacious light in its hand that it received from Reality—from unquenchable and ardent Reality.

We come to you armed with the facts.

†On the score of certain names important in Germany—names not found under the manifesto of the Intellectuals—a question arises: Were they not solicited as well to cover up these crimes, or did they refuse? If the question were one of a simple memorial, carrying with it no abdication of conscience, this point would be without importance, for it would simply mean that a list, however long, could not bring together all the men of renown of a country, and omissions would often have to be laid to chance. But here a venomous manifesto was to be signed, made up of violent lies and of arbitrary theories; and with this in mind one may see a meaning in certain abstentions. Without any possible doubt they are the act of courageous men, who, feeling deeply where the truth is, will not ally themselves against it; and by their resistance they do it honor.

*Professor Dake.

It is only these unanswerable witnesses that we have wished to oppose to the gratuitous affirmations of our colleagues beyond the Rhine. We might have taken you into the mazes of twenty frightful dramas, for *at every place where the German troops have advanced they have trodden under foot the rights of mankind and counted as nothing the civilization and the patrimony of nations.* We have thought it wiser to limit ourselves to the relation of certain events bearing the seal of certainty.

Not all the cities which may have suffered have as yet opened their gates to our brothers. Not being able to collect authentic testimony there we prefer, then, not to speak of them—for the moment. But in all those evacuated by the enemy, commissions* have hurried to ascertain the losses on the spot. It is from these legal examinations that we have written this report, which, in impartial fashion, makes you the judges.

Unhappy cities have been tortured in body and soul, that is to say, in their population and in the works built by their hands, the immortal relics of the dead. Of the miseries the people have suffered it is not permitted us to speak. But as to those noble houses built with art which have been destroyed, as to those constructions erected by our ancestors for the edification of men of all classes, of all times, and all countries, which are today but ruins; as to those masterpieces in which all the elegant poetry of our race was realized and that belonged to the civilized world, of which they were a glory and an ornament, and which subsist as nothing but a mournful heap of débris—of these we are not bound to keep silent. But not one exaggerated word shall be uttered by us. The account we shall give is established by high testimony and by irrefutable documents.

But let us cease all this preparation and come to the events of Rheims.

*Throughout this work we shall often have recourse to the reports of these commissions. At the end of the present volume will be found certain of these documents, unpublished till now.

(Page 59 of the book.)

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE.

APPENDIX I.

No. 1.

AT RHEIMS.

M. Henry Jadart, Librarian of the City of Rheims and Curator of the Museum of that city, was present at the bombardments of the 4th and the 19th of September. He was well placed to enlighten us on the destruction accomplished at the time.

He was kind enough to send us the communication which we publish below. From the testimony of M. Jadart, it will appear how many monumental constructions at Rheims were mutilated or destroyed, and how these attest, not less than the ruins of the cathedral, the vandalism of the German armies:

Friday, Sept. 4.—The bombardment, which took place suddenly from half-past 9 till quarter-past 10 in the morning, caused some accidents to the cathedral, more or less notable from the point of view of art, (some stained glass more or less ancient, some slight scratches to the statues;) at the Church of Saint-Rémi (ancient stained glass, tapestry of the sixteenth century, pictures of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, altar screen, statues, south portal, and vault of transept) and at the Museum of Fine Arts, Rue Chanzy, 8, (salle Henry Vasnier broken in by a shell, about twenty modern pictures damaged.) Besides, among the houses struck, the Gothic house, 57 Rue de Vesle, suffered mutilation in the sculpture of a fireplace—it was entirely demolished by the bombardment and fire of Sept. 19.

Saturday, Sept. 19.—This was the day of the great destruction by the bombs and the fires caused in the cathedral, the ancient residence of the Archbishop, in the houses of the Place Royale, and the Cérés quarter. On the afternoon of this day and during the night from Saturday to Sunday, flames consumed the most precious collections of the city, at the Archbishop's palace and in private houses, an inventory of which it will never be possible to prepare.

The top of the cathedral burned after

the scaffolding of the northern tower of the great portal had taken fire, toward 3 o'clock in the afternoon. The statues and sculptures of this side of the same portal were licked by the flames and scorched through and through. The eight bells in this tower also were caught by the flames, and the whole thing fell down near the cross aisle of the transept. The spire of the Belfry of the Angel, at the apse, fell, and with it disappeared the leaden heads which decorated its base. In the interior the sculptures and the walls of the edifice were damaged by fire in the straw which had been strewn about for the German wounded; the great eighteenth century tympanums of the lateral doors, west side, were damaged likewise. The thirteenth century stained glass suffered shocks from the air and were perforated, in the rose windows as also in the high windows of the nave. The pictures in the transept were spared, but the choir stalls (eighteenth century work) were consumed—at the left on entering.

Of the adjacent palace all the buildings were attacked by the flames and are now nothing but ruined walls, save the chapel of the thirteenth century, of which the main part subsists intact, and the lower hall of the King's Lodge, under the Hall of Anointment, (of the end of the fifteenth century.) The anointment rooms on the ground floor, reconstructed in the seventeenth century, contained a great number of historical portraits and furniture of various periods, which were all a prey to the flames. It was the same in the apartments of the Archbishops, which also contained numerous pictures and different views of the city, transported from the Hôtel de Ville and intended for the formation of a historical museum of Rheims. Precious furniture, bronzes of great value—like the foot of the candelabra of Saint Rémi and the candelabra of the Abbaye d'Igny—were also in these apartments, of which nothing is left but the walls. The archaeological collections of the city were consumed in the upper apartments, as also a whole museum, organized and classified to represent the ethnography of la Champagne by a thousand objects

tracing back the ancient industries, the trades, the arts, and usages of this province. Finally, the rich library founded by Cardinal Gousset, offering superb editions and assembled in a vast paneled hall, was totally burned up in the modern building constructed for it at the expense of the State.

After the disasters to the arts at the cathedral and the palace, we must note also the mansions and private houses, remarkable through their architecture and their decoration, that were demolished, burned, and annihilated. No. 1 Rue du Marc, Renaissance mansion—damage to the sculptured ceiling and the sculptures of the court. Two pavilions of the Place Royale, creations of the eighteenth century, are now only calcined walls. The same fate overtook the Gothic house, 57 Rue de Vesle, (of which mention was made above;) the house, 40 Rue de l'Université, built in the eighteenth century; the house next to the Ecu de Rheims, of the same period; the mansion at 12 Rue la Grue, which was decorated with carved lintels and forged iron banisters; the mansion at 19 Rue Eugène-Destenque, in the style of the Henri IV. period, having a great stone fireplace and decorative paintings in one gallery. Finally, in the Rue des Trois-Raisinets, the remains of the monastery of the Franciscans, with a cloister, and the framework of a granary of the Middle Ages.

These notes are really only observations to be completed later with the aid of descriptions of ancient date, but they offer sure information of the lamentable losses suffered by our unfortunate city during the first month of its bombardment.

Paris, Jan. 20, 1915.

No. 2.

THE FIXED IDEA.

From M. Auguste Dorchain we receive this striking observation:

The idea of destroying the cathedral haunted them for a hundred years, at least. Three dates, three texts, three proofs:

April, 1814, Jean-Joseph Goerres, an

illustrious professor, the pious author of a "Christian Mysticism," in four volumes, wrote, in the *Rheinische Merkur*:

"Reduce to ashes that basilica of Rheims where Klodovig was anointed, where that Empire of the Franks was born—the false brothers of the noble Teutons; burn that cathedral! * * *"

Sept. 5, 1914, we read in the *Berliner Blatt*:

"The western group of our armies in France has already passed the second line of defensive forts, except Rheims, whose royal splendor, which dates back to the time of the white lilies, will not fail to crumble to dust, soon, under the fire of our mortars."

Jan. 1, 1915. In the artistic and literary supplement of the *Berlin Lokal-Anzeiger* M. Rudolf Herzog sings an ode "in honor of the destruction of the Cathedral of Rheims":

"The bells sound no more in the cathedral with two towers. Finished is the benediction! * * * With lead, O Rheims, we have shut your house of idolatry!"

A lyric cry of the heart, when the national wish, a century old, is at last accomplished.

No comment on these three texts—it suffices to bring them together.

AUGUSTE DORCHAIN.

Feb. 20, 1915.

No. 4.

LETTER OF M. L'ABBE DOURLENT.

M. l'Abbé Dourlent, Curate Archpresbyter of the Cathedral of Senlis, was one of the principal witnesses of the drama. So he has had to speak of it several times. But up to now we had no written deposition from him over his signature. Here is the document which comes from this priest. It attests his courage and sincerity at the same time.

Diocese of Beauvais, Archpresbytery and Parish of Senlis, (Oise.)

SENLIS, Jan. 8, 1915.

Monsieur: You do me the honor to ask for my testimony as to the actions of the enemy at Senlis at the time of the occupation, on the 2d of September.

I beg to send you my attestation, and

express my confusion and regret at not having been able to do so sooner.

On the 2d of September an engagement took place between the French and German troops on the plain of Senlis from 10 o'clock till about half-past 2, and it was ended by the bombardment of our beautiful cathedral and a part of the city. The enemy entered the city about half-past 3 and were received at the end of the Faubourg St. Martin by a fusillade directed against them by delayed soldiers and a company armed with machine guns, charged with arresting the pursuit of the French Army, which was bending back toward Paris.

Immediately the superior officer, who was conversing with M. Odent, the Mayor of Senlis, accused the civilians of having fired on the German Army, and rendered him responsible for it. Then began the burning of the whole Rue de la République. This untruth was immediately spread about, and two hours after the affray a General said at Villers-Saint-Frambourg what another General said next morning at Nanteuil-le-Haudouin: That Senlis was burned because the civilians had fired on the German Army. The thirty-seven hostages brought to Chamant heard the same statement.

To this testimony I will add my own, which will only confirm what is said above: As soon as the enemy arrived soldiers of the cyclist corps obliged me to conduct them to the top of the belfry of our cathedral, from which they pretended that they had been shot at. Their inspection revealed nothing of what they thought to find, for I alone had the key and I had confided it to no one. Some moments later I was consigned to the Hôtel du Grand-Cerf as a hostage. The German General Staff had gone to Chamant. Some hours later I accosted a superior officer and asked him what I should do, seeing no one of whom I could inquire the reason for my arrest. "Remain here, where you will at least be in safety. Poor curate! Poor Senlis! But, then, why did you receive us as you did? The civilians shot at us, and we were fired at from the tower of your church. So Senlis is condemned. You see that street in flames? (and, in fact, the Rue

de la République was burning everywhere, 114 houses in ruins) well, this night the city itself will be entirely burned down. We have the order to make of Senlis a French Louvain. At Louvain the Belgians shot at us from their houses, from their belfries—Louvain no longer exists. Tomorrow it will be the same with your place. We admit fighting among soldiers, that is war; but we are pitiless with civilians. Paris and the whole of France need a terrible example which shall remind them that warfare by civilians is a crime that cannot be too severely punished."

My energetic protest against the accusation concerning the cathedral and my other doubts formulated against the intervention of civilians (I did not know what was the nature of the engagement in the Faubourg) seemed to interest the officer, who promised to make a report to the General and to plead our cause. Thanks to God, the sentence was repealed; our poor Mayor and ten hostages were shot, but the city was spared.

Such are the facts, which I thought might be of interest in your researches. I am at your orders to complete them if you need more.

I beg you, Sir, to accept the expression of my most respectful sentiments.

(Signed.) DOURELLENT.

Curate Archpresbyter of Senlis.

No. 5.

THE LIBRARY OF LOUVAIN.

To close the series of depositions collected by us, here is that of M. Paul Delannoy, Librarian of the University of Louvain. The few lines he was kind enough to address to us will suffice to show the extent of the treasure formerly at Louvain and also of the disaster accomplished, which seems irreparable:

The library of the University of Louvain possessed 500 manuscripts, about 800 incunabulae, and 250,000 to 300,000 volumes. One noted especially the original of the bull of foundation of the university in 1425, an example on vellum of the famous work of André Vésale, *De Humani Corporis Fabrica*, an example given to the university by Charles V., a

precious manuscript by Thomas à Kempis. The bibliographical curiosities were numerous; the collection of old Flemish bindings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries contained some curious specimens. The souvenirs of the ancient university, seals, diplomas, medals, &c., were preciously guarded in cases. The old printed matters of the sixteenth century formed an extremely rare treasury; all the pieces, pamphlets, and placards on the reform of the Low Countries were kept together in a "varia" volume, thus constituting a unique ensemble. It was the same with a host of pieces relating to Jansenism.

The great halls of the books, with artistic woodwork, were jewels of eighteenth century architecture; the Salle des Pas-Perdus of the Halles Universitaires, with its vaults and capitals, has been reproduced in manuals of art and archaeology.

The reading room of the library contained a whole gallery of portraits of professors of the ancient university; this museum was a very precious source for the literary history of the Low Countries.

PAUL DELANNOY.

No. 6.

THE TESTIMONY OF M. PIERRE LOTI.

Finally, covering these various testimonies, and deriving from his illustrious signature a character of high distinction, here is what M. Pierre Loti writes us:

More or less, everywhere in the north and east of our dear France, I have seen with my eyes the German abominations, in which, without this experience, I could not have believed.

In indignation and horror I associate myself with the protestations above, as well as with all those, not yet formulated, which will come out later on and which will always be below the monstrous reality.

PIERRE LOTI.

So we may say that the present memorial, tempered many a time, is less an excessive than a perfectly moderate picture.

APPENDIX II.

No. 1.

NOTRE DAME DE PARIS.

It will be remembered that on the 11th of October a Taube, having managed to penetrate the zone of Paris, flew over the city, hovered just above Notre Dame, and dropped several bombs on the cathedral. Note that this was on Sunday and that at the hour when this Taube accomplished its disastrous mission there was in Notre Dame a very great crowd of worshippers. None of them was hurt, but the distinction was undeniably that of killing unarmed people and mutilating a marvel of French art.

Let us now read the first report, signed by M. Harancourt, who was able to proceed to interesting discoveries on the very day of the attempt:

Musée des Thermes et de l'Hôtel de Cluny.

Sunday, Oct. 11, 1914.

To the Under Secretary of State for the Fine Arts, Service of Historic Monuments.

As I reside in the arrondissement of Notre Dame, I got to the cathedral some moments after the explosion of the bombs. In the company of a Commissary of Police, of an architect of the city, of a Canon, and of two Sergeants of the Fire Department, I examined the damage caused in order to be able to advise the Service of Historical Monuments immediately if the case should be urgent.

The bomb exploded on the west slope of the roof of the north transept, a little above the gutter, near the clock. After having pierced the lead covering it seems to have exploded only after having struck the transverse beam, whose end is splintered. The explosion, having thus taken place under the covering, pushed the edges of the tear outward, making a hole in this covering through which a young person could pass; six small beams were split round about. The bomb was loaded like shrapnel, apparently with leaden bullets of different calibres, for the roof is riddled with circular holes to a distance of twenty meters from there. The holes are of various diameters, but none of the bullets could be found. The nearest turret was damaged—several

ornaments were broken from it—the modern clockstand that incases the big clock was riddled by pieces of shell. The bomb thrown at the apse and which fell in the garden was not this time a shrapnel bomb, but an incendiary bomb, which only threw out a sheet of flame. The third having fallen into the Seine, toward the south side of the porch, it is difficult to say whether it was a shrapnel bomb or an incendiary.

To sum up, the damage from the artistic point of view is almost nil; it simply calls for some work by carpenters and roofers.

But the intention to harm the building is evident, and I have thought that perhaps it would be well to take certain precautions to protect, if possible, the fine fourteenth century statue of the Virgin that stands near the pillar, and that it is not impossible perhaps to transfer it to a safer place.

E. HARANCOURT,

Member of the Commission on Historical Monuments.

A report from M. Paul Boeswillwald, Inspector General of Historical Monuments, confirms the first statements:

Historical Monuments, Cathedral of Paris.

PARIS, Oct. 12, 1914.

The Inspector General of Historical Monuments to the Under Secretary of State for the Fine Arts.

I have the honor to report that I went this morning to Notre Dame to examine the damage caused by the bomb thrown yesterday afternoon on to the cathedral by a German aviator. The bomb struck the lower part of the west slope of the top of the north transept, tearing the lead, breaking a piece of the wooden frame, and smashing by its explosion the crown of the pinnacle which cuts the balustrade at the right of the flying buttress intermediary in the sexpartite vault of the transept. Other effects of the explosion were the striking of some stones and the leads of the dormer window which carries the frame of a clock, as also some small windows. The fragments of the pinnacle fell on the roof of the lower slope, where they made a deep

imprint on the lead cover without breaking it through.

The projectile was not an incendiary bomb, since the wood splintered by it bears no trace of fire.

To resume, the damage is, fortunately, quite unimportant.

The order has been given to set aside all the fragments of stone belonging to the decoration of the pinnacle, remains of crockets, ornaments, &c.

(Signed) PAUL BOESWILLWALD.

With all the friends of civilization and of art, we think that the question of the slightness of the damage caused by this Taube is not to be considered at all. But the fact of this Taube having accomplished such a raid with the sole design of bombarding a cathedral in a peaceful city, 100 kilometres off from the military operations—is it not the most patent and evident demonstration of the kind of Ne-ronian dilettantism which, along with calculation, inspires the crimes of the barbarians?

APPENDIX III.

No. 1.

WHAT OUR PROVINCIAL CITIES ARE.

Here is a page published by Anatole France apropos of the bombardment of Soissons:

I had just read in a newspaper that the Germans, who have been bombarding Soissons these four months, have dropped eighty shells on the cathedral. A moment later chance brought before me a book of M. André Hallays, where I find these lines, which I take pleasure in transcribing:

“Soissons is a white city, peaceful and smiling, that raises its tower and pointed spires at the edge of a lazy river, at the centre of a circle of green hills. The city and the landscape make one think of the little pictures that the illuminators of our old manuscripts lovingly painted.

* * * Precious monuments show the whole history of the French Monarchy, from the Merovingian crypts of the Ab-baye de Saint-Médard to the fine man-sion erected on the eve of the Revolution for the Governors of the province. Amid narrow streets and little gardens

a magnificent cathedral extends the two arms of its great transept; at the north is a straight wall, and an immense stained-glass window; at the south, that marvelous apse where the ogive and the full centre combine in so delicate a fashion.” (“Around Paris,” Page 207.)

That charming page from a writer who dearly loves the cities and monuments of France brought tears to my eyes. It charmed my sadness. I want to thank my colleague for it publicly.

The brutal and stupid destruction of monuments consecrated by art and the years is a crime that war does not excuse. May it be an eternal opprobrium for the Germans!

No. 2.

MARTYRDOM THAT ENNOBLES.

To illustrate this memorial, which is first addressed to the Friends of the Beautiful, and whose object is to touch the heart, we give a sonnet of M. Edmond Rostand. It is entitled, “The Cathedral,” and will show that pride may be taken by the victim of violence, and that a crime against the beautiful diminishes only the brute who commits it:

Nought have they done but render it more immortal! The work does not perish that a scoundrel has struck. Ask Phidias, then, or ask of Rodin if before bits of his work men no longer say, “It is his!” The fortress dies when once dismantled, but the temple shattered lives but the more nobly; and our eyes, of a sudden, remember the roof with disdain and prefer to see the sky in the lace work of the stone. Let us give thanks, since till now we lacked what the Greeks possess on the hill of gold—the symbol of beauty consecrated by insult! Let us give thanks to the layers of the stupid cannon, since from their German skill there results for them—shame; for us—a Parthenon!

No. 3.

A SOLEMN PROTEST.

We mean the one issued on the 29th of October by the Académie Française at one of its sessions, meeting under the Presidency of M. Marcel Prévost, M. Etienne Lamy being Perpetual Secre-

tary. The President of the Republic, M. Raymond Poincaré, made it a point to be present at this session, and here is the document that, after long deliberation, was approved by the unanimous vote of the members present:

The Académie Française protests against all the affirmations by which Germany lyingly imputes to France or to its allies the responsibility for the war.

It protests against all the negations opposed to the evident authenticity of the abominable acts committed by the German armies.

In the name of French civilization and human civilization, it stigmatizes the violators of Belgian neutrality, the killers of women and children, the savage destroyers of noble monuments of the past, the incendiaries of the University of Louvain, of the Cathedral of Rheims, and those who wanted also to burn Notre Dame.

It expresses its enthusiasm for the armies that struggle against the coalition of Germany and Austria.

With profound emotion it salutes our soldiers who, animated by the virtues of our ancestors, are thus demonstrating the immortality of France.

*When these words were published they may have appeared excessive to certain minds outside of the best-informed circles. * * * Since then diplomatic documents have appeared, followed by various official reports on German atrocities, and today the truth is known to all.*

No. 4.

THE FRENCH POINT OF VIEW.

On the 9th of November the President

of the Council, M. René Viviani, traveled to Rheims in order to deliver to the Mayor, M. Langlet, the Cross of the Legion of Honor that his courage had gained for him. On this occasion the President of the Council pronounced the discourse from which the following is cited as exhibiting French thought on the present war:

As if it were really necessary to accentuate the rôle of France, German militarism has raised its voice. It proclaims, through the organ of those whose mission it is to think for it, the cult of force and that history asks no accounts from the victor. We are not a chimerical people, nor dreamers, we do not despise force; only we put it in its place, which is at the service of the right. It is for the right that we are contending, for that Belgium is struggling by our side, she who sacrificed herself for honor; and for that, also, our English and Russian allies whose armies, while waiting till they can tread this unchained force under foot, oppose it with an invincible rampart. France is not a preying country; it does not stretch out rapacious hands to enslave the world. Since war has been forced upon her, she makes war. Soon the legitimate reparations will come which shall restore to the French hearth the souls that the brutality of arms separated from it. Associated in a work of human liberation we shall go on, allies and Frenchmen united in war and for peace, as long as we have not broken Prussian militarism and the sword of murder with the sword of freedom.



Chronology of the War

Showing Progress of Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events from June 15, 1915, Up to and Including July 15, 1915.

CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

- June 16—Austro-German drive toward Lemberg continues, although Russians are moving reinforcements to their retreating line; only section where Russians are checking the Teutonic allies is that between the Dniester marshes and Zurawna; Austrian official statement says that 108 Russian officers, 122,300 men, 53 cannon, and 187 machine guns were captured during the first fifteen days of June; Russians estimate that 2,800,000 men are operating against them.
- June 17—Austro-German drive at Lemberg continues from the west and northwest; at one point Russians are retreating over their own frontier toward Tarnograd, four miles from the Gallician border; Austro-Germans have battered their way through Niemerow, thirty miles northwest of Lemberg, and are advancing toward Jaworow, twenty-five miles from Lemberg.
- June 18—Austro-Germans are nearer Lemberg; the battle for the Gallician capital is raging along a fortified line at Grodek, sixteen miles west of Lemberg; Austro-Germans drive Russians across the frontier of Poland near Tarnograd, which falls into the hands of the Teutonic allies; Austrians penetrate ten miles into Bessarabia.
- June 19—Austro-Germans make important gains in their drive on Lemberg; they take the strongly fortified town of Grodek, and cross the River Tanew; they take Komarno, twenty miles southwest of Lemberg.
- June 20—Russians are in general retreat along their entire front west of Lemberg; Mackensen's men take Russian trenches along a front of nearly twenty-four miles northwest of Lemberg.
- June 21—Austro-Germans take Rawa Ruska, and are now fighting east of that town, the investment of Lemberg being almost complete; advance forces of the Teutonic allies are within nine miles of the limits of Lemberg; north and south of Lemberg the Russians are falling back toward the city; on the Upper Dniester the Russians are beginning to evacuate their positions.
- June 22—Austro-German forces take Lemberg, capital of Galicia, which has been held by the Russians since Sept. 3, and which they have called Lvov, the Second Austrian Army, under General von Boehm-Ermolli, entering first; Russians withdraw systematically and in good order, leaving behind
- few prisoners and removing the Russian documents from the city; Russians along practically the whole line in Galicia are abandoning as much territory as they can cover in the twenty-four hours each day, retreating in fairly good order.
- June 23—Russians are retreating near Rawa Ruska and Zolkiew; Russians are also retreating between the San and Vistula Rivers and in the hill district of Kielce, Russian Poland; Montenegrins are marching against Scutari, Albania, in three columns.
- June 24—Russians are still retreating in Galicia.
- June 25—Russians throw part of General Linsingen's army back across the Dniester to the south bank; Petrograd reports that the Russian armies, despite their weeks of retreat in Galicia, are practically intact, and that they have inflicted vast losses on the Austro-Germans, having captured 130,000 men, 60 cannon, and nearly 300 machine guns; severe fighting in Bessarabia.
- June 27—Russians retreat in Galicia, both north and south of Lemberg; Serbians capture Micharskaada, Austria, near Shabat, taking much war material.
- June 28—Austro-Germans take the Galician town of Halicz and cross the Dniester; Russians are falling back to the Gnila Lipa River; northeast of Lemberg the Austro-Germans are forcing back the Russians, who are forming along the Bug River; Montenegrins occupy the Albanian harbor of Giovanni Medua and are now marching on Alessio.
- June 29—Austro-Germans drive Russians across the Russian frontier north of Lemberg, taking the town of Tomaszow, Poland; Austro-Germans reach the Gnila Lipa River and the Bug River, near Kamionka; Rome reports that the Montenegrins have entered Scutari, Albania.
- June 30—To the north and northwest of Lemberg the Russians continue to retreat; the Austro-Germans take another Polish town, Zawichost, just over the frontier.
- July 1—Austro-Germans continue their drive into Poland from Galicia, and take the fortress of Zamost, twenty-five miles north of the Gallician frontier; east of Lemberg the Austrian troops are pressing forward; von Mackensen's troops advance between the Vistula and Bug Rivers; Austrian official statement says that during June the Teu-

- tonic allies in Galicia captured 521 officers, 194,000 men, 93 guns, 164 machine guns, 78 caissons, and 100 military railway carriages.
- July 2—Austro-Germans continue to advance in Galicia and Poland.
- July 3—Austro-Germans continue to advance as the Russians fall back in good order; west of Zamosc the Russians are repulsed beyond the Por River; east of Krasnik, the Austro-Germans capture Studzianki; it is unofficially estimated by Berlin experts that from May 2 until June 27 the Russians left in the hands of the Germans 1,630 officers and 520,000 men as prisoners, 300 field guns, 770 machine guns, and vast quantities of war material.
- July 4—Linsingen's army is advancing toward the Zlota Lipa River, the Russians falling back; along the Bug River Mackensen's armies are attacking; Teutonic allies take the heights north of Krasnik; there is fierce fighting in the Russian Baltic provinces.
- July 5—Russians are making a desperate stand between the Pruth and Dniester Rivers.
- July 6—With the exception of certain sectors between the Vistula and the Bug Rivers, the Austro-German drive seems to be losing its momentum; the Russians are holding at most points along their line.
- July 7—Russians, who have been strongly reinforced, check the Austro-German advance toward the Lublin Railway, which threatens to imperil Warsaw.
- July 8—Russians hold up Austro-German attempt to outflank Warsaw from the southwest; Austrians are compelled to retire north of Krasnik; Austro-Germans are checked on the lower Zlota Lipa River.
- July 10—Russians are delivering smashing blows against the Austrians, commanded by Archduke Ferdinand, in Southern Poland.
- July 12—On the East Prussian front, near Suwalki, the Germans take $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles of Russian trenches; in the Lublin region, Southern Poland, the Russian troops, having completed their counter-offensive movement, occupy the positions assigned to them on the heights of the right bank of the River Urzendooka; Austrians repulse strong and repeated Montenegrin attacks on the Herzegovina frontier.
- July 13—The Austrians in the Lublin region are retreating toward the Gallician frontier and some of them have crossed the border into their own territory.
- July 15—Germans renew their drive on Warsaw from the north, and take Przasnysz, a fortified town fifty miles north of Warsaw.
- Souchez and Lorette; French make progress in the Vosges, on both banks of the Fecht River.
- June 17—After severe fighting for two days, during which the Germans bring 220,000 men into action and the French fire 300,000 shells, French make important gains near Souchez and at other points in the sector north of Arras; French retain nearly all their gains, despite furious counter-attacks.
- June 18—A strong and concerted attack is being made by the British and French upon the German front from east of Ypres to south of Arras; British retain a first line of German trenches won east of Ypres.
- June 19—French carry by assault the position of Fond de Buval, a ravine west of the road between Souchez and Aix-Noulette, where fighting has been in progress since May 9; French advance northwest of the labyrinth; French advance farther on the Fecht River in Alsace, Germans evacuating Metzeral, after setting it on fire.
- June 20—Germans make a strong attack on the French lines in the Western Argonne, the French stating that it was preceded by a bombardment with asphyxiating projectiles.
- June 21—French take trenches on the heights of the Meuse; in Lorraine the French advance and take the works to the west of Gondrexon; in Alsace the French are advancing beyond Metzeral in the direction of Meyerhof.
- June 22—It is officially announced that the French are in possession of the labyrinth, for which furious fighting has been in progress day and night since May 30; the labyrinth consists of a vast network of fortifications built by the Germans between Neuville-St. Vaast and Ecurie, north of Arras, forming a salient of the German line.
- June 25—On the heights of the Meuse, at the Calonne trench, Germans make a violent night attack, with the aid of asphyxiating bombs and flaming liquids, and penetrate that portion of the former German second line of defense recently taken by the French, but the French retake the ground by a counter-attack.
- June 26—Germans retake some of their trenches north of Souchez.
- June 27—Violent artillery fighting occurs in Belgium and north of Arras.
- June 28—Severe artillery duels are fought along the front from the Aisne to Flanders.
- June 29—Heavy cannonading is in progress north of Arras, particularly near Souchez.
- June 30—Artillery actions are fought north of Arras and on the banks of the Yser; in the Argonne the Germans gain a foothold at some points of the French line near Bagatelle.
- July 1—North of Arras and along the Aisne heavy artillery engagements are being fought.
- July 2—In the western part of the Argonne a German army under the Crown Prince

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

- June 16—British resume offensive near Ypres, north of Hooge, capturing trenches along a front of 1,000 yards; French make gains north of Arras, in the labyrinth, and near

- takes the offensive, and northwest of Le Four-de-Paris German troops advance from one-eighth to one-fifth of a mile on a three-mile front, taking war material and prisoners.
- July 3—German artillery carries on severe bombardments along practically the whole front; French repulse two German attacks in the region of Metzeral.
- July 4—Spirited artillery actions are fought in the region of Nieuport and on the Steenstraete-Het Sase front.
- July 5—Germans take trenches from the French at the Forest of Le Prêtre; French repulse attacks north of Arras.
- July 6—British gain near Ypres, expelling Germans from trenches near Pilkem won during the gas assaults in April.
- July 8—French take 800 yards of trenches north of the Souchez railway station, Germans recapturing 100 yards; German counter-attacks on the trenches southwest of Pilkem, recently taken by the British, are repulsed by British and French artillery.
- July 9—British press on north of Ypres, the Germans falling back after a two-days' bombardment; in the Vosges, near Fontenelle, the French advance.
- July 10—French check the Germans north of Arras and the Belgians check them on the Yser.
- July 11—Artillery actions are in progress at Nieuport, in the region of the Aisne, in Champagne, in the territory between the Upper Meuse and Moselle, and in the Vosges; Arras and Rheims are again shelled.
- July 13—German Crown Prince's army, attacking in force, is thrown back by the French in the Argonne, the move being regarded by military observers as the beginning of a new offensive against Verdun.
- July 14—The German Crown Prince's army in the Argonne advances two-thirds of a mile, the French then halting it.
- July 15—Germans hold gains made in the Argonne.
- ### ITALIAN CAMPAIGN
- June 16—Along the Isonzo River, on the line from Podgora to Montforton and to the intersection of the Monfalcone Canal, Austrians are holding Italians in check by elaborate defenses, which include intrenchments sometimes in several lines and often in masonry or concrete, reinforced by metallic sheeting and protected by a network of mines or batteries often placed below ground; Italians are attacking Austrian positions at Goritz.
- June 17—After a two-days' fight, Italians take the heights near Plava, on the left bank of the Isonzo River; Italians operating in the Trentino occupy Mori, five miles from Rovereto.
- June 18—Austrians are taking the offensive from Mori and Rovereto against the Italians at Brentonico, at Serravalle, and in the Arsa Valley; Austrians repulse Italians near Plava; Italians are shelling Gradisca.
- June 19—It is unofficially reported from Rome that the Italian army now occupies 10,000 square kilometers of "unredeemed" territory, or more than twice as much as Austria offered to Italy for remaining neutral.
- June 20—In the Monte Nero region, Italians take further positions; Italians repulse two counter-attacks on the Isonzo.
- June 21—Italians are making a general attack on Austrian positions; Austrians repulse Italians east of the Fassa Valley; Austrians repulse two attacks near Preva.
- June 22—Italians have had heavy losses during the last four days in attempting to take by assault Austrian positions along the Isonzo River.
- June 23—Italians gain possession of all the positions defending Malborgeth in Carnia, after hard fighting, and are bombarding the city.
- June 24—Austrians take a general offensive, made possible by extensive reinforcements, but fail to make gains; heavy artillery fighting is in progress along the Isonzo.
- June 25—Italians are advancing gradually along the Isonzo River and have taken Globna, north of Plava, and on the lower Isonzo have taken the edge of the plateau between Sagrado and Monfalcone.
- June 27—West of the Monte Croce Pass the Italians occupy the summit of Zellenkofel, 2,500 feet high; official Italian report states that at various points on the Isonzo River the Austrians are using shells containing asphyxiating gases.
- June 28—Italians have entered Austrian territory south of Riva, on the western side of Lake Garda, through the Nota VII passes about 5,000 feet high, and have descended the precipitous cliffs of Carone Mountain, over 8,000 feet high, and have entered the Ledro Valley, reaching the Ponale River.
- June 29—Austrian artillery is active in the Tyrol and Trentino regions.
- June 30—Italians on the Carnic front capture three passes in the Alps; Austrians repulse attacks in the Monfalcone and Sagrado district, and near Plava.
- July 1—Austrians repulse Italians northeast of Monfalcone.
- July 2—Italians take the village of Tolmino, on the Isonzo, north of Gorizia, but the Austrians hold the neighboring fortifications and are bombarding the village.
- July 3—Italians make slight gains along the Isonzo; Austrians repulse repeated Italian attacks near Folazzo and Sagrado.
- July 4—A battle is raging on the Isonzo River, between Caporetto and Gradisca; Italians are advancing on the east bank between Plava and Tolmino.
- July 5—Italians are shelling the Austrian defensive works at Malborgeth and Predil.

- July 6—Austrian attacks in the Tyrol and Trentino region are repulsed; Italians gain ground on the Carso plateau beyond the Isonzo.
- July 7—Austrians repulse repeated and strong Italian attacks against the Doberdo Plateau; Austrians hold the bridgehead at Goritz, despite terrific bombardment by massed guns.
- July 8—Italians repulse attacks in Carnia; Italians are slowly advancing on the Carnic Plateau.
- July 9—In the upper Anisci Valley the Italian artillery bombards Platzwiese Fort; Italian artillery continues to bombard the defenses of Malborgeth and Predil Pass.
- July 12—Austrians are making desperate attempts to penetrate Italy through the Carnic Alps, relying chiefly upon night attacks, but all attacks have thus far been repulsed.
- July 13—Attempt to invade Italian territory at Kreuzberg is repulsed with heavy loss.
- July 14—Italians take two miles of Austrian trenches in the Carnic Alps; Italians take two forts south of Goritz.

TURKISH CAMPAIGN

- June 16—Turkish artillery damages Allies' positions at Avi Burnu.
- June 17—British repulse Turks who attempt to retake trenches lost by them a few days ago; a German officer leads the Turks.
- June 20—Turks are undertaking offensive operations in the Caucasus; Turks defeat Russians near Olti, Transcaucasia, fifty-five miles west of Kars, capturing war material.
- June 21—Turkish Asiatic batteries bombard allied columns on way to new positions.
- June 22—French attack Turkish lines along two-thirds of the entire front on the Gallipoli Peninsula, infantry charges following a heavy bombardment; on the left the French carry two lines of the Turkish trenches and hold them against counter-attacks; to the right, after an all-day battle, the French also take Turkish works, most of which are wrecked by the French artillery; the French now hold the ground commanding the head of the ravine of Kereves Dere, which had been defended by the Turks for several months.
- June 27—In the Caucasus region the Russians recently occupied the town of Gob, twenty-five miles north of Lake Van, and Russian forces are moving toward Bitlis, Armenia, where Turkish forces are concentrated.
- June 30—Allies take several lines of Turkish trenches near Krithia.
- July 2—Recent gains made by the Allies on the Gallipoli Peninsula are held despite furious counter-attacks.
- July 4—Turks deliver a general attack, preceded by a heavy bombardment, against the Allies' line on the southern part of the Gallipoli Peninsula, but are repulsed with severe losses.
- July 7—In a furious fight on the southern part of the Gallipoli Peninsula, British and French advance their lines five-eighths of a mile, inflicting Turkish losses which they estimate at 21,000; the advance is part of the work of throwing forces around Atchi Baba, described as now being one of the strongest fortresses in the world.
- July 9—Turkish forces, supported by Arabs, are threatening Aden.
- July 13—Lively fighting between the Russians and Turks has occurred recently north and south of Van Lake, Turkish Armenia, and south of Olti, Transcaucasia, the Russians having the advantage.

CAMPAIGN IN AFRICA

- June 19—French Minister of Colonies announces that on May 24, after heavy fighting, French colonial troops forced the Germans to capitulate at Monso, Kamerun, after taking position after position; the French captured many prisoners, including considerable numbers of white troops, and large amounts of stores; French troops continue an offensive movement toward Besam, southeast of Lomis.
- June 25—By land and water the British attack the German fortified port of Bukoba, German East Africa, on Lake Victoria Nyanza, destroying the fort, putting the wireless station out of action, sinking many boats, and capturing and destroying guns.
- July 8—All the German military forces in German Southwest Africa surrender unconditionally to General Botha, commander of the forces of the Union of South Africa.

NAVAL RECORD—GENERAL

- June 18—Austrian squadron bombards Italian coast at the mouth of the Tagliamento River, but withdraws on being attacked by Italian destroyers; Austrian destroyer shells Monopoli; Austrian torpedo boat sinks Italian merchantman Maria Greefa; Italian squadron, supported by an Anglo-French contingent, bombards several islands of the Dalmatian Archipelago, doing considerable damage.
- June 21—Allied ships bombard Turkish batteries on Asiatic side of the Dardanelles.
- June 22—German warships in the Baltic Sea capture five Swedish steamers, lumber laden, bound for England; French battleship St. Louis bombards Turkish batteries on Asiatic side of the Dardanelles.
- June 24—British torpedo gunboat Hussar bombards the ports of Chesme, Lidia, and Aglelia, opposite Chios, destroying small Turkish vessels and doing other damage.
- June 26—Netherlands steamer Ceres is sunk by a mine in the Gulf of Bothnia, crew being saved.
- June 30—British torpedo boat destroyer Lightning is damaged off the east coast of England by a mine or torpedo explosion, but makes harbor; fourteen of the crew missing.

July 2—A battle occurs between Russian and German squadrons in the Baltic, between the Island of Oeland and the Courland coast; after a brief engagement the German squadron, outnumbered and outmatched in strength, flees; the German mine layer Albatross is wrecked by Russian gunfire and is beached by her crew; the Russian squadron then sails northward, sighting another German squadron, which is also outmatched in strength; the German ships flee after a thirty-minute fight, a German torpedo boat being damaged; Dutch lugger Katwyk 147 is sunk by a mine in the North Sea, ten of crew being lost.

July 6—Italy closes the Adriatic Sea to navigation by merchant vessels of all countries.

NAVAL RECORD—SUBMARINES

- June 16—German submarine sinks British steamer Strathnairn off Scilly Isles, twenty-two of the crew being drowned; German submarines sink British trawlers Petrel, Explorer, and Japonica.
- June 17—Austrian submarine torpedoes and sinks Italian submarine Medusa, this being the first instance on record of the sinking of one under-sea boat by another; German Admiralty announces the loss of the submarine U-14, her crew being captured by the British; Athens reports that a British submarine has torpedoed and sunk three Turkish transports, loaded with troops, in the Dardanelles above Nagara; German submarine sinks British steamer Trafford, crew being saved.
- June 18—German submarine sinks British steamer Ailsa off Scotland, crew being saved.
- June 19—German Admiralty states that the submarine U-29, commanded by Captain Weddigen, which was destroyed weeks ago, was rammed and sunk by a British tank steamer flying the Swedish flag, after the tanker had been ordered to stop; British Government makes an official statement that the U-29 was sunk by "one of His Majesty's ships"; German submarine sinks British steamer Dulcie, one of the crew being lost.
- June 20—German submarine torpedoes British cruiser Roxburgh in the North Sea; the damage is not serious and the cruiser proceeds to port under her own steam.
- June 21—German submarine sinks by gunfire the British steamer Carisbrook, crew being saved.
- June 22—It is officially announced at Petrograd that Russian submarines have sunk a large Turkish steamer and two sailing vessels in the Black Sea.
- June 23—German submarine torpedoes and then burns Norwegian steamer Truma, near the Shetland Islands, crew being saved.
- June 26—Austrian submarine torpedoes and sinks an Italian torpedo boat in the Northern Adriatic.
- June 27—German submarine sinks British schooner Edith, crew being saved.
- June 28—German submarine U-38 sinks the British steamer Armenian, of the Leyland Line, off the Cornwall coast, twenty-nine men being lost and ten injured; among the dead are twenty Americans, employed as attendants for the horses and mules composing the chief portion of the Armenian's cargo; recital of one of the crew of the British submarine E-11—the vessel which entered the Sea of Marmora and the harbor of Constantinople, her commander being given the Victoria Cross and each of the crew the Distinguished Service Medal—shows that the E-11 sank one Turkish gunboat, one Turkish supply ship, one German transport, three Turkish steamers, and six Turkish transports.
- June 29—German submarine sinks British steamer Scottish Monarch, fifteen of crew being lost; German submarines sink Norwegian steamers Cambuskenneth and Gjeso, and Norwegian sailing vessel Marna; the crews are saved.
- June 30—British steamer Lomas is sunk by a German submarine, one man being killed; British bark Thistlebank is sunk by a German submarine; some of crew missing.
- July 1—German submarines sink British steamers Caucasian and Inglemoor, crews being saved; German submarine sinks Italian ship Sardomene off Irish coast, two of crew being killed and several wounded.
- July 2—German submarines sink steamer Welbury, bark Sardozne, and schooner L. C. Tower, all British, the crews being saved; captain of the Tower says that the submarine which sank his ship was disguised with rigging, two dummy canvas funnels, two masts, and a false bow and stern, having the appearance of a deeply laden steamer; at the entrance of Danzig Bay a Russian submarine blows up by two torpedoes a German battleship of the Deutschland class, which is steaming at the head of a German squadron, while a Russian destroyer rams a German submarine.
- July 3—German submarines sink the steamships Larchmore, Renfrew, Gadsby, Richmond, and Craigard, all British, and the Belgian steamship Boduognat, the crews being saved; Russian submarine in the Black Sea sinks two Turkish steamers and one sailing ship.
- July 4—German submarine sinks French steamer Carthage.
- July 5—German submarines sink Norwegian bark Fiery Cross and British schooner Sunbeam.
- July 7—Nearly 20,000 vessels have entered or left the Port of Liverpool since the German submarine blockade began, yet only 29 ships have been captured or destroyed; Austrian submarine sinks Italian armored cruiser Amalfi in Upper Adriatic, most of the officers and crew being saved.
- July 10—British steamer Ellesmere, Norwegian steamer Nordaas, and Italian steamer Clio are sunk by German submarines; one of the crew of the Nordaas is killed.

AERIAL RECORD

- June 16—Official British statement shows that sixteen persons were killed and forty injured by a Zeppelin raid on the northeast coast of England on June 15, and that twenty-four persons were killed and forty injured by a Zeppelin raid on the same coast on June 6; German aeroplanes drop bombs on Nancy, St. Die, and Belfort.
- June 17—Sub-Lieutenant Warnford, who won the Victoria Cross for blowing a Zeppelin to pieces, is killed by the fall of his aeroplane at Buc, France; French air squadrons bombard German reserve forces at Givency and in the Forest of La Folle, dispersing troops about to attack the French; squadron of Italian dirigibles bombards Austrian positions at Monte Santo and intrenchments facing Gradisca, doing considerable damage; the squadron also damages the Ovoldaga station on the railroad from Gorizia to Dornberg.
- June 18—Italian dirigible bombards an ammunition factory near Trieste.
- June 19—In a duel between a French and a German aeroplane near Thann, in Upper Alsace, fought at a height of 10,500 feet, the French aviator kills the German.
- June 20—Germans shoot down one allied aeroplane near Iseghem, Flanders, and another near Vouziers, in Champagne.
- June 21—Austrian naval planes bombard the railway stations at Bari and Brindisi, doing considerable damage; allied aeroplanes bombard Turkish batteries on Asiatic side of the Dardanelles.
- June 22—British aeroplane drops three bombs on Smyrna, causing seventy casualties in the garrison.
- June 25—French aviators drop twenty bombs on the station of Douai, fifteen miles north-east of Arras.
- June 26—British aviators drop bombs near Roulers, Belgium, causing the explosion of a large ammunition depot and the killing of fifty German soldiers.
- June 27—French aeroplane drops eight shells on the Zeppelin hangars at Friedrichshafen.
- July 1—French aeroplanes drop bombs on Zeebrugge and Bruges, but slight damage is done.
- July 2—Austrian aeroplane bombards the town of Cormons, Austria, now in Italian hands, killing a woman and boy, and wounding five other civilians.
- July 3—German aeroplanes bombard a fort near Harwich, England, and bombard a British torpedo boat destroyer flotilla; German aeroplanes also bombard Nancy and the railroad station at Dombasle, southeast of Nancy, severing railroad communication with the fort at Remiremont; a German aeroplane forces a French aeroplane to alight near Schlucht; German air squadron drops bombs on Bruges, doing slight damage; French airmen bombard the railroad stations at Challenge, Zarren, and Lange-marek, in Belgium, and German batteries at

Vimy and Beauraing, doing considerable damage.

- July 13—A French squadron of thirty-five aviators drops 171 bombs at and near the railroad station strategically established by the Germans at Vignuelles-les-Hattonchatel, where ammunition and other stores are concentrated; the bombs start several fires; all the aeroplanes return, though violently cannonaded; French squadron of twenty aeroplanes bombards with forty shells the station at Libercourt, between Douai and Lille; aeroplanes furnished with cannon, part of the squadron, bombard a train.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

- July 15—A Red Book issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs charges cruelty and breaches of international law against the Allies.

BELGIUM

- July 2—General von Bissing, German Governor-General, issues an order forbidding, under penalty of fine or imprisonment, the wearing or exhibiting of Belgian insignia in a provocative manner, and forbidding absolutely the wearing or exhibiting of the insignia of the nations warring against Germany and her allies.

CANADA

- June 23—The Victoria Cross is conferred on three Canadians for bravery near Ypres, while seventy other Canadians get the C. B., the C. M. G., or the D. S. O.
- July 10—The Canadian casualties since the beginning of the war total 9,982, of which the killed number 1,709.
- July 14—Sir Robert Borden, Premier of Canada, now in London, on invitation of Premier Asquith attends a meeting of the British Cabinet, this being the first time a colonial minister has joined British Cabinet deliberations.

FRANCE

- June 21—Announcement is made in Paris that the French Postal Service is handling mail in ninety towns and villages of Alsace, all of which bear the names they had in 1870; the total amount of credits voted since the beginning of the war exceeds \$3,123,000,000; at present France's war expenses are about \$400,000,000 a month.
- July 1—Ministry of War officially states that at no time during the war has the French artillery used any shells whatever manufactured in the United States, this statement being called forth by German declarations that much American ammunition is being used by France.

GERMANY

- June 18—Unofficial statement from Berlin shows that the prisoners thus far taken by the German and Austro-Hungarian armies total 1,610,000, of whom 1,240,000 are Russians, and 255,000 French.
- July 1—The Prussian losses alone to the end of June total 1,504,523.

GREAT BRITAIN

- June 22—House of Commons unanimously gives a first reading to a bill authorizing the raising by loan of \$5,000,000,000, if that much be necessary.
- June 23—Minister of Munitions Lloyd George announces in the House of Commons that he has given British labor seven days, beginning to-morrow, in which to make good the promise of its leaders that men will rally to the factories in sufficient numbers to produce a maximum supply of munitions of war; failure will mean compulsion, he states.
- July 1—John E. Redmond, leader of the Irish Nationalist Party, in a speech at Dublin, states that up to June 16, 120,741 Irishmen from Ireland had joined the army.
- July 2—The Munitions Bill is passed in all its stages by the House of Lords.
- July 12—After more than a fortnight's work, the 600 labor bureaus opened when Minister of Munitions Lloyd George gave labor a chance voluntarily to enroll as munitions workers, closes with a total registration of 90,000.
- July 13—The total subscription to the war loan is close to \$3,000,000,000, subscribed by 1,097,000 persons, stated by Chancellor of the Exchequer McKenna to be by far the largest amount subscribed in the history of the world; Lord Lansdowne tells the House of Lords that there are now about 460,000 British soldiers at the front.
- July 15—Two hundred thousand Welsh coal miners strike, defying the Ministry.

INDIA

- July 4—There are repeated and insistent reports in Europe, chiefly from German sources, that riots are occurring at various points in India; it is stated that recently the Indian cavalry at Lahore mutinied, killed their officers and British civilians, and pillaged and destroyed hotels and houses; two battalions of troops ready to be transported to Europe are also said to have mutinied and to have dispersed, after shooting their officers; there are declared to have been serious battles between police and mutinous troops in Madras.

RUMANIA

- July 7—The Austro-Hungarian Minister to Rumania presents to the Rumanian Prime Minister proposals offering Rumania certain concessions in exchange for definite neutrality and facilities for supplying Turkey with munitions of war; one month is given Rumania for decision.

SOUTH AFRICA

- June 21—General Christian de Wet, one of the leaders of the South African rebellion against the British Government, is found guilty of treason on eight counts at Bloemfontein, Union of South Africa; he is sen-

tenced to six years' imprisonment and is fined \$10,000.

UNITED STATES

- June 16—A report is received by the State Department from Ambassador Page on the injury to the Nebraskan on May 25, when she was struck by either a torpedo or a mine; the report contains evidence tending to show that she was torpedoed by a German submarine.
- June 28—Text of the American note to the German Government on the William P. Frye case, in reply to the last German note on this subject, which note has just been delivered by Ambassador Gerard, is made public in Washington.
- June 29—Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs sends a note to the American Ambassador at Vienna protesting against the exports of arms from the United States.
- July 2—A bomb wrecks the east reception room on the main floor of the Senate wing of the Capitol Building at Washington just before midnight, no one being injured.
- July 3—J. P. Morgan is shot twice at his country estate on East Island, near Glen Cove, L. I., by Frank Holt, a former instructor in German at Cornell University, who, under arrest, states that he went to the Morgan home to induce the banker to use his influence to stop the exporting of munitions of war, the firm of J. P. Morgan & Co. being the fiscal agent of the Allies in the United States; both revolver bullets strike Mr. Morgan in the groin, the attending doctors stating that no vital organ is affected; by his own confession, Holt is the one who set the bomb that wrecked the Senate reception room in the Capitol at Washington last night, saying that he wanted to call the nation's attention to the export of munitions of war; extra precautions are being taken by Secret Service men to guard President Wilson, who is at Cornish, N. H.
- July 6—Frank Holt kills himself in the Nassau County Jail at Mineola; identifications show that Holt was Erich Muentzer, a former Harvard instructor, who murdered his wife by poison in Cambridge in 1906.
- July 7—Government decides to take over the Sayville wireless plant at once, in the interests of neutrality.
- July 10—The text is made public of the German reply to the last American note on submarine warfare and the sinking of the Lusitanian; the reply evades the cardinal points of the American note; makes new proposals, and shows that the submarine war is to be continued; the American press generally regards the reply as unsatisfactory.
- July 15—Germany expresses formal regrets for the torpedoing of the American steamship Nebraskan, stating it was due to a mistake, and offers to pay damages.



GENERAL VON BUELOW

Whose Advance Threatened the Retirement of the Russian Armies from Warsaw



GENERAL VON WOYRSCH

Commander of the German Army That Took Ivangorod After Warsaw Fell
(Photo from Bain News Service)

The New York Times

CURRENT HISTORY

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

THE EUROPEAN WAR

SEPTEMBER, 1915

Facing the Second Year

Outgivings by Heads and Leading Men of the Warring Nations

So rich and authoritative an assemblage of appraisals of the war's progress as appears below from leaders of the nations on the occasion of the first anniversary of the conflict, has not been gathered together during any of its previous stages. It is alike a retrospect and a prospect as the powers stand facing the second year of the mightiest struggle of history. Whether the war can go on for another year, with its tremendous wastage of life and wealth, is a question that is grappled with from the standpoints of the nations involved, as incidental to the question of ultimate victory.

"God Is With Us"

By the German Emperor

Emperor William II. issued the following manifesto from German Army Headquarters on Sunday, Aug. 1, 1915:

ONE year has elapsed since I was obliged to call to arms the German people. An unprecedented time of bloodshed has befallen Europe and the world.

Before God and history my conscience is clear. I did not will the war.

After preparations for a whole decade the coalition powers, to whom Germany had become too great, believed that the moment had come to humiliate the empire, which loyally stood by her Austro-Hungarian ally in a just cause, or to

crush it in an overwhelming circle. No lust for conquest, as I already announced a year ago, has driven us into the war.

When in the days of August all able-bodied men were rushed to the colors and troops were marched into a defensive war, every German on earth felt, in accordance with the unanimous example of the Reichstag, that it was a fight for the highest good of the nation, its life, its freedom. What awaited us if the enemy force succeeded in determining the fate of our people and of Europe has been shown in the hardship endured by my dear province, East Prussia.

The consciousness that the fight was

forced upon us accomplished miracles. Political conflict of opinion became silent; old opponents began to understand and esteem each other; the spirit of true comradeship governed the entire people.

Full of gratitude, we can say today that God was with us. The enemy armies who boasted that they would enter Berlin in a few months are with heavy blows driven back far east and west. Numberless battlefields in various parts of Europe, and naval battles off near and distant coasts, testify what German anger in self-defense and German strategy can do. No violation of international law by our enemies will be able to shake the economic foundation of our conduct of the war.

The communities of agriculture, industry, commerce, science, and technical art have endeavored to soften the stress of war. Appreciating the necessity of measures for the free intercourse of goods, and wholly devoted to the care of their brethren in the field, the population at home has strained all its energies to parrying the common danger.

With deep gratitude the Fatherland today and always will remember its warriors—those who, defying death, show a bold front to the enemy; those who, wounded or ill, return; those, above all, who rest from battle on foreign soil or

at the bottom of the sea. With mothers, widows, and orphans I feel grief for the beloved who have died for their Fatherland.

Internal strength and a unanimous national will in the spirit of the founders of the empire guarantee victory. The dikes they erected in anticipation that we once more should have to defend that which we gained in 1870 have defied the highest tide in the world's history.

After unexampled proofs of personal ability and national energy, I cherish the bright confidence that the German people, faithfully preserving the purification acquired through war, will vigorously proceed on the tried old ways and confidently enter the new.

Great trials make the nation reverent and firm of heart. In heroic action we suffer and work without wavering until peace comes; peace which offers us the necessary military and political economies and guarantees for a future which fulfills the conditions for the unhindered development of our producing energy at home and on the free seas.

Thus we shall emerge with honor from a war for Germany's right and freedom, however long the war may last, and be worthy of victory before God, who, we pray, may bless henceforth our arms.

WILHELM.

Pope Benedict's Anniversary Plea for Peace

The text of the peace appeal issued on the first anniversary of the war by Pope Benedict appears below:

WHEN we were called to succeed to the apostolic throne of Pope Pius X., whose upright and exemplary life was brought to an end by the fratricidal struggle which broke out in Europe, we, too, felt—after gazing fearfully upon the bloody battlefield—the despair of a father who witnesses his home torn asunder and ravaged by a furious tempest.

We thought with inexpressible sorrow of our young sons cut down by death;

we felt in our heart, enlarged by Christian charitableness, the great unspeakable sadness of mothers and of wives made widows before their time, and the tears of children deprived too soon of parental guidance.

Participating in our soul in the fear and anguish of innumerable families, and well knowing the imperial duties imposed upon us by the mission of peace and love with which we have been confided during these sad days, we adopted a firm resolve to concentrate our whole activity and all our power to the reconciliation of the peoples at war. We made a solemn promise to our Divine Father, who

wished with the price of His blood to make all men brothers:

Words of peace and love were the first we addressed to the nations and their chiefs as the supreme guardian of their souls. Our affectionate and insistent counsels as father and friend were not heard. This increased our sadness, but did not shake our resolution. We continue with confidence to appeal to the All-powerful, who holds in His hands the minds and hearts of subjects as well as Kings, imploring Him to end the great scourge.

In our humble but ardent prayer we want to include all the faithful, and, to make it more effective, we have taken care that it be accompanied by works of Christian penitence.

Today, on the sad anniversary of the terrible conflict, our heart gives forth the wish that the war will soon end. We raise again our voice to utter a fatherly cry for peace. May this cry, dominating the frightful noise of arms, reach the warring peoples and their chiefs and induce kindly and more serene intentions.

In the name of the Lord God, in the name of the Father and Lord in heaven, in the name of the blessed blood of Jesus—the price of the redemption of humanity—we implore the belligerent nations, before Divine Providence, henceforth to end the horrible carnage which for a year has been dishonoring Europe.

This is the blood of brothers that is being shed on land and sea. The most beautiful regions of Europe—this garden of the world—are sown with bodies and ruins. There, where recently fields and factories thrived, cannon now roar in a frightful manner, in a frenzy of demolitions, sparing neither cities nor villages, and spreading the ravages of death.

You who before God and men are charged with the grave responsibility of peace and war, listen to our prayer, listen to the fatherly voice of the vicar of the eternal and supreme Judge to whom you should give account of your public works as well as private actions.

The abundant riches which the creating God has given to your lands permit you to continue the contest. But at what a price! Is the answer of thousands of

young whose lives are lost each day on the battlefields, and of the ruins of so many cities and villages, so many monuments, due to the piety and genius of our forefathers?

The bitter tears which flow in the sanctity of homes and at the foot of altars, do they not also repeat that the price of the continuation of the contest is great, too great?

And it cannot be said that the immense conflict cannot be ended without violence of arms. May this craze for destruction be abandoned; nations do not perish. Humiliated and oppressed, they tremblingly carry the yoke imposed on them and prepare their revenge, transmitting from generation to generation a sorrowful heritage of hate and vengeance.

Why not now weigh with serene conscience the rights and just aspiration of the peoples? Why not start with good will a direct or indirect exchange of views with the object of considering as far as possible these rights and aspirations, and thus put to an end the terrible combat, as has been the case previously under similar circumstances?

Blessed be he who first extends the olive branch and tenders his hand to the enemy in offering his reasonable condition of peace.

The equilibrium of world progress and the security and tranquillity of nations repose on mutual well-being and respect of the right and dignity of others more than on the number of armies and a formidable zone of fortresses.

It is the cry of peace which issues from our supreme soul this sad day and which invites the true friends of peace in the world to extend their hands to hasten the end of a war which for a year has transformed Europe into an enormous battlefield.

May Jesus in His pity, by the intermediary of the Mother of Sorrows, end the terrible tempest and cause to arise a radiant dawn and the quietude of peace formed in His own Divine image. May hymns of thanks to the Most High Author of all good things soon resound.

Let us hope for the reconciliation of the States; may the people once again become brothers and return to their peace-

ful labor in arts, learning, and industry; may once again the empire of justice be established; may the people decide henceforth to confine the solution of their differences no longer to the sword, but to courts of justice and equity, where the questions may be studied with necessary calm and thought.

This will be the most beautiful and glorious victory. In confidence that the

tree of peace will soon allow the world to enjoy again its fruits which are so much to be desired, we bestow our apostolic benediction upon all those who are part of the mystic flock which is confided to our keeping, even also upon those who do not yet belong to the Roman Church. We pray the Holy Father to unite Himself to us by bonds of perfect charity.

BENEDICT XV.

The German Army's Achievements

By Major Ernest Moraht

Major Ernest Moraht, the military correspondent of the Berliner Tageblatt, reviewing the twelve months of the war for The Associated Press, said on July 31:

A YEAR ago a coalition with a powerful numerical superiority declared war on Austria-Hungary and Germany. The hostile countries have a far larger population than have the two central powers, and their combined armies originally outnumbered those of the latter. The Central States, however, have known how to improve this difficult situation by alternately taking the offensive and defensive on the western and eastern fronts.

In the west the German armies, in a rapid, triumphant advance, carried their standards to within fifty miles of Paris and have kept them flying there since mid-September. Even though the right and left wings of our wide-flung battle front in France and Belgium have been bent back since then, (because there was no other method for the time being of counteracting the numerical superiority of the British, French, and Belgians,) still we hold the positions, fortified during the nine months, firmly in our hands, so that almost all of Belgium and the northeastern departments of France have been occupied by the troops of Germany.

In the east the Austro-German armies first held up the Russian millions on the Galician frontiers and then were forced

to retire before a manifold numerical superiority, to intrench themselves on the crest of the Carpathians and to beat back until May 1 the Russian assaults with heavy losses. Meanwhile Field Marshal von Hindenburg, in East Prussia, was able to destroy several large Russian armies and free East Prussia; to occupy, conjointly with Austrian troops, Poland almost to the Vistula River, and in the northeast to carry the war into the Russian provinces.

While the positions in the war in the west continue to surge to and fro, and three great attempts made to break through our lines, in the Winter, Spring, and Summer, were repulsed with awful losses to our enemies, the German and Austro-Hungarian armies on May 1 launched a great offensive against the Russian main armies in Galicia.

In the series of battles and under constant pursuit the Russians were hunted out of 43,470 square miles of Galicia, their principal force was severed at several places, and they were driven eastward and northward.

The west bank of the Vistula in Poland has been cleared of Russian armies. The siege of Warsaw is about to begin and Field Marshal von Hindenburg, in the northward, has pressed forward against Riga and now has reached the vicinity of the city after numerous victories. The successes of the Germans have cost the Russian army millions in dead, wounded,

and prisoners. The Russian Empire possesses only fragments of its mighty armies and no longer can supply these adequately with arms and munitions. Their fate will be decided very shortly. The Russian forces will be destroyed or forced to flee deep into the interior to the eastward.

The battles in the west have cut so deeply into the French strength that now 18-year-old lads must bear arms. Great Britain's original army has been destroyed and only enough substitutes can be raised to hold a forty-four mile front in Belgium. The British losses, particularly those of officers, have been very heavy. The army of 3,000,000 men which Lord Kitchener promised six months ago has not yet appeared, and our opponents in the west never again will be able to raise superior forces to expel the Germans from the country.

The action in the Dardanelles, which has been in progress for months against the Turks, shows results for the British and French only in great losses of men, ships, and war supplies of all kinds. The Turkish Army steadily is improving in numbers and quality. The Turkish fortifications are quite as strong as they were at the outset. The prospects of the attackers reaching Constantinople, therefore, have vanished, and since none of the Balkan States are willing to enter the Anglo-French service, and since the Russian army which should have participated from Odessa has been destroyed in Galicia, it is difficult to see any chances for France and Great Britain.

Should Italy send an army to the Dardanelles it will find a superior Turkish Army ready to receive her. Italy, after conducting mobilization secretly for nine months, entered the field against Austria-Hungary at the end of May. An Italian Army 1,000,000 men strong has been attempting for two months to sweep over the fortified Austrian passes and to cross the Isonzo River, behind which the Austro-Hungarian defensive army occupies strong positions. All the attempts

of the Italians up to the present have been unsuccessful. The cost to the attackers has been hundreds of thousands in dead and wounded. Austria-Hungary grows stronger day by day, and although its valiant struggle is a difficult one against Italian superiority in numbers it will be able to bar the way to the coastland and to Trieste and Tyrol. Meanwhile Italy has lost her entire colony at Tripoli to the Arabs, and apparently is about to declare war on Turkey.

The Serbian Army, after great losses in the Winter, has undertaken no military operations, being content to guard the frontiers of its country, on which there no longer is an Austro-Hungarian army.

The other Balkan States are about to decide which side they will take in the war. Since Russia's forces have been driven back and badly beaten and a German and Austro-Hungarian Army has been arrayed near the frontier of Rumania, Bulgaria has come to an understanding with Turkey, and Greece remains the opponent of Italy, and an increase in the number of our enemies under control of the Entente Allies no longer is to be anticipated by Austria-Hungary.

The Germans have every reason, therefore, at the end of the first year of the war to consider their sacrifices in blood and treasure have been rewarded. We are well prepared for a continuance of the war. Our nation still possesses determination to conquer and to make the necessary sacrifices. Our supplies of war material are assured by efficient organization. Our finances are far from exhausted, and there is no lack of provisions. Our fleet, despite a few losses among the cruisers, is ready to be thrown into the struggle at the proper moment and in full strength, and our submarines in all the seas are the dread of our enemies. Thus their offensive has changed to a defensive, and the prospects of eventual victory for the central powers is materially increased.

The German Navy in the War

By Captain I. Persius

Although the main German and British fleets have not been matched in battle, the ending of the first year of the war finds that Germany has distinguished herself at sea, says Captain I. Persius in a review prepared for The Associated Press. Captain Persius, formerly an officer of the German Navy, is a recognized authority on German naval affairs, and is naval expert of the Berliner Tageblatt. He says Germany's policy has been to attempt to weaken her chief opponent at sea by using submarines and mines to a point where there will be some prospect of success of an attack on the main British fleet. His review, published Aug. 1, 1915, follows:

THE German fleet may boast that the offensive spirit it has displayed has constituted the most prominent and decisive feature of all the naval war theatres. War was declared against Russia on Aug. 1, and on Aug. 2 the cruiser Augsburg bombarded the Russian war port of Libau. The declaration of war against France was issued Aug. 3, and on the following day the cruisers Goeben and Breslau shelled the troop embarkation points of Philippeville and Bona, on the North African Coast. Finally, England declared war on Aug. 4, and on the 8th the minelayer Koenigin Luise planted mines at the mouth of the Thames, one of which destroyed the cruiser Amphion.

We thus see that from the very beginning German warships displayed a spirit of daring offensive. Not only in European waters but in distant seas we heard of victorious combats wherein our cruisers were engaged. In a majority of cases the foreign cruisers, like the home units, fought against much superior forces.

In Germany the gigantic task of our sea forces is in no wise underestimated. We know that the British fleet alone, so far as material strength is concerned,

is considerably more than twice our superior, but we are certain that the same heroic spirit of determination to win exists in the fleet as in the army, and that we can depend upon the efficiency of our material which, even though inferior in quantity, can brave comparison with that of any other power for excellence in construction of artillery and machinery.

We do not forget that the British fleet, first in the world and of glorious history, is an opponent worthy of all respect. Nevertheless, at the close of the first year of the war, it may be said without exaggeration, that its achievements do not measure up to our expectations. It has lacked, it seems, the iron determination and ability to conquer.

The British Admiralty has held strictly to "the strategy of caution." The German submarine danger is, we realize, partly responsible, but it cannot be questioned that, as a consequence of undeniably evident lack of initiative, the prestige of the British sea power no longer stands so unshaken throughout the world as formerly. British forces have been victorious only in engagements where they were overwhelmingly superior, as at the Falkland Islands, and even this is not claimed by the British press to be an unconditional success, because the battle was too costly in time and sacrifice.

Our naval authorities followed generally the principle of keeping battle-ships in harbor while attempting to weaken the enemy through minor warfare, particularly with submarine and mines, to a point where the attack on the main fleet will offer some prospect of success. How correct this strategy was is proved by the past twelve months. Thanks to the effectiveness of our submarines, which excited the justified admiration of the whole world, it has been

possible sorely to wound the British fleet. In addition, our submarine arm has busied itself since the beginning of the year in an entirely unexpected way, as a destroyer of commerce. Views may differ as to the final outcome in this field, but it is undeniable that a nation like Germany, whose commerce has been driven from the seas, but which can subsist without imports, has an extraordinary advantage over a country dependent almost entirely, like Britain, upon importations of food and raw materials across the water. The submarine danger unquestionably weighs like a nightmare upon the inhabitants of the sea-washed land. The future results of the wide extension, as we hope, of the fruitful activity of our submarines cannot be predicted, but the expectation is generally cherished in Germany that the submarine campaign will help to accelerate the demand for peace in England.

Every type of warship has fallen victim to German submarines—the battleships *Formidable*, *Triumph*, and *Majestic*, the armored cruisers *Hogue*, *Cressy*, and *Aboukir*, the Russian armored cruiser *Pallaba*, the cruisers *Hawke* and *Pathfinder*, and the British destroyer *Recruit*, for example—and neither the express steamer nor the slow fishing boat is safe from our deadly torpedoes.

In addition, the aerial arm of the service has won many laurels. Zeppelins crossed the North Sea safely, even to London and back, and German aeroplanes participated in the destruction of the enemies' war and merchant ships. The question whether airships and aeroplanes could be used offensively at sea must, in the light of the achievements of our aircraft, be answered affirmatively.

German aircraft have been fought successfully against the dreaded submarines. A Russian submarine was destroyed in the Baltic by bombs from an aeroplane, and at least one British submarine met the same fate in the North Sea.

The general fear of submarines is responsible for the remarkable spectacle of the heavily armed and strongly ar-

mored battleships rarely venturing to leave sheltering harbors—ships which before the war were counted as decisive factors in sea power, but finding themselves condemned to inactive rôles. Clashes of heavy battleships, like those in distant waters, have borne out the old rule that superiority in numbers, artillery, and speed make up the decisive factor for victory.

The British were defeated off Coronel, Chile, because the *Monmouth* and *Good Hope* depended for the most part on 6-inch guns, while the German cruisers *Gneisenau* and *Scharnhorst* carried many 8.3-inch guns. The victory at the Falkland Islands was easy for the British battle cruisers *Invincible* and *Inflexible* and their consorts because they mounted 12-inch guns and also were much faster than the German ships.

In warship duels also weight and armament were decisive. The *Sydney*, armed with 6-inch guns, was thus able to destroy the *Emden*, with only 4.2-inch cannon.

The lessons which may be drawn from past events may be summed up briefly as follows:

Superiority of technical material plays, as in earlier naval battles, an important rôle, perhaps to a greater extent now than before. Given crews practically equal in skill, the side which is inferior in artillery and speed is at so heavy a disadvantage that victory is possible only under exceptionally favorable circumstances.

The submarine has proved itself a thoroughly dangerous weapon to which unsuspected possibilities must be conceded. All methods of defense hitherto employed have failed to fulfill their purpose in requisite manner.

Dirigibles and aeroplanes have not only demonstrated their value in scouting, but also have been engaged effectively upon the offensive.

The lessons learned even thus far will have a marked influence upon the construction of fleets, and I can understand why in the United States efforts are being made to take advantage of them.

Britain's Courage Undaunted

By Sir Edward Carson

British Attorney General

Sir Edward Carson, the British Attorney General, prepared for The Associated Press a signed statement to be published on Aug. 1, giving a broad outline of the first year of the war from the British standpoint, together with an expression of what he declared to be the unalterable purpose of the British Government and people to carry on the war to a successful conclusion. The statement appears below.

HOW long will the war last, and what will be the result? To such questions as these any British subject can give but one answer, and that is that the war will last until the cause of the Allies has been brought to a successful issue and Europe and the world have been relieved from the ideals involved in the aggression of Prussian domination. The world peace does not enter into our vocabulary at the present time. It is banished from our conversation as something immoral and impossible under existing circumstances. And yet we are the most peace-loving people in the world; a nation which throughout the globe, within its many dominions, has inculcated good government and social and industrial progress and the free exercise, in its widest sense, of civil and religious liberty.

Rightly or wrongly, we have in the past devoted our energies and our intelligence, not to preparations for war, but to that social progress which makes for the happiness and the contentment of the mass of our people. And this, no doubt, is the reason why other nations imagine that we, as a nation of shopkeepers, are too indolent and apathetic to fight for and maintain these priceless liberties won by the men who laid the foundation of our vast empire.

But they are entirely mistaken in forming any such estimate of the temperament or determination of our people. Great Britain hates war, and no nation enters more reluctantly upon its horrible and devastating operations; but at the same time no nation, when it is driven to war by the machinations of its foes who desire to filch from it or from its co-champions of liberty any

portion of their inherited freedom, is more resolved to see the matter through, at whatever cost, to a successful issue.

A year of war has transformed Great Britain. Of our navy I need hardly speak. It has upheld to the fullest extent the great traditions which fill the pages of history in the past, it has driven its enemies off the seas, it holds vast oceans free for almost the uninterrupted commerce of neutral powers, and it has preserved these highways for its own supplies of material and food almost without interruption. I do not minimize the peril of the submarines, which is in process of being dealt with through the careful and zealous watchfulness of our Admiralty, but, while the submarine has enabled the Germans to commit savage and inhuman atrocities contrary to the laws of civilization and against the settled rules of international law, it has done nothing to affect the vast commerce of our empire.

The German submarine attack has signally failed to hamper our military operations. Under the protection of our navy hundreds of thousands of men have been brought to the fighting area from the most distant parts of the empire. Troop ships are crossing daily to France, and not a single ship or a single soldier has been lost in the passage. The manner in which our troops have received their supplies is a source of satisfaction to us and admiration to our enemies.

At the commencement of the war we were not, and never did pretend to be, a military nation. An expeditionary force of 170,000 men and a small terri-

torial army of 260,000 men for defense against invasion was all we could boast of, but today Great Britain teems with military camps in which millions of men of the finest material are being trained and equipped to cope with every emergency.

No other nation in the world ever produced, or hoped to produce, a volunteer army of such proportions. Each day brings to the colors thousands of men who had never thought of military service before, and each day, as our enemy grows weaker, the infancy of our strength is growing into manhood, and with increasing virility and prowess. No doubt some people are foolish enough to be influenced by the misrepresentations which are a part of the equipment of our German enemies, who represent us as a decadent race. But they know little of the spirit of our people.

As the problem unfolds from day to day and the task before us expands in its herculean form, our spirit becomes more determined and our efforts and organization quietly shape themselves to meet the emergencies that are before us. That all this is being accomplished without dramatic demonstration and foolish boasting is not a sign of weakness, but of strength.

The splendid heroism of our Russian and French allies is not only an example which stimulates us, but it is an additional incentive to our national honor to carry on to an end the obligations we have undertaken. And if for the moment we are confronted with the impossibility of offensive action by our brave Russian allies, and are compelled to wage a costly and difficult war against the Turks in the Dardanelles, as well as against our enemies in Flanders, we cheerfully resolve to fit ourselves for the situation which confronts us.

It is, of course, true that our country has not been accustomed to organization and discipline, which leads unthinking men from time to time to imagine that there could be a different discipline in the coal fields or the workshops from that which prevails in the trenches; but

all that is a mere temporary difficulty, and it cannot impede the country, which has made up its mind to win if it has to spend the last man and its last dollar in the process.

The success of the recent war loan shows how anxious our people are to invest their money in the prosecution of the war. Not only is it the largest loan that ever has been floated, but it represents not merely the accumulation of capital of a few large banks, but the hard-earned savings of small investors in every part of the country. Although our shores are not invaded and we have not experienced the impelling necessities of a war waged in our own country, yet there is hardly a family in any village in the land that has not willingly sent its sons to fight our battles in foreign lands. While I see day by day more and more anxiety from every man to do his share, I can see no sign nor trace of wavering in any section of the community.

We have the right to say to neutrals that our cause is just; that the war has been forced upon us, and that we are making and are going to make every sacrifice that makes a nation great to bring our cause to a successful conclusion. We have a right, I think, to ask neutrals to examine their own consciences as to whether they have done everything that neutrals ought to do or can do in insisting that the laws of humanity and the doctrines of international law, which have been so carefully fostered in times of peace, are carried out. Neutrals are the executive power to compel observance of the principles of international law, and, if they fail to do so, the result must be disastrous to the world at large, in the present and in the future, and give free play to a savagery and barbarism which is none the less revolting because it carries out its methods by the aid of the discoveries of scientific research and progress.

But, however that may be, our courage is undaunted. It grows into exaltation by reason of the difficulties that surround us, and we will go on to the end without fear or trembling and in the certain inspiration of a victory which will restore to the world that peace which can

alone bring happiness and contentment to the mass of its citizens.

EDWARD CARSON.

By PRIME MINISTER ASQUITH.

The Prime Minister of Great Britain, the Right Hon. Herbert H. Asquith, has made the following authorized statement:

I have been asked to send a message to the United States of America at the end of the first year of the war. The reasons why we are fighting are known in America. The world has judged, and will judge, not our words, but our actions. The question today is not of our hopes or our calculations, but our duties.

Our duty, which we shall fulfill, is to continue to the end in the course which we have chosen and "to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace."

By SIR EDWARD GREY.

Sir Edward Grey, the British Secretary for Foreign Affairs, made this authorized statement:

I have been asked to send a message to the United States of America at the end of the first year of the war.

The reasons which led Great Britain to declare war and the ideals for which she is fighting have been frequently set forth. They are fully understood in America. I do not feel, therefore, there is any need to repeat them now. I am quite contented to leave the rights and wrongs of the causes and conduct of the war to the judgment of the American people.

The United Kingdom, and the entire empire, together with their gallant allies, have never been more determined than they are today to prosecute this war to a successful conclusion, which will result in honorable and enduring peace based on liberty and not burdensome militarism.

August 4, 1915

[From the Westminster Gazette.]

By EILY ESMONDE.

Twelve months ago!—

O God!—What tongue

Could have foretold

The horror and the agony of woe

That those twelve months should hold

For hearts as yet unprung.

And now—

Pray we—for strength

Our honor still

To keep through all the anguished hours

Of unknown length,

That yet may bring—we know not—good or ill—

That Hope be ours

Though pain-filled day, and sorrow-stricken night

Threaten beyond—

That Resolution may fulfill

In valiant strife, what Peace did will—

That Right be Right,

Our Word our Bond,

Whate'er the pain,

The loss. The gain—

God! witness Thou.

The War to Date, From a British Standpoint

By Sir Gilbert Parker

The article printed below was sent from England by Sir Gilbert Parker in response to a series of questions cabled to him on the occasion of the first anniversary of the outbreak of the war in Europe. Readers of *THE NEW YORK TIMES CURRENT HISTORY* will find the article one of the most striking and illuminating contributions to the literature of the great conflict.

YOU ask me to look back over the first year of the great war and tell you what I think about it in relation to several vital factors of England's life.

In one sense, Americans can judge as well as I what has been done; but it is worth saying that, when the unpreparedness of Great Britain and her overseas dominions for a great land war is remembered, the accomplishment is immense.

The British Army was not more than 250,000, excluding the reserves. There are now in training or in the field 350,000 troops of the overseas dominions alone, while this country, on estimate, has at least 2,775,000 men in the field or in training.

We are producing probably 350 times as much ammunition per month as we produced in September last, and we have supplied our allies also with munitions of war.

The achievement of our armies and of the Allies, as a whole, has been enormous.

Germany had prepared for forty years for a great European war, in which she would make herself the supreme power of the world, dispossessing Great Britain on land and sea and making it impossible for any other nation, however powerful, to challenge or to revolt against her supremacy.

She had laid up great stores of munitions, she had organized for a vast production when war should begin; she had, with mathematical precision, meticulously, and with devoted industry made her whole industrial, commercial, and educational life conform to a military organization for national and imperial purposes.

Her object was not the object of nations with civil, humanitarian, and social

ideals. Power, not the amelioration of human life or the development of individual independence and character, was her object and her goal.

Therefore, when the war broke out, she had such a military machine as the world had never seen. And it must not be forgotten that Austria, which is so constantly left out of the calculations of the world in thinking about this war, had also made huge military preparations, as was shown by the great guns she brought into the field in the very early stages of the war.

To talk of Germany fighting the world is nonsense. Germany and Austria, two great central empires of Europe, with 117,000,000 of people, are fighting the Allies. In the field of war they were able at the start to put nearly twice as many equipped men into the field as the Allies.

That they did not defeat the Allies is a marvel.

It is also splendid evidence of the capacity of the Allies and of Great Britain's power; for, though Great Britain's sector of the field of battle has been small, her contributions in other directions have been prodigious, all things considered.

She has had troops fighting in France, Belgium, the Dardanelles, Egypt, British East Africa, Southwest Africa, the Cameroons, and the Persian Gulf.

Her navy has done what was expected of it. It has cleared the seas of German commerce and German ships of war. It has taken some of Germany's island possessions in the South Seas. It has bottled up the German fleet behind its mine fields, rendering it powerless, and it is now waiting patiently for that navy to come out and give battle.

In money and in munitions, and by her

sea power enabling the Allies to trade freely, she has played a great part in this conflict, and presently the part will be gigantic, for she will have an army of 3,000,000 equipped, backed by a preponderating navy.

By next Winter her output of shells will give her superiority in that field, and she will be able to supply Russia with much that she needs. It has not been German bravery which has kept Russia back, which has dispossessed Russia of ground which she won by valor, but shells and guns, which the Germans had in abundance.

Great Britain asleep! The American Nation may be assured, in spite of all carping and pessimistic statements, that Great Britain and her people are awake, and no democracy ever produced a voluntary army approximating three millions in the world's history, not even your United States.

You resorted to compulsory service for your great civil war. It may be that we shall not get through this war without compulsory service, but the response to the call of the Government for men has vastly exceeded what was thought possible.

In spite of her critics, whose object no doubt was so to alarm the nation that we should secure the utmost contribution of her strength, it is certain that there is not a street in the most secluded town or village of this kingdom which has not felt the call and contributed, if not to its utmost, then sufficient to show that the utmost will be forthcoming.

We are a slow people, but without boasting it may be said that we are sure; and that the citizens of this empire do not love their land and are concerned for its future less than the Germans are for Germany is a statement which time and fact are belying.

You ask me how, in this limited monarchy, the war has affected the democracy.

First let me say that the democracy governs itself; though it has a King as the permanent and stable element in the Constitution, representing the principles and traditions of that Constitution through their long course of development,

by being also the head of his people; the chief of his clan, as it were.

Well, wealth and peace are potent factors in every country toward separating people into classes. Even the United States has not escaped that. Social distinctions quite as imperious as in this country exist there, though they are not so extensive, not so carefully graded.

A great war like this shakes people of all classes and sections together to do the work demanded by the vital emergency.

So it is that a labor leader like Will Crooks, whose opinions have been repeated by many of his colleagues, says that the officer-peer and the artisan-private have shown the same valor, the same sense of duty; that the man higher up, as he is called in America, has, with an unmatched gallantry, risked and lost his life, hand in hand with the man on the lower levels.

You ask me if I think that Kitchener's army is democratic in a wide sense.

Let me say this: that what is called "Kitchener's army" is the most democratic, and it is probably the best, army that ever took the field since the armies of the civil war of the United States won their reputation.

In it are a very high proportion of elementary school teachers as non-commissioned officers, who are trained to organize and direct, who are typical of the bridging of the gulf between classes by the bond of education.

But not only Kitchener's new battalions are democratized. The professional army was always a mere handful, and to bring up the required battalions to war strength, to fill the gaps, a stream of reserve officers and men was called up—"city" men, lawyers, university lecturers, industrial workers, policemen, street car drivers, &c. These took their place in the framework at once.

Hence, the whole of the British armies in this conflict are like the American armies in the civil war.

They possess the intelligence, method, perseverance, the devoted courage of the Northerners, and the natural aptitude, adaptability, and improvising power of the Southerners.

In this war officers and men are

brought into much closer association than in any previous wars, since it has been a trench war, and, figuratively speaking, they sleep under the same blanket and eat out of the same dish.

In the close and confined area of the trenches officer and man are shoulder to shoulder, with practically no distinction in dress, while all are practically doing the same thing. The companionship of danger and purpose and endurance was never better manifested.

How many hundreds of stories have we heard and letters have we read from privates, telling how splendid, self-sacrificing, tirelessly considerate for their comfort, and utterly regardless of danger, their officers were; and how many hundreds of letters and how many speeches of officers have we read in which they tell of the magnificent courage, selflessness, cheerfulness and friendship of the private.

Their acts of heroism for each other have produced a great camaraderie. What began in duty has ended in affection.

"He was terrible bad hurt," said a private of his officer in a letter which I saw a day or two ago—"he was hurt so bad he had to groan, and he kept apologizing to us, saying he wished he could help it.

"He was true blue he was, and the hurt he had would ha' made any man squeal.

"Well, we just held 'is hands and done what we could, and one of my pals what was hurt too, he crawled over and he kissed the officer on the cheek, and they was both dead in half an hour. They was both good pals."

Innumerable stories like that have come to me, and I have in my possession letters now, of men no longer living, telling always of the great deeds done by others, and as time has gone on one has learned from others what they themselves had done.

I am not cracking up the bravery of the British officer or soldier, I am only saying that there never was a war in which officer and man, Duke and ditcher, Privy Councilor and miner have so preserved discipline, and yet their personal

sympathy, together with the men-to-men attitude.

This is easily understood in a country like the United States, and in all the overseas dominions, for the armies of these new lands must have these characteristics; but it was not generally supposed that, in a nation with a hereditary aristocracy, and apparently dependent classes far below, there would be this democratic feeling and action.

I frankly say that I think this war has democratized the British Army enormously, for in the face of vast issues and prolonged fighting, which tests men to the utmost, the private has lifted himself far above his rank in life by the ennobling feeling of doing a great duty, which yet he calls "his little bit."

I have seen this in my own household. A footman of mine, with not much apparent personality or sensibility—as how can a footman have much personality in the somewhat rigid work of a household, with its set and specific duties, with even its below-stairs class distinction?—left me to enlist.

He was gone several months in training. I saw him just before he started for the front. He was not the same man that had been in my service. There was modest self-possession; there was determination; there was the dignity of purpose in his bearing when he said to me:

"I'm keen to get out, Sir, I think I'm fit for it now, and I'll try and get one back at them Germans that aren't content to fight, but have to murder, too."

I had a feeling that he would give a good account of himself. I have had several letters from him; but one, received after he had had his baptism of fire, contains a few sentences which describe a revolution taking place, a development increasing with lightning rapidity in the men on the lower levels in this country; while the man on the higher levels of birth, position, and money has stepped down to the level road, where he and Tommy Atkins are one in temper and in character for the national welfare.

Here are the sentences from my footman-friend's letter:

We got as far as where the communication

trench began when the Germans caught us, and the shrapnel they put into us was something terrible.

I'm not afraid to say that the first half hour of it I was nearly frightened to death. Still, I never lost my head, and my chums were getting knocked over all around me.

We rushed to a hedge and stayed under it for nearly three hours with the shells ripping up the earth and tearing down trees wholesale. It was not a bang, bang affair; it was one continuous roar of splintering.

Our next move was up the trench leading to the firing line. It took us just upon two hours, and the sight I saw there I shall never forget as long as I live. The trench was nearly filled with water, and the wounded men, or rather what had been men, now wrecks of flesh and bone, were crawling through this stuff.

Not till I saw them did I realize how much I wanted to get my bayonet into the body of a German. Perhaps that will come soon. Then I hope the good God will give me courage and strength enough to take a good revenge.

We left the trench soon after midnight. As we were coming along the road I stayed a few seconds with a few more of the Sixtieth at a house where the trees had been blown across the road, and just as we got to the house a German flare went up, and before we had time to take two more steps three Jack Johnsons were tearing the place down about our ears.

I forgot to say that the Germans shelled us with gas shells, so we had to fight with respirators and smoke helmets on. I think you will agree with me when I say that we had a good baptism.

Well, I think it will be agreed that this is the letter of a young man who has found himself.

The other day I watched a regiment of Kitchener's army at work in Norfolk. The physique of the men was remarkable, they were stalwart, bronzed, healthy, hearty, happy. Willingness, esprit, were everywhere; but the thing that got deep into my mind was the quiet confidence and understanding between the officers and the men.

You would see an officer speaking to a lance corporal as though to a friend, confidentially, as he stood with his company; and the lance corporal replied with easy naturalness. There was no gap of formality between them. When their talk was finished—a talk upon work to be done or work done, something connected with the company—there was no lack of respect. Just as the soldier of

old days would have done under the older system, the lance corporal touched his cap.

Discipline was there, but something which made discipline a thing to have joy in, for it was a happiness in common effort for the honor of the regiment. All were playing the game of the Eleven.

One of the most remarkable aspects of this war in the field and in training for the field is the wonderful happiness of the men. They may be fatigued and worn, but they are never downcast. Nothing has been too good for them as to food and necessaries, and even luxuries.

The love of the nation has been spent on them, but it has not been squandered. In the rough earthquake of war we have been shaken together. Horrible as it all is—the bloodshed, the treasure poured out, the loss in life and material—still we can truthfully say that the nation has profited by its sacrifice, its effort, and its bereavement. National character has been made; inherent goodness has become magnificent merit.

In Parliament some one once said contemptuously of socialism, "When that time comes we shall all be feeding out of the same municipal trough." Well, we are not doing that, but we are all working in the same national field.

There are some slackers—that has always been the case. There are some cowards, but they will not be able to escape the passion of loyalty which is spreading and forever spreading; which is tenfold greater than it was on the 4th of August, 1914.

Yes, your question as to whether drink has prevented Great Britain from rising to the height of her necessity during the year of war should be answered at this point.

I have seen in some American papers most cruel libels upon the British workingman. I have seen London likened to Babylon or Byzantium. I have seen, it stated in a Philadelphia paper that 90 per cent. of the people in this country are apathetic, and that this is all due to degeneracy, self-indulgence, and drink.

This is a charge of a ghastly nature; and if it were true, then the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah would be too

good for Great Britain and this empire. England has had great opportunities and vast responsibilities, and her people have done masterly and prodigious things, as her history shows.

She has peopled overseas dominions; she has preserved, with a handful of men, the loyalty of the vast Indian empire; she has a commerce throughout the world greater than that of any other nation; her shipping represents more than half of the world's shipping; and if her people were so degenerate as to fail the State in its hour of need and peril, then indeed should all the world turn their backs upon her.

I make this challenge, however: If half a dozen American journalists of repute and capacity will come to this country and will go into any city, town, or village in England, or come to this vast metropolis, and will take any street in any one of these villages, towns, or in any borough of London, I declare that he will find, not 90 per cent. apathetic, but 90 per cent. representing homes from which some person is gone to fight, to be trained to fight, is employed in the manufacture of munitions of war, or has relatives fighting, preparing to fight, or occupied in the manufacture of munitions of war, or some other work which is essentially war work.

I know of what I speak. It has been tried. An American journalist has gone from house to house in one of the worst quarters of London, and the truth of my statement has been sustained. I make this challenge; I hope it will be accepted; I have no doubt of the result.

Drink there is and has always been in this country, and too much drink. Congestion, with poverty and crowded homes, of great cities such as New York, Chicago, St. Louis, Philadelphia, Boston, or London, Paris, or Rome, and many others one knows, is the cause of excess.

There was a sudden, passionate outburst on the part of an English Minister to the effect that it was drink which prevented us from winning the war, through irregular work in the factories where munitions were made.

That was taken with great seriousness in this country; it was taken with infi-

nately greater seriousness in countries like the United States.

The same Minister who made that statement now declares that the lack of munitions was due to lack of organization months ago. Both things are in part true, but only in part.

Undoubtedly in the rush and excitement, in the demand for extra output, a percentage of the workmen who drink and who ordinarily drink too much plunged into greater self-indulgence, and to some extent helped to disorganize the mass.

But again, if any one who knows this country will come here now and go from town to town, village to village, and city to city, will make inquiry at public houses, will go to the usual saloon resorts, he will find that, though wages are higher, though there is more employment than there has been for many years, there is less drink, not more.

We have no right to expect the sympathy of the United States and of other neutral countries if England is more drunken now than she was; and we have a right to ask that, when these charges are made against her, investigation should also be made.

The responsibility of the people of this country is great, and American journalistic enterprise would only be doing its duty if it made the investigation which I suggest, since this great war is an international question, and the judgment of neutral nations must affect the end of it directly and indirectly.

The real result of the war has been, not to increase general depravity, but, through the greater inflow of money, to increase the depravity of those already depraved. There has been a great drain from industry into the army; certain industries have enormously increased their demand for labor; therefore the premium on the labor of the disreputable 10 per cent of the drinking laboring classes has been vastly increased.

The misdoings of the 10 per cent. set up a certain amount of sympathetic demoralization and interfere materially with sober workmen in jobs that require co-operation, as, for instance, the riveters in shipbuilding.

This unsatisfactory minority will now

be dealt with under powers granted by the Government, to the great satisfaction of labor as a whole, which repudiates the acts of the inevitable minority of degraded workers.

You ask me, "How has the war affected the suffrage movement and the suffrage disorders which were so widespread in this country over a year ago?"

Well, in the first place, immediately after the declaration of war, the Women's Social and Political Union called a meeting and suspended the publication of their organ, *The Suffragette*, and mobilized all their members for national work: that is, nursing, production of clothing, relief work, &c.

The leaders of the suffragette movement soon saw that the individual devotion of its members was not enough, so they resolved to devote their vast organization, as an organization, to national purposes. Officially they organized recruiting meetings; they made a reissue of *The Suffragette* as a war paper, which is doing good work in combating the stupid criticism of a small minority with cosmopolitan sympathies, who are full of the love of God and all their fellow creatures, and who would throw bouquets to murderers, because human sympathy is such a divine thing!

It is notable that the leaders of the suffragette movement desire a thorough settlement, that they want, not alone peace with honor, but peace of such a nature as shall see the world secured against a barbarous and aggressive militarism.

Miss Annie Kenney was asked by me whether the Social and Political Union approved of The Hague Peace Conference of Women.

The reply was: "No. We think the evolution of the woman movement in the last generation has produced two types—the success and the failure.

"The personnel of the Peace Conference represented the failure. We sent to The Hague one of our members to protest, and we saw that the conference was merely playing into Germany's hands. Every woman who attended that conference will one day bitterly repent it."

Miss Kenney was asked whether suffragette activity in the national cause would ultimately affect the question of the vote.

The reply was that the vote question was not in their minds, that the vote will come of itself; that if they knew for certain that it would be denied for an indefinite period they should still work every bit as strenuously as they were working now; that the greater cause comes before the less for all Britishers—the cause of liberty and democracy.

She said that if the Allies win the woman's cause will be at most retarded, but that if Prussianism wins the whole cause of freedom would be immeasurably weakened and set back, that women's suffrage would not merely be retarded, but removed from the sphere of possibility altogether. And Miss Kenney added:

"No. Our union is too sensible of the danger to tolerate any compromise with Prussianism. We have never been believers in compromise with injustice."

She was finally asked how she would sum up the present attitude of the suffragettes. The answer was very fine; and I, who have been opposed to the granting of the vote to women, frankly say that it is an utterance deserving of perpetual remembrance. This is what she said:

"Duties come before rights. We have dared to demand; we have also the courage to give to the uttermost."

That is what this war has done. It has made men and women who differ fundamentally in many things, who have opposed each other politically, meet with a common patriotism on the ground of deeper fundamentals still, on the ground of issues that affect the whole of civilization, and not alone the social and political history of one country.

You have not asked me the question to which I am now going to reply, but I am going to ask it of myself. It is this:

"What has been the part played by the United States in this year of war? From the British standpoint, has she helped or retarded us?"

The account which we render of ourselves brings no blush to our cheeks, though we differ and criticise and gibe



PRINCE LEOPOLD OF BAVARIA

Who Led His Victorious Army Into Warsaw. He is Brother of King
Ludwig III. of Bavaria

(Photo copyright by Underwood & Underwood)



GRAND DUCHESS OLGA

Eldest Daughter of the Czar of Russia. She is Nearly 21 Years Old

and challenge each other, as Britishers have always done, as Americans did in the time of their civil war, when Lincoln's heart was almost broken by opposition from his political foes, and by savage criticism of his friends. At this time we are all in a state not perfectly normal.

We are living, as it were, at the top of our being, and we are inclined to exaggerate, to be extravagant in denunciation or in criticism when things do not go as we think they ought to do, but go as they always do in war, with staggering ups and downs.

There are those among us who have thought that the United States, as a vast democracy inspired by high national ideals, and as the enemy of all reactionary and tyrannical elements, might have done more to help us in our fight for civilization, might indeed have entered the war with us.

But let me say—and in this I believe I speak for the great majority of British people—that we have not had the least desire to invoke the armed assistance of the United States, or to influence her in the slightest in this matter.

The United States has performed immense service to the Allies by resisting all attempts to wean or force her from her neutrality by prohibiting the export of munitions of war. Her perfect propriety and adherence to the spirit of true neutrality have resisted German pressure.

Secondly, the services she has performed to civilization by organizing relief for Belgium have been a service to humanity, and therefore a service to the Allies, who are fighting to restore to Belgium her usurped dominion.

Thirdly, the United States has rendered immense services to this country by caring for the interests of British subjects abroad, and, above all, by making the lot of British prisoners of war easier. Some of the worst cruelties and inhuman oppressions have been removed by her intervention.

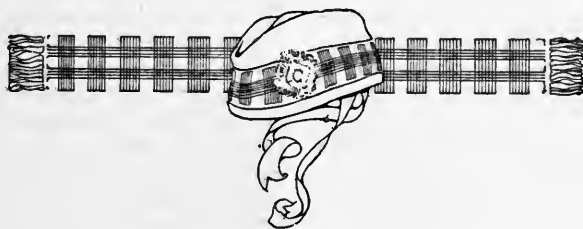
Lastly, her sympathy, expressed in a thousand ways, and not the least by fair consideration of the action taken by Great Britain in the blockade and other matters, has eased the minds of millions of King George's subjects. Lack of sympathy might easily have misinterpreted the acts of our Government.

I wish Americans would believe that in this country there has been since this war began a larger and truer understanding of the American people. For my own part I have known the United States intimately for many years, have had faith in her national purposes and confidence in her diplomatic integrity, and, from reading her history, a realization of her sense of justice.

And in this war of ideals, fundamentally different, I believe the people of both nations have come to a sense of kinship and of mutual admiration, not diminished by the possible mistakes which may have been made by Great Britain largely due to improvised organization; or in the United States by her rigid neutrality, which may not have seemed to chime with her sympathy.

Her diplomacy has been unimpeachable, and we in Great Britain are grateful for an understanding which is as material a support as an army in the field.

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United France

By Raymond Poincaré, President of the French Republic

The first meeting of the French Chamber of Deputies after the anniversary of the beginning of the war, and following the establishment of the union of all political parties in France, to endure so long as the war shall last, was held on Aug. 5, 1915. A message from President Poincaré was read in the Chamber by Premier Viviani, and in the Senate by Aristide Briand, Minister of Justice. It was addressed to the French Parliament and reviewed the first year of the war. The text of the message follows:

YOU will find it natural that after a year of war the President of the Republic has the honor to associate himself with the Government and the two houses of the Legislature to render homage, admiration, and gratitude to the nation and the army.

When a year ago I recommended to the country this sacred union, which was then and still remains one of the conditions of victory, I had no doubt but that my appeal would be immediately heard. Our enemies, who always have misunderstood France, alone believed that we would offer an evidence of our dissensions to their brutal aggression.

At the precise hour when they audaciously asserted that Paris was a prey to upheaval the capital of the republic assumed that grave and serene physiognomy in which could be read its cold resolution. From the largest cities to the smallest villages there passed a great current of national fraternity which, among the people as well as in Parliament, wiped out even the memory of civil quarrels. The whole people turned a united face to the enemy.

For a year this unity of will has not belied my belief that nothing will weaken it. If Germany is counting on the possibility of dividing France at the present time, she is deceived today as she was a year ago. Time will not weaken the ties binding the great French family. United France is great and strong, and because she is united she is confident and calm. Every day in the smallest communities there is spontaneous collaboration between the old people, the women and the children, which makes sure the continuance of the normal life of these villages in its regular course. Fields are sowed and cultivated and crops

harvested, and this organization of labor is a material factor to the keeping alive of patience and firmness in the soul of the people.

Every day Frenchmen of all parties and all religions bring their offerings to the Treasury, and hands which bear noble marks of daily labor push over the counters of the banks gold pieces which they have painfully saved up.

Everywhere the country gives a sublime example of common thought and resolution.

A generous emulation inspired all lines of French activity to come to the aid of the national defense, and this aid is given utterly without selfishness. The country should encourage not only harmony among political parties, but also private co-operation and good-will.

Individual energies, recognizing how to submit themselves to discipline, constitute a great force in the nation. In war time such energies never are too numerous or too powerful, nor is there ever a greater need to co-ordinate national action to produce a single effect.

The merits of a people are luminously reflected in the army. The army, composed of the substance of the nation, immediately understood the grandeur of its rôle. It knows it is fighting for the safety of the race and the traditions and liberties of the country. It knows that on the victory of France and the Allies rests the future of civilization and humanity.

Into the hearts of the most modest of our soldiers and marines has come a high appreciation of this great historical duty. Each man is completely devoted to his mother country, and those who fall die without fear, since by their death France lives and will live forever.

In the error of its arrogance, Germany

has represented France as light, impressionable, unstable and incapable of perseverance and tenacity. The people and the army of France will continue to controvert this calumnious judgment by their calm course. They will not let themselves be troubled by that false news, which has its effect only on impressionable souls; by noisy manifestos for peace by our enemies, or by the perfidious and suspicious insinuations whispered by the agents of the enemy in the ears of neutrals—cowardly counsels aimed at future efforts at demoralization. No one in France is disturbed.

The only peace which the republic can accept is that which guarantees the security of Europe and which will permit us to breathe and to live and to work to reconstruct our dismembered country and repair our ruins, a peace which will effectively protect us against any offensive return of the Germanic ambitions.

The present generations are accountable for France to posterity. They will not permit the profanation of the trust which their ancestors confided to their charge. France is determined to conquer; she will conquer.

M. DESCHANEL'S SPEECH.

Paul Deschanel, President of the Chamber, opened the session with a speech, which was apparently intended to follow the example of the address of M. Rodzianko, President of the Russian Duma, at the recent opening of that legislative body, and as a reply to the anniversary manifesto of the German Emperor. To this Premier Viviani gave response in the name of the Government. M. Deschanel said a year had passed since the enemy of France, even before declaring war, had violated French territory. He added:

This year has been so full of a glory so pure that it will forever illumine the human race. It has been a year in which France, the France of Joan of Arc and Valmy, has risen, if possible, to even greater heights.

Be the war of short or long duration, France accepts it. The country is summoning its genius and changing its methods. Each French soldier before the enemy repeats the words of Joan of Arc, "You can enchain me, but you cannot enchain the fortunes of France."

"France Is Fit"

By Count Adrien L. de Montebello

A year of war finds "France fit to continue the struggle to the end and confident of the outcome," says Count Adrien Lannes de Montebello in a review of the first twelve months of hostilities given to The Associated Press on July 31. Count de Montebello, a recognized authority on military affairs, was one of the strongest advocates of the three-year military service law and its co-author with the ex-Premier, Louis Barthou. He was formerly Deputy from Rheims and Vice President of the Committee on Military Affairs of the Chamber of Deputies. His grandfather was Marshal Lannes, at whose death on the battlefield of Essling Napoleon is said to have

wept. Count de Montebello's review follows:

FRANCE was not expecting war, and her preparations therefore were less complete than those of her adversaries, who, knowing their intentions, had accumulated an immense supply of fighting material and disposed of their troops in such a manner as to strike the most powerful blow of which they were capable.

Germany threw against Belgium and France fifty-two army corps, or almost her entire military force as mobilized in August. Under the impact of the German advance the French armies, with their British allies, suffered initial re-

verses and great losses, especially in the battle of Charleroi. While the French armies were in retreat a national Ministry was formed, and the civil population of France organized for war. The French and British armies stood on the line of the Marne from a point near Paris to the eastern frontier of France. They received the shock of more than 1,200,000 German troops, and defeated them with somewhat inferior forces. The Germans were outled and outfought in a vast general action over a line of more than 120 miles.

The French troops were too exhausted by their fifteen days of marching and fighting to make their victory decisive. The Germans checked their retreat upon the line of the Aisne, and had sufficient time to dig in. The battle of the Aisne developed by the Germans endeavoring to turn our left and by the simultaneous French effort to turn the German right. This contest resulted in a race for the sea in the obstinate two months' battle along the Yser in October and November. The Germans again failed, and finally gave up that part of their offensive, on account of their terrific losses.

Simultaneous with the battle of the Marne, though forming no part of the battle front of what has been called the battle of the Marne, were the operations in the Argonne, the Woevre, and the Grand Couronne de Nancy. The army of the German Crown Prince, marching on Verdun, and the army of Crown Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria, marching on Nancy, both were defeated in some of the bloodiest engagements of the entire war.

The ultimate result of these defeats was the liberation of that part of the ancient Province of Lorraine left to France after 1870 from the occupation of the German Army. The German forces had penetrated fifteen or eighteen miles. They were not only driven out before the 1st of November, but since then the French have invaded Upper Alsace, of which they now hold a considerable part. This country, taken from France in the

war of 1870-71, has been reorganized and is under control of a civil government which restored the school and judicial systems of France.

From the battle of Charleroi to the end of the first year of the war the Germans achieved no successes on the western battle front save the slight advance at Soissons during the floods of the River Aisne and the advance at Ypres, partially lost afterward, at the time of the first attack with the assistance of asphyxiating gas.

The successes of the Allies since the battle of the Marne are in the recapture of Thann, Steinbach, Hartsmans-Weilerkopf, Metzeral, La Fontenelle, together with considerable territory in the Alsatian Vosges; the capture of an entire German position in the Forest of Le Prêtre, along the wedge the Germans are still holding in the French lines at St. Mihiel; an advance of a mile along a front of ten miles at Beausejour, in the Champagne country; the capture of Neuve Chapelle by the British, the capture of Notre Dame de Lorette, Carency, and Neuville St. Vaast, and an advance of two or three miles along a front about seven miles north from Arras by the French, and the clearing of the left bank of the Yser of the enemy by the Belgian Army.

Never since the war began has the French Army been so fit to continue it to a triumphant conclusion as today. We have not only carried on the war with success during the year, but we have accumulated immense reserves of every necessity for continuing the war until it has been won. Our reserve troops in depots and under training are relatively greater than those of the Germans. The army is absolutely confident. The people behind the army, to a man, are equally so.

The French people, through no fault of theirs, have suffered and are suffering today, but they are equal to every hardship, every effort necessary to drive the war to a final victorious conclusion.

Prospect of Russia's Second Year of War

By a Russian Military Expert

"I hereby solemnly declare that we will not conclude peace until the last enemy soldier has left our land."

These words of Emperor Nicholas of Russia, uttered at the Winter Palace on Aug. 1, 1914, were reproduced in the press of Petrograd on the anniversary of the war. A message in the Bourse Gazette on July 31, 1915, printed in all the languages of Russia's allies, says:

FOR a year past the enemy has been threatening the freedom of the world. We deeply appreciate the self-sacrificing aid of the Allies in exerting a combined pressure on him on all sides.

A firm confidence in victory in a community of worldwide interests and in the final triumph of right fires the spirit of the nation. It has been our guiding star throughout this year of bloodshed. It will serve us in the coming months, maybe years, of this terrible struggle.

Russia greets her allies—France, Great Britain, Belgium, Serbia, Montenegro, Japan, and Italy. All hail to their heroic loyalty and firm determination to stand by her to the end; till light dispels the gloom.

From a person who, although not connected officially with the War Department, is in close touch with the Government officials and is well acquainted with the military situation and the Russian state of feeling, The Associated Press has obtained the following review of the first year of the war:

The end of the first year of the war finds Russia's potential fighting ability undiminished. Her armies are intact, her resources virtually untouched; and the determination of her people, the morale of her troops have only been deepened with the growing realization of the enemy's strength.

This determination is expressed most forcibly in the mobilization of vast industrial resources for the production of war munitions. These efforts are rap-

idly lessening the disparity of the combatants in guns and ammunition. Russia does not look for a speedy termination of the struggle, but feels confident of her power to exhaust the enemy.

The campaign on the eastern front must be viewed in relation to the enormous extent of territory over which battles have been waged, from the Baltic to Bukovina. The far-flung advances and retreats here have had no more significance relatively than gains and losses of a thousand yards on the western front. To interpret Russia's temporary loss of territory as German success is to ignore Russia's rôle to engage as great a part of the enemy's forces as possible, to relieve pressure on her allies. Russia's refusal to accept battle in disadvantageous conditions, even though she must temporarily abandon territory, has kept her armies and defensive lines unbroken.

It is the assertion of Russian authorities that every German advance has cost Germany more men, both relatively and actually, than it cost Russia. They regard Germany as now committed definitely to a campaign which is carrying the German armies further and further from their bases; and to abandon this campaign would be disastrous defeat for her. Moreover, it is maintained that not even the territorial ambitions of Germany have been realized, since the German objectives on this front have not been fully attained.

The advance of the Austrians into Southern Russia in the early stage of the war met with full defeat. It was followed by Austria's loss of Galicia. General Ivanoff, at the head of the southern Russian armies, carried on one of the most brilliant offensive campaigns of the war. The present stage may possibly be regarded as an uncompleted repetition of this earlier movement.

Furthermore, the repeated German drives at Warsaw from the west have cost the enemy tremendous losses. It

was only after six weeks of the most intense fighting in the Bzura region due west of Warsaw last Winter that the Germans recognized the futility of attempting to break the Russian front by direct frontal movements. On the other hand, by exacting a heavy toll of lives in rearguard actions during the carefully ordered retreats and by keeping her own army intact, Russia successfully performed her appointed task.

The East Prussian aggressive, which manifested itself periodically, and latterly the Baltic campaign, never have been regarded otherwise than as diversions. A parallel to these movements is found in the Bukowina operations, in their relation to the general Galician campaign. Their chief importance has been to draw men from other fronts, where more serious fighting has been in progress.

While it is understood the fate of the Turkish provinces on the Caucasian front will be determined by the general course of the war, this should not minimize the

genuine military successes Russia has achieved in that distant field. Russia did not desire to expend her strength in Asiatic Turkey, but when opposed by the threatening Turkish advance in December she exerted her power, flung back the Turkish army at Sari Kamysh, and began a series of movements which carried the Russian arms to Van and the approaches to Bitlis and Mush, in Turkish Armenia.

BY THE RUSSIAN MINISTER OF WAR.

This statement was prepared by M. Polivanoff, the Russian Minister of War:

My opinion, in a few words, after one year's duration of this war, unprecedented in the world's annals, is as follows:

The enemy is strong and cruel, and that is the very reason why Russia and her heroic allies must continue the war—should it last for several years—until the enemy is completely crushed.

ALEXEI ANDREIEVITCH POLIVANOFF, Minister of War.

First Year's Slain and Wounded

German and British Estimates of Aggregate Casualties

In a London Cable Dispatch to The New York Times, dated July 31, the following estimates appeared:

OVER two and a half million of lives cut short and some five million men wounded, a certain proportion of the latter maimed and partially incapacitated for useful purposes—this is one result of one year of the world war, according to a statistician who has gone to the sources available for information.

Great Britain's casualties, announced by Premier Asquith in Parliament, amount to a third of a million, including killed, wounded, and missing.

Neither Germany, France, nor Russia makes any comprehensive statement of the kind, but it is obvious that the losses of all three are proportionately much heavier than England's.

Estimates published in the English papers derived from indications given in the Prussian official lists of casualties carry the German losses to a total of 3,500,000. This figure largely exceeds the computations made by the German authorities, but even the latter, who may be assumed to desire to put the best aspect possible on the war's cost in the matter of life and limb, admit that Germany up to the end of June had 482,000 men killed and 852,000 wounded.

In regard to prisoners, the Germans admitted a loss of 233,000 up to the end of last month, altogether a grand total of 1,567,000 killed, wounded, and missing.

The German claims as to the number of the enemy disposed of are surprisingly high. Mr. Asquith's figures of 330,000 up to a late date in July were

exceeded, according to German calculations, before the end of June, at which period, according to Teutonic computations, Great Britain had lost 116,000 killed, 229,000 wounded, and 83,000 prisoners, a total of 428,000.

When there is such a discrepancy between the German claims and the British Governmental statements as to British losses the possibly natural inference is that the German claims in respect to other hostile nations, such as France and Russia, which publish no figures to serve as a corrective, are likely to be greatly exaggerated. Consequently the following figures are given for what they are worth, stress being laid on the fact that they are derived from a usually well-informed source:

	Killed.		Prisoners & Wounded.		Missing.	Total
France	400,000	700,000	300,000	1,400,000		
Russia	733,000	1,982,000	770,000	3,485,000		
Austria	341,000	771,000	183,000	1,295,000		
Belgium	47,000	160,000	40,000	247,000		
Serbia	64,000	112,600	50,000	226,600		
Turkey	45,000	90,000	46,000	181,000		
Japan	300	910		1,210		

It is interesting to compare these figures, which are based on German calculations, with figures collected by Beach Thomas, a correspondent of The Daily Mail in Northern France. Mr. Thomas says his lists have been compiled on the Continent from the best available figures and checked and counterchecked in every way from both public and private information.

Extreme as the figures sound, the evi-

dence given for the Turkish losses, which are the most surprising, is at least plausible. If the total population of, say, Canada and Australia or London and Manchester were wiped out, the loss would have been smaller than the sum of the men recorded as casualties in this war.

Following are the figures, quoted for what they are worth:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Prisoners.	Total.
Germans...	490,000	1,636,000	1,880,000	4,006,000
Austrians..	810,000	1,710,000	1,855,000	4,375,000
Turks.....	95,000	110,000	140,000	345,000

Total...1,395,000 3,456,000 3,875,000 8,726,000

"It is alleged and strongly maintained by the authorities," says Mr. Thomas, "that the proportion of killed to wounded is as 2 to 3, not as 1 to 4, or even 5, which was once supposed to be the ratio. The French and British have the highest proportion of wounded to killed, but it never rises as high as 2 to 1 when the record of the hospitals is complete, and of course prisoners are excluded."

In regard to the German computation of the French losses, it is to be observed that it tallies with the unofficial estimate of the French losses given by the committee of the French Relief Fund, which computed the German losses as something more than double. The rate of loss was calculated to be 127,000 men per month for the French. At this rate of wastage France can go on fighting for another twelve months without any weakening of her units in the field.

Harbored Ships

By LOUISE DE WETTER.

Still, as great birds with folded wings,
 Their masts black spears against the
 moon,
 They ride at anchor on a silvered sea,
 Wrapped in the lapping waves' low
 croon.

Beyond, the hills lie—fold on fold
 Against the Night's dark star-pierced
 sky;
 Long since, the two-score village lights
 have died,
 And hushed at last the sea-gull's
 wailing cry.

The Dawn will shine upon a flock of
 wind-curved sails,
 On clustered, pale-faced women, filled
 with dread. * * *
 Far out beyond the harbor's circling hills
 The ocean thunders deep—above its
 dead!

Kirkwall, Orkney Islands, May 29, 1915.

War's Toll Upon Famous Families

By Charles Stolberg

This article appeared in The New York Evening Post of Aug. 7, 1915, and is here reproduced by permission.

WHEN on June 28 of last year at Serajevo, Bosnia, the bullets of assassin Gavrio Princep felled Archduke Francis Ferdinand of Austria-Hungary and his wife, the Duchess of Hohenberg, there resulted a single tragedy whose indirect consequences have since caused countless other tragedies in the lives of millions of people, not only in Europe, but in the remotest parts of the world.

The great world conflict which broke out soon after this murderous attack has placed the pall of mourning over every third home in the belligerent countries of Europe, and has even made its grim presence felt among people of unaffected neutral nations by the untimely deaths of those who may have ventured too near the zones of destruction.

The dreadful slaughter has fallen with especial heaviness on the upper and wealthy classes, and the names of hundreds of people prominent in all walks of life are being continually added to the growing casualty lists. Death knows no distinctions, and in taking victims has leveled all classes, from Prince to pauper. The bluest blood of Germany, England, and France has been poured out in battle. So great has been the loss in British officers in particular, that quite a number of heirs of great wealth among them have passed their entailed fortunes on to babies. Germany has had to give of her foremost families of the ancient nobility, of high Government officials who were serving as volunteers or reserves, of college professors, authors, scientists, newspaper men, artists, actors, musical virtuosi, sportsmen, and other prominent men of business or public life. A similar loss has been borne by France, Austria-Hungary, England, Russia, and all the belligerent countries.

Death's harvest among champions in the athletic and sporting world has been

sweeping. It includes names known to followers of tennis, golf, polo, horse racing, pugilism, rowing, running, and track events. Some of these victims had won fame as heroes in Olympic contests. And in their untimely deaths on the battlefields these athletes and sportsmen have covered themselves with glory.

The biggest loss in lives sustained by neutrals occurred, of course, in the sinking of the Lusitania off Kinsale Head, Ireland. A score or more Americans of national prominence had to sacrifice their lives in this terrible disaster. Although deaths of neutrals have occurred to some extent in the fields of military operations, by far the greatest number of neutral lives have been lost, like those on the Lusitania, in the German naval war zone about the British Isles.

No less than ten Princes of German royal houses have already fallen on the battlefield. The very first of these to lose his life was William, the reigning Prince of Lippe, shot before Liège last August by a Flemish carabineer, who had stumbled on the royal reconnoitring party, killing, at the same time, another Lippe, the nephew of Prince William, who was accompanying his uncle on a tour of inspection. Still another Lippe, Prince Ernest, met his death on the field of battle a month later. In the death of Prince Frederick of Saxe-Meinigen, who served as a Lieutenant General and was killed at Namur in August, 1914, by a shell, the Kaiser's eldest sister lost her brother-in-law and heir to the Saxe-Meinigen. The Prince was one of the most accomplished men of the empire, having rare gifts in music and art. The second son of Prince Frederick of Saxe-Meinigen, Prince Ernest, only 19 years old, was wounded at Maubeuge, the last of August, dying a few days later in the hospital. The youngest sister of the Kaiser, Princess Margaret, the wife of

Prince Frederick Charles of Hesse, gave her second son, Prince Maximilian, to the Fatherland. He was but 20 when slain, on Oct. 12, in France, in the engagement near Mount Descats.

The Kaiserin and the Queen Mother of the Netherlands have lost a relative in Prince Wolrad Frederick of Waldeck-Pyrmont, who was felled by a bullet while on patrol duty in France. Others of the German royalty killed in action are Prince Otto Victor of Schoenburg-Waldenburg, Premier Lieutenant of the Life Guards Hussar Regiment; Prince Henry of Reuss, son and heir to Prince Henry XXVII. of Reuss, and Prince Adelbert of Schleswig-Holstein and Sonderburg, whose niece married the Kaiser's fourth son, and who was a General of cavalry.

In England the only royal Prince who has fallen is Prince Maurice of Battenberg, the son of Queen Victoria's daughter, Princess Beatrice, and her German husband, Prince Henry of Battenberg. Prince Maurice, who was 23 and a Second Lieutenant in the King's Royal Rifle Corps, met his death at Ypres the last week in October.

Of the Romanoffs in Russia two have died in the present war, Grand Duke Alexander Michaelovitch, brother-in-law and cousin of the Czar, and Prince Oleg, a son of Grand Duke Constantine. Grand Duke Alexander was killed in the fighting at Miandoab, Persia, last January. In the Fall of 1913 he had visited America and was a guest of Mrs. John Astor at Beachwood, Newport. The affair which cost the life of Prince Oleg was a dashing cavalry charge on the Niemen last October, gallantly led by the Prince, who was carrying a standard at the time he received his mortal injury.

Strangely enough, no members of the royal house of Hapsburg have lost their lives since the death of Archduke Francis Ferdinand just before the outbreak of the war. The toll among Austrian titled families, however, has been just as heavy as in other countries. In Belgium, Prince George de Ligne, who had joined the Belgian colors as a volunteer, was killed during the fighting early last August.

The list of peers and titled English

who have laid down their lives is a long one. To this unexpected development of the war in England, the re-establishment of the prestige of the aristocracy—berated for a decade by Lloyd George, and bereft of political power by Prime Minister Asquith—has been due. The gallant conduct of the British officers in France and Flanders has been carefully used as a reminder to the middle-class Britisher that the aristocracy may have its good points. Most of the names of British nobles who have lost their lives in the service of their country are more or less familiar to the American public. Lord de Freyne, the fifth Baron and Captain in the Third Battalion of the South Wales Borderers, and his brother, the Hon. George Philip, Lieutenant in the same regiment, were killed in battle last May. Lord de Freyne served as an enlisted man in the United States Army in the Philippines, and succeeded to the title in 1913. Killed in action in Flanders on Oct. 30 was Lord Worsley, the eldest son of the Earl of Yarborough and a Lieutenant in the Royal Horse Guards.

A great fighting name is recalled by the death last Fall in Belgium of Captain Lord Richard Wellesley, great-grandson of the "Iron Duke" of Wellington. Captain the Hon. Henry Lyndhurst Bruse, husband of Camille Clifford, the so-called original "Gibson Girl," was killed at Ypres in December, while serving with the Royal Scots. Lord Grenfell's twin sons, Captain Riversdale Grenfell, V. C., a great polo player, and Captain Francis Grenfell, were both killed in France within a few months of each other. Sir Richard Levinge, a great Irish landowner and prominent sportsman, was killed while serving as a cavalry officer. Sir Robin Duff, a Lieutenant in the Second Life Guards, lost his life in France about three weeks after succeeding to the title and estate of his father, Sir Charles Asheton-Smith, classed among the richest men in England.

One of the very first distinguished Britons to fall was the young Lord Charles Nairn, who had been a personal member of King George's household, and

the possessor of many orders and decorations. He had served in the Boer campaigns with distinction. King George has lost a godson in Lieutenant George Naylor-Leyland, who died early in October from wounds received in France. He was but 22 and the heir to the title and fortune of his brother, Sir Albert Edward Naylor-Leyland. Lord Cowdray's youngest son, the Hon. Geoffrey Pearson, was killed by the Uhlans in France while carrying dispatches on his motor cycle. Captain William Cecil of the Grenadier Guards, eldest son of Lord William Cecil, leaves by his death a widow and a little son of two years to assume finally the honors of the Barony of Amherst and Hackney.

The Marquis of Crewe's son-in-law, Captain E. B. O'Neill, the heir of Baron O'Neill, was the first member of Parliament on the list of dead soldiers. William G. C. Gladstone, a Liberal member of the House of Commons, great-grandson of the Liberal statesman, was killed in action last April. Colonel William Wyndham, a bachelor of 38, Lord Rosebery's nephew and heir to the Earl of Leconfield, fell on the battlefield in Flanders last November. Death in battle has also taken young Percy Wyndham, son of the Countess Grosvenor and half brother to the Duke of Westminster. A famous Irish peerage, the Earldom of Dartry, is likely to become extinct through the death in action last November of Captain E. S. Dawson of the Coldstream Guards. He was the only male member of the family. Colonel George Lumley, brother and heir of the Earl of Scarborough, has fallen. Kaid Sir Harry Maclean, the hero of British operations in Morocco, has lost his son and heir, Captain Andrew Maclean of the East Surrey Regiment.

Other Britons of rank who have given their lives during the first year of the war are the following: Robert Cornwallis Maude, sixth Viscount Hawarden, a Lieutenant in the Coldstream Guards; Lord Bernard Gordon-Lennox, a Major in the Grenadier Guards; Lord John Spencer Cavendish, younger brother of the Duke of Devonshire; Lieutenant Archer Windsor-Clive of the Coldstream Guards, second son of the Earl of Plym-

outh; Captain Beauchamp Oswald Duff, the son of Sir Beauchamp Duff, commander of the army in India; Lord John Hamilton, brother of the Duke of Abercorn; the sons of Viscount Hardinge and Lord St. David; Lieutenant the Hon. Vere Boscawen, third son of Viscount Falmouth; Captain the Hon. A. E. S. Mulholland of the Irish Guards, eldest son of Baron Dunleath; Captain the Hon. Christian M. Hore-Ruthven, third son of Lord Ruthven; Captain Sir Frederick Villiers Laud Robinson; Captain the Hon. Charles Henry Stanley Monck, the heir of the Viscount Monck; Captain Sir Francis Ernest Waller; Lieutenant W. F. Rodney, brother of Lord Rodney; Lord Spencer Douglas Compton, brother and heir of the Marquis of Northampton; Captain the Hon. Douglas Arthur Kinnaird of the Scots Guards, eldest son of Lord Kinnaird; Major the Hon. Hugh Dawnay, second son of Viscount Downe; Major the Hon. A. C. Weld-Forester, third son of Baron Forester; Lieutenant Keith Anthony Stewart, son of the Earl of Galloway; Captain Eric Upton of the Royal Rifles, son-in-law of Viscount Templeton, and Major the Hon. C. B. Freeman-Metford, eldest son of Lord Ridesdale.

Of the old French aristocracy, there are but few houses that have not been placed in mourning. Lieutenant Count Jean de Rochambeau, a direct descendant of Marshal de Rochambeau, the French commander at Yorktown in the Revolutionary War, was killed on the battlefield in upper Alsace, June 14; Prince Ernest d'Arenberg, of the French branch of the Arenberg family and a Lieutenant in the Thirty-second Regiment of Infantry, was slain in the trenches last March. Count de Pierrefeu, who was employed in an office of the United States Steel Corporation in Chicago, went to France at the outbreak of the war and joined his regiment. Injured in the trenches last Winter, he joined an ambulance corps after his recovery. Later he met his death while engaged in Red Cross work. The Count's widow was a daughter of Mrs. William Tudor of Boston. In the death of the aged Baron Jean de Klopstein,

who was prominent in social and financial circles of Paris, the life of an innocent noncombatant was taken. The unfortunate Baron was shot dead while seated at a window of his château near the fighting front. It seems he had been unaware of the fact that an engagement was raging quite close by. Guy, Duc de Lorge, fell fighting against the Germans as a twenty-five-year-old Lieutenant of a French Dragoon regiment.

The Austrian Count George Festetics is reported to have been killed in battle in Galicia. Count Festetics was well known in London society, having been attached to the Austrian Embassy there. Count and Countess Széchényi lost a cousin during the fighting in Galicia recently.

Of prominent German families the von Bülowes have, perhaps, suffered a greater loss than any other. The Berlin Kreuz Zeitung last March contained a notice announcing the deaths of ten members of that family at the front, all officers. Lieutenant von Bethmann-Hollweg, son of the German Chancellor, was killed in Poland early this year while daring the fire from the Russian trenches with a skirmishing party. Captain von Falkenhayn, son of the German Chief of General Staff, was shot dead 2,000 feet in the air near Amiens in January. Edwin Beit von Speyer, nephew of James Speyer of the New York banking firm, fell on Sept. 24 in a skirmish near Arras.

Germany and France have each had to sacrifice one of their leading statesmen. Jean Leon Jaurès, who for a decade had been the most prominent French Socialist leader, besides being a brilliant orator, debater, and journalist, was assassinated on the eve of war by a crank who had singled out Jaurès because of the latter's determined agitation for peace. Germany likewise lost a leading figure of her Reichstag in Dr. Ludwig Frank, the popular Socialist Democratic leader, also one of the foremost orators in Germany. Dr. Frank had volunteered at the outbreak of war and was killed in action before Lunéville, in the very first engagement in which he took part. Three Judges of the Paris bench lost their lives in battle

last October. Justice Blondell fell on the Meuse, and Justices Matillon and Perlange in the battles at the Aisne. Henri Collingnon, French Counselor of State, was killed March 19 in Eastern France during a trench attack. He had volunteered as a private soldier, although 58 years old.

Jean, the youngest son of Premier Viviani, fell on Aug. 22 in a charge against the German trenches. Mme. Simone le Bary, one of the most talented actresses in France, has lost her husband, Casimir Perrier, who was killed near Soissons early this year. Young Perrier was a son of ex-President Casimir Perrier of France and a member of a wealthy family. Dr. Godfrey Scheff, a surgeon in the Austrian Army and father of Fritzi Scheff, the actress, was killed in the fighting around Serajevo. While leading his company in a bayonet charge near Ypres in December, Dr. Karl Wilhelm Gross met his death. Dr. Gross had been exchange professor at Cornell University.

In the world of art and letters England has lost Colonel Guy Louis Busson du Maurier, whose play, "An Englishman's Home," based on the idea of a German invasion of England, attracted widespread attention some years ago. No other noted British author has been killed so far, though death has overtaken the sons of three well-known writers. Sir James M. Barrie's adopted son, Lieutenant George Davis, was slain in France. The young officer was the inspiration for Barrie's popular play, "Peter Pan." The death in action of Second Lieutenant Oscar Hornung, only son of E. W. Hornung, the novelist, and a nephew of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, was reported recently. Lieutenant Harold Marion Crawford, eldest son of the late F. Marion Crawford, was accidentally killed by a bomb explosion at Givenchy on April 16.

The well-known German novelist, Herman Loens, author of "Der Wehrwolf," fell in the attack on Rheims. He was serving as a private in a regiment of volunteers, although more than 50 years old. Alberie Magnard, composer of the opera "Herenice," was killed by

Uhlans while attempting to defend his villa near Nanteuil. Of the Parisian artists connected with the National Beaux Arts School who have gone to the front several have fallen. One of the first was Morris Berthon, chief of Jausseley's atelier. Another, Jean Hillmacher, lost his life at the battle of Vitry-le-François. Noel Hall, Pierre Sylvian Petit, Henry Caroly, Georges Aussenard, Maurice Vidal, Pierre Sibien, Louis Ringuet, and Jean Petit have all been killed in battle. Gustave Boisson, the guardian, has also fallen as a color-bearer in his regiment.

The effect of the stupendous struggle on athletics and sports will make itself felt for years to come. There is hardly a branch of sport that has escaped without losing one or more of its noted exponents. The havoc wrought by death among famous runners has unquestionably been the most startling. The names of some of these, known the world over for their prowess, follow: Lieutenant W. W. Halswelle, the Olympic champion in several events held in 1908; Anderson of Oxford, who competed in the Olympics at Stockholm; James Duffy, the Canadian distance runner, winner of the Yonkers and Boston marathons; Jean Bouin, the great French runner, whom experts considered the greatest distancer in the world; R. Rau, the champion Teuton sprinter and record holder; Hans Braun, the wonderful middle-distance runner; Max Hoffmann, who might have been the former's successor; Heinz Hegemann and Herman Lerow, German relay runners, and Karl Schoenberg, cross-country runner.

In the death of Anthony F. Wilding, killed in action at the Dardanelles, the tennis world loses a player who had been universally considered as the most skilled wielder of the racquet in the history of the sport. Kenneth Powell is another famous English tennis player to meet Wilding's fate. Germany's leading lawn tennis promoter, Dr. Otto Nirnheim, died in the hospital in Louvain, having been wounded by a bursting shell. Edward Krausel of Breslau, winner of German tennis tournaments, was killed in East Prussia. Chelli, a player of exceptional

ability, and du Bousquet are the French tennis players of note who have fallen.

Of noted golfers, one of the world's greatest amateurs, Captain John Graham, lost his life during a charge at Ypres. Lord Annesley, formerly amateur champion of Ireland, was killed in attempting a flight across the Channel on an air raid. Captain C. F. Barber of Chester went down in the Dardanelles on the battleship Goliath. Norman Hunter is reported among the "wounded and missing." Captain W. A. Henderson, who defeated Jerome Travers some years ago, was killed last Fall. Lieutenant H. N. Atkinson, erstwhile Welsh title holder, is another to lose his life. Julian Martin-Smith died of wounds received in battle. Miss Neill Fraser, a noted Scotch woman player, died with fever after serving as a field nurse.

The followers of polo mourn the loss of the great stars, Captain Francis Grenfell, V. C., and his brother, Riversdale, both killed in action, and of Captain Noel Edwards. Captain Riversdale Grenfell had been largely responsible for the revival and development of modern polo. Fletcher and McCraggin of the crews of Cambridge and Oxford are two noted oarsmen who have been killed. Captain Ludwig Peters of Mainz is another famous sculler who has fallen. The boxing world has lost Young Snowball, the Manchester paperweight; Battling Pye of Preston and Marcel Moreau, the French boxer. The list of dead among famous international football players includes the names of R. W. Poulton of the Oxford Blues; F. H. Turner, the Scottish international; R. O. Lagden, and Mijou Vernaud, André Nernaud, and Elie Carpentier, well-known French soccer players. Popular German swimmers, Eugen Uhl and Adolf Rees of Stuttgart, Count Ferdinand Fischler von Treuberg of Munich and Captain Wimsen of Magdeburg also have fallen on the battlefield. Thoubaus, the champion javelin thrower of France, and Fritz Buchholtz, Germany's most expert spear thrower, were both slain in Flanders. Germany also lost her best high jumper in Erich Lehmann. One of the most prominent steeplechase riders of the German turf, Count von Wedel, bosom

friend of the Cown Prince, lost his life in action, as did also the popular English huntsman, Theodore Edward ("Teddy") Brooks. Brooks received a mortal wound while fighting with a relief brigade on the Ypres road.

Undoubtedly the most famous name among those of military leaders whose lives have gone to pay grim toll in the war is that of Field Marshal Earl Roberts, Great Britain's most distinguished soldier. Earl Roberts was so generally well known that it is hardly necessary to dwell here on his notable career, which came to an end last November after he had contracted pneumonia during an inspection tour of the trenches in France. Other British Generals and commanders whose names are to be found among the dead are the following: Brig. Gen. Charles Fitzclarence of the Irish Guards, Brig. Gen. Norman Reginald McMahon of the Royal Fusileers, Brig. Gen. Neil Douglas Findlay of the Royal Artillery, Major Gen. Hubert I. W. Hamilton, Lieut. Gen. Sir William Edmund Franklyn, Brig. Gen. John E. Gough, Colonel Francis Douglas Farquhar, commander of Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry, and Lieut. Gen. Sir J. M. Grierson. Lieutenant Reginald A. J. Warneford, the young Indian aviator, was killed while testing his aeroplane. Only shortly before this he had won fame and distinction for having destroyed a Zeppelin in midair single-handed.

German Generals killed in action are Lieut. Gen. George Hildebrandt, Major Gen. Nieland, Lieut. Gen. Steinmetz, General von Wroochem, Major Gen. von Throtha, General von Arbou, and General von Trip. Five noted French commanders have met their deaths on the battlefield—Generals René Joseph Delarue, Marcot, Rondony, Sarrade, and de Montangon. General Welitchko, the Russian officer of Port Arthur fame, was killed in the fighting near Lodz. The famous Garibaldi family of Italy has lost two of its members, Colonel Peppino Garibaldi and Lieutenant Bruno Garibaldi, both slain in a victorious charge on the German trenches in the Argonne.

In celebrated naval commanders, Germany has suffered the principal loss. Although his fame was not established

before the present war the name of Captain Otto Weddigen, the submarine commander, stands out among these. His exploits in sinking four British cruisers will be long remembered. Captain Weddigen's heroic career was suddenly ended when his submersible, the U-29, was sunk, perhaps by a British merchantman. Admiral Count von Spee, the commander of the German squadron which won a signal victory early in the war against the English off the Chile coast, went down with his flagship in a later engagement off the Falkland Islands. In the naval action off the Chile coast, the British Rear Admiral, Sir Christopher Cradock, lost his life when his flagship, the Good Hope, foundered and sank with all on board. The naval battle in the North Sea last January cost the life of the commander of the German cruiser Blücher, Captain Erdmann. The Blücher was sunk, and Captain Erdmann, though rescued, died some days later from pneumonia due to exposure.

The lives of hundreds of other naval men, ranking from Captain and Commander down to petty officer, have been lost with the large number of fighting ships sunk since the beginning of the war. To enumerate them all would take up more space than can be spared in the present article.

A striking feature of this unprecedented war has been the large loss in neutral lives it has cost. America has borne a heavy toll. In the sinking of the Lusitania last May by a German submarine public sentiment was aroused, not only by the deaths of helpless women and children, but by the loss of several accomplished and popularly known people. The following were the best-known among the many victims: Alfred G. Vanderbilt, Elbert Hubbard, author; Charles Frohman, theatrical manager; Herbert S. Stone, publisher; Lindon W. Bates, Jr., of the Belgian Relief Commission; Justus Miles Forman, author and playwright; Dr. Fred Stark Pearson, a consulting engineer; Albert Lloyd Hopkins, shipbuilder, and Charles Klein, playwright. Commander J. Foster Stackhouse, R. N., and Sir Hugh Lane, both

English subjects, also went down with the ill-fated ship.

Following are the names of several other Americans whose deaths have been directly due to the war: Dr. Ernest P. Magruder, New York surgeon, died of typhoid fever while fighting the epidemic in Serbia; Henry Beech Needham, writer and war correspondent, killed during a trial flight with Lieutenant Warneford; William Lawrence Breese, killed in battle, was son-in-law of Hamilton Fish, and formerly secretary to Ambassador Page

in London; Paul Nelson, architect, mortally wounded while fighting with the French Army; Heinrich von Heinrichshofen of St. Louis, an American citizen, killed fighting as a Lieutenant in the German Army; Robert L. Cuthbert, a New York accountant, died in action with the British army in Flanders; André C. Champollion, a grandson of Austin Corbin, killed in battle serving in the French Army, and Maurice Davis of Brooklyn, also slain in France as a Lieutenant under the tricolor of the French Republic.

The Nation Speaks

By BEATRICE BARRY

Children of Liberty, awake!
 In ordered ranks your places take!
 Where Freedom's sons have blazed the trail,
 Shall you, their leal descendants, fail
 To hold in trust the ideal pure
 That is their heritage secure?
 Against the hour you would know how,
 Learn ye to serve me—learn it now!

You, who from forms of bondage drear,
 Have sought and found a refuge here—
 Who reap the fruit of bitter tears
 And patriot blood of former years,
 Taking the most that I can give,
 Learning how God meant men to live—
 You promised fealty. Your vow
 Was pledged to me. I need you now!

I need you now, my sons! Why wait
 Till an invader storms the gate?
 Your desperate resistance then
 Might not avail. A host of men
 Untrained, undisciplined, are less,
 In time of peril and distress,
 Than half that multitude would be,
 Versed in the arts of soldiery.

Oh, these, my children! So secure,
 So confident, so oversure,
 While Europe dies, with warning writ
 In blood across the face of it!
 Valor, I doubt not, warms your heart—
 Discretion is the better part!
 Lest to the scourge your neck must bow,
 Be ye prepared! I need you now!

Where, When, and by Whom Was the War Decided Upon?

By Guglielmo Ferrero

Translated from the Italian by Thomas Okey

The responsibility for the origin of this war is a matter that will occupy men's minds during its entire progress; it will be one of the first concerns of the great peace conference at its close, and historians of the future will examine again the evidences of the war's inception. What the Italian historian Ferrero thinks about the men who decided upon the conflict and how he identifies them are subjects of common concern, treated by him with the power of analysis that has placed him in the forefront of modern historical writers. The subjoined article forms the introduction to "Documents Relating to the Great War," published in London by T. Fisher Unwin, Ltd., and selected and arranged by Giuseppe A. Andriulli.

I.

EVERY apologist who in these days undertakes the defense of Germany asserts, on the authority of the White Book, that Germany is an innocent little lamb, the prey of three hungry wolves. I, too, have read this famous White Book in the English translation authorized by the German Government, a translation which has therefore an official value equal to the original. But I have not only read the White Book; I have also read the Orange Book, published by the Russian Government, and the Blue Book, which the English Government has reprinted and circulated in pamphlet form, entitled, "Great Britain and the European Crisis." Let us see if, from a comparative study of these three books, some gleam of the truth may be found.

The White Book, like the English pamphlet, is divided into two parts. The first and shorter portion contains a succinct narration of the events of the fateful last week of July; the second part is a collection of documents which are relied on to support and prove the statements made in the narration. The assertion made in the White Book is, according to the sub-title printed on the cover, that Russia and her sovereign "betrayed Germany's confidence"; that they forced her to take up arms by the premature mobilization of the Russian Army while the

German Government was seeking to make peace between Russia and Austria. The cause, therefore, of all the evil was the Russian mobilization. This being the argument of the White Paper, it is essential that we should know precisely how and when the mobilization was decreed and carried into effect.

Now, it would seem that among all the causes which may give rise to a war the mobilization of an army is a cause precise and concrete enough. It is not an intention which may be dissimulated or imagined; it is a great and impressive fact visible to all. It would appear at least clear, then, whether the German contention is true or not, that the Russian Government did give orders on a certain day that its army should be placed on a war footing. But no! The reader of the White Book is constrained to ask himself over and over again—but, after all, did or did not Russia mobilize her army? Let us see. In the narrative part of the White Book we are told that the first news of the Russian mobilization reached Berlin on the evening of July 26, as the documents numbered 6, 7, and 8 prove. The first of these, that bearing the number 6, is a telegram, dispatched on the 25th by the German Ambassador at St. Petersburg—as yet not rebaptized Petrograd—to the German Chancellor. It runs thus: "Message to

H. M. from General von Chelius, (German honorary aide de camp to the Czar.)

"The manoeuvres of the troops in the Krasnoe camp were suddenly interrupted, and the regiments returned to their garrisons at once. The manoeuvres have been canceled. The military pupils were raised today to the rank of officers instead of next Fall. * * * I have the impression that complete preparations for mobilization against Austria are being made."

Document No. 7 is another dispatch from the same Ambassador sent on the 26th. The Military Attaché requests the following message to be sent to the General Staff: "I deem it certain that mobilization has been ordered for Kiev and Odessa. It is doubtful at Warsaw and Moscow, and improbable elsewhere."

Document No. 8 is a laconic telegram from the German Consul at Kovno dispatched on the 27th.

"Kovno has been declared to be in a state of war."

Setting aside the last telegram, which relates to an event that happened in a remote corner of the vast Russian Empire, the first two witnesses, who are the important ones, only transmit suppositions and conjectures. "I have the impression," says the first. "I deem it certain," "It is doubtful, improbable," says the second. It will seem strange, at least, that in order to know whether a decree for mobilization was issued or not, reliance should be placed on conjectures—a decree which must have been followed by public proclamations and brought to the knowledge of millions of men. Anyhow, it will not appear convincing to the alert reader that the spark which caused so great a conflagration could have originated from these dispatches. And such, too, was the opinion of a person who, by reason of his official position, must have been even more experienced in these matters than the most alert of readers—the Imperial Chancellor of Germany—who telegraphed on July 26 to the German Ambassador in London as follows (Document No. 10):

"* * * According to news received here, the call for several classes of the reserves is expected immediately, which is equivalent to mobilization. If this

news proves correct, we shall be forced to countermeasures very much against our own wishes. Our desire to localize the conflict and to preserve the peace of Europe remains unchanged."

On July 26, therefore, the Chancellor was not yet certain that Russia had commenced mobilization on the Austrian frontier, and, at any rate, thought that even if it had, Germany would only have been compelled to take some measures dictated by prudence. To reassure him still further, there arrived from the German Ambassador at St. Petersburg on the 27th the following telegram, No. 11 in the list of documents:

"Military Attaché reports a conversation with the Secretary of War.

"Sazanoff has requested the latter to enlighten me on the situation. The Secretary of War has given me his word of honor that no order to mobilize has as yet been issued. Though general preparations are being made, no reserves were called and no horses mustered. If Austria crossed the Serbian frontier, such military districts as are directed toward Austria, viz., Kiev, Odessa, Moscow, Kazan, are to be mobilized. Under no circumstances those on the German frontier, Warsaw, Vilna, and St. Petersburg. Peace with Germany was desired very much. Upon my inquiry into the object of mobilization against Austria, he shrugged his shoulders and referred to the diplomats. I told the Secretary that we appreciated his friendly intentions, but considered mobilization, even against Austria, as very menacing."

The Russian Government, in fact, informs the German Government, by the mouth of its Minister of War, that it has made the necessary arrangements for mobilizing the army against Austria, but that the actual mobilization will take effect only if Austria declares war on Serbia. Must we take the Russian Minister's word? I think so. Because only by admitting he spoke the truth can we account for the rumors and conjectures current at St. Petersburg concerning the mobilization which were transmitted to Berlin on the 26th—rumors and conjectures followed by no actual, visible consequences which would afford any definite confirmation of the supposed mobil-



GENERAL SARRAIL

Who replaces General Goraud as Commander in Chief of the French Army
of the Orient at the Dardanelles

(Photo from Medem Photo Service)



PAUL DESCHANEL

President of France's Chamber of Deputies, Who Replied to the Anniversary Manifesto of the German Kaiser

ization. On the other hand, the Russian Minister speaks clearly and sensibly enough. Russia never concealed the fact that she would arm if Austria attacked Serbia, and her Minister Sazanoff had, indeed, informed Austria of this fact during the Balkan crisis.

The reply of the attaché that mobilization, even against Austria, would be considered "as very menacing" seems strange, because this reply accords neither with the Chancellor's opinion manifested in the telegram of July 26, nor with the opinion which the German Emperor was to give expression to on the day following. In fact, the Emperor arrived at Berlin from the North Sea on July 28, and on that evening, at 10:45, sent a friendly and confident dispatch to the Czar (Document No. 20) which in every word breathes forth the steadfast purpose and certain hope of an amicable settlement. "In view of the cordial friendship," the Emperor writes, "which has joined us both for a long time with firm ties, I shall use my entire influence to induce Austria-Hungary to obtain a frank and satisfactory understanding with Russia." On the evening of the 28th, therefore, the Emperor appears to see everything in a rosy light, and does not judge that peace is endangered. Nor was he wrong in so doing, as it seems to us, if matters stood as the Russian Minister of War had said they did.

But, unhappily, on that very day Austria had declared war on Serbia, and the day after, the 29th, as we are informed in the narrative part of the White Book, the Russian Government dispatched an official communication to the German Government to the effect that a mobilization in the four districts on the confines of the Austro-Hungarian Empire had been ordered. The statement will appear credible to the alert reader because it accords with what the Russian Minister of War had told the German Military Attaché on the 27th; and the action of the Russian Government will not appear to him a provocative one, but merely the avowed reply of Russia to the declaration of war by Austria on Serbia. Both Austria and Germany had been loyally forewarned and—*uomo avvisato è mezzo sal-*

vato.* But, but—turning back some pages of the White Book, we happen on a telegram from the German Military Attaché, at St. Petersburg, dispatched on the 29th, which runs thus:

"The Chief of the General Staff has asked me to call on him, and he has told me that he has just come from his Majesty. He has been requested by the Secretary of War to reiterate once more that everything has remained as the Secretary had informed me two days ago. He offered confirmation in writing, and gave me his word of honor in the most solemn manner that nowhere had there been a mobilization, viz., calling in of a single man or horse, up to the present time, i. e., 3 o'clock in the afternoon. He could not assume a guarantee for the future, but he could emphasize the fact that in the fronts directed toward our frontiers his Majesty desired no mobilization.

"As, however, I had received here many pieces of news concerning the calling in of the reserves in different parts of the country, and also in Warsaw and Vilna, I told the General that his statements placed me before a riddle. On his officer's word of honor, he replied that such news was wrong, but that possibly here and there a false alarm may have been given.

"I must consider this conversation as an attempt to mislead us as to the extent of the measures hitherto taken, in view of the abundant and positive information about the calling in of reserves."

So it would appear that while the Russian Government was officially warning Berlin of its intention to mobilize against Austria, the Chief of the General Staff at St. Petersburg was saying precisely the opposite to the German Military Attaché. What does all this mean? the reader will ask. Are we to conclude with the worthy attaché that perfidious Russia was seeking to "betray Germany's confidence"? Nor is this all. Another surprise awaits us. At 6:30, on the evening of the 29th, the Emperor William sends a further dispatch, (Document No. 22,) still cordial, but no longer

*A man forewarned is half saved.

so confident as that of the day before. And in this he professes to suspect, but not indeed to know from certain knowledge, that the Russian mobilization may have been decreed. Among other things we read: "I believe that a direct understanding is possible and desirable between your Government and Vienna, an understanding which, as I have already telegraphed you, my Government endeavors to aid with all possible effort. Naturally, military measures by Russia, which might be construed as a menace by Austria-Hungary, would accelerate a calamity. * * *" The Emperor seems no longer easy in his rôle of peacemaker; he begins to fear that the military preparations made by Russia may endanger his efforts at mediation, all the while speaking of them not as if they had been, but as if they might have been, made. But whatever does this mean, if the Russian Government had officially announced at Berlin that it was mobilizing?

But even this is not all. Seven hours later—one hour after midnight—the Emperor William dispatches another telegram, (Document 23,) whose tone is wholly changed and which is couched in a dry, curt, almost menacing style. The German Emperor now almost refuses to act the peacemaker. Here is the text:

"My Ambassador has instructions to direct the attention of your Government to the dangers and serious consequences of a mobilization; I have told you the same in my last telegram. Austria-Hungary has mobilized only against Serbia, and only a part of her army. If Russia, as seems to be the case, according to your advice and that of your Government, mobilizes against Austria-Hungary * * * my position as mediator * * * becomes impossible. The entire weight of decision now rests on your shoulders. You have to bear the responsibility for war or peace."

So, then, in those seven hours the Emperor had at length persuaded himself that Russia's mobilization against Austria would imperil the maintenance of peace, although even then he was not certain that the mobilization had actually been commenced, since he speaks of it

as an event which seems to be verified. Two questions, therefore, force themselves upon us. After all said and done, had Russia, or had she not, mobilized her army on that day? And, for what reason was the German Emperor, who had still been so confident on the 28th, so uneasy during the night of the 29th, because Russia seemed to be mobilizing against Austria; while on the 31st, when it was known that Russia was mobilizing, Count Forzach, Under-Secretary of State for Austria-Hungary, informed the British Ambassador at Vienna that mobilization was not regarded as a necessary hostile act either by Russia or by Austria (Blue Book, Document 118) * * * ?

II.

The truth concerning Russian mobilization appears to be contained in the dispatch which the Czar sent to the German Emperor on July 30 at 1:20 P. M., in reply to a telegram from the Emperor. The Czar's dispatch is as follows:

"I thank you cordially for your quick reply. * * * The military measures now taking form were decided upon five days ago, and for reasons of defense against the preparations of Austria. I hope, with all my heart, that these measures will not influence, in any manner, your position as mediator." (Document 23A.)

On July 25, therefore, Russia had decided to mobilize the districts of Kiev, Moscow, Odessa, and Kazan, if Austria were to make war on Serbia. But as late as 3 P. M. on the 29th, when the Chief of the General Staff spoke with the German Military Attaché, Russia had not begun to give effect to her decision, and she did begin, as it would appear, only on the 30th. Austria having declared war on Serbia on the 28th, Russia then allowed two more days to pass, still hesitating, before putting her threat into execution. A new proof it would seem of her long-suffering patience and pacific intentions. Nor was the German Government ignorant that this was the position of things, for otherwise the Emperor would not, in his last dispatch, have spoken of the Russian mobilization as of a measure which might

still be carried into execution or not. The German Government, therefore, on the evening of July 29, was convinced that the Russian Chief of the General Staff was speaking the truth on the day of his interview with the German Military Attaché, and that the latter's suspicions were unfounded. Evidently the Czar had good grounds for his astonishment that the German Emperor felt himself, on the 29th, embarrassed as a peace-maker by measures taken on the 25th, since on the 28th, while fully cognizant of them, he had made no allusion to them, nor believed that they would impede his efforts. And we, too, are justified in our astonishment and have the right to ask what happened on that 29th day of July to make the German Emperor so suddenly change his ideas and his tone in his dispatches to the Czar. What happened to make him fear, as a grave and imminent danger, that mobilization against Austria which had only been deliberated upon, while knowing all the time that Russia, after having threatened mobilization, still hesitated before passing from words to deeds; while Austria, too, was not in the least alarmed even two days later when the mobilization was not only threatened but had already begun?

In vain do we seek the cause of this mysterious change in the White Book, where immediately after this imperial dispatch the thunderbolt of an ultimatum is launched under the date of July 31. On that date the Chancellor charges the German Ambassador at St. Petersburg to intimate to Russia that she must stop every measure of war within twelve hours, and he begins his telegram with these words: "In spite of negotiations still pending * * * Russia has mobilized her entire army, hence also against us. Wherefore, &c."

General mobilization! But this is another surprise. All the documents and information we have read up to the present in the White Book speak of a partial Russian mobilization against Austria. In a moment, without telling us when or how, nor by what channel the information reached the German Government, the Russian general mobil-

ization and the consequent German ultimatum are announced to us, at one and the same time, as if between one and the other no greater lapse of time had passed than that which separates the lightning-flash from the thunder-clap. And thus, in fact, it was. In the narrative part of the White Book we are told that the Russian Government ordered a general mobilization on the afternoon of July 31, and that the ultimatum was delivered by the German Ambassador at St. Petersburg on July 31 at midnight—less than twelve hours afterward! If one bears in mind the time needed for the news of the mobilization to reach the German Embassy at St. Petersburg and from thence to be transmitted by dispatch to Berlin; if one also reflects on the time necessary to telegraph the ultimatum from Berlin to St. Petersburg and to deliver it to M. Sazanoff at the Russian Foreign Office, one is forced to conclude that the German Government, by its ultimatum, decided on war while one might light and smoke a cigar. So much haste, and why? Was the atmosphere so threatening that no delay was possible? No. Not only did the negotiations between Austria and Russia continue on July 30 and 31, but actually on the 31st they were much more promising than they had been during the previous days. And precisely on the 31st Austria made the greatest stride toward a compromise that she had hitherto made; for she consented to discuss her note to Serbia with Russia and the European powers, and the Czar telegraphed to the Emperor of Germany promising on his word of honor that so long as diplomatic discussions continued his troops should not be moved.

What, then, had happened?

Few are they that know, and they will defer speaking as long as possible—until the nations, decimated and impoverished by the war, shall demand of their sovereigns and of their Ministers an account of their every act, word, and intention. For the present we can only make surmises. But it appears to me that the key to the mystery may be found in two documents of capital importance in the Orange Book and the Blue Book. The first is the document

which, in the Orange Book, bears the number 58, and consists of a telegram dispatched by Sazanoff to the Russian Ambassador at Paris on July 29; the second is the document numbered 85 in the Blue Book—a telegram dispatched by the British Ambassador at Berlin on the evening of the 29th. Two dispatches sent forth on that day on which so many strange events happened—on that day when the German Emperor, as we have seen, had sent two such different dispatches to the Czar at an interval of seven hours; one at 6 o'clock in the evening, the other at one hour after midnight.

The telegram which the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs dispatched to his Ambassador in Paris—it is to be regretted that the hour of its dispatch is not given—runs thus:

“The German Ambassador today informed me of the decision of his Government to mobilize if Russia did not stop her military preparations. Now, in point of fact, we only began these preparations in consequence of the mobilization already undertaken by Austria, and owing to her evident unwillingness to accept any means of arriving at a peaceful settlement of her dispute with Serbia. As we cannot comply with the wishes of Germany, we have no alternative but to hasten our own military preparations and to assume that war is probably inevitable. * * *”

Now do you understand, O alert reader, what a strange kind of peacemaker the German Emperor was? On July 29, when it was known at Berlin that Russia, at the supreme moment of passing from words to deeds by mobilizing against Austria, hesitated; when Austria, who must have been somewhat more interested in the matter than Germany, had not been consulted and showed no anxiety on account of the menaced Russian mobilization, Germany intimates to Russia that she must disarm in the face of Austria, and threatens to mobilize and hence to make war if she does not. How can so singular a step be explained, concerning which the White Book is silent, except by attributing to the German Government the firm intention of diplomatically browbeating Russia and, if threats

proved vain, to make war and constrain Austria to follow her? Does it or does it not appear to you that in this telegram Germany is surprised in a flagrant aggression? Moreover, let us now read Document 85 in the Blue Book, and we shall discover matters of far graver import. This document, as we have said, is a dispatch sent to the Minister for Foreign Affairs by the British Ambassador at Berlin on the evening of July 29. And what does the British Ambassador telegraph to his Foreign Minister? He telegraphs that he was asked to call upon the Chancellor on that night, who had just returned from Potsdam. In the introductory narrative of events the information is given that the Ambassador was sent for late at night. Grave and urgent, therefore, were the matters which the Chancellor had to communicate to the Ambassador, and matters appertaining to the discussion that had taken place in the Conciliabule or Council with the Emperor at Potsdam, since the Chancellor had scarcely returned to Berlin from Potsdam before he sent for the Ambassador, and sent for him late at night, at so unusual and inconvenient an hour! He had, in fact, to ask him, neither more nor less, if Great Britain would promise to remain neutral in a European war, on the understanding that Germany respected the integrity and neutrality of the Netherlands, and took from France only her colonies.

This document speaks clearly enough. It tells us that war was virtually decided upon on the evening of July 29 at that colloquy or Council between Chancellor and Emperor which was held at Potsdam, and which certainly took place between the first and the second telegram sent to the Czar by the Emperor. Thus alone can the haste be explained with which the Chancellor on his return to Berlin sent for the British Ambassador and had that conversation with him which, as the introductory narrative to the Blue Book tells us, seemed so strange to the British Government when it was known in London.

Now, by the light of these two documents many things are clear. There was a party in Germany powerful at Court

and in the Government which, for ten years, had been urging Germany to take up arms. This party, probably between the 28th and the 29th, had surrounded the Emperor who, on the 28th, still appeared animated by reasonable intentions. Austria, by declaring war on Serbia, had only too effectively furnished the war party at Berlin with a terrible argument—the argument that war was inevitable. And if war could not be prevented was it not better for Germany to precipitate it? So Emperor and Government allowed themselves to be persuaded to intimate to Russia that she must disarm, and, at the same time, the Emperor changes his tone in his correspondence with the Czar. It is not improbable that on July 29 the Emperor and the German Government still deluded themselves that Russia would yield to threats as she did in 1908 and during the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis, and the Russian Government's hesitation to mobilize may have encouraged this delusion.

But, during the afternoon, a telegram arrives at Berlin from the German Ambassador at St. Petersburg which we may search in vain for in the White Book—the telegram which we have cognizance of from Document 58 published in the Orange Book. In this telegram the conversation between the German Ambassador and the Russian Minister is reported, and it is therefore now known at Berlin that Russia refuses to suspend her military preparations: the German Government, in fact, understands that this time Russia will not yield to threats. The Chancellor hastens with the telegram to Potsdam, and at Potsdam the decision is taken to dispatch a last and more menacing ultimatum to Russia and, if that failed of its effect, to go to war. The Chancellor returns to Berlin that same night to ask of the English Ambassador the price of British neutrality; the Emperor dispatches his telegram to the Czar, one hour after midnight, which partially reflects the answer given to the German Ambassador by Sazanoff; and at two in the morning of the 30th the German Ambassador calls on Sazanoff for one last fateful colloquy. Of this we have information in the document published in

the Blue Book which relates how the German Ambassador burst into tears when he perceived that Russia would not give way. He understood that war was now decided upon.

Any one who reads the White Book attentively and compares it with the Blue Book and the Orange Book will inevitably be led to believe that the war was decided upon at Berlin, not, indeed, after Russia had begun her general mobilization, but on the evening of the 29th, and before even she had begun her partial mobilization against Austria. This being admitted, it is easy to explain why the ultimatum was decided upon with such haste when the news that Russia was proceeding to mobilize the whole of her army had scarcely reached Berlin. To declare war a pretext was necessary, for it would have been strange indeed that Germany, in a dispute that had arisen between Russia and Austria—Germany who, as an ally, was only a secondary party to the quarrel—should have declared war on Russia because she was mobilizing her army against Austria at a time when Austria declared that she did not interpret this message as a threat. Even the German professors who signed the famous manifesto would then have perceived that Germany alone was the aggressor. Hence the news that arrived on the 31st of the precautionary measures taken by Russia, for a general mobilization, came pat, (and that nothing more as yet was intended on the part of Russia is proved by Document 113 in the Blue Book,) and the pretext was immediately seized upon, since war had already been decided. The precipitation with which the German Government dispatched the ultimatum on July 31 can be explained only in two ways: either we must admit that the German Government had suddenly gone mad; or that war had already been decided upon before, namely, on that fateful evening of July 29.

Unfortunately for Germany, precisely on that very day Austria-Hungary appears to have become terrified and hesitated. She, too, had contrived her Balkan adventure, hoping that Russia would let things drift. When she perceived that a European war was imminent she

grew afraid, and she sought for time and means to provide an escape. The precipitation with which, on July 31, the German Government seized the first pretext to hand in order to bring about a war in a conflict in which she was not directly interested rendered these good intentions of the eleventh hour vain. If Austria

is perhaps more responsible than Germany for the decision taken at Potsdam, the responsibility for the ultimatum of July 31 seems to lie wholly on Germany. Germany and Austria, therefore, must share equally between them the responsibility for this unparalleled catastrophe before the world and before the Tribunal of History.

Viva Italia!

By J. CORSON MILLER.

"They marched forth gayly, with flowers
stuck in their rifles."

On Paestum's plain the roses stir,
Dawn's gold is on the olive trees;
Fair Florence dreams of days that were,
Yet now are dusty memories.
But, see! Italia's sons are ever brave,
Though War's stern duty lead but to the
grave.

For this is Dante's Land of Song,
Which Verdi's mighty music thrills;
Look! Garibaldi's legions throng,
In ghostly lines, the Tuscan hills!
Bravo! Italia's Sons shall never fail,
What time her enemies the gates assail!

See, where Anconia keeps her sleep,
Or where Salerno meets the sea,
The glad-eyed armies onward sweep,
Dreaming high dreams of destiny.
Like supple steel Italia's Sons are made,
Yea, they shall battle well, and unafraid!

The moon hangs low o'er Naples Bay,
The stars her ancient glories tell;
The almond blossoms softly sway,
While chimes the midnight chapel bell.
Italia's Sons shall fight like warriors all,
From out her splendid past her heroes
call.

Britain's Blockade

Official Correspondence with the American Government

Published by Sir Edward Grey

Semi-official press utterances in Germany indicate that the character of the German Government's reply to the last protest of the United States regarding the *Lusitania*—that dated July 21, 1915—will be determined largely by the reply to be made by this country to Great Britain following the publication, on Aug. 3, of five diplomatic communications relating to the detention of American ships and cargoes by the British Government. An account of this correspondence appears below.

FIVE diplomatic communications relating to the detention of American ships and cargoes by the British Government, exchanged by cable between Great Britain and the United States, were made public textually and in paraphrase by the State Department at Washington on Aug. 3, 1915. Generally considered, the British responses to the American representations in opposition to the course of the British Government are a denial of the American contentions, but a disposition is shown by Great Britain to "make reasonable concessions to American interests," to quote a phrase of one of the notes.

In connection with the American protest against British prize-court procedure, the British Government suggests that appeals in behalf of American interests claiming to have been injured be taken to the proper British tribunals and, if these appeals are denied, that recourse be had to an international tribunal. But Great Britain hopes that her disposition to make reasonable concessions "will prevent the necessity for such action arising."

The British communications are signed by Sir Edward Grey, Secretary for Foreign Affairs. They comprise an answer to the American protest of March 30 against the application of the British Order in Council for preventing supplies from going into Germany—an answer to a brief telegram from this Government serving notice of an intention to insist upon the rights of American citizens without limitation by Orders in Council, and of a refusal to recognize the validity

of prize-court proceedings in derogation of the rights of American citizens, and an answer to a note sent by Secretary Lansing on July 15 objecting to compulsory unloading at a British port of goods from Belgium brought in the American steamer *Neches*, the compulsion being applied on the ground that the goods originated in territory held by an enemy of Great Britain. The American communications furnished to the press for publication consisted of paraphrases of the brief telegram, serving notice with respect to the Orders in Council and prize-court proceedings and the note sent in connection with the seizure of the cargo of the *Neches*.

The response of Sir Edward Grey with respect to the *Neches* is one of the most interesting in the series. German and British methods of warfare at sea are cited to show justification for the strict measures taken by Great Britain to restrain trade with Germany.

In another British communication, that of July 23, in answer to the American note of March 30, on the subject of the restrictions imposed on American commerce by the British Orders in Council, Sir Edward Grey defends the Order in Council measures on the ground that it is incumbent on Great Britain and her allies "to take every step in their power to overcome their common enemy in view of the shocking violation of the recognized rules and principles of civilized warfare of which he has been guilty during the present struggle." Sir Edward Grey recalls that the attention of the American Ambassador in London already

had been drawn to some of the German irregularities of warfare in a memorandum of Feb. 19, and adds:

Since that time Lord Bryce's report, based on evidence carefully sifted by legal experts, describing the atrocities committed in Belgium, the poisoning of wells in Southwest Africa, the use of poisonous gases against the troops in Flanders, and finally the sinking of the *Lusitania* without an opportunity to passengers and noncombatants to save their lives have shown how indispensable it is that we should leave unused no justifiable method of defending ourselves.

In the note in which this argument is used the British Foreign Secretary contends, in answer to the American objection to the Orders in Council, that his Government is unable to admit that a belligerent violates any fundamental principle of international law by applying a blockade in such a way as to cut off the enemy's commerce with foreign countries through neutral ports, "if the circumstances render such an application of the principles of blockade the only means of making it effective." It is asserted by Sir Edward Grey that the only question that can arise in regard to the new character of blockade instituted by the British Government, the so-called long-distance blockade, is whether the measures taken conform to "the spirit and principles of the essence of the rules of war," these being the words used in the American note of March 30.

Arguing from that basis, Sir Edward Grey cites the Union blockade of Confederate ports in the American civil war and points out that, in order to meet a new difficulty produced by the fact that neighboring neutral territory afforded convenient centres from which contraband could be introduced into the Southern States and from which blockade running could be facilitated, the United States applied and enforced the doctrine of continuous voyage. Under this application, Sir Edward Grey points out, "goods destined for enemy territory were intercepted before they reached the neutral ports from which they were to be re-exported." The argument follows:

It may be noted in this connection that at the time of the civil war the United States found themselves under the neces-

sity of declaring a blockade of some 3,000 miles of coast line, a military operation for which the number of vessels available was at first very small. It was vital to the cause of the United States in that great struggle that they should be able to cut off the trade of the Southern States. The Confederate armies were dependent on supplies from overseas, and those supplies could not be obtained without exporting the cotton wherewith to pay for them.

To cut off this trade the United States could only rely upon a blockade. The difficulties confronting the Federal Government were in part due to the fact that neighboring neutral territory afforded convenient centres from which contraband could be introduced into the territory of their enemies and from which blockade running could be facilitated. Your Excellency will no doubt remember how, in order to meet this new difficulty, the old principles relating to contraband and blockade were developed, and the doctrine of continuous voyage was applied and enforced, under which goods destined for the enemy territory were intercepted before they reached the neutral ports from which they were to be re-exported.

The difficulties which imposed upon the United States the necessity of reshaping some of the old rules are somewhat akin to those with which the Allies are now faced in dealing with the trade of their enemy. Adjacent to Germany are various neutral countries which afford her convenient opportunities for carrying on her trade with foreign countries. Her own territories are covered by a network of railways and waterways, which enable her commerce to pass as conveniently through ports in such neutral countries as through her own. A blockade limited to enemy ports would leave open routes by which every kind of German commerce could pass almost as easily as through the ports in her own territory. Rotterdam is indeed the nearest outlet for some of the industrial districts of Germany.

As a counterpoise to the freedom with which one belligerent may send his commerce across a neutral country without compromising its neutrality, the other belligerent may fairly claim to intercept such commerce before it has reached, or after it has left, the neutral State, provided, of course, that he can establish that the commerce with which he interferes is the commerce of his enemy and not commerce which is bona fide destined for or proceeding from the neutral State. It seems, accordingly, that if it be recognized that a blockade is in certain cases the appropriate method of intercepting the trade of an enemy country, and if the blockade can only become effective by extending it to enemy commerce passing

through neutral ports, such an extension is defensible and in accordance with principles which have met with general acceptance.

To the contention that such action is not directly supported by written authority, it may be replied that it is the business of writers on international law to formulate existing rules rather than to offer suggestions for their adaptation to altered circumstances, and your Excellency will remember the uneasured terms in which a group of prominent international lawyers of all nations condemned the doctrine which had been laid down by the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of the *Springbok*, a doctrine upheld by the Claims Commission at Washington in 1873. But the United States and the British Government took a broader view and looked below the surface at the underlying purpose, and the Government of this country, whose nationals were the sufferers by the extension and development of the old methods of blockade made by the United States during the civil war, abstained from all protest against the decisions by which the ships and their cargoes were condemned.

What is really important in the general interest is that adaptations of the old rules should not be made unless they are consistent with the general principles upon which an admitted belligerent right is based.

Thus it is contended that Germany is in a position of peculiar advantage in the shipment of goods to neutral ports. In supporting the British restrictions on trade with neutral ports near German territory, it is asserted that a blockade limited to enemy ports would have open routes by which German commerce could pass almost as easily as through the ports in her own territory. By this argument Great Britain seeks to show that she found precedent for her "long-distance blockade" in steps taken by the United States in attempting to prevent supplies from reaching the Southern Confederacy. The position of the British Government is that if a blockade is the appropriate method of intercepting the trade of an enemy country and can be made effective only by extending it to enemy commerce through neutral ports, the extension is in accordance with principles generally accepted.

Assurances are contained in the British response to the American communication of March 30 that Great Britain is not interfering with goods with which she

would not be entitled to interfere by blockade if the geographical position and conditions of Germany at this time were such that her commerce passed through her own ports. The utmost possible care is being taken, it is declared, not to interfere with commerce "genuinely destined for or proceeding from neutral countries." The only commerce with which Great Britain proposes to interfere is that of the enemy.

The main argument of Great Britain is that when the established underlying principles governing blockade and contraband are not violated it is permissible to adopt new measures of enforcement. In view of this and the contention that there has been no violation of the underlying principles, Great Britain holds that it is impossible to maintain that the right of a belligerent to intercept the commerce of an enemy is limited in the way suggested by the United States.

Sir Edward Grey says the British Government has been gratified to observe that the measures Great Britain is enforcing have had no detrimental effect on the commerce of the United States. Figures of recent months, he points out, show that "the increased opportunities afforded by the war for American commerce have more than compensated for the loss of the German and Austrian markets."

The note of the British Government, dated July 31, supplementary to the answer to the American note of March 30, is primarily a response to the so-called caveat telegram of Secretary Lansing sent on July 14, in which notice was given of the intention of this Government to insist on the rights of American citizens under the principles of international law hitherto established without limitation or impairment by Orders in Council or other municipal legislation, and to refuse to recognize the validity of prize court proceedings taken under British municipal law in derogation of the international law rights of American citizens.

Sir Edward Grey says he is not aware of any differences between the two Governments as to the principles of law ap-

plicable to cases before the prize courts, and then discusses prize court procedure at length, quoting Lord Stowell in the case of the *Fox* to show that a prize court must care for the interests of subjects of other countries as well as for the interests of its own Government, but that the court must assume that there is no violation of the rights of the subjects of other countries in the orders which it receives from its own Government.

Sir Edward Grey then makes the suggestion that if appeals open to dissatisfied American litigants in the prize court are denied by British appellate courts, an international tribunal shall be called on to decide. The United States and Great Britain, he says, have both conceded that the decisions of national prize courts may properly be subjected to international review—by the Jay Treaty

of 1793 and the Treaty of Washington of 1871. It is clear, therefore, he says, that both Governments have adopted the principle that the decisions of a national prize court may be open to review in certain circumstances; but if the United States should take a contrary view Great Britain would be prepared to negotiate with the United States as to the best means of procedure to apply the principle mentioned. But Sir Edward Grey hopes that the British willingness to make concessions will obviate necessity for this procedure.

The compulsory discharge of the *Neches* cargo because it came from belligerent territory held by Germany made cause for complaint in the American note of July 15, and the British reply thereto appears in the subjoined correspondence.

American Protest on Seizure of *Neches* Cargo

The Secretary of State to Ambassador W. H. Page:

Telegram-Paraphrase. No. 1852.
Department of State, Washington,
July 15, 1915.

Ambassador Page is informed that it has been brought to the attention of the department that the steamship *Neches*, of American register, sailing from Rotterdam for the United States, carrying a general cargo, after being detained at the Downs, was brought to London, where it was required by the British authorities to discharge cargo, the property of American citizens.

It appears that the ground advanced to sustain this action is that the goods originated, in part at least, in Belgium, and fall, therefore, within the provisions of Paragraph 4 of the Order in Council of March 11, which stipulates that every merchant vessel sailing from a port other than a German port, carrying goods of enemy origin, may be required to discharge such goods in a British or allied port.

Ambassador Page is instructed in this case to reiterate the position of the Government of the United States as set forth

in the department's instruction of March 30, 1915, with respect to the Order in Council mentioned, the international invalidity of which the Government of the United States regards as plainly illustrated by the present instance of the seizure of American-owned goods passing from the neutral port of Rotterdam to a neutral port of the United States, merely because the goods came originally from territory in the possession of an enemy of Great Britain.

Mr. Page is also instructed to inform the Foreign Office that the legality of this seizure cannot be admitted and that, in the view of the Government of the United States, it violates the right of the citizens of one neutral to trade with those of another, as well as with those of belligerents, except in contraband or in violation of a legal blockade of an enemy seaport; and that the right of American owners of goods to bring them out of Holland, in due course, in neutral ships must be insisted upon by the United States, even though such goods may have come originally from the territories of enemies of Great Britain. He is directed further to insist upon the desire

of this Government that goods taken from the Neches, which are the property of American citizens, should be expeditiously released to be forwarded to their

destination, and to request that he be advised of the British Government's intended course in this matter at the earliest moment convenient to that Government.

British Answer on Seizure of Neches Cargo

Ambassador W. H. Page to the Secretary of State:

(Telegram.)

American Embassy,
London, July 31, 1915.

Sir Edward Grey has today sent me the following note:

The note which your Excellency addressed to me on the 17th inst. respecting the detention of the cargo of the steamship Neches has, I need hardly say, received the careful attention of his Majesty's Government.

The note which I had the honor to send to your Excellency on the 23d inst. has already explained the view of his Majesty's Government on the legal aspect of the question, though it was prepared before your Excellency's communication of the 17th had been received, and, pending consideration by the Government of the United States of the views and arguments set forth in the British note of the 23d, it is unnecessary for me to say more on the question of right or of law.

There is, however, one general observation that seems relevant to the note from your Excellency respecting the cargo of the Neches.

It is the practice of the German Government, in the waters through which the Neches was passing, to sink neutral as well as British merchant vessels, irrespective of the destination of the vessel or origin of the cargo, and without proper regard or provision for the safety of passengers or crews, many of whom have lost their lives in consequence. There can be no question that this action

is contrary to the recognized and settled rules of international law, as well as to the principles of humanity.

His Majesty's Government, on the other hand, have adhered to the rule of visit and search, and have observed the obligation to bring into port and submit to a prize court any ships or cargoes with regard to which they think they have a good case for detention or for condemnation as contraband.

His Majesty's Government are not aware, except from the published correspondence between the United States and Germany, to what extent reparation has been claimed from Germany by neutrals for loss of ships, lives, and cargoes, nor how far these acts have been the subject even of protest by the neutral Governments concerned.

While those acts of the German Government continue, it seems neither reasonable nor just that his Majesty's Government should be pressed to abandon the rights claimed in the British note of the 23d and to allow goods from Germany to pass freely through waters effectively patrolled by British ships of war.

If, however, it be alleged that, in particular cases and special circumstances, hardships may be inflicted on citizens of neutral countries, his Majesty's Government are ready in such cases to examine the facts in a spirit of consideration for the interest of neutrals, and in this spirit they are prepared to deal with the cargo of the Neches, to which your Excellency has called attention, if it is held that the particular circumstances of this case fall within this category. PAGE.

Austria's Note and the American Reply

Respecting American Shipments of Arms and Ammunition

The Embassy of Austria-Hungary on Aug. 1, 1915, gave out at Washington the first official translation of the text of the note addressed by that Government to the United States with respect to the shipment of arms and ammunition from this country to the Allies. The embassy stated that the translation was "the first uncensored text to be made public in the United States." The note appears below.

THE far-reaching effects resulting from the fact that a very extensive trade in war supplies has been going on for some time between the United States and Great Britain and her allies, while Austria-Hungary and Germany have been entirely shut off from the American market, have from the first attracted the most earnest attention of the Imperial and Royal Government. If the undersigned permits himself to take part in the discussion of a question which hitherto has been brought to the attention of the Washington Cabinet by the Imperial German Government only, he merely follows the dictates of unavoidable duty of protecting the interests intrusted to him from further grave injury growing out of the situation affecting Germany and Austria-Hungary equally.

The Imperial and Royal Government is convinced that the attitude of the United States Government in this matter originates from no other intention than the maintenance of the strictest neutrality and the observance to the letter of all the stipulations of the international agreements involved, but the question arises as to whether the conditions, as they have developed in the course of the war, certainly quite independently of the will of the United States Government, are not such that the very intention of the Washington Cabinet is defeated—indeed, that exactly the opposite effect is produced. If this question be answered in the affirmative—and, according to the opinion of the Imperial and Royal Government this cannot be doubted—then another question automatically follows, namely, whether it is not possible, indeed advisable, to take measures to provide full effectiveness to the wish of the Gov-

ernment of the United States to assume an attitude of strict fairness toward both belligerent parties. The Imperial and Royal Government does not hesitate to answer this question also in the affirmative without qualification.

It certainly has not escaped the attention of the American Government, which has co-operated in the work of The Hague in such a prominent manner, that the spirit and the letter of the fragmentary stipulations of the treaties in question are not entirely coextensive.

If one takes into consideration the genesis of Article 7 of the Fifth and Thirteenth Conventions, respectively, upon which the Government of the United States apparently rests the present case, and the wording of which, as will not be denied, offers a formal basis for the toleration of the trade in war materials as carried on at present by the United States, it is not necessary to point out—in order to realize the true spirit and range of this stipulation, which incidentally seems to have been modified already by prohibiting the delivery of warships and certain supplies for warships of belligerent countries—that the various rights as conceded to neutral countries, in the spirit of the preamble of the last-named convention, are limited by the requirements of neutrality in correspondence with the accepted principles of international law. According to all the authorities on international law, who have especially dealt with the questions which here arise, the neutral Government is not permitted to allow unhindered trade in contraband of war if this trade assumes such character and proportions that the country's neutrality is thereby impaired.

In judging the admissibility of the trade in contraband of war, one can

use as a basis any one of the various criteria established by law, and arrive, according to each, at the conclusion that the export of war materials from the United States as it is carried on cannot be made to accord with the requirements of neutrality. It is not a question as to whether the branch of American industry occupied with the production of war material shall be protected in order that its export, as it has been carried on in peace times, may suffer no impairment.

Furthermore, this industry has experienced an unexpected increase because of the war. In order to manufacture the immense amount of weapons, munitions, and other war material of all kinds which Great Britain and her allies have ordered in the United States of America in the course of the last month, it required not only the full utilization and adaptations of existing plants, but the creation of new factories, as well as the diversion of large numbers of workmen from all branches of trade—in short, a widespread change in the economic life of the country—the right of the American Government can from no quarter be disputed to decree an embargo on this obviously enormous export of war material which is notoriously for the exclusive benefit of one of the belligerent parties.

The United States Government could meet with no objection if it were to avail itself of its competency, even if it took recourse to the passage of a law in accordance with its Constitution. Even if it proved correct in principle that a neutral State may not change the law in force within its jurisdiction concerning its attitude toward belligerents during the war, there is, however, an exception to the principle, as is clearly shown in the preamble of the Thirteenth Hague Convention: “* * * where experience has shown the necessity for such change for the protection of the rights of that power.”

This case arises for the United States Government by the mere fact that Austria-Hungary as well as Germany are cut off from any commercial intercourse

with the United States without the existence of a legal ground—a legally effective blockade.

To the possible objection that although American industry is perfectly willing to supply Austria-Hungary and Germany as well as Great Britain and her allies, the United States are not able to carry on trade in consequence of the war situation. It may well be mentioned that the United States Government is without doubt in a position to remedy the above-described condition. It would be entirely sufficient to hold out to the adversaries of Austria-Hungary and Germany the inhibition of the export of food-stuffs and raw materials if the legitimate trade in these articles between the Union and the two central powers is not permitted.

If the Washington Cabinet could find itself prepared to act in this direction, it would not only follow the tradition always upheld in the United States to safeguard the freedom of the seas, but it would also offer the great service of defeating the criminal endeavor of the enemies of Austria-Hungary and Germany to enlist starvation as an ally.

The Imperial and Royal Government, in the spirit of the excellent relations which have never ceased to exist between the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the United States of America, and in the name of sincere friendship, permits itself to make an appeal to the Government of the Union to submit to careful examination the point of view hereinbefore taken in this most important question and consider the statements given herewith. The revision of the present attitude of the Government of the Union to agree with the views proffered by the Imperial and Royal Government would not only be—according to the conviction of the Imperial and Royal Government—within the scope of the rights and duties of a neutral Government, but also in the direction of those principles prompted by humanity and the love of peace which the United States of America has ever written upon her banner.

The undersigned has the honor, &c.
BURIAN.

The American Reply

The Secretary of State to Ambassador Penfield

Department of State,
Washington, D. C., Aug. 12, 1915.

Please present a note to the Royal Foreign Office in reply to its note of June 29 in the following sense:

The Government of the United States has given careful consideration to the statement of the Imperial and Royal Government in regard to the exportation of arms and ammunition from the United States to the countries at war with Austria-Hungary and Germany. The Government of the United States notes with satisfaction the recognition by the Imperial and Royal Government of the undoubted fact that its attitude with regard to the exportation of arms and ammunition from the United States is prompted by its intention to "maintain the strictest neutrality and to conform to the letter of the provisions of international treaties," but is surprised to find the Imperial and Royal Government implying that the observance of the strict principles of the law under the conditions which have developed in the present war is insufficient, and asserting that this Government should go beyond the long-recognized rules governing such traffic by neutrals and adopt measures to "maintain an attitude of strict parity with respect to both belligerent parties."

To this assertion of an obligation to change or modify the rules of international usage on account of special conditions, the Government of the United States cannot accede. The recognition of an obligation of this sort, unknown to the international practice of the past, would impose upon every neutral nation a duty to sit in judgment on the progress of a war and to restrict its commercial intercourse with a belligerent whose naval successes prevented the neutral from trade with the enemy. The contention of the Imperial and Royal Government appears to be that the advantages gained to a belligerent by its superiority on the sea should be equalized by the neutral powers by the estab-

lishment of a system of non-intercourse with the victor. The Imperial and Royal Government confines its comments to arms and ammunition, but, if the principle for which it contends is sound, it should apply with equal force to all articles of contraband. A belligerent controlling the high seas might possess an ample supply of arms and ammunition, but be in want of food and clothing. On the novel principle that equalization is a neutral duty, neutral nations would be obligated to place an embargo on such articles because one of the belligerents could not obtain them through commercial intercourse.

But if this principle, so strongly urged by the Imperial and Royal Government, should be admitted to obtain by reason of the superiority of a belligerent at sea, ought it not to operate equally as to a belligerent superior on land? Applying this theory of equalization, a belligerent who lacks the necessary munitions to contend successfully on land ought to be permitted to purchase them from neutrals, while a belligerent with an abundance of war stores or with the power to produce them should be debarred from such traffic.

Manifestly the idea of strict neutrality now advanced by the Imperial and Royal Government would involve a neutral nation in a mass of perplexities which would obscure the whole field of international obligation, produce economic confusion and deprive all commerce and industry of legitimate fields of enterprise, already heavily burdened by the unavoidable restriction of war.

In this connection it is pertinent to direct the attention of the Imperial and Royal Government to the fact that Austria-Hungary and Germany, particularly the latter, have during the years preceding the present European war produced a great surplus of arms and ammunition which they sold throughout the world, and especially to belligerents. Never during that period did either of them

suggest or apply the principle now advocated by the Imperial and Royal Government.

During the Boer War between Great Britain and the South African republics the patrol of the coasts of neighboring neutral colonies by British naval vessels prevented arms and ammunition reaching the Transvaal or the Orange Free State. The allied republics were in a situation almost identical in that respect with that in which Austria-Hungary and Germany find themselves at the present time. Yet, in spite of the commercial isolation of one belligerent, Germany sold to Great Britain, the other belligerent, hundreds of thousands of kilos of explosives, gunpowder, cartridges, shot, and weapons; and it is known that Austria-Hungary also sold similar munitions to the same purchaser, though in smaller quantities. While, as compared with the present war, the quantities sold were small (a table of the sales is appended) the principle of neutrality involved was the same. If at that time Austria-Hungary and her present ally had refused to sell arms and ammunition to Great Britain on the ground that to do so would violate the spirit of strict neutrality, the Imperial and Royal Government might with greater consistency and greater force urge its present contention.

It might be further so pointed out that during the Crimean war large quantities of arms and military stores were furnished to Russia by Prussian manufacturers; that during the recent war between Turkey and Italy, as this Government is advised, arms and ammunition were furnished to the Ottoman Government by Germany; and that during the Balkan wars the belligerents were supplied with munitions by both Austria-Hungary and Germany. While these latter cases are not analogous, as is the case of the South African war, to the situation of Austria-Hungary and Germany in the present war, they nevertheless clearly indicate the long-established practice of the two empires in the matter of trade in war supplies.

In view of the foregoing statements, this Government is reluctant to believe that the Imperial and Royal Govern-

ment will ascribe to the United States a lack of impartial neutrality in continuing its legitimate trade in all kinds of supplies used to render the armed forces of a belligerent efficient, even though the circumstances of the present war prevent Austria-Hungary from obtaining such supplies from the markets of the United States, which have been and remain, so far as the action and policy of this Government are concerned, open to all belligerents alike.

But, in addition to the question of principle, there is a practical and substantial reason why the Government of the United States has from the foundation of the Republic to the present time advocated and practiced unrestricted trade in arms and military supplies. It has never been the policy of this country to maintain in time of peace a large military establishment or stores of arms and ammunition sufficient to repel invasion by a well equipped and powerful enemy. It has desired to remain at peace with all nations and to avoid any appearance of menacing such peace by the threat of its armies and navies. In consequence of this standing policy the United States would, in the event of attack by a foreign power, be at the outset of the war seriously, if not fatally, embarrassed by the lack of arms and ammunition and by the means to produce them in sufficient quantities to supply the requirements of national defense. The United States has always depended upon the right and power to purchase arms and ammunition from neutral nations in case of foreign attack. This right, which it claims for itself, it cannot deny to others.

A nation whose principle and policy it is to rely upon international obligations and international justice to preserve its political and territorial integrity might become the prey of an aggressive nation whose policy and practice it is to increase its military strength during times of peace with the design of conquest, unless the nation attacked can, after war had been declared, go into the markets of the world and purchase the means to defend itself against the aggressor.

The general adoption by the nations of the world of the theory that neutral

powers ought to prohibit the sale of arms and ammunition to belligerents would compel every nation to have in readiness at all times sufficient munitions of war to meet any emergency which might arise, and to erect and maintain establishments for the manufacture of arms and ammunition sufficient to supply the needs of its military and naval forces throughout the progress of a war. Manifestly the application of this theory would result in every nation becoming an armed camp, ready to resist aggression and tempted to employ force in asserting its rights rather than appeal to reason and justice for the settlement of international disputes.

Perceiving, as it does, that the adoption of the principle that it is the duty of a neutral to prohibit the sale of arms and ammunition to a belligerent during the progress of a war would inevitably give the advantage to the belligerent which had encouraged the manufacture of munitions in time of peace, and which had laid in vast stores of arms and ammunition in anticipation of war, the Government of the United States is convinced that the adoption of the theory would force militarism on the world and work against the universal peace which is the desire and purpose of all nations with one another.

The Government of the United States, in the foregoing discussion of the practical reason why it has advocated and practiced trade in munitions of war, wishes to be understood as speaking with no thought of expressing or implying any judgment with regard to the circumstances of the present war, but as merely putting very frankly the argument in this matter which has been conclusive in determining the policy of the United States.

While the practice of nations, so well illustrated by the practice of Austria-Hungary and Germany during the South African war, and the manifest evil which would result from a change of the practice, render compliance with the suggestions of the Imperial and Royal Government out of the question, certain assertions appearing in the Austro-Hungarian statement as grounds for its contentions

cannot be passed over without comment. These assertions are substantially as follows:

(1) That the exportation of arms and ammunition from the United States to belligerents contravenes the preamble of The Hague Convention, No. 13, of 1907;

(2) That it is consistent with the refusal of this Government to allow delivery of supplies to vessels of war on the high seas;

(3) That "according to all authorities on international law, who concern themselves more properly with the question," exportation should be prevented "when this traffic assumes such a form of such dimensions that the neutrality of a nation becomes involved thereby."

As to the assertion that the exportation of arms and ammunition contravenes the preamble of The Hague Convention, No. 13, of 1907, this Government presumes that reference is made to the last paragraph of the preamble, which is as follows:

"Seeing that in this category of ideas these rules should not in principle be altered in the course of the war by a neutral power except in a case where experience has shown the necessity for such change for the protection of the rights of that power."

Manifestly, the only ground to change the rules laid down by the convention, one of which, it should be noted, explicitly declares that a neutral is not bound to prohibit the exportation of contraband of war, is the necessity of a neutral power to do so in order to protect its own rights. The right and duty to determine when this necessity exists rests with the neutral, not with a belligerent. It is discretionary, not mandatory. If a neutral power does not avail itself of the right, a belligerent is not privileged to complain, for in doing so it would be in the position of declaring to the neutral power what is necessary to protect that power's own rights. The Imperial and Royal Government cannot but perceive that a complaint of this nature would invite just rebuke.

With reference to the asserted inconsistency of the course adopted by this Government in relation to the exporta-



GRAND DUKE ALEXIS

Son of the Czar and Heir Apparent of Russia. His Eleventh Birthday
Was Celebrated on August 12

(Photo from Bath News Service)



QUEEN MARGHERITA OF ITALY

She is the Widow of King Humbert and Mother of King Victor Emmanuel

tion of arms and ammunition and that followed in not allowing supplies to be taken from its ports to ships of war on the high seas, it is only necessary to point out that the prohibition of supplies to ships of war rests upon the principle that a neutral power must not permit its territory to become a naval base for either belligerent. A warship may, under certain restrictions, obtain fuel and supplies in a neutral port once in three months. To permit merchant vessels acting as tenders to carry supplies more often than three months and in unlimited amount would defeat the purpose of the rule and might constitute the neutral territory a naval base. Furthermore, this Government is unaware that any Austro-Hungarian ship of war has sought to obtain supplies from a port in the United States, either directly or indirectly. The subject has, however, already been discussed with the Imperial German Government, to which the position of this Government was fully set forth Dec. 24, 1914.

In view of the positive assertion in the statement of the Imperial and Royal Government as to the unanimity of the opinions of text writers as to the exportation of contraband being unneutral, this Government has caused a careful examination of the principal authorities on international law to be made. As a result of this examination it has come to the conclusion that the Imperial and Royal Government has been misled and has inadvertently made an erroneous

assertion. Less than one-fifth of the authorities consulted advocate unreservedly the prohibition of the export of contraband. Several of those who constitute this minority admit that the practice of nations has been otherwise. It may not be inopportune to direct particular attention to the declaration of the German authority, Paul Einicke, who states that, at the beginning of a war, belligerents have never remonstrated against the enactment of prohibitions on trade in contraband, but adds "that such prohibitions may be considered as violation of neutrality, or at least as unfriendly acts, if they are enacted during a war with the purpose to close unexpectedly the sources of supply to a party which heretofore had relied on them."

The Government of the United States deems it unnecessary to extend further at the present time a consideration of the statement of the Austro-Hungarian Government. The principles of international law, the practice of nations, the national safety of the United States and other nations without great military and naval establishments, the prevention of increased armies and navies, the adoption of peaceful methods for the adjustment of international differences, and, finally, neutrality itself are opposed to the prohibition by a neutral nation of the exportation of arms, ammunition or other munitions of war to belligerent powers during the progress of the war.

LANSING.



Alleged German Attempt to Get American Munitions

Story of a Contract Made by German Agents in the United States

In its issues beginning Aug. 15, The New York World published alleged letters and reports of German agents and officials in this country and Germany, to show that the German propaganda in the United States was influenced by cash from Germany to turn American public opinion in Germany's favor; that this cash had been supplied freely, though secretly, by the German Government; that its expenditure had been directly supervised by Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg, the German Chancellor; Count Johan von Bernstorff, the German Ambassador at Washington, and other German officials in high places, and that German agents had fomented strikes in the munition factories of New England, attempting at the same time to corner all the liquid chlorine manufactured in this country, in order to shut off from the Allies the supply of poison gas of the nature of that already used by the German armies. The most striking chapter of the correspondence purported to show that Germany itself had been secretly planning to secure munitions from the United States, although protesting, with Austria, against the shipment of munitions to enemy countries since the beginning of the war.

In this correspondence is published the alleged contract, reproduced below, which relates to the financing of the Bridgeport Projectile Company, at Bridgeport, Conn., by Hugo Schmidt, the Washington agent of the Deutsche Bank of Berlin, assigned, as alleged, to assist General Financial Agent Albert at New York in the handling of sums of money turned over to Mr. Albert by the Imperial German Government.

MEMORANDUM OF AMERICAN ARMS CONTRACT ALLEGED TO HAVE BEEN MADE BY GERMANY

[From The New York World, Aug. 17, 1915.]

THE BRIDGEPORT PROJECTILE COMPANY.

As of June 30, 1915.

STATUS OF CONTRACT BETWEEN A. & B.

Article I. (a) Specifications—A. [Bridgeport Projectile Company] advised B., [Hugo Schmidt for the German Government,] under date of June 7, that, not having heard from him with regard to any change in specifications, he has ordered tools and machinery to suit the manufacture of shrapnel cases in accordance with the specifications, attached to the contract, this being necessary in order to enable him to comply with the terms of delivery.

Thus the first cases will be manufactured under United States Government specifications, and A. proposes to make an arrangement with the Army and Navy Departments at Washington that—if no

firm order from the United States Government can be secured by the time that the manufacturing is to commence—the first cases shall be manufactured under the inspection of United States Government officials and shall be tested by them, so that, upon subsequently securing any orders from the United States Government, immediate delivery may be made.

This has the advantage of bringing the B. P. Co. prominently before the United States Government officials, and overtures in that direction, made by A. personally at Washington, were received with great satisfaction.

(e) Factory—The construction of the factory is proceeding most satisfactorily, of which I convinced myself personally on a recent visit to Bridgeport.

The most important buildings, forge, and machine shops are almost under roof; the other buildings are fairly

under way; presses, machinery, and all other material are being promptly assembled, and there is every indication that deliveries will commence as provided in the contract, i. e., on Sept. 1, 1915.

Hereto attached is a plan of the B. P. Co.'s grounds, giving floor outlines of the various buildings and indicating the railway tracks leading into the factory for the delivery of raw materials and fuel and for the loading of the product directly from and to railway cars.

Article II. (a) Powder—Attached to my report of May 31 was A.'s letter to B.'s assignee (Exhibit K) of May 17, advising his compliance with provisions of this section of Article II. by contracting for the output of Aetna's smokeless powder to Dec. 31, 1915, and asking for B.'s letter of release, which until date has not been forthcoming. I recommend that it be sent.

The contract of sale of 1,000,000 pounds of powder to the Spanish Government is not yet formally signed. The delay is caused by the fact that the Official Spanish War Commission had to await the arrival of an expert from Spain, who was to pass on the specifications of the powder. He has arrived and all his objections to our own specifications have now been overcome and his recommendations have been accepted by Aetna, who have agreed to manufacture a powder to meet the Spanish requirements.

Now the legal adviser of the Official Spanish War Commission, Mr. Louis Hess of 42 Broadway, after the commission advised him that the contract was now in order and could be drawn up, writes at length and raises innumerable insignificant legally technical objections to the form of contract, submitted to him by me, and he fills an eight-page letter with reforms to the same. I have advised him in reply that his objections and suggested reforms cannot be considered, since my offer to the commission was based on our own contracts with Aetna and that my offer was accepted by the commission on such basis, and that we must insist on the contract being carried out accordingly. I hope he will

now withdraw his objections and that final contract will be signed soon.

(b) Antimony—A. secured offers of antimony during May as per Exhibit L, attached to report of May 31, varying in prices from 30 to 25 cents per pound.

One further offer has been secured since, the price being 36½ cents, which indicates an upward tendency in the price of this metal.

According to this section of the contract, A. is to wait instructions from B. in case that he is to purchase antimony.

Article III. Presses—A. advised B. under date of May 17 (see Exhibit M of report May 31) that 534 hydraulic presses, suitable or necessary for the manufacture of shells of calibre 2.95 inches to 4.8 inches, had been contracted for, mostly with privilege of cancellation of part of the orders against payment of an indemnity.

There are actually being manufactured, and there will be delivered to A., 132 presses, the price of which aggregates \$417,550.

There have been canceled until date 392 presses at an aggregate cost of indemnity of \$238,945.64.

As provided for in the agreement, "all contracts of purchase between A. and the builders" have been "approved" by me in representation of B., but, as was anticipated during the discussions between A. and B. prior to the final drawing up of the agreement, it has been impossible to contractually "bind" such builders to exclusive manufacture for A., since that would be contrary to prevailing laws, implicating both contracting parties; furthermore, that question proved very delicate and required a good deal of diplomacy in dealing with the manufacturers, so as to avoid suspicion.

A fact is that A. succeeded in having all the builders bound to him, most of same by some legally non-committal phrase in the contracts, and one, a personal friend of A., by simple word.

By the above-mentioned payments of indemnity for the cancellation of orders the builders are not yet all bound to us until Jan. 1, 1916, as the contract between A. and B. requires, because it

was found in many cases impolitic for fear of arousing the builders' suspicions, and, furthermore, it would become a useless expenditure should the cause for the action cease to exist prior to Jan. 1, 1916.

There are three important builders in this category; they are bound to us at present until Sept. 20, Oct. 15, and Dec. 1, respectively, and, should it later be found expedient to commit them to us until Jan. 1, 1916, it would cause an additional expenditure for indemnity of \$60,730, provided we shall be able to settle on the same basis as heretofore.

The total expenditure for account of presses would therefore be:

For presses manufactured.....	\$417,550.00
For indemnity paid till date....	238,945.64
For indemnity still payable.....	60,730.00

Or\$717,225.64

I. e., very nearly the amount of \$720,000 provided for in the agreement.

Occasionally A. receives offers of presses from hitherto unknown manufacturers, who have their attention called to that branch of machine building by the newspapers. Every one of such offers is thoroughly investigated by A., usually by a personal visit to the factory of the prospective builder, to ascertain his ability to construct presses. Until date no such concern has demonstrated such ability to satisfaction; but further offers will be likewise investigated and acted upon when considered necessary.

From all the above details is seen that A. is in spirit fully complying with the provisions of Article III. and, in order to

avoid any possibility of later legal complications, in case that B. should ever reassign the agreement (which is his privilege as per Article VIII.) to some party not acquainted with the creation and development of the B. P. Co., he is most anxious to receive from B. a written acknowledgment thereof, and I consistently recommend that such be done.

FINANCES.

The statement, or finance program, submitted with my report of May 31 (Exhibit N) has not suffered any changes since that date.

GENERAL.

There exists no doubt as to the efficiency and splendid results as regards the purposes for which the B. P. Co. was created.

By the purchases of all the powder available in the United States up to Jan. 1, 1916, all the prospective contractors for complete shrapnel rounds who applied to Aetna for powder and were advised by them that the B. P. Co. was the only concern that had powder to furnish (the only other manufacturers—the du Pont Company—having all their output contracted for into 1916) have applied to the B. P. Co. for bids on complete shrapnel rounds, and such requests have come from representatives of all the allied nations. * * *

Respectfully submitted,

CARL HEYNAN.

Submitted to Dr. H. F. Albert, Captain
F. von Papen, N. R. Lindheim, Esq.



American Military Preparedness

The Few Who Are Trained of Seventeen Millions of Able Men

The article presented below appeared in THE NEW YORK TIMES of Aug. 1, 1915.

A REPRESENTATIVE of THE NEW YORK TIMES was permitted recently to read some of the Government reports on the condition of the militia. The result was startling. In more than a score of States there is no field artillery of any sort and in the whole country there are fewer than forty officers of ordnance. In thirty-five States there are no organizations trained for coast artillery, twenty-four have no cavalry, a large majority are without signal troops, while the whole force of organized engineers, officers, and men totals less than 1,500 for the entire country. One State, Nevada, is without militia organizations of any kind.

In the table that follows, which gives the number of officers and enlisted men of all arms in the National Guard, the figures are from regular army Inspectors, and appear in the most recent report of the Division of Militia Affairs:

State.	Of'c's.	Men.	State.	Of'c's.	Men.
Alabama	..163	2,000	Montana	.. 40	636
Alabama	..163	2,000	Nebraska	..132	1,384
Arkansas	..109	1,402	Nevada	....	...
California	..252	3,604	New Hamp.	90	1,280
Colorado	..122	1,933	New Jersey	304	4,014
Connecticut	..177	2,511	New Mexico	57	910
Delaware	.. 41	465	New York	974	15,591
Dist. of Col.	124	1,721	N. Carolina	209	2,367
Florida	.... 73	1,075	N. Dakota	.. 60	679
Georgia	....225	2,490	Ohio	....490	5,637
Hawaii	.... 56	858	Oklahoma	.. 77	1,330
Idaho	.... 58	839	Oregon	....100	1,401
Illinois	....508	5,447	Penn.	....745	10,190
Indiana	....169	2,109	Rhode Isl.	.. 96	1,303
Iowa	....217	3,014	So. Car.	..156	1,794
Kansas	....132	1,720	So. Dakota	.. 68	873
Kentucky	..164	2,210	Tennessee	..117	1,798
Louisiana	.. 65	1,009	Texas	....192	2,731
Maine	....108	1,404	Utah	.... 29	419
Maryland	..157	1,986	Vermont	.. 75	817
Mass.	....424	5,369	Virginia	..206	2,606
Michigan	..189	2,478	Washington	.. 88	1,312
Minnesota	..220	3,243	West Va.	..104	1,517
Mississippi	.. 94	990	Wisconsin	..193	2,931
Missouri	..244	3,840	Wyoming	.. 54	760
Total	.....	8,792,119,251			

In the above total is included thirty-one Generals of the line, ninety-eight officers assigned to duty as Adjutant Generals of brigades and divisions, forty-seven Inspector Generals, and forty-eight Judge Advocates.

The apportionment among the various arms of the service is as follows:

Arms.	Officers.	Men.
Infantry	6,328	95,109
Cavalry	298	4,642
Field artillery	314	5,914
Coast artillery	450	7,150
Medical Corps	783	3,550
Engineers	78	1,246
Quartermaster	157	108
Subsistence	19	17
Pay	10	..
Ordnance	59	39
Signal	72	1,470
Total	8,792	119,251

All the States, save Nevada, have infantry troops as a matter of course. In field artillery there are twenty-three that have none. Those States are Arizona, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Idaho, Iowa, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Mississippi, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oklahoma, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Vermont, Washington, West Virginia, and Wyoming.

Only thirteen States maintain coast artillery organizations, and of the total of coast artillerymen more than half is in New York. In Maine the total of coast artillerymen is thirty. The coast States of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Texas are without coast artillery organizations.

Nearly half of all the National Guard cavalry in the country is in New York and Pennsylvania. The States without cavalry are Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Idaho, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Minnesota, Mississippi, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada,

New Mexico, North Dakota, South Carolina, South Dakota, Utah, Virginia, West Virginia, and Wyoming. It will be noted that among the States without cavalry are a majority of those in which horsemanship is supposed to be most common, such as Wyoming, Kentucky, Montana, Kansas, and New Mexico.

Of engineering troops more than 1,100 of the 1,324 are in four States—New York with 754, Ohio with 190, Pennsylvania with 123, and Michigan with 100. Of the remaining 225 officers and men Illinois claims four of the officers and 60 men and Oklahoma three officers and 61 enlisted men. Virginia has an engineering strength of three officers, Massachusetts and California two officers each, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Minnesota, Maryland, Iowa, and the District of Columbia one officer each.

The number of men between 18 and 44 fit for military service is approximately 16,500,000, divided among the States as follows:

State.	Men.	State.	Men.
Alabama ...	603,144	Montana	48,076
Arizona	40,776	Nebraska	132,380
Arkansas ...	327,387	Nevada	20,000
California ..	393,784	N. Hamp....	41,235
Colorado	134,225	New Jersey..	675,805
Connecticut..	156,497	New Mexico..	60,673
Delaware....	32,489	New York...1,	616,481
Dist. of Col..	80,278	N. Carolina..	302,745
Florida	197,183	N. Dakota... 70,	771
Georgia	577,678	Ohio	946,856
Hawaii	14,863	Oklahoma ...	321,271
Idaho	33,824	Oregon	136,521
Illinois	1,000,000	Penn.	1,139,526
Indiana	652,351	Rhode Island	138,402
Iowa	288,838	S. Carolina..	217,375
Kansas	386,570	S. Dakota... 70,	862
Kentucky ...	342,326	Tennessee ..	376,763
Louisiana ...	339,443	Texas	502,870
Maine	104,819	Utah	40,453
Maryland ...	126,975	Vermont	50,878
Mass.	577,618	Virginia ...	327,817
Michigan ...	521,792	Washington..	286,189
Minnesota ..	237,923	West Va. ...	201,334
Mississippi ..	401,220	Wisconsin ..	441,396
Missouri ...	604,034	Wyoming ...	41,730
Total	16,647,347		

The above figures reveal many strange situations. For instance, Alabama is surpassed by only four States in the number of males between 18 and 44 fit for military service, those States being New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Illinois. The 1910 census gave California 200,000 more population than Alabama, yet Alabama reports that she can furnish 400,000 more men than can California. Texas, with 1,700,000 more population than Alabama, reports only 500,000 men fit for service, while Massachusetts, with 500,000 less population than Texas, offers 75,000 more men.

Minnesota, with 2,100,000 population, reports only 237,923 possible soldiers, while South Carolina, with only 1,500,000 population, comes within 20,000 of that number. Ohio, whose population is a round million greater than that of Texas, is credited with 450,000 more able men than Texas, but only 150,000 more than Alabama, which has 2,500,000 fewer people.

Mississippi, 1,800,000 population, offers more than 400,000 men, whereas Tennessee, with 2,200,000 population, returns only 376,000. Indiana, with 1,000,000 less population than Texas, reports 160,000 more fit men and 75,000 more than Massachusetts, which has 650,000 more citizens than has Indiana.

Much criticism has been leveled at the War Department because of apparent lack of interest in the militia. It is a fact, however, that never, except when the country was at war, has the Government done more for the National Guard than now. There is no press agent to keep the country informed, but the War Department is in intimate touch with the militia of every State, and now has on detail 133 of its ablest officers, who give all their time to inspection and instruction. Nineteen picked army officers are now on duty in New York.

War and Money

How Will Europe's Policy of Unlimited Liability End?

EUROPE has adopted a financial policy of unlimited liability on account of the war. The war loans of the principal belligerents in one year have amounted to fifteen billion dollars. The cost is tending to rise. It is now estimated to be altogether not less than fifty million dollars a day, of which the share of Great Britain alone is fifteen millions a day. England is the banker, purveyor, and purse bearer of the anti-German allies. She may have muddled nearly everything else at the beginning, but nobody has been heard to criticise her financial skill so far, nor to underestimate the banking aid she has extended to her allies. However, there is a limit even to British credit, and reflecting persons are beginning to wonder how long it can stand so great a strain. If the war continues to the end of March, 1916, the national debt of England will have trebled, and the rate of interest upon it will have advanced from an average of less than 3½ per cent. to 4½ per cent., with no choice but to rise higher still if the war goes on.

What is beyond?

Will there be any capital left in the world, and, if any, what will it be worth?

Those are questions to which the clairvoyant answer would be of immeasurable importance—only, perhaps, nobody would believe it.

As England must finance the Allies' side of the war, the opinions of English economists are of special interest, and, as one might suppose, they are inconclusive. So far the cost of the war has been met principally by war loans. That puts the settlement off upon posterity. But posterity, loaded too heavily with the principal and interest of a war debt incurred without its consent, might refuse to pay. That would play havoc with capital in the world. The moods of posterity are very uncertain. Partly for this reason and partly because war loans create a flood of fixed securities which

will incur the exchanges for years to come, English commentators, in the main, agree that it would be better for the adult living to pay a larger proportion of the war's cost out of pocket in the form of taxation.

Edgar Crommond, in an article on the "Economic Position of the Allies," Quarterly Review, (July,) tells why Mr. Lloyd George made the last 4½ per cent. loan a popular financial operation:

Ample provision has been made to enable the small investor to subscribe; and even the weekly wage earner is enabled to participate in the loan. Strong criticism has been directed against the high rate of interest offered by the Government and the expensive conversion privileges offered to holders of existing Government securities; but the bulk of this criticism may be attributed to the fact that the public are only beginning to appreciate the immense wastage of capital and the cost of the war, and the process of readjustment to the new economic conditions which have been created by the war has begun in earnest.

If people will not save their money and buy war loans they will have to be taxed:

In order to meet the cost of the war it is necessary that our savings should be doubled; and this will mean the exercise of economy to an extent which is not yet fully appreciated by the bulk of the people. The alternative to drastic economy is drastic taxation; and economy is, from all points of view, by far the most satisfactory policy. *The people of Great Britain must strain every nerve to save money, in view of the further taxation, or possibly loans, that may still be necessary.*

Besides what can be produced in England for war consumption, quantities of food and munitions have to be bought abroad, and there arises another problem. England is running into debt with the outside world at the rate of two billion dollars a year. Mr. Crommond asks:

How is this deficiency to be provided? It can be met to some extent by reducing our imports and increasing our exports. It is difficult to see how the latter course can be adopted if we enlist

many more workers or transfer a much larger portion of the workers from commercial production to the production of war munitions. Another possible course is the export of gold; but our stock of the precious metal is not sufficiently great to admit of our adopting this course without grave disadvantages. A third method is to sell British securities abroad. As already stated, our investments in the overseas dominions and in foreign countries have an approximate capital value of £3,904,000,000; and if we could realize only 10 per cent. of these holdings, we should be able to obtain the amount required. Unfortunately, there is only one country where sales can be effected, namely, the United States; and it is not yet clear that the New York money market is in a position to absorb securities on a sufficiently large scale. The final method is the raising of a loan in New York. The great objection to this is its extreme costliness. Money is still as cheap in London as it is in New York; and it is difficult to see how we can raise a great loan there upon terms which will not react unfavorably upon British credit at home. *It should be recognized as a patriotic duty by all classes to limit consumption, and particularly the consumption of foreign manufactures and produce, to the utmost extent possible.*

And beyond, after the war, Mr. Crommond sees the basis of taxation broadened in England, a revenue tariff, and years of rigorous economy.

A writer in *The Edinburgh Review* (July) on "The Outlook for Capital" covers a lot of ground in agreement with Mr. Crommond, and is likewise persuaded that taxation ought to be heavily increased currently; but when he comes to discuss the future he is not so sure of anything, and on the whole inclined to doubt the pessimistic view:

At first sight there does not seem to be any doubt about it. With eight to ten millions [£] of capital spent every day by the belligerent powers, to say nothing of the purely wasteful outlay to which many neutrals are forced by the war, it seems to be as obvious a platitude as ever has been put forward when one says that capital will be, must be, and cannot help being dear for a long time to come. When a huge amount of a thing that is very much wanted is destroyed its price must go up. Economic theory, common sense, and even the laws of mechanics seem to confirm such a proposition, which is so self-evident that one is almost inclined to show the thing happening in a diagram. No one can deny that capital,

even before the war, was very much wanted.

This writer proceeds to be aghast at the rate at which war loans are piling up:

If, then, at the end of the war the world finds itself swamped with a flood of securities that have been created to pay for war, while during the war the productive power of the goods on which all securities must finally be based has been, if anything, lessened, owing to the insufficient outlay on upkeep and the slaying of many of the best of the world's workers, is it possible to doubt that the price of securities will be low, and that consequently what is called the price of capital—the rate of interest paid by the borrower—will be high?

But people are contrary minded, and were perhaps not made to demonstrate the infallibility of economic theory. The writer admits some uneconomic factors:

Some people do * * * in fact affirm that the price of capital will be low, because, they say, mankind will be so exhausted by the war that there will be a long pause in development, no new countries will be opened up, and no one will have the courage to think of using new capital, much less of asking for it from the money markets of the world. Here is the psychological problem that lurks, as it so often does, behind an economic question. And any one who dogmatizes beforehand about the feelings of mankind must have *robur et aes triplex* about his breast. All that can be said with any approach to certainty is that it will take a very long pause to allow all the present flood of securities to be absorbed so far that scarcity reigns in the stock markets and fancy prices begin to be paid for good investments. And it must be remembered that plenty of countries are outside the war zone, and making huge profits out of the needs of the belligerents. Our American cousins will not be tired at the end of the war. They will be straining every nerve and using every dollar of capital that is offered to improve the great economic advantage that the war is giving them.

And there are other psychological questions that affect the outlook for capital. Will the war end in such a way that all the nations want to spend more than ever on armaments, or will the lion lie down with the lamb? Shall we all go back as far as we can to the old habits of self-indulgence and ostentation? Or shall we recognize that no nation can be really great while the mass of its citizens lead lives of unremitting toil and poverty, and that therefore it is our first business to turn the stream of production into fields

in which it brings forth things that are really wanted?

Nobody can be very sure of anything. There are hardly any clues in all economic experience to what will happen in the future. In degree, in ratio, and in magnitude the economic phenomena now taking place are incomparable. Moreover, they are unfinished. Nobody can say how long the war will last, nor, for that matter, how long it can last at the

present rate of destruction. There is really no measure of how much modern people, under the spur of great necessity, can both produce and do without. That is what makes the future of capital so uncertain. If habits of industry and self-denial learned in war continued afterward among several hundred millions of people, the world might have to revise all previous calculations as to the rate at which wealth can be increased.

The Hymn of the Lusitania

Translated from the German by Mrs. Wharton.

In an article on "Peace Insurance by Preparedness Against War," appearing in the Metropolitan Magazine for August, Theodore Roosevelt says: "Mrs. Wharton has sent me the following German poem on the sinking of the Lusitania, with her translation":

The swift sea sucks her death-shriek under
As the great ship reels and leaps asunder.
Crammed taffrail-high with her murderous freight,
Like a straw on the tide she whirls to her fate.

A warship she, though she lacked its coat,
And lustful for lives as none afloat,
A warship, and one of the foe's best workers,
Not penned with her rusting harbor-shirkers.

Now the Flanders guns lack their daily bread,
And shipper and buyer are sick with dread,
For neutral as Uncle Sam may be
Your surest neutral's the deep green sea.

Just one ship sunk, with lives and shell,
And thousands of German gray-coats well!
And for each of her gray-coats, German hate
Would have sunk ten ships with all their freight.

Yea, ten such ships are a paltry fine
For one good life in our fighting line.
Let England ponder the crimson text:

TORPEDO, STRIKE! AND HURRAH FOR THE NEXT!

A Résumé of the Military Operations in Europe

From July 15 to Aug. 15, 1915*

By a Military Expert

A REVIEW of the latest military operations in Europe finds the world's interest more than ever centred in the gigantic campaign in Russia, before which all actions in the various other seats of war have, temporarily at least, dwindled into insignificance.

The middle of July brought the first aim of the Germanic General Staff's strategy in the east—the conquest of Poland—within sight of its realization. The final stage of the campaign for this important Russian province was ushered in by the breaking of the Russian right wing protecting Warsaw and the Vistula line from the north of Przasnysz on July 15. The force of the attack threw the entire Russian front between Zjeczachow and the Omulev River back on the Narew line, and its suddenness took the garrisons of Pultusk and Ostrolenka by surprise and frustrated their attempt to resist. With the capture of these two strongholds the main breadline of the Russian front along and west of the Vistula, the Warsaw-Bialystok-Petrograd railroad, was exposed to the German attack and the fall of the Polish capital sealed.

Thus Field Marshal von Hindenburg's victory on the Narew front necessitated the gradual withdrawal of the Russian Josefow- (about forty miles south of Ivangorod) Jastrshomb- (fifteen miles southwest of Radom) Tomaschew-Rawka and Bzura line behind the Vistula between Ivangorod and Novo Georgievsk. On the front from Novo Georgievsk to Goworowa and Lomza the German drive, after having forced all the Narew crossings between Pultusk and Ostrolenka,

was temporarily checked, the Russians, by means of their direct Lubin-Siedlce-Ostrolenka railroad, shifting strong reserves from their southern front (between Josefow on the Vistula and the Bug, east of Grubeschow) to the points of immediate danger in the north. The consequence was that Archduke Joseph Ferdinand's and Field Marshal von Mackensen's armies, which had been held back and at times even forced to yield ground in the first half of July, in the latter part of the month were able to resume their northward advance. Thus the weakening of the Russian southern wing meant the sacrifice of the important Ivangorod-Lublin-Chelm railroad. Great as it was, it had to be made in order to save the northern army from being trapped. The purpose, the protection of the Warsaw-Bialystok road until the greater part of the army of Warsaw could be moved over it to the Grodno-Bialystok-Brest-Litovsk front, is now sure to have been accomplished, at least as far northeast as Malkin. Only a small part of this army, that which clung to Novo Georgievsk and the westernmost part of the Narew, as far as its conflux with the Bug, even after the Bavarians had crossed over the Vistula to Praga and after the German army from Pultusk had reached Serozk, was trapped in the region between the Vistula (from Novo Georgievsk to Warsaw) and the Narew, (from Novo Georgievsk to Serozk.)

The Russian line east of Serozk, between that town and the region south of Goworowa, succeeded in tearing itself from the Teutonic grip, gradually changing from a northwesterly front to one facing almost direct west, joining hands in the region southwest of Wyschkow with the troops retreating from War-

*For the chronology covering this period, see Page 1221 of this issue.

saw. Thus the second week of August saw the Russians continuing their eastward retirement on a line running approximately from Novo Minsk over Wyschkow to Wonsewo, (about ten miles northwest of Ostrow,) and from there to Lomza. The pivoting point of the retreating line was the fortress of Ossowetz, northeast of Lomza.

By the 11th of August it seemed reasonably certain that the Russian Army would reach its second line of defense, the Kovno-Ossowetz-Bialystok-Brest-Litovsk line, and later the Kovno-Grodno-Bialystok-Brest-Litovsk line, comparatively unimpaired, except for the troops cornered around Novo Georgievsk, when, on Aug. 12, Field Marshal von Hindenburg's left-wing armies under Generals von Scholz and von Gallwitz stormed Lomza and the bridgehead at Wizna, east of the fortress, thereby breaking the Russian line of retreat and endangering the Warsaw-Bialystok road, northeast of Malkin.

As yet up to Aug. 14, no news of an envelopment of any part of the Russian army southeast of Lomza has been received, and it is still possible that the Muscovites will reach their second line of defense in spite of the débacle at Lomza, but their position nevertheless seems precarious, and much, if not all, depends on how near the shelter of the Ossowetz - Bialystok - Brest - Litovsk line was the retiring Russian Army at the time the Teutons broke through Lomza. If it was still in the region of Ostrow and the Bug, from Malkin southeastward, its escape might yet prove not to have been quite as successful as is generally assumed.

While thus the original Russian Narew and Bzura-Rawka armies were fighting their way back over the Warsaw-Bialystok and the Novo Minsk-Siedlce railroads to reach their second line of defense, the armies withdrawn from the region south of the Pilica were struggling to make good their escape to this same line along the only remaining road from Ivangorod to Lukow and Brest-Litovsk, and have apparently succeeded. The Russian strategy here was identically the same as in the north. The retreat over

the Ivangorod-Lukow-Brest-Litovsk road was effected under the protection of the flanking Russian left wing. The latter had meanwhile gradually given way before Austro-German attacks, and by Aug. 6 had established itself along the lower Wieprz, as far as Lubartow, stretching from there through the region north and northeast of Lentschna to the Bug, northeast of Chelm. Assuming the selfsame manoeuvre as the flanking army on the Narew the Russian flanking army at the Wieprz gradually changed its front, in this instance from a southwesterly direction to an almost westerly one. From Aug. 9 on it gradually began withdrawing its right wing northeastward in conjunction with the retirement of the army retreating from Ivangorod and north of the fortress. The front further east followed gradually.

By Aug. 14 the entire southern wing of the Russian Army had retreated to a line extending from Wlodowa over Radin and Lukow toward Siedlce, but not until the army of Ivangorod and that north of the fortress, with the exception of some 10,000 men, 8 cannon, and 20 machine guns taken when the fortress was stormed, had made good its escape. This is plainly indicated by the report that it was the army of General von Woyrisch, advancing from Ivangorod, which took Lukow, and that of Prince Leopold of Bavaria, advancing from Warsaw and south of that city, which took Siedlce, but not the army of Archduke Francis Ferdinand, advancing from the south.

The second part of August thus finds the Teutonic battle front closing in on the Kovno-Ossowetz - Bialystok-Brest-Litovsk line advancing on a front forming a semi-circle from Wladow over Radin-Siedlce-Malkin-Wiznita to Ossowetz. Whether or not greater parts of the Russian Narew army (outside of the troops cut off at Novo Georgievsk) will be captured in consequence of the taking of Lomza on Aug. 12, the next few days will reveal. So far the total of the German booty since the fall of Warsaw has been taken in groups mostly from enemy rear guards and amounts today, as reported, to approximately 35,000 men, 12 guns, and 40 machine guns. Irrespective though of

the yet possible capture of greater Russian units it must be admitted that the retreat of Grand Duke Nicholas's army was carried out in a manner that deserves admiration from friend and foe alike.

Simultaneously with the struggle around the Ossowetz-Brest-Litovsk line, two important campaigns are being waged on the extreme southern and northern wings flanking the second Russian defensive line. In the south the Russian flanking protection is established through the fortified line extending from the lake region (about forty-five miles south of Brest-Litovsk) over Luboml (thirty miles west of Kovel) to the fortresses of Luzk and Rowno. The advance of General von Mackensen's extreme right wing on Vladimir-Wolynski and the fighting for the Bug crossing at Dorogusk (about ten miles west of Luboml) strongly indicate the coming of extended operations against the southern Russian flanking position. Their first object will be Kovel and the road from there to Brest-Litovsk.

Aside from Kovel's importance for operations against Brest-Litovsk from the southeast the possession of that town by the Teutons would also mean the severance of all direct communications between the Russian Galician armies, established along the banks of the Dniester, Zlota Lipa, and upper Bug Rivers, and those operating in Wolhynia and north of that province. Threatening Luzk and Rovno from the flank and the rear, the advance on Kovel would thus, simultaneously with exposing Brest-Litovsk to attack from the rear, force the evacuation of Eastern Galicia by the Russians, to avoid their being cut off from Kiev, the base of operations of all Russian armies south of the Kiev-Kovel line.

While consequently the operations against the Southern Russian flanking position are threatening two entirely different groups of armies alike, all movements against the Russian northern flank, extending from Ossowetz, or in case of the abandonment of that fortress, from Grodno, along the Niemen to Kovno, and from there through the region southeast of Ponevyezh to that west of Jacobstadt toward the Dwina, are simply

directed against the one main breadline supplying the new Russian defensive line—the Wilna-Dunaburg-Petrograd railroad. If the Teutons here can break the wall protecting it, the Grodno-Brest-Litovsk line will become untenable.

It is in realization of this fact that the Russians have lately made the most desperate efforts to resume the offensive in this northeastern seat of war in order to drive back the menacing projection of the northern Germanic flank. The latter on its part is protected in its extreme left by a flanking army advancing on Riga parallel to the Aa River front as far south as the region southwest of Friedrichstadt. It is against this army that the Russians have launched their main attack. On the 11th of August they succeeded in driving it back over the Aa River, southwest of Mitau. A further advance would have brought the attacking forces into the rear of the German Kovno-Dunaburg front, and would have placed it in a precarious position. Simultaneously with their attack south of Riga the Russians began to press back the German front in the section west of Jacobstadt and southwest of Ponevyezh. But already on the 14th the Russian advance was everywhere checked, and on the 15th Berlin reported the "developments of new battles," (the German term indicating the coming of a vigorous offensive movement) on the entire Dunaburg-Kovno front, and progress at the latter fortress, commanding the most direct and easiest approach to the Bialystok-Petrograd railroad at Vilna.

At the same time come reports of the evacuation of Bialystok and Vilna by their civil population and of Riga by the British authorities there. They are boding ill for the Czar's cause.

While this gigantic struggle has been going on, little, if any, fighting of importance has taken place in France and West Flanders during the last four weeks. Worthy of note are only the following three actions: The third week of July found the French launching an energetic offensive in the Vosges, where they succeeded in pushing their lines about half a mile further west and northwest along the valley of the Fecht. In the region

of Münster, however, by the end of July they were definitely checked in their attempt to extend their foothold in Alsace.

The second action, taking place in the Argonne, was begun early in August on German initiative, the Crown Prince forcing his front between Four de Paris and Varennes forward a little less than a mile, and in co-operation with this offensive pressing the French by a sharp attack southeast of Verdun from the region of Les Eparges, the object of both movements being to draw tighter the semi-circle around Verdun, closing in on the fortress from the northwest and the southeast. The movement in this seat of war may possibly be regarded as preparing for a more vigorous campaign here after that in Russia has been brought to a close, and it may also be of moral influence, giving evidence of the great German strength, making possible the carrying on of an offensive on two fronts simultaneously, but the actual results attained around Verdun in the last four weeks are negligible.

The third scene of hard fighting was in West Flanders in the region of Hooge, (due west of Ypres,) where the Germans in the first days of August delivered a vigorous surprise attack, driving the British from the village and taking several of their trenches. But already on Aug. 10 the British launched their counterattack, which regained Hooge and their trenches with the exception of those south of the village.

Since Aug. 10 the situation here, too, has again been deadlocked, as all along the rest of the western front.

On the Austro-Italian front the first general Italian offensive on the Austrian positions during June had had for its object Garizia, the key to Trieste. The principal attacks had been directed against the Austrian position at Plava dominating the approach to the city from the north, and that at Doberdo, flanking Gorizia to the south. Simultaneously vigorous frontal attacks also had been launched against the bridgehead at Gorizia. By the end of June all these assaults

had seemed insufficient. A reorganization of the Italian attacking forces took place and July 15 marked the beginning of the second big offensive. This time the main onslaught to break the Austrian Isonzo front was apparently directed further north toward the region of Marlborghetto and Tolmino, its object being the valleys of the Drave and Save, east and southeast of Tarvis, the possession of which would cut the entire Austrian Isonzo front off from all direct communication with Vienna and the northeast generally. The attacks on the Plateau of Doberdo and the position near Canale during the first week of August are therefore more in the nature of feint offensives.

On Aug. 14 came the report from the Italian General Staff that "pending consolidation of positions taken" no new attacks would be made. In view of the fact that the Austrian front was then nowhere broken, this report can but mean an admission that the second big Italian offensive on the Isonzo front has suffered the fate of the first.

The Italian operations on the Tyrolese frontier, where the early part of August has witnessed fighting principally in the region of Condino, to the southeast of Roverto, and in the Cadore Mountains, are merely of a defensive character, aiming purely at frustrating Austrian counterattacks from the north, menacing the rear of the Italian operations on the Isonzo.

Thus, as in France, the middle of August finds the situation on the Austro-Italian front temporarily deadlocked.

In the Dardanelles and on the Serbian frontier the situation is likewise unchanged since July 15. In the former field of operations the Allies have landed additional troops, and have again assumed a vigorous offensive, but the results have yet to be reported. It would appear, of course, that the recent allied activity on Gallipoli is a political move—a bid for support from the Balkan States, on whose possible help the allied powers seem to have high hopes.

A Crisis in the Balkans

Allied Powers' Attempt to Reorganize the Balkan League

In an Associated Press dispatch from London dated Aug. 14, 1915, appeared the following summary account of the efforts made by the Quadruple Entente to bring to its side in the war the united force of the Balkan peoples:

AFFAIRS in the Balkans are approaching a crisis. While diplomatic negotiations are proceeding in an effort to induce States still neutral to cast their lot with one side or the other, the troops of the central powers massed on the Balkan frontiers are planning, it is believed, to force a way through to relieve Turkey, who is believed to be badly in need of shells.

The concentration of these troops, which has been followed by an artillery attack on Serbian positions, is equally a menace to Rumania, which again has refused to permit shells to pass through her territory to Turkey. The Rumanian Army is already partly mobilized, and four new divisions of reserves have been called out.

Bulgaria has as yet made no move while awaiting the reply of the Quadruple Entente to her demand that Serbia and Greece concede Macedonia to her in return for her military support. This

answer probably will be forthcoming after the meeting of the Greek and Serbian Parliaments next week.

While the Serbians point out what they consider the unfairness of the Bulgarian demand, they show an inclination to make some concessions to obtain the support of their former ally.

Greece is more firm in her refusal, but it is believed here that there may be a change in her policy when former Premier Venizelos returns to power, although he has a strong pro-German party opposed to him, and, according to a telegram from Berlin tonight, King Constantine will offer him the Premiership only on the understanding that strict neutrality shall be maintained. This was the point upon which the King and M. Venizelos disagreed when a new Cabinet was appointed and Parliament was dissolved.

Inasmuch as M. Venizelos was supported by the people at a general election, it was thought the King might fall into line, but the dispatch from Berlin indicates that he has not changed his views. Should Bulgaria attack Serbia, however, Greece is bound by treaty obligations to support Serbia as her ally.

Will the Attempt Succeed?

By Adamantios Th. Polyzoides

Editor of The New York Daily Greek Atlantis.

Europe, and especially the powers constituting today the Quadruple Entente, committed the most unpardonable blunder when at the close of the first Balkan war, in May, 1913, they tore asunder the Balkan League, which such men as Eleutherios Venizelos for Greece, Nicholas Pashitch for Serbia, and Ivan Gueshoff for Bulgaria took the pains of forming, with the aim of doing away with the Turk in Europe.

Today Germany, looking over the later failures of her diplomacy, cannot but give due credit to the men who succeeded in breaking the Balkan League, thus making it possible for Turkey to take once more the field at a time when, had things gone otherwise, she would already be dead and buried.

For Germany to keep the Balkan States neutral when the partition of the Ottoman Empire is well nigh at hand



Map of the Balkan States and Austria-Hungary.

means something more than a diplomatic success. It means her victory against Russia, and may mean more if the strait remains closed and Serbia open to a new invasion. And for this reason those who place the key to the solution of the European war in the Balkans are only too well on the right side.

This in large part explains the recent activity on the part of the Allies of the Entente in their efforts to reconstruct the Balkan League, and to throw its weight in the balance against the coalition of the three empires. But to form a Balkan alliance is more difficult than to destroy it, and the Entente powers have felt this difficulty since they first approached the Balkan statesmen with the object of reconciling the differences which arose after the disruption of the league in 1913. The obstacles to such an effort were, and are, still great; yet greater has been the activity of the German Foreign Office in the Balkan capitals, where every means was used in order to render any rapprochement between the Balkan peoples impossible.

Mutual distrust has always been characteristic of these nationalities, and racial hatred is easily awakened when adroitly manipulated by ingenious outsiders. It must be said that the Balkan peoples have been too long under the influences of outsiders if they do not see their position in the light of their common interests. Germany, therefore, has a very fertile ground to work on when it comes to set up Bulgar against Greek and Rumanian against Serbian, and all three against Bulgar; while Germany may cite any time to the Balkan States the different cases in which the Entente powers have not been so pro-Balkan as to sacrifice an iota of their particular interests in favor of their so-called protégés.

To counterpoise the work of the Germans the Allies must act in such a way as to convince the Balkans that only by fighting in unison at the side of the Entente will they eventually get what they have been striving for during a long period of years. At the same time the Allies must live up to the standards

of liberty and righteousness as exemplified in their gallant defense of heroic Belgium. The principle of nationality once raised, the Allies are bound to uphold it and to apply it wherever possible. A war that is giving Poland a new birth of freedom should not subjugate other small peoples to objectionable masters. If this is a war for liberation, then let it be a sincere effort for that purpose. The Balkan peoples are not afraid to join in this struggle on the side of the champions of the liberties of the small peoples. But of one thing they want to be sure beforehand, and this is that in case of victory their aspirations will be materialized. Let us see now what the Balkans want in order to throw in their lot with the Allies.

In the first place, they do not want to see Russia in Constantinople. On this score Greeks and Bulgars and Rumanians, and even Serbs, agree. With Russia once established on the Bosphorus, the Balkan peoples fear a dominion that will overwhelm one day their national existence. This fear is openly expressed all over the Balkans, and finds the most eloquent echo in the utterances of the powerful nationalist parties of Rumania, Bulgaria, and Greece, and in the majority of the press of these countries. With the strait in the hands of Russia, Rumania would feel as if bottled up in the Black Sea, with her huge grain exports at the mercy of such a formidable concurrent as the Russian Empire. Bulgaria fears Russian occupation of Constantinople more than any one of her neighbors. It seems that there is not enough room for two Czars in the Balkans, and it is most likely that with the advent of the one the other must go. As for Greece, her claims on Byzantium are too well known to allow any doubt as to her sentiments with regard to an eventual occupation of Constantinople by the Russians. Serbia at the same time devoted as she is to Russia, would see with some uneasiness the master of all the Slavs established on the Balkan peninsula.

In order to allay these apprehensions of the Balkan States, the Allies must

find a way, or rather a formula, by which to convince them that their fears are groundless, and that the giving of Constantinople to Russia will not in the least endanger their national individuality, and their various interests. This the Entente Powers can do. By taking the sting off the Russian occupation of Constantinople, a way for further negotiations with the Balkan States is opened. Let us examine now the other points of the question covering the possibilities of Balkan co-operation with the Entente powers.

As I previously said, the Allies want all the Balkan States with them. What they are looking for is not the separate assistance that each of these States can offer to the Allies in the case of entering the war. The co-operation of all the Balkans with the Entente is wanted, and to that end the reconstruction of the Balkan League is imperative. It is to this purpose that the Allies have been sounding lately the Balkan Governments in the effort to find a common ground where their views and aspirations could meet. They began with Athens, where they found, in the person of E. K. Venizelos, a statesman who was willing to compromise the Greco-Bulgarian differences in view of the brilliant future that opened for Greece in Asia Minor in case of her co-operation with the Entente. The promises of the Allies, however, not being well defined, King Constantine thought it better to dismiss his Premier and to ask the opinion of the country on the matter. The question of going to war or not going to war with the Allies was not put to the electorate; nevertheless Mr. Venizelos came out victorious at the election, simply because the Hellenic people wants him and no other at the head of the Government. Notwithstanding this there is a strong movement in Greece against the idea of any territorial concession to Bulgaria, no matter what compensations are offered elsewhere by the Allies. The Greek non-concessionists are strengthened in their stand by the attitude of the Allies themselves, which persist in making vague promises wholly unsuitable to the Greek mind.

With Bulgaria the case is different.



GENERAL ZUPELLI
Italy's Minister of War
(Photo from Medem Photo Service)



RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT BUXTON

Governor-General of the Union of South Africa, Which Has Added
by Conquest German South Africa to the British Crown

(Photo from Bain News Service)

She wants Adrianople and the Enos-Midia of Eastern Thrace, which territory was won by her in the Balkan war and allotted to her both by her allies and the Peace Congress of London. She wants the Bulgarian territory of Dobrudja, which was taken from her by Rumania at the close of the second Balkan war. Then she wants Serbian Macedonia, and finally a portion of Greek Macedonia. Giving Bulgaria what she wants, she becomes the predominant Balkan power unless her neighbors increase their territories correspondingly. It goes without saying that the principle of nationality claimed by Bulgaria in support of her aspirations is not strictly applied either in Thrace or in the whole of Serbian Macedonia, to say nothing of the Greek Macedonia. Bulgaria wants too much, but may be induced to accept less. But even supposing that the Allies are bent on satisfying all of her demands, let us examine how this will be done.

It has been said that Russia, once master of Constantinople, will not agree to the giving up to Bulgaria of the Enos-Midia line because she may want that territory as an additional hinterland to Byzantium. How much of this is true we do not know, but the story has appeared in the foremost Slav review of Petrograd, duly passed by the censor. Rumania, in order to return

Dobrudja to Bulgaria, wants all of the seven Rumanian Provinces of Austria, but, then, Russia wants Transylvania for herself, therefore Rumania gives nothing to Bulgaria.

Serbia is not willing to cede her Macedonia unless she gets a part of the Albanian littoral on the Adriatic, or, if not that, at least Dalmatia. Italy wants both places for herself. Greece wants those territories of Asia Minor where the overwhelming majority is Greek; this territory ought to be substantial, inasmuch as Greece loses valuable ground in Macedonia. It seems that the Entente powers want the best part of Asia Minor for themselves, while Italy and England keep the islands of the Archipelago, which never ceased to be Greek in population, in spirit, and in history.

In view of the eventual reconstruction of the Balkan Alliance, the above-mentioned factors must not be underestimated. Of course, a Balkan league with two million splendid soldiers can do away with the Turk, can open the strait, and permit Russia to get all the ammunition she needs; can strike at Austria, and end the war in a magnificent victory for the allied cause, which is the cause of humanity. But in order to have the Balkans fight for justice and liberty justice must be done to them and liberty given them.

Hellas

By WALTER SICHEL.

[From The Westminster Gazette.]

She looks from out the centuries
 Across her own Aegean main.
 As deep, as violet, throb her eyes
 Lit up for Freedom once again:—
 The Muse for whom her poets bled,
 Whom passionate Byron crowned anew,
 On whose loved shores the undying dead
 Received him—ere the sword he drew.

Ah! Can she stay on such a day
 When classic echoes, like a bell,
 Peal o'er the mountains, past the bay,
 Up to the field where Hector fell?
 Pallas Athene leads unseen.
 Olive and laurel bind her brow—
 The favorite child of Wisdom's queen,
 Will scarcely prove a laggard now.

After Warsaw's Fall

Prosecution of the Teutonic Campaign in Russia

Reported Overtures by the Germans Seeking a Separate Peace with Russia and Other Powers

ALMOST simultaneously from Petrograd and from Milan announcements that, after the capture of Warsaw, Germany was seriously engaged in preliminary negotiations for the establishment of a peace were published. That the Dardanelles and Galicia had been offered by Berlin to Petrograd; that Egypt was asked for Turkey, and that the mediation of the Pope was desired on the basis of the restitution of Belgium, were some of the reports which gained currency between Aug. 5, the date of the fall of Warsaw, and Aug. 12, when the Novoe Vremya of Petrograd confirmed the rumors of German overtures for a separate peace with Russia.

Besides Galicia and the Dardanelles, the Novoe Vremya said, Germany would guarantee the integrity of the Russian frontiers, at the same time stipulating for Egypt on the pretext of ceding that country to Turkey, and for a free hand to deal with Russia's allies. The report declared that these offers were rejected by the Czar's Government.

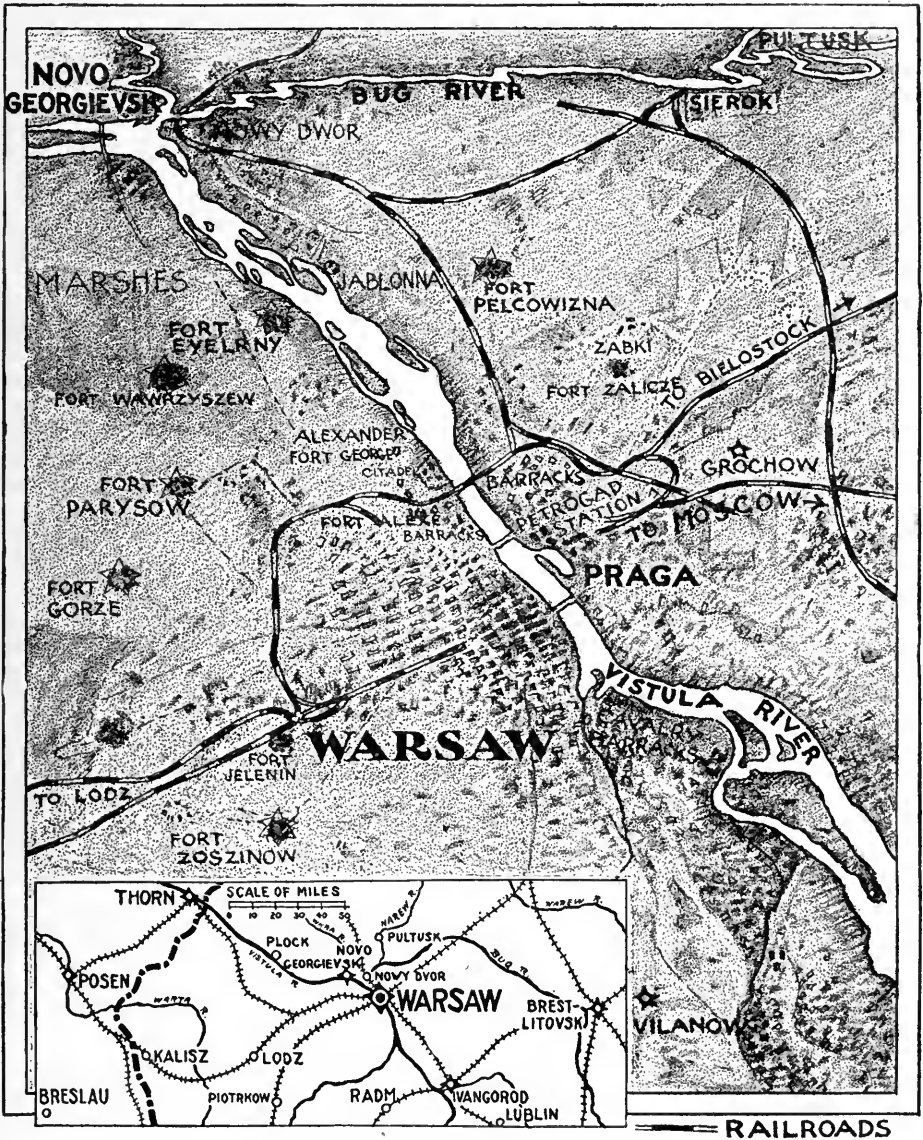
These reports followed the announcement of Germany's greatest victory in the war—the occupation of Warsaw on Aug. 5. The campaign had been fought along a front of 1,000 miles, extending from the Baltic to the frontier of Rumania. According to the most authoritative figures, there have been between 6,000,000 and 7,000,000 men engaged in almost daily conflict. Since the last week in May the attacks upon the sides of the inclosing lines—600 miles—of Warsaw have been the most furious in modern warfare, and only equaled by the vain counterattacks which have been more or less successfully launched by the Russians.

Up to July 29 hope was entertained in military quarters in London and Paris that the Russians had some tremendous coup in reserve, that they would stand a siege in their principal fortresses along the Warsaw salient, and then, with a free army still in the field, would attempt to turn the Teutonic flanks, either in the north between Libau and Riga or in the south on the Bukowinian-Rumanian frontier, or suddenly issue from the lines northeast and southeast of Warsaw and attempt to envelop the armies in the west.

But on July 29 came advices from Petrograd that in order to save the Russian armies a retreat—the greatest in history, even greater than the retreat of the Russians through Galicia from April 28 to May 25—must be made and the fortresses of the Warsaw salient abandoned. It was the same story of the Galician retreat—lack of ammunition. The armies would retire to prepared and selected ground forming a similar angle, 130 miles east of the Warsaw salient, and there await on the defensive the munitions necessary for a new and formidable offensive.

Notwithstanding the feints in the north, in the direction of Riga, the aim of the German General Staff has been obvious since the beginning of June. It was to reach the railways on which the Russian armies of the salient depended for their supplies and by which they might make their retreat.

To do this, seven huge armies were employed. The German northern army operating against the double-track line which runs from Warsaw to Petrograd, 1,000 miles in the northeast, via Bielo-stok and Grodno; the army operating in the Suwalki district, threatening the same line further west; the army fight-



A German Aviator's Chart of Warsaw.

ing as a support of the latter on the Narew; the army directly aimed at Warsaw, north of the Vistula; the army directly aimed at Warsaw, south of the Vistula; ten or twelve Austrian army corps, attempting to reach the single and double-track railway from Ivangorod to Brest-Litovsk and Moscow, and the line from Warsaw to Kiev via Lublin and Chelm, which is for the most part a single

track, and, finally, the army of von Linsingen, made up of Austria's "new" army of 700,000 or 800,000 men, operating on the Lipa east of Lemberg.

On July 29, in a special cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES, it was announced that the fate of Europe hung on the decision that Russia might make, the question being: Shall Russia settle down to a war of position in her vast fortifications

around Warsaw, or shall she "continue to barter space against time, withdrawing from the line of the Vistula and points on it of both strategic and political importance in order to gain the time which Germany has already stored in the form of inexhaustible gun munitions?"

The reply to this question was the evacuation of Warsaw, and a retreat like that of General Kuropatkin from Liaoyang, with the attempt to inflict on the pursuers losses greater than those suffered by the retreating army.

Encircling movements from the north and pressure from the west by the Austro-Germans, together with attacks on the fortresses of Warsaw, Lomza, and Ostrolenka to the northeast, and Ivanogorod to the southeast, enabled the four Teuton armies to press the Grand Duke Nicholas's forces beyond the gates of Warsaw. The Russians abandoned Lublin on July 31; the Austro-Germans on Aug. 3 had occupied Mitau on the north and progressed beyond Chelm in Southeast Poland, and the Russians on Aug. 5 retired to the outer works of Lomza and Ostrolenka, while an Austrian wedge in the south was endeavoring to separate the Czar's armies in Poland and lower Russia. The Russian rearguard action was successful in delaying the capture of Warsaw at midnight of that day, the army of the Bavarian Prince Leopold

leading, until the evacuation of the Polish capital was completed.

But on Aug. 7, with the exception of the great intrenched camp of Novo Georgievsk, the Russians had evacuated the whole line of the Vistula River, Ivanogorod, the southern fortress, having fallen into the hands of the Austro-German Army. Reports that Kovno was being evacuated reached London on that day; on Aug. 12 the German official report announced that the Warsaw-Petrograd Railroad had been reached at the junction southeast of Ostrov, and the invaders were in the Benjaminov forts, east of Novo Georgievsk.

Further north, between Poniowitz and Dvinsk, where General von Bülow was advancing rapidly, the Germans were reported on Aug. 14 to be severely checked, and to have fallen into a trap set by the Grand Duke Nicholas. On Aug. 16 the German drive at Dvinsk was renewed, General von Bülow again taking the offensive with Field Marshal von Hindenburg. General von Hindenburg on Aug. 17 reported that his army had been successful in cutting the Russian line between the Narew and Bug Rivers, and the outer works of Kovno were taken. Field Marshal von Mackensen was also reported to be pushing back the Russians along the Bug.

Taking of Kovno.

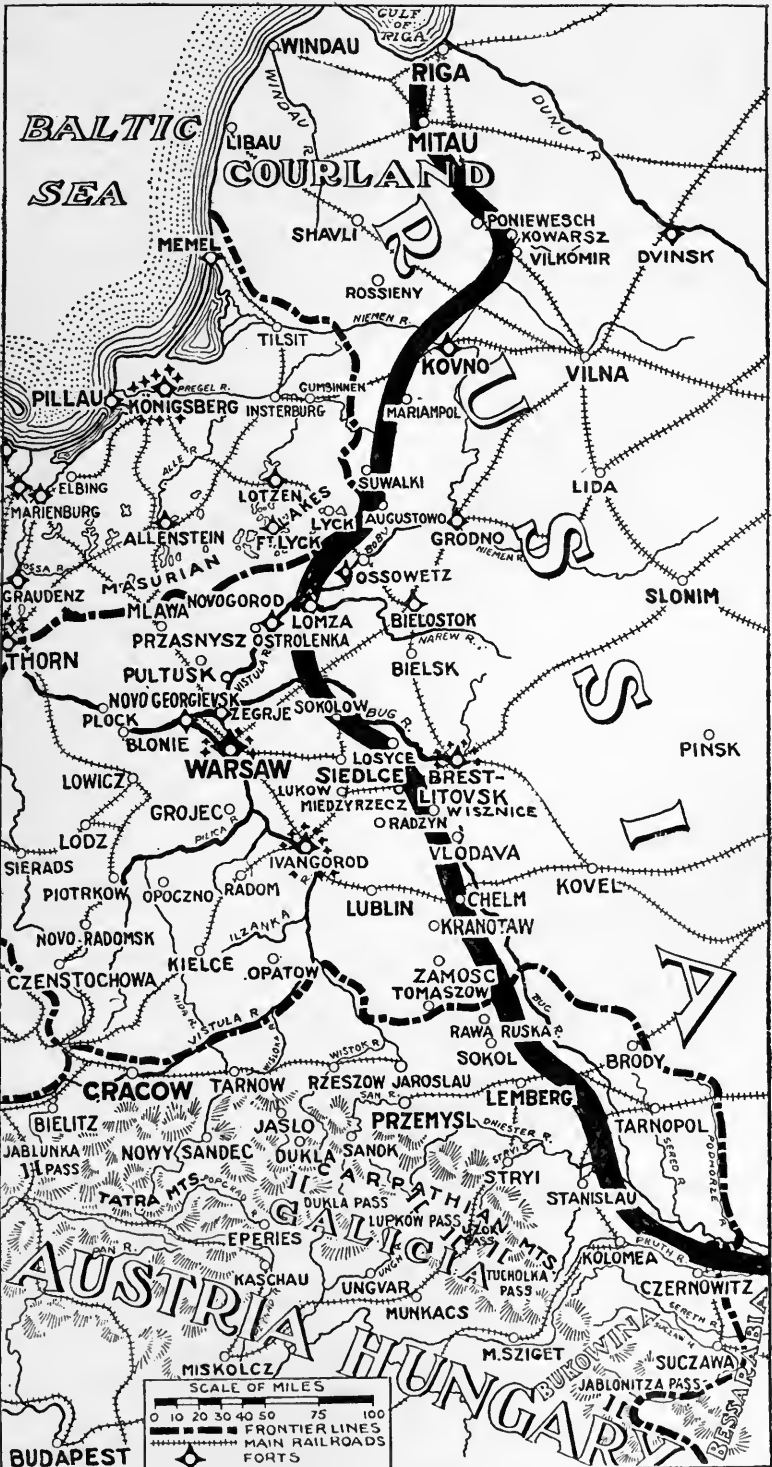
Kovno, one of the crucial points in the Russian defensive in the north, was captured by the Germans on the night of Aug. 19, and the road to the Vilna, Warsaw, and Petrograd railway, as reported by the German War Office, was laid open to the troops of Emperor William.

A dispatch to Reuter's Telegram Company from Amsterdam reported a dispatch received there from Berlin announcing that Emperor William sent telegrams of congratulations to Field Marshal von Hindenburg and Generals von Eichhorn and Litsmann. That to von Hindenburg said:

"With Kovno the first and strongest

bulwark of the inner line of the Russian defenses has fallen into German hands. For this brilliant feat of arms the Fatherland is indebted, as well as for the incomparable bravery of its sons and your conspicuous initiative. I express to your Excellency my warmest appreciation.

"Upon Col. Gen. von Eichhorn, who guided the movements of the army with such prudence, I confer the Order Pour le Mérite, and upon General Litsmann, whose arrangement along the attacking front secured a victory, the Oak Leaves of Merit."



Germanic War Area in the East, Showing the Battle Line on August 15, 1915.

The Invasion of Courland

Operations of Field Marshal von Hindenburg

Officially Reported

The first detailed official German account of the operations of Field Marshal von Hindenburg in Courland, which played their part in the taking of Warsaw, appears below as translated from the German newspapers that published the official dispatches.

OPPOSITE KOVNO.

The following was reported from the German Great Headquarters, and printed in the Nord-Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung of June 20:

WHILE the German and Austro-Hungarian troops under the command of General von Mackensen prepared and successfully carried through the great drive in Galicia the armies of Field Marshal von Hindenburg had the task to maintain and enlarge the great successes won in the northern part of the mighty battlefield. By the direct threat toward Warsaw his troops have prevented any great offensive by the Russians, and in the Winter battles of the Masurian Lakes have with the utmost exertion of their forces swept German lands clean of the enemy. One must have driven in the beautiful days of early Summer through the East Prussian border counties, must have seen the waving fields of grain round about the sad mementos of the Russians' mania for destruction, fully to appreciate the significance of those great liberating actions.

But the troops of the Field Marshal could not and did not wish to rest upon their laurels. Not easily would the tough Russians give up their hunger for East Prussia, although they attempted no general offensive with the utilization of their wealth of human material, but continually made new single thrusts from their defensive positions. They held the fortress line on the Narew, the Bobr, and the Niemen, and sent attacking columns forward, especially from Grodno and Kovno. For this they have now lost their enthusiasm. Not only have German troops bloodily repelled all their advances and taken

firm footing on the lines northward, Prasznyz, Augustowo, Suwalki, Kalwarja, Mariampol, to Sapiezyski, up along the Niemen, but north of the Niemen they have penetrated with a surprising offensive far into the enemy's lines. The brief Russian raid to Memel was followed by the invasion of Courland by our troops. It was as though Field Marshal von Hindenburg desired to show to the world by examples of both sorts how the Russians and how the Germans undertake and carry out such ventures. Concerning the final aim of these far-sweeping operations to the north of the Niemen as well as other movements of larger scope still under way, naturally nothing specific can be said before their conclusion. However, attention may be directed to the peculiar sort of warfare which occupied the leaders and their troops in the northeast, even in times of comparative quiet. The great distances, the comparatively broad extensions of the fronts of all units of both friend and enemy, and, not least, also the peculiar characteristics of our Russian opponents, make possible up there independent operations of small bodies of troops which would be quite unthinkable in other areas of the war.

On the Narew, the Bobr, and Niemen front such individual operations have occurred during the last months in large numbers. Naturally, as compared with the great battles in other places, they fell into the background; they are, however, when closely observed, of high military interest. They demand in a high degree independence and readiness of resolve on the part of the leaders and make very great demands on the troops. The superior training of German officers and

soldiers, which has shown itself in the long-drawn war of positions on the west front, shows itself also effectively on the east front in a war of movements of smaller scale. Most of these individual undertakings would have been possible only to German leaders and troops, many of them only when carried on against an enemy such as the Russians.

Especially successful examples of the way in which Field Marshal von Hindenburg's Russian strategy may be transferred to a smaller scale have recently been furnished by General of Infantry Litzmann with the troops under him. In accordance with the immediate orders of General von Eichhorn, he holds the watch south of the Niemen, opposite the great Russian fortress Kovno and the fortified place Olita. The Russians believed they could break through the line of his troops. From the great forest west of Kovno they sent attacking columns against the German left wing. General Litzmann, however, quickly gathered all the men whom he could spare from other points, and with these troops just as they came—forming many of the units upon the very battlefield itself—struck the Russians at Szaki so powerfully that they flowed back into the forest. But the German General did not wish to have them before his front in this territory so difficult of observation. He decided to clear this whole forest to its eastern edge, which is reached by the guns of the fortress Kovno of the enemy. To do this he brought up as many troops as possible on his left wing and started an encircling attack of wide scope. A strong column from Mariampol and from the Szezupa line broke through the built-up defensive position of the Russians and advanced toward the southern corner of the great forest, where at Dembowa Buda it came upon strong resistance.

At the same time a strong body of troops entered the northern part of the forest and, swinging to the right, marched on several parallel roads in a southern direction. To carry out a frontal attack the cavalry went forward from west toward the east and then to

the southeast, here accomplishing a genuine infantry task, while a second body of cavalry did not find it necessary to leave its horses, and received orders to ride forward on the outermost left flank, along the Niemen, and if possible to bar the roads for the enemy's retreat toward Kovno. These were the glowing hot days of the second week in June, and in the pine forests stretching for miles there reigned an intense heat with complete absence of any breeze. But the German will to victory knew no weakening. Three Russian positions which had been established in the river valleys of the forest were one after another encircled from the north, and had to be given up. The Russians recognized the danger of the great concentric attack, and defended themselves bravely. Most of all, they were concerned to keep open as long as possible the road for the retreat to Kovno. Both to our southern column at Dembowa Buda, which was now pushing forward further on the Kovno road, and to our encircling cavalry from the Niemen they opposed obstinate resistance, and in the meantime hastened the retreat toward Kovno of all such forces as could still escape. However, the ring of the German troops closed too swiftly.

When our tireless warriors in the night pushed forward to the railroad station at Koslowa Buda, in the southern part of the forest, they found there a sleeping army. Something like 3,000 Russians had lain down there exhausted in order the next day to seek an opening to escape. Now they were saved the trouble; they were carried away into captivity. The great forest was free of the enemy.

This was a well-deserved triumph, for undertakings of this sort are by no means easy. The moving backward and forward of troop units demands the greatest amount of attention and adaptability of the leaders. The maintenance of connections to the rear is made extremely difficult, and, above all, the troops must accomplish extraordinary things in marching, enduring, and fighting against an enemy full of wiles, skilled in digging himself in and in the fighting of re-

treat. It is a joy to see with what inexhaustible freshness and enthusiasm officers and men—frequently reserve and Landwehr formations—carry on this changeable but very exhausting sort of warfare and in what good condition they as well as their horses still are at the end of ten months of war. Rest here there is seldom. Hardly is there sufficient time given for the rearrangement of organizations when a new operation has to begin. But the men remain fresh when they see results. For several successful individual operations, when they have a common final aim, may have a common result which equals in value a great victory.

The battles north of the Niemen, which likewise were highly interesting, but differed in their characteristics from those here described, are sketched in a second description.

NORTH OF THE NIEMEN.

The following is reported to the Hamburger Fremdenblatt of July 9, 1915, from the German Great Headquarters:

North of the Niemen the troops falling within the district under the command of Field Marshal von Hindenburg hold firmly in their possession a large piece of beautiful Courland. One can ride more than 100 kilometers from the East Prussian border before striking the German infantry positions, which stretch for a distance of roughly 250 kilometers down to the Niemen River and up to the shore of the Baltic beyond Libau. As yet the operations there are not concluded, and the Russians may frequently puzzle their heads as to what may still be meted out to them there.

In the beginning the enemy, as we know from captured officers, was completely mistaken as to the significance of the German invasion of Courland. He believed that he had to do only with He believed that he had to do only with might possibly be supported by small infantry detachments brought along on automobiles. Only the powerful resistance of our troops to the continually increasing Russian reinforcements and our successful counterthrusts showed the true condition of affairs.

But the error of the Russians was excusable. For the rapidity of this advance was indeed astonishing—a brilliant achievement for the German troops and their leaders. Within a few days General von Lauenstein, who had been intrusted with the leadership of the enterprise, had made his preparations, in which was included an understanding with sections of the navy operating in the Baltic.

Early on the 27th of April the march of invasion began from the outermost flanking positions. One column crossed the Niemen at Schmallingken, and to the north another, from 100 to 125 kilometers distant, moved forward from the northernmost tip of East Prussia in an easterly direction. The former on the first day penetrated Courland nearly fifty kilometers with its infantry and with its cavalry to Rossienie and beyond the Dubissa. The other encountered resistance at Koreiary and had to force the crossing over the Minna sector under the fire of the Russian heavy artillery, but also went forward a considerable distance. A third column moved forward more slowly in the middle. The boldness of this undertaking, so far extended, is the more apparent when it is considered that reports concerning the numbers and arms of the enemy had a very uncertain sound and that toward the end of April the country was still, on the whole, in a condition that permitted of forward movement practically only on the highways.

On the morning of the second day it was learned that the enemy who had stood on the main road from Tilsit to Mitau, near Staudwile, had hurriedly withdrawn to avoid the threatened encircling of his left flank, and had marched off toward Kielmy and Szawle, (Shavli.) Immediately the right column was sent after him. This, still on the same evening, took Kielmy, thus having moved forward in two days seventy-five kilometers. The left column was called upon to make especially heavy exertions in the very difficult, mostly marshy country. It was therefore supported by the middle column by a march half to the left, but yet its cavalry reached

Worny, on the line of lakes to the west of Kielmy.

The third day carried the right column across the Windawski Canal, which was defended by the enemy; the left to Worny and Telsze, and its cavalry to Trischki, northwest of Szawle. Nearly 100 kilometers still further forward have been won. The Russians, who had probably had in Courland only cavalry and home-defense troops, now quickly bring up reinforcements by railroad and unload them between Szawle and Szadow. But the leaders of the German troops are not to be confused by this; the cavalry receives orders to encircle Szawle, and the march goes on.

On the afternoon of the 30th of April, the fourth day, the right column enters Szawle, which the Russians have set afire, and continues the pursuit some distance beyond. The cavalry on the road to Janischki and Mitau captures machine guns, ammunition wagons, and baggage. It destroys the railroad tracks southwest and northwest of Szawle. The next day brings reports according to which the enemy is sending troops from Kovno to threaten our right flank. The infantry therefore is halted and pushed off to the right with instructions to hold the Dubissa line; the cavalry, however, continually reaches out further and further forward. After skirmishes it occupies Janischki and Shagory, which are only six miles distant from Mitau, and takes prisoners, machine guns, and baggage from the enemy's troops, which are fleeing in complete disruption to Mitau. On the 2d of May it encircles those Russians that have remained standing in the intervening territory at Skaisgiry and takes 1,000 prisoners. Extensive destruction of railway tracks on all lines that can be reached succeeds according to our desires.

Thereupon the cavalry of the right column is taken back to support the counterthrust on the Dubissa, but that of the left, although the arrival in Mitau of Russian reinforcements is already reported, pushes forward by way of Grünhof, takes prisoner an additional 2,000 Russians, and on the 3d of May stands two kilometers in front of Mitau.

The extraordinary achievements in marching of both our infantry and our cavalry are the more to be highly rated as the roads were in the worst imaginable condition and the bridges mostly destroyed. Now the fending off of the Russian thrust against our left flank made new heavy demands on the endurance of our troops. An encircling counteroffensive on the Dubissa proved to the enemy how greatly he had underestimated the strength of the German troops. He recovered but slowly from his surprise and brought up fresh masses of infantry, cavalry, and artillery. At the same time the Russians suffered still another surprise, a move which they apparently had not at all considered—the advance on Libau. While our main columns were striving by forced marches to reach the upper Dubissa, a supplementary column went forward somewhat more slowly from Memel northward. One section marched by way of Schkndy, another close to the seashore from the south toward Libau.

Of the enemy little was to be seen. The navy had already, on the 29th of April, shaken his nerve by the bombardment of Libau. On the 6th of May he himself blew up the east forts, and then our warships silenced the shore batteries. Our land troops, which found it difficult to believe in such a weak defense of the great port, and were always holding themselves in readiness for an ambush, took the south forts after a short fight and attacked from the land side. But the Russians literally had not been prepared for this stroke. All they could do was still to unload increased numbers of troops in Mitau and send them forward in a southwesterly direction. But they were unable to break our slowly retiring line. On the 8th of May, at 6 o'clock in the morning, the German soldiers marched into Libau. Some 1,500 prisoners, twelve guns, and a number of machine guns constituted the booty. Daring enterprise had won its reward. Detachments were quickly sent forward some fifty kilometers through Prekuln and Hasenpot and along the shore to safeguard the place. They have thus far repulsed all attacks of the enemy,

who is slowly gathering his forces, and will continue to do so.

The significance of this whole invasion of Courland and the development of the further battles in the Dubissa sector are dealt with separately.

LIBAU—THE BATTLES ON THE DUBISSA.

The following is supplied to the Wolff Telegraphic Bureau by the German Great Headquarters and published in the Frankfurter Zeitung of July 10:

The immediate aim of the invasion of Courland was to occupy the Dubissa line and to seize Libau. This success has been achieved and can doubtless be maintained. We have built up very strong positions there. Our further intentions must for the present remain unrevealed. We can be well content with the results thus far attained. Not only have the German troops distinguished themselves in marching and in battle against an enemy who at times was far superior in numbers, but they have also occupied a beautiful and valuable portion of Russian soil.

Southern Courland presents a landscape of much charm. Much as the well-marked chains of hills, the tall forests, abundantly scattered clumps of shrubbery, and innumerable waters, lakes, and swamps render difficult the life of the soldier, they are a delight to the peaceful observer. Yet withal they do not rob the country of the magic of vast distances. It is only necessary to ascend a moderate hill to enjoy a view for miles round about. One can readily understand that once Germans settled here. Unfortunately, our troops find little or no sign of this here now. The thin German surface layer mostly disappeared when the war came into the neighborhood, and the inhabitants of the country by no means show themselves friendly to the Germans. Our men complain especially of the hostility and spying of the Letts, who in times past were worked up against the Germans by the Russians. Further south, among the Lithuanians, however, it is not much better. Life for the troops of the army of occupation in these districts, which, aside from the few large estates, can show

hardly a decent house, according to German standards, and even in the large villages no proper inn, is anything but pleasant. The Russian Government has played the part of but a niggardly step-mother toward this originally rich region and has but very sparingly supplied it with roads and railways. Yet the country had not been so impoverished that considerable stores could not be utilized for us of subsistence for man and beast, of cattle, leather, and alcohol.

Of particular value, of course, was the seizure of the big commercial port of Libau. In the warehouses there we found considerable quantities of export goods which proved very valuable to us and which in spite of attempts at interruption on the part of minor Russian naval forces, are steadily being transported to Germany. Of intrenching and other military tools there was a sufficient supply for a whole army. The factory in which they are made is now being carried on by the German Government. In Libau are now also being manufactured for our army chains, barbed wire, and other ironwork. A saddlery and a tannery are also at work. Finally, there is a big dairy for supplying the poorer part of the population with milk. Thus the Germans are accomplishing here a valuable task of organization, which it has been found necessary to extend even to the financial system, which, on account of a lack of care on the part of the Russian Government, was approaching a complete breakdown. The City of Libau has issued assignats which serve as currency; the Bank of Libau honors the requisition certificates at a discount of 10 per cent. No levy has been laid upon the city; it is required only to assist in the maintenance of the troops quartered there. Libau is a city of attractive appearance and a bathing resort with streets of fashionable villas, pretty lawns, and a splendid beach. The Russians, especially the officials, for the most part have fled.

However, the invasion of Courland has not only brought us economic advantages and a valuable piece of Russia, but has achieved important results from

a military standpoint in that it has caused the enemy to throw strong forces into this quarter and thereby to weaken his line at other points.

The encounters on the Dubissa line have been marked by many bloody fights. In their course our troops have gradually gone from the defensive, which was carried on with powerful counter-thrusts, to the offensive.

From the first period an engagement may be selected here which is typical of the battles of that time on the Dubissa and which affords a model picture of the co-operation of the three principal arms. The Russians put great value on the possession of the Dubissa line, and especially of Rossieny, which dominates it as the point of junction of the highways. On the 22d of May they brought up a fresh body of élite troops, the First Caucasian Rifle Brigade, consisting of four infantry regiments and the artillery belonging thereto. This, supported by the Fifteenth Cavalry Division, began to move toward Rossieny, but was held for a whole day by the outposts of our cavalry on the other side of the Dubissa. The time was sufficient to permit of the bringing up of enough German reinforcements and to prepare a counterattack. On the 23d of May we let the enemy come over the river and approach Rossieny from the north. During the night, however, the greater part of our troops was led around the western wing of the enemy and placed in readiness to attack.

When it grew light their fate was left loose upon the Russians. Strong artillery fire from our position to the north of Rossieny was poured upon the Russian trenches. At the same time our infantry threw itself upon the flank of the Russian position and rolled it up. Without offering any serious resistance, the Russians fled across the Dubissa to escape the effect of our artillery. Not until they had reached the forest on the west bank of the river did they again settle down to make a stand. But now the pressure of our troops approaching from the south made itself felt. At the same time portions of our cavalry entered into the fight from the north, taking the

Russians in the rear. Under these circumstances the Russians did not further continue the battle. Neither were they able to hold their position, strongly constructed as a bridgehead on the west bank. With a bold dash our troops rushed the wire entanglements, and now the Russian masses flooded backward through the valley of the Dubissa under a most effective fire, suffering most serious losses. But even on the heights opposite they found no shelter. Here they had to continue their retreat under the flanking fire of our cavalry, which in the meantime had crossed the river and was advancing against the road of the retreat. Again the losses piled up.

It will be readily comprehended that under these circumstances only fragments of the Caucasian infantry were able to save themselves. Twenty-five hundred prisoners and fifteen machine guns remained in our hands. Counting their sanguinary sacrifices, the Caucasians lost fully one-half of their strength. The brigade for a long time was incapable of giving battle, and even later, when filled up with new complements of men, no longer showed any real fighting spirit. Our troops, on the other hand, which had suffered comparatively small losses, marched gayly singing into their positions.

Similar successful thrusts were made by our troops repeatedly on the Wenta against the enemy, who ever again kept pressing forward. Then, on the 5th of June, a general offensive, ordered by the superior command of the army along the whole line, set in, which brought our lines a considerable distance forward. We crossed beyond the Dubissa, in obstinate, hard-fought battles won the crossing of the Windawski Canal; occupied Height 145, near Bubie, which had been drenched with the blood of many conflicts; pushed so close to Szawle that our heavy guns could reach the city, and took Kane, twelve kilometers northwest of Szawle. On the 14th of June this operation came to a temporary stop.

The Russians in all these battles suffered enormous losses in dead, wounded, and prisoners. On the other hand, they had become very careful in the use of

their heavy artillery and very short of officers. It is significant that among 1,400 prisoners there were only a few officers and that no guns were taken

with these. There seemed to be signs of the disintegration of the Russian Army in this region also. They are to be observed and utilized.

Warsaw

By Charles Johnston

COMING from Petrograd, you arrive at your terminus in the Praga suburb, which covers the low plain on the right bank of the Vistula. There you take a carriage, or, in these more modern days, a motor, and wend your way through streets indescribably dirty, as dirty and strong smelling as the streets of Naples, and as picturesque; yet with a totally different cast of countenance, for here the color is of the Jews, with its intensity, its poignancy, its tremendous possibilities of suffering and romance. For Warsaw, with its suburb, is one of the great Jewish cities of the world, having within its boundaries not less than five times as many Jews as inhabit Jerusalem.

From Praga, through these dingy, tortuous streets, unrelieved by any conspicuous monument or building, save one Russian church, you drive, or, as before, you motor, to the eastern end of the great Vistula bridge of Alexander II., which takes off from a very dainty little park, the only beautiful thing in the whole suburb. As soon as you are on the bridge, you are certain to be struck, first, by the width of the silver-white, swift-flowing river, and then by the exceedingly picturesque sky-line of the city on its western bank, very conspicuous, because it rises on a terrace some 120 feet high above the river. And, on your right hand, as you reach the western bank, rises the building that is the very heart of old Warsaw's history, the ancient royal palace, founded by the old Dukes of Mazovia, before the wild Hapsburgs had descended from their Hawk's Rock in Switzerland, for that is the meaning of the name, which is, in full, Habichtsburg, "the fort of the hawk."

If your eyes have been distorted by the

skyscrapers of New York, you will find the old royal palace of Poland rather low, stunted, unimposing; and you will quickly realize that nothing at all of the twelfth century building remains, unless it be the big vaults; yet there is dignity and charm and pathos in the not very lofty walls with their columns and oblong windows, with the spire-topped tower in the centre of the front. Within, though there are fine halls, rich in many-colored marbles, yet they have been long stripped and desolate, and one's footsteps ring mournfully on the uncovered flags. The palace opens on the Square of King Sigismund, and from it one gets a good general view of the city, with its fourscore church towers, where, so recently, the bells rang melodiously for matins and vespers.

The practical thing to do, then, if you wish to see the city, is to follow one after another of the big avenues that radiate southward, westward, northward from Sigismund Square, beginning, let us say, with the south, which will take you along the direction of the old road to Cracow. This is the elegant quarter of the city, and there is a genuine Parisian charm in the finely built streets, with their very tastefully adorned shops, their gardens, their palaces. When you come to the Saxon Garden, named for one of the Kings of the Saxon dynasty who once ruled over Poland, stop, look, and listen; try to catch something of the spirit of the Polish people, who here show themselves to the very best advantage; for the Saxon Garden is to Warsaw what the Garden of the Tuileries is to Paris. And, as you watch, as you notice the distinction of the men, so many of whom are admirably dressed, as you become conscious of the personal note, the charm of the women,

for whom, perhaps, distinguished is a more fitting word than beautiful, though they are that also, and, if you are a lover of children, as the fineness and grace of the children impresses itself on your grateful soul, you will become profoundly convinced that, for all their tremendous errors, the Polish people have a genius, a message, so distinctive, so individual, that, for the sake of mankind as well as for themselves, their national spirit should have free and unimpeded scope. Without question, Poland should be once more a nation; if not the enormously extended empire it was in its greatest days, much larger than either France or Germany today, yet a nation large enough and strong enough to establish and hold its own type, its own genius, its own civilization absolutely unimpaired. Such a restored Poland will be doubly valuable: not only will it bear sound and excellent fruit of itself, but it will mediate and interpret between the vast Slav empire on the east and the diverse nations on the west; just as, in greater degree, semi-Oriental Russia will interpret and mediate between Europe and revived and vigorous Asia. Without doubt, it seems, such national restoration lies before Poland. And one is confident that, once it is achieved, the national note of Poland will declare itself to be, not pathetic and melancholy, but gay, blithe, joyous, full of rejoicing.

Then, if you think a little, brooding over the names, the Saxon Garden, the Saxon Palace overlooking it, you will ask yourself. Why these foreign Kings, these foreign dynasties, even while Poland was still a nation, unpartitioned? And the answer is, the fatal folly of the Polish nobles, who, more arrogant than the old noblesse of France, tore the kingdom to pieces in their haughty efforts to crush and outdo each other; who enrolled armies larger than the national armies, to make war upon each other, and who lost sight altogether of national aims, of national existence even, in their own insensate and vaulting ambitions. This perpetual discord, with the elective kingship which was the expression of it, was the ruin of a nation that deserves a better fate. Without that fatal weakening,

Poland would never have been "divided and given to the Medes and Persians." Along the Ujazdowska Avenue, one comes to the most charming building in all Warsaw, the Lazienki Palace, in its altogether delicious gardens, mirrored in a lovely little lake, as essential to its beauty as are the marble reservoirs of the Taj Mahal, in which the loveliest of all buildings mirrors itself. But even here you do not get a single note of national Polish architecture. As a basis of comparison, think of Moscow with its Kremlin, its Scarlet Square, its startlingly vivid Church of Basil the Blessed. Moscow is the most individual city in the world. Warsaw, in its architecture, and especially in the forms of its many palaces, is not national, not Polish at all, but Italian, of the Renaissance, with just the same pillars and pilasters that one sees in every recent building in Western Europe, or, even more out of place, among the icicles of Petrograd, whose cathedrals and palaces, St. Isaac's, the Hermitage, the Winter Palace, even the very national Kazan Cathedral, are every one in the Italian style.

The Lazienki Palace was built at the end of the eighteenth century by King Stanislas Poniatowski, one of Poland's fatal rulers, and, in later years, it was the scene of one of the many tragic passages of Polish history, but this time not a tragedy of the Poles. For it was in the lovely little park of the Lazienki Palace that the Grand Duke Constantine bade a heavy-hearted farewell to Poland, and, after trying, in all sincerity, year after year, to win the affections, the trust, the confidence of the Poles, and trying altogether in vain. He was a son of the Emperor Nicholas I., and therefore a brother of Alexander II., liberator of the serfs and of the Balkan nations; a brother also of the Grand Duke Nicholas the elder, father of the present Commander in Chief, and himself Chief Commander of the Russian armies in the Turkish wars of 1877-78, which gave an assured national existence to Serbia, Bulgaria, and Rumania. Grand Duke Constantine, whose son, the royal poet, died only a few weeks ago, made the sincerest, the most loyal effort to make friends

with Poland; but all to no purpose. So this historic picture, too, comes to memory, as we turn back from the southern limit of the city, and return to our starting point, in the Sigismund Square.

Drive now to the north, along the narrowing avenue that takes you ultimately to the fort called the Citadel, on the outer fringe of the town. Nowhere will you get a more complete, more drastic contrast, for a few minutes takes you into the very heart of the old Jewish settlement, with its dark, gloomy, forbidding yet romantic, and romantically dirty streets. Here, in every face, keen, sallow, tragical, you will see the intensity, the fiery energy, that made St. Paul—and that, in so many cities, stoned St. Paul, on the accusation of treachery to the ancient ideals of the nation. The long, dark, seedy overcoat, which one imagines to be the Jewish gabardine of Shylock, the black, peaked cap, the high, rusty boots are universal, even on boys of 3 or 4, who are, but for the lack of straggling beards, adults in miniature; the keen, dark eyes of the younger girls, as intent as the eyes of Rebekah or Rachel; the shrewd, often shrewish faces of the elder women, all make a memorable, striking, poignant picture. It was a Jew, and one of the greatest of them, that said, "the glory of a woman is her hair"; yet, in obedience to some Talmudic injunction, these keen-eyed Jewish girls, as soon as they are married, have their heads shaved, and thereafter wear a wig, made of hair, or a mere skullcap of black silk; and this, too, adds its note, not an attractive one, to the vivid picture. Curiously enough, in the very heart of this northern part of the city is the Roman Catholic Cathedral of St. John, in which is kept a banner taken by John Sobieski in 1683, when he saved Vienna from the all-conquering Turks. But even when one comes to study the Warsaw churches, and there are four score of them, of the Western rite, one finds them as little national as the palaces of the old nobles and Kings.

Coming back once more to the centre of the city, and going to the northwest, one finds two more beautiful buildings:

the charming Krasniwski Palace, built, of course by an Italian architect, at the end of the seventeenth century, and restored after the great fire of 1783; and the Russian Cathedral, rebuilt in 1857—in the style, not of the genuinely Russian Kremlin and its churches, but of the Italian Renaissance.

Finally, to the southwest, a wide avenue, called, first, Senatorial Street and then Electoral Street, leads to the Wola Gate, beyond which is the fatal field on which were held the internecine elections of the Polish Kings—the cause, above all things, of the national downfall. On the way thither, one passes the Town Hall, a quite modern building, the Bank of Poland, the Zamoyski Palace, and the Church of St. Charles Borromeo.

And now Warsaw has once more fallen into the hands of an invader; once again, after many like calamities. In spite of its fortifications, built in 1339, it was captured, in 1596, from the Mazovians by the Poles, who had hitherto reigned at Cracow—a city that has all the Polish nationalism that Warsaw lacks; in 1655 was conquered by Charles Gustavus, to be won back again within the year by John Casimir, who once more lost it a month later. Throughout the second part of the seventeenth century, Saxon Kings reigned there; from 1735 to 1738 it was the scene of fierce fighting between Augustus II. and Stanislas Leszczynski; and 1764 to 1774, and again in 1793, it was occupied by the Russians, who never forgot the griefs that Moscow had suffered from the Poles, in the days when Poland was the stronger nation. In 1809 Warsaw was occupied by the armies of Austria, it being then, through Napoleon's ruling, the capital of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw; in 1813, it was once again occupied by Russia, which has dominated it now for over a century.

Let us hope that now, amid the clash of armies, Destiny may have in store for Poland a renewal of national life, in which the ancient dangers and evils will be conquered, the ancient genius once more shine out resplendent. The novels, the music, the singers, the actors of Poland are but a pledge of far greater riches in the days to come.

The Brave and Cheerful Briton

By Maximilian Harden

"An enforced holiday of indefinite duration" has been imposed upon Mr. Harden, the editor of *Die Zukunft*, and recognized as one of the ablest newspaper men in Europe, according to a cable dispatch from Copenhagen on Aug. 1, the dispatch stating that his recent articles had displeased the Berlin authorities. While his exile from Germany has not been confirmed, and while *Die Zukunft* still bears Mr. Harden's name as its editor, the issue of July 17 omits his leading article. The following article, yielding tribute to the British character and genius, was published by the German editor in the issue of May 22.

WHY berate the Britons? They are but doing what they must do. Why tell them, day in and day out, that we are the better, the superior ones, the only perfectly unselfish human beings on earth? It makes them only smile.

Nor should we ever have talked idiotically about blood relationship and Christian duty that commands pious brotherhood. We should have always borne in mind what Palmerston said in the House of Commons after the February revolution in Paris: "Only dreamers can labor under the romantic delusion that relations between nations, between Governments, are essentially, or even permanently, governed by friendship or similar emotions."

Germany had no reason to be thankful to Britain, but she had a hundred reasons to fear her—fear that is based upon respect. Great Britain is wonderfully strong, the biggest world empire that history has known; in three-fourths of the inhabited earth today the English language is spoken.

Germans who on the Rigi have once sat beside a Liverpool tailor disguised as a lord, Germans who gather their wisdom from the comic sheets, think they know Britain and the British. And this is their idea of Englishmen: Sneaking and cowardly; stiff, grouchy or spleenish; without a longing for Kultur; only a craze for sports and greed in their heads—that, roughly, is the popular picture.

That the most convincing new theories which taught us to learn nature and the mind; that Shakespeare's country had, even in the nineteenth century, the most

productive literature (not poetry)—these things are overlooked. Because the Briton loves sport and spends almost as much time playing golf or football as the German does in drinking beer, he is ridiculed. Is the Englishman silly because he is anxious that his county should win in the cricket match? Does not his play, which steels the body, serve his fatherland?

Did you ever go into Hyde Park and there see the hundreds of sturdy, white-haired old men riding briskly on horseback? And the young girls and old ladies in the West End; the workmen with their children on the playgrounds? Look at them and compare them with the thin-blooded, prematurely withered, overfattened and wabbling figures you meet at every step in the Continental cities!

The Briton, cheerful, healthy, and brave, was quick to realize that only the strong can conquer the world, and he procured for himself the hygiene which is necessary to a nation confined most of the time to factories and offices, lest it die away. The Briton's mode of living and his actions are sensible; he can obey without humiliation and force and give obedience without arbitrary tyranny.

In India a Commissioner with only a handful of whites at his disposal commands millions of the brown race who do not dare wrinkle their brows before his glance. In London, if an uprising is feared, Dukes join hands with cellar tenants to do constable duty. Everybody, whether he possess fortune or have only a few pounds to lose, takes the oath, joins the ranks, and marches against the foes of society. And it is because this real-

ization of an ever-ready, defensive strength governs all minds that full freedom is given to speech, to criticism, to satire; that the most brazen things may be said with impunity about the King and his Ministers, about the institutions, officials, and about the national character. Not before the highest officer of the empire would the Briton bow the knee.

Young men and women associate in the closest friendship, pass whole days together on the river, without their aunts as chaperons, and not one rough or immodest word disturbs the harmless hilarity; any one who would dare offend the ears of decent women by indecent remarks would thereupon become impossible in that company.

We are only praising what deserves praise. Have the Britons peddler souls? They didn't think of their wares, but exposed them to the gravest possible danger and sacrificed billions in order to destroy Bonaparte, to whose hypnotic will and power they alone—in all Europe, they alone—did not succumb!

There are some in Germany who used to praise all these good qualities of the English. They knew that England has hardy human material, a moral sturdiness which of all nobilities is the most useful for battle, and that she has able women; that England was wise enough to guard against the endemic evils of all democracies and has remained in the twentieth century, as in the Wars of the Roses, an oligarchy. Those Germans went mad when they read in the newspapers vilification of England, Germans who early and late had admired the noblesse in the lion's eye.

Those were the Germans who could not comprehend how a poor word could be said in behalf of the British Empire and its people, for to them the paramount, natural issue was: Germany must go hand and hand with Britain, must be Britain's friend—always only Britain's. They were not so dangerous as the Briton haters, who, during the Boer war, saw already the empire of the Angles crushed and crumbled, and who glowed with love for the Boers.

Never would England have become

what she is today if all classes had not felt, as Palmerston said, that emotions do not determine the relations between nations.

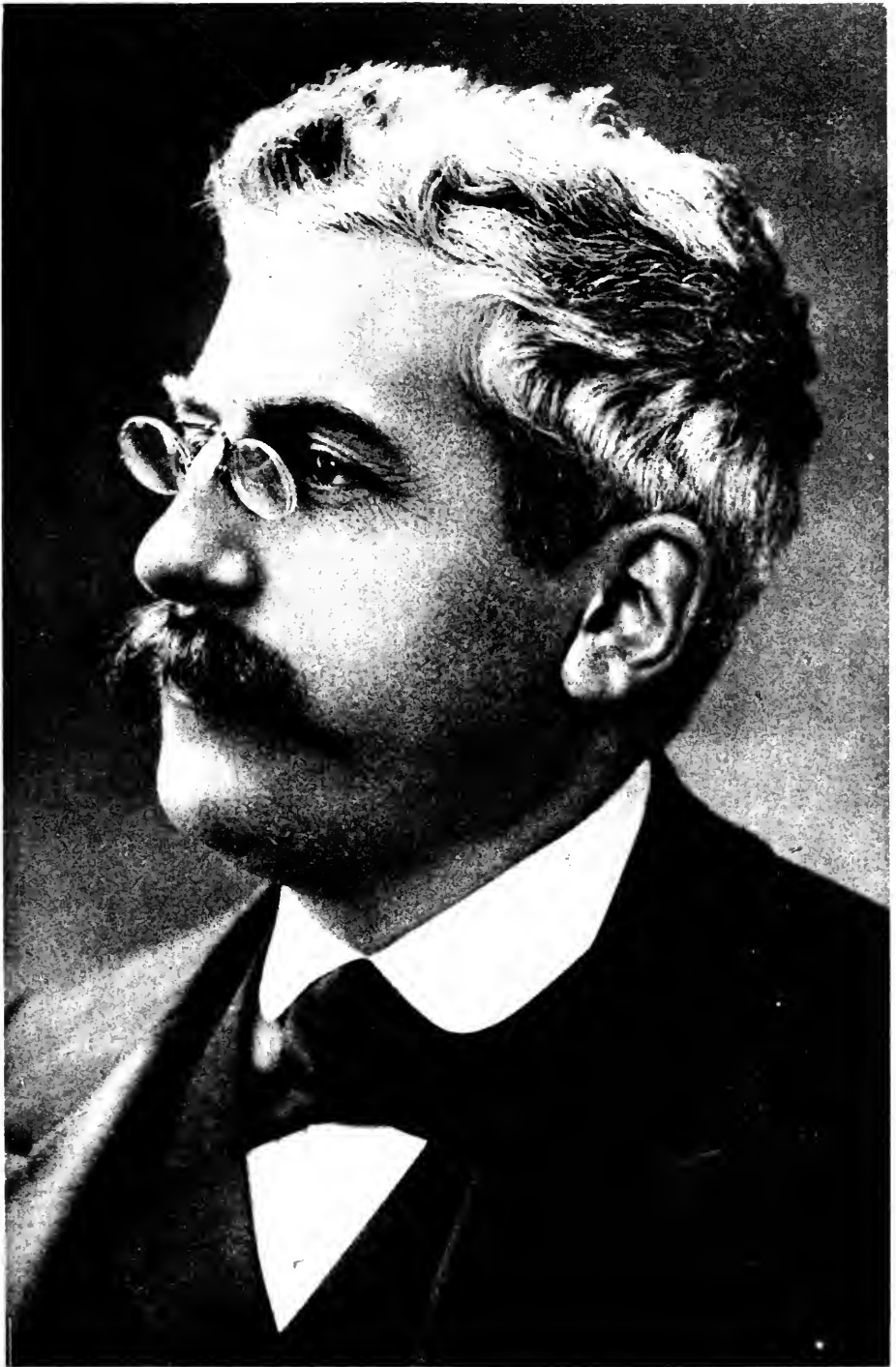
The individual Briton would be filled with disgust at seeing one of the yellow race at his table. The British Nation jubilated and cheered the Japanese because Japan rendered such good services as an instrument against Russia. And the British Nation cajoles the disgusting Hottentots when the Hottentots can be used to frustrate German plans of colonization.

Shall we Germans never learn the principles of practical politics? Shall we always despise the English because they let others fight their battles for them as long as it is possible; and because they pay for their wars only with gold, not with blood, the noblest treasure of all nations? Shall we always fumble along with abstract legal conceptions and emotions instead of considering only the advantage of our nation?

Whether we love the Russian or despise the Czar along with his whole miserable tribe, we do desire Russia to be our customer and ally. And whether we admire the free and sturdy Briton or sneer at him at times as a Quaker, hypocrite, and cant worshipper, we had to arm ourselves against England's aggressive power.

Germany long looked to England like a blown frog that soon must lose his breath. The German immigrant offered cheaper work than the British engineer, agent, clerk, or waiter. The German immigrant endured worse treatment than the Briton; he hastened on the market to divest himself of his national garb and to adapt himself to Anglo-Saxon ways; wore woolen shirts and could live without a bathtub; reason enough to despise him.

With these creatures, who do not train their bodies, who can't be happy without beer and who as thirty-year-olds sport an embonpoint—with them, so it was thought, Germany will not conquer the world. "A nice country—very nice. Dresden, Nuremberg, Freiburg, Heidelberg, Rothenburg; old churches and ancient ruins; and everywhere music, sausage and Munich beer; a nice country in-



M. MILLERAND
Minister of War of France
(Photo from Bain News Service)



TALAT BEY
Turkey's Acting Minister of Marine
(Photo from Paul Thompson)

deed, quite appropriate for a Spring journey! Also a very nice and striving industry which we may well help along with good profit, because they can't compete with us." So thought the Britons.

Long ago the German was not welcome in England, but he came to be respected. And no Englishman thinks of underestimating or even looking down upon Germany. Our industrials and merchants have become dangerous to the British captains of industry. England sometimes had the stronger personalities; Germany always had the stronger organization.

The Prussian lieutenant, the Deutsche Bank, the Allgemeine Elektrizitaets-Gesellschaft, the Badische Anilinfabrik and the German Socialists; these most visible fruits of German culture do not grow in Albion's sea climate. The competition soon became worse in that the German worker was content with lower pay, the technician more thoroughly trained, the German salesman more farsighted.

With the desire of the statesmen to keep this young Continental power in check came the fury of those menaces commercially. The zone of friction had become greater; political intercourse more difficult.

Yet the possibility of a serious conflict seemed far distant. Bismarck, with his dead sure calculation and his majestic common sense, always knew just what he had to hope and what he had to fear from England. If he had had his way England and Germany would have long continued courteously to tolerate one another. The German Empire, he figured, needed a half century to strengthen itself domestically, to secure the new borders in the east and west, and meanwhile it might well play the part of the satiated State; the rest remained to be seen.

The situation was tolerable because the eyesight of Bismarck, who knew the traditions of English policy, was not blinded by illusions and because across the Channel the Whigs and the Tories knew that this Minister would never serve British desires, would never become their pawn.

Britannia quickly learned to hope again

when Bismarck had been sent away. Victoria's son, the son of the Coburger Albert, when a young Prince had scolded his sister, who called herself "half English," and when he had cut his finger in a garrison yard, loudly declared that he hoped upon that occasion to get rid of his last drop of English blood.

But a young gentleman changes his mind sometimes. Also he can be humbugged. After the uncomfortable days of Narwa the Emperor went to London, and the consequence of this trip was the Zanzibar treaty which procured us Heligoland, but threw the chief key to East Africa into England's lap.

Blood is thicker than water. Much was talked of the German-British brotherhood in arms. The aged Empress was caressingly cajoled, and the young Emperor was decorated daily with new wooden wreaths by the English press. For had he not celebrated the British national heroes, Wellington and Kipling? Had not the friendship with Russia already become chilly? On many a holiday the Kaiser put on the English uniform. Never had the union jack waved in a brighter sun.

Nothing to fear in Asia, nothing in Africa. Zanzibar, Witu, Sudau, the Transvaal and Orangeland had been conquered. Blood is thicker than water. Hope shown brightly. "This German Emperor does not forget that he was born of an English woman."

If he only wouldn't talk so much of the value of sea power! "Our future lies upon the water." "Imperial power is sea power." "We need sorely a powerful fleet."

For what is all that necessary? To protect the export trade? No Briton believed that. Only for a war against England does the German Empire need a great war fleet. Is that war being planned? Is that why the Islam world is being so tenderly wooed? Is that why a German Prince is sent to Holland as coast guard? Is that why every imaginable courtesy is being paid to America and to France?

"Without the sanction of the German Emperor no great decision must be made in the future."

None? Not in Asia, either? That, then, was the intention of the treaty?

From the Thames to the Tweed suspicion gnawed along its way. When the Kaiser came to London or to Cowes and donned the tennis coat or the Admiral's gala dress and associated with English naval officers like a good fellow, everything again seemed in good order. But the joy never lasted long. Softly at first, then more audibly, the question was asked whether the British could afford to wait until Germany would be strong enough to pierce their vitals.

That would be the height of stupidity, answered experts like Lee and Fitzgerald. And thus answered with them the entire nation, whose political instinct is imperturable.

And then? Listen!

The Franco-British treaty was made contrary to all traditions; prestige was created in Morocco for a foreign power; the heavyweight point for the development of maritime power in the North Sea was transferred; a first installment of \$30,000,000 was asked for new naval bases; the French fleet was invited to a coast visit, and the reinforced canal squadron was assigned to the Baltic for manoeuvres.

With all these measures, England remained fully within the purview of her sovereign rights.

But even in the year 1905 the cajolers and bootlickers were told by wise and sensible admonishers:

"Between Germany and England there was never friendship, will never be

friendship, until Germany has taught England fear or until she has proved unmistakably to Great Britain that she does not propose to conquer the territory, which her expansion necessitates, from British ground.

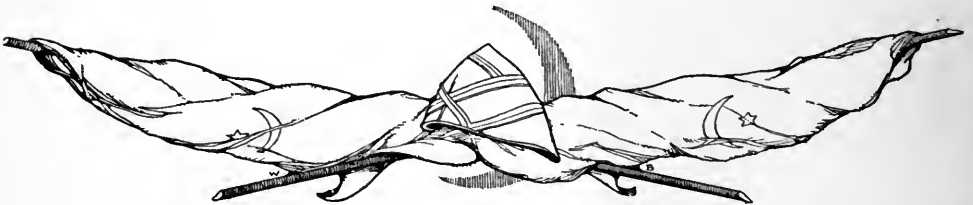
"Pacifist chatter has no effect upon the Britons. Nor has it the slightest effect upon them when we swear that our ships truly and honestly have not been built in order to contend with the island empire for the domination of the seas."

England has no Pitt, or Palmerston, or Disraeli today. England is not governed by the will of the masses, and, as fleets cannot be stamped out of the ground, she can calmly wait until she is still better prepared and has completely recovered from the consequences of the Boer war.

The idea that the English would be deterred by the fear of a Russian army, bravely marching toward India, or let themselves be overrun at the mouth of the Thames, while her Channel ships are manoeuvring in the Baltic, could find room only in the minds of ignoramuses.

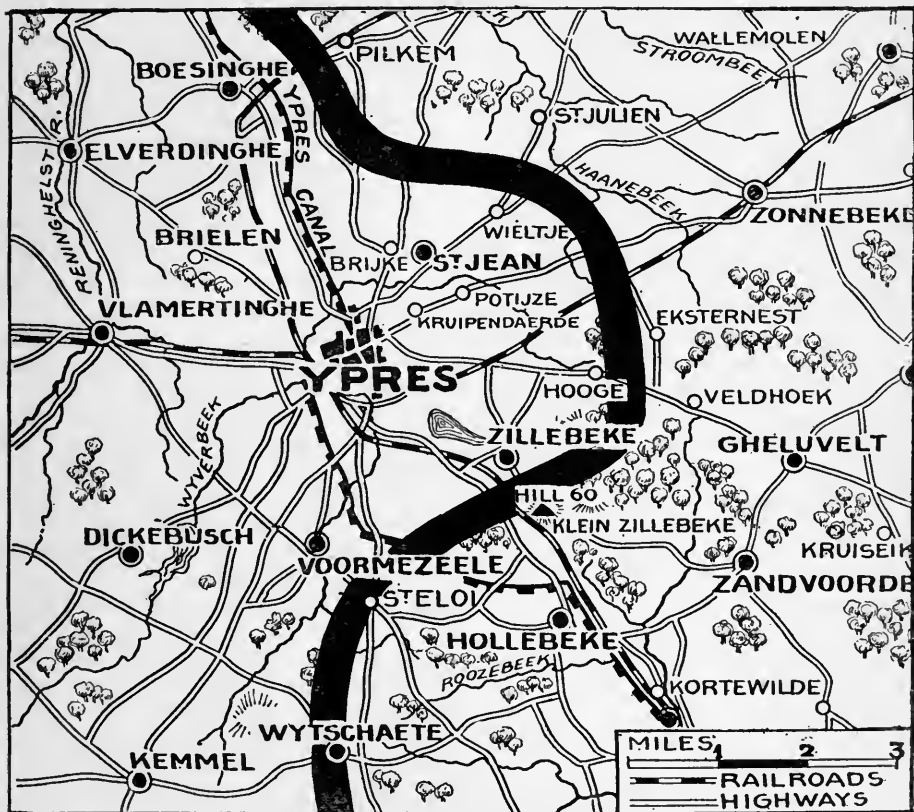
Any power that would quickly weaken the British world power would have had to dare the attempt before South Africa was conquered.

Then England was isolated and hated and confused by the difficulty of an undertaking which had been underestimated even by Chamberlain's commercial genius. Since then she has allied herself in Asia with Japan, in Europe with France, and had to expect from Belgium and from the Scandinavian countries at least a favorable neutrality.



The Western Front

Battles at Hooge, in the Argonne and Vosges—French, British, and German Reports of Fighting on Wavering Lines



Map Showing the Region Around Ypres and Recent English Operations, Recording Advance to Aug. 15, 1915.

ACCOUNTS of ground lost and rewon along lines that vary little in a war of attrition constitute the record of the past month at Hooge, the village east of Ypres, which has been the storm centre of the British-German engagements; in the Argonne region, where the German Crown Prince has been steadily winning and losing in his efforts to pierce the French line, and in the Vosges.

HOOGHE.

The ground in the village of Hooge was won from the British troops by the

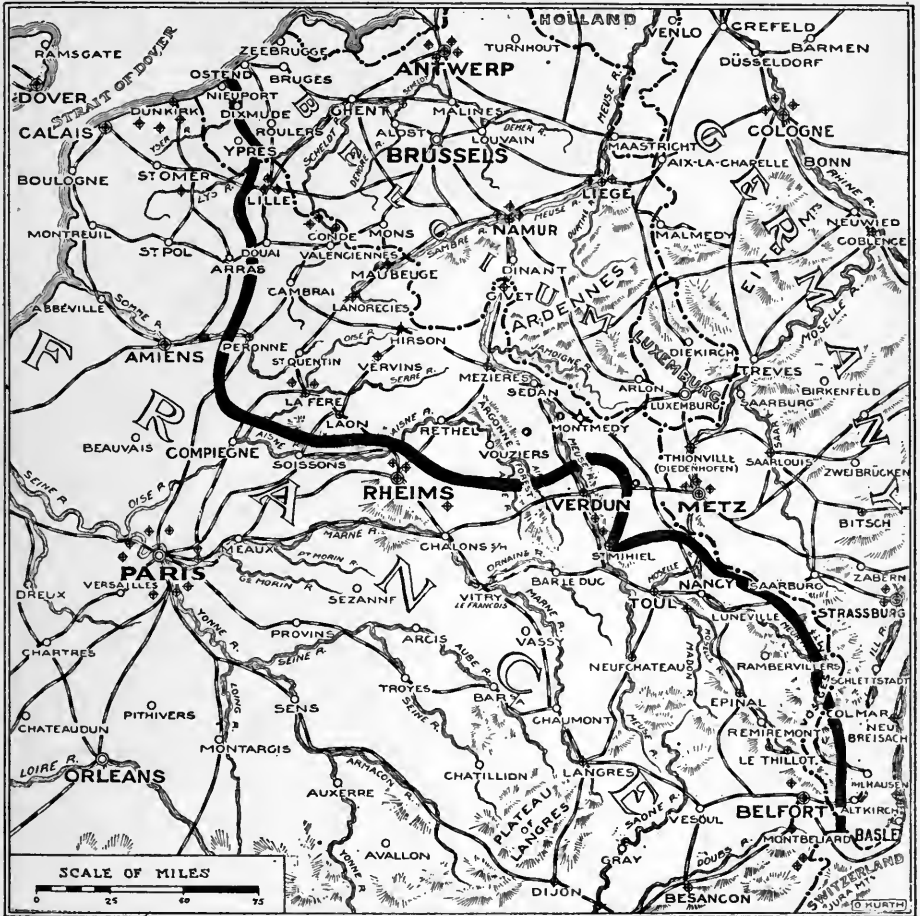
Germans on July 30, the victors, as reported from the British front, using a new device for pouring "liquid fire" upon their enemy. Heavy fighting was again in progress on Aug. 3 on the British front near Hooge, and from that date until Aug. 9 the attacks for recapturing the trenches were continuous, when Field Marshal Sir John French issued this report:

Since my communication of Aug. 1 the artillery on both sides has been active north and east of Ypres. In these exchanges the advantage has been with us.

This morning, after a successful artillery



Scene of the German Crown Prince's Drive in the Argonne, and Westward to Reims.



The British-French Battle Line, Showing Positions on Aug. 15, 1915.

bombardment, in which the French on our left co-operated effectively, we attacked the trenches at Hooze captured by the enemy on July 30. These were all retaken, and following up this success we made further progress north and west of Hooze, extending the front of the trenches captured 1,200 yards.

During this fighting our artillery shelled a German train at Langemarck, (five miles northeast of Ypres,) derailing and setting fire to five trucks.

The captures reported amounted to three officers and 124 men of other ranks and two machine guns.

On Aug. 10 Sir John French reported:

Northwest of Hooze and in the ruins of the village itself we have consolidated the ground gained yesterday, repulsing one weak infantry attack during the night. Yesterday afternoon there was no infantry

fighting, but there was a violent artillery engagement, as a result of which all the trenches in the open ground south of Hooze became untenable by either side, and we have now slightly withdrawn the position of our line which lay south of the village.

This makes no material difference to our position.

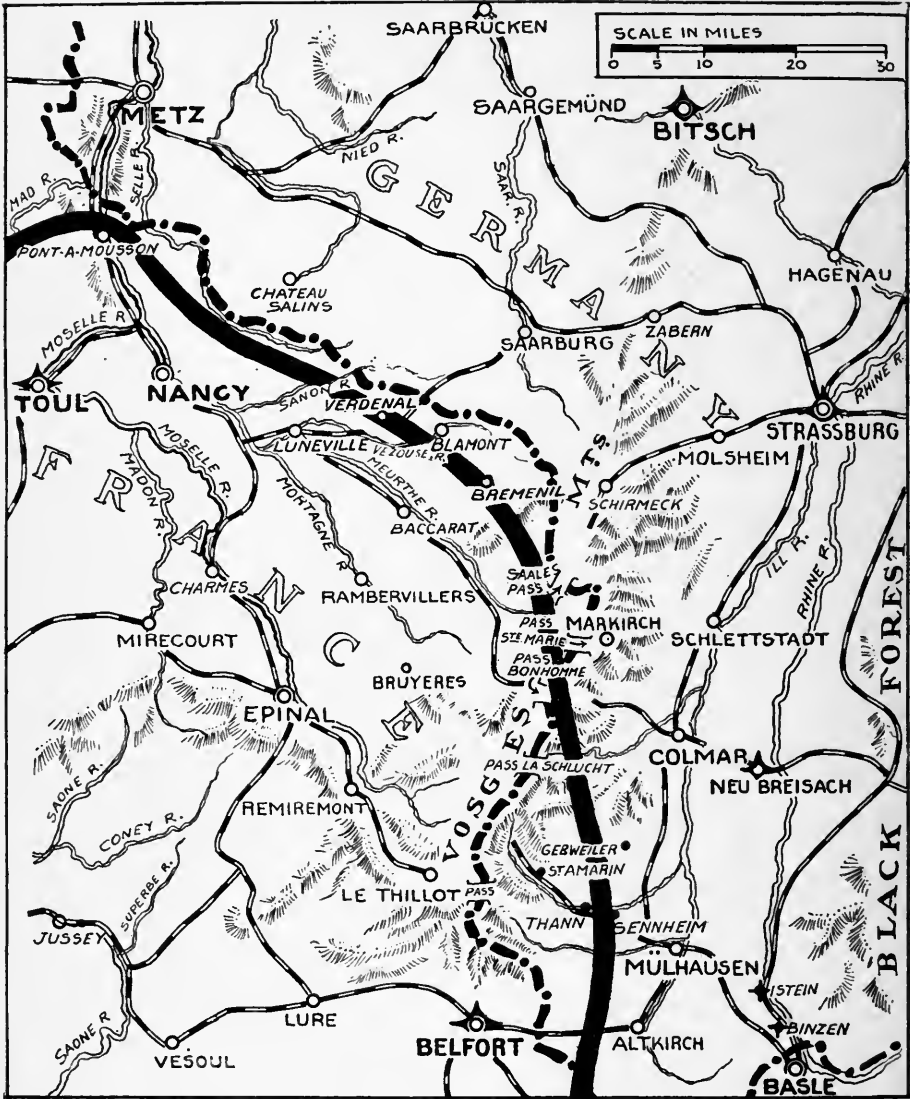
The total number of prisoners captured by us yesterday was 150.

Nothing further of consequence was reported in this area up to Aug. 17.

THE ARGONNE.

The official statement issued in Paris on Aug. 4 said:

In the Argonne the night was full of action. The Germans delivered two attacks, one between Hill No. 213 and the ravine at La Fontaine-aux-Charmes and



Military Operations in the Alsace Region, Showing Battle Line on Aug. 15, 1915.

the other in the region of Marie Thérèse. Our assailants were everywhere thrown back in their trenches by the fire of our infantry and artillery. At Four de Paris and in the direction of Haute Chevauchée there was last night incessant rifle firing between the trenches.

On Aug. 6 the attempts of the Germans to dash from their trenches were reported to be of a particularly violent character; on Aug. 7 the Crown Prince achieved slight successes, and on Aug. 11

the French night report admitted the piercing of the first line of French trenches in these words:

In Artois artillery fighting is reported to have taken place in the sector north of Arras.

In the Argonne the bombardment reported in the previous statement has increased in intensity. A great many asphyxiating shells were used. At daybreak the bombardment was followed by a violent German attack, made by at least three regi-

ments, against our positions between the road of Binarville-Vienne-le-Château and the Houyette Ravine.

In the centre of this sector the Germans succeeded in penetrating our positions, from which, however, they were driven out by our counterattack during the day. Only a portion of our first-line trenches remained in their hands. The prisoners captured by us belong to the Württemberg Corps.

The reports given out in Paris and Berlin on Aug. 12 said that trenches in the Argonne had been won and lost by the Germans in heavy fighting. The Paris report claimed the recapture of only a part of the ground lost, while Berlin contended that the French suffered heavily trying to hold the positions.

IN THE VOSGES.

The Paris official report of Aug. 7 said:

In the Vosges the enemy several times shelled our positions at Linge and Schratzmannelle. Toward 2 P. M. they made an

attack on the Pass of Schratzmannelle, on the road from Honneck, which was stopped by our sweeping fire. At the end of the afternoon a new German attack was repulsed by means of a bayonet charge and grenades.

On Aug. 8 the following account of operations in the Vosges was published in Paris:

In the Vosges an attack delivered by the Germans at the end of the afternoon attained a character of extreme violence. It was directed against our positions at Lingekopf and Schratzmannelle and the neck of land which separates these two heights. Our assailants were repulsed completely and suffered heavy losses. Before the portion of the front held by only one of our companies the corpses of more than one hundred Germans remained in the network of our entanglements.

In this district, as in the others, the engagements have been far from decisive, and apparently intended to prevent the defensive forces on both sides from being diverted to other fields of action rather than to assume an offensive in formidable degree.

German Reports From the West

Storming of Ban-de-Sapt., and Battles of Les Eparges

Reports from German Great Headquarters, describing in detail the campaign on the western front, are not so frequent as the official French and English reports. Therefore, the following official German accounts of military actions, which are deemed of first importance, possess unusual value.

BAN-DE-SAPT.

The following German Great Headquarters reports concerning the storming of the heights of Ban-de-Sapt in the Vosges appeared in the Hamburger Fremdenblatt of July 1, 1915:

BREAKING out from the line Chatas-Saales, our troops in the middle of September, last year, had stopped the advance of the French at Senones, Menil, and Ban-de-Sapt. On this line our brave Bavarians, together with their Prussian and Badensian comrades, have since then prevented any gains by the enemy. Yet in September our strength had not been sufficient to take from the French also the

height dominating Ban-de-Sapt. It has been the centre of the fighting since then on this front.

The French continually strengthened their works on the top of the mountain and made a regular fortress of it. From it they were enabled to keep the country to a distance far behind our lines continually under infantry and machine gun fire, so that we could reach our forward lines only through approach trenches or at night. We lay half way up the slope of the mountain determined not to go back one step, but rather as soon as our forces were sufficient to seize the top. Thus there was begun an obstinate struggle which, since the end

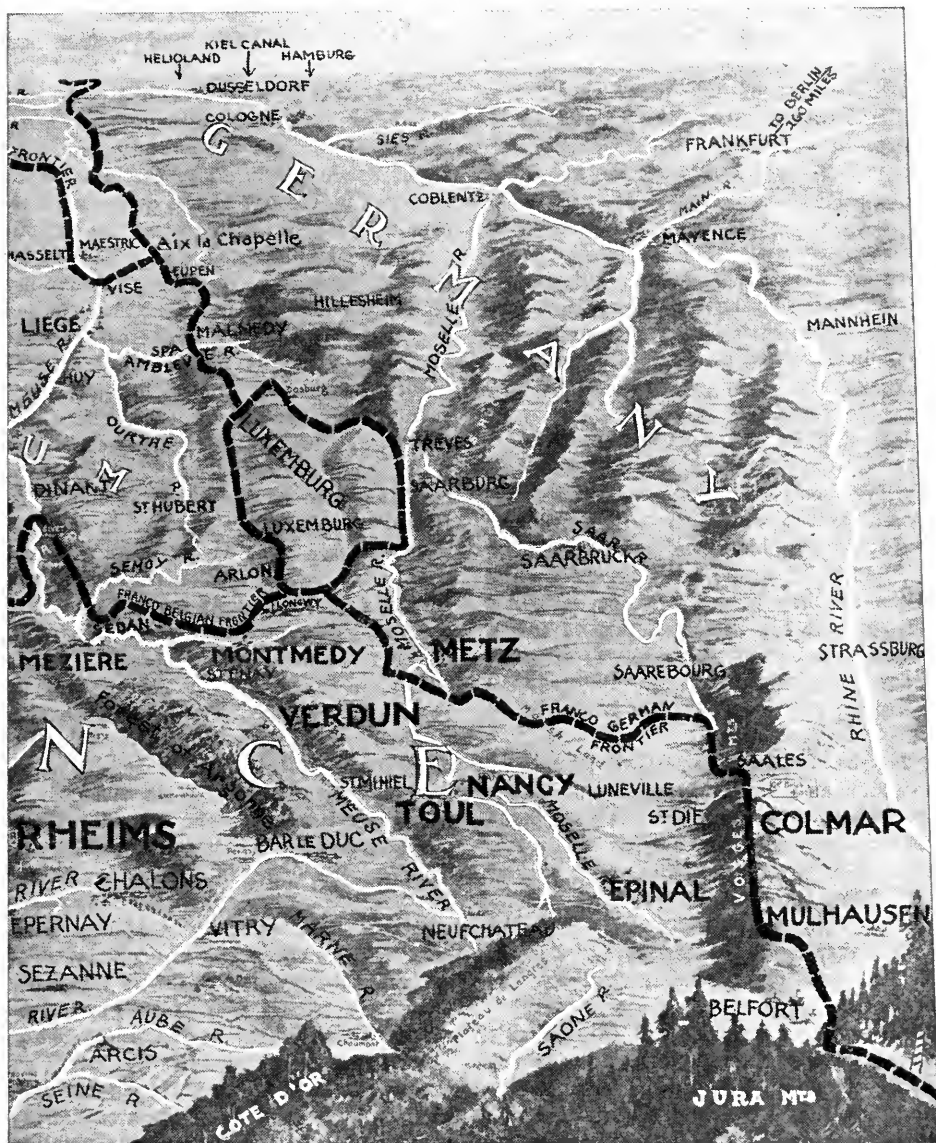


Perspective Map of the Western Area of Fighting from the North Sea Coast Eastward, Showing the Flanders District.

of the year 1914, brought one piece after another of the French position into our possession.

Every means of fighting at close range was utilized. Day and night the struggle went on above and below the earth. Frequently the trenches ran within twenty meters and less of each other.

Uncommonly strong wire obstacles, to the height of one and a half meters, surrounded the bulwarks of the French and thus divided friend from foe. Only through a maze of ditches formed by the slowly advancing infantry positions could one get to our forward lines. In accordance with their characteristic custom, the



Perspective Map of the Western Area of Fighting from the Meuse to Mülhausen.

tireless Bavarians had here given to practically every trench and every little piece of woods the name of one of their leaders of whom they had grown fond. A French point of support, in which, well built in and concealed behind sandbags, French sharpshooters lay in wait to bag any one who might carelessly ex-

pose himself, they had dubbed "Sepp." Opposite to it stood the Bavarian "Anti-Sepp" with its well-aimed rifles lying also in wait.

Finally, the preparations for the attack had advanced to such an extent that the height could definitely be snatched from the enemy. Long and thorough

preparations had been required for this result. Co-operation of artillery and infantry were prerequisite for a successful consummation of the plan. It was a brilliant success. On June 22, at 3 P. M. sharp, in accordance with watches exactly set right beforehand, the height of Ban-de-Sapt and the village of Fontenelle, lying behind it, in which French reserves were suspected to be stationed, were systematically taken under fire. In unison the "ultima ratio regis," from light field piece to heavy mortar, raised their iron voices, sending into the positions of the enemy their destruction-bringing missiles.

Prussian, Bavarian, Saxon, and Badenian artillery worked side by side. A terribly beautiful scene was here revealed to the observer. At times one could see a black column of smoke ascending house high; then again the shells as they struck sent up whirling through the air brown clouds of earth, mixed with boards and timbers; at other times the whole mountain was wrapped in smoke and dust. Not a living being was to be recognized.

To the French the attack had come so much as a surprise that it had been under way for more than half an hour before their artillery opened fire. According to reports made later by prisoners, everybody had fled to the dugouts at the beginning of the fire. All giving and transmission of orders had ceased. The surprise of the enemy artillery was such that it scattered its fire without plan over the country and in vain felt about for our fire-spouting guns, thundering from all directions. Thus a violent artillery fire was maintained for three and one-half hours. Sharply for 6:30 P. M. the storm was ordered. In an irresistible "forward" the brave Bavarian reserve troops, supported by Prussian infantry and chasseurs, stormed ahead. Prussian and Bavarian engineer troops and a few guns brought up to the immediate vicinity cleared the way for them where necessary. As soon as the enemy had recovered from the effects of our artillery fire he offered stubborn resistance with hand grenades, rifle and machine-gun fire. It availed him nothing.

The foremost storming sections overran four rows of the enemy's trenches, one after the other, and to hold the ground, which was drenched with the blood of their comrades, established themselves on the conquered space with rapid spade work. The sections which followed pulled out of the dugouts whatever was still alive. Most of the prisoners had been stunned and deafened by the bombardment. Many Frenchmen lay buried beneath the ruins of the wrecked dugouts. By 8 o'clock in the evening the dominating height of Ban-de-Sapt was in our possession. Soon thereafter the enemy took our new positions under a lively artillery fire which continued throughout the entire night and toward morning rose to the greatest intensity. In fact, the French succeeded in surprising those of our brave riflemen who had penetrated into a section of trench covered by their overwhelming artillery fire, but the dominant height itself in its full extent remained in our hands.

We had to count upon a counterattack. It was not to be expected that the enemy would leave to us without a considerable exertion of his strength a height which he had held for months at the cost of heavy sacrifices. On the 23d of June toward 9 o'clock in the forenoon, an extraordinarily heavy fire from numerous heavy guns set in against the newly won position. The bringing up of hostile reinforcements was reported. The intended counterattack was imminent. Whence it was to come was plain—the guns stood ready to receive the hostile lines. At 10 o'clock dense swarms of infantry attempted to rush forward from the village of Fontenelle and from the woods westward of the height toward our position, but were so showered with artillery fire even at the very start that the attack suffered a sanguinary collapse. Those that did not fall dead or wounded fled back into the woods or into the village of Fontenelle. The reserves visible there were scattered by our shells falling in their midst.

After this attempt, checked with heavy losses, the enemy ceased from further attacks. The capture of four machine guns alleged in the French official report is

a flat invention. Not a single one of our machine guns was lost.

BATTLES AT LES EPARGES.

The following report is made from the German Great Headquarters concerning the battles at Les Eparges, as printed in the Hamburger Nachrichten of June 30:

When at the end of April and in the early days of May we had succeeded in pushing forward for a considerable distance our positions on the Meuse heights between the village Les Eparges and the Grande Tranchée de Calonne leading from the ancient Summer residence of the Bishops of Verdun, Hattonchatel, to Verdun, we had to count on the fact that the French would endeavor to the best of their abilities to gain back the ground taken from them at this important point. However, at first things remained fairly quiet there. When, though, the Second French Army Corps, which some weeks before in its vain attacks on our brave troops between the Orne and Combres, especially at Maizeray and Marcheville, had suffered sanguinary reverses was again capable of giving battle, this army corps was placed in readiness for the recapture of our new positions on the Grande Tranchée. Since the middle of June the increasingly heavy French fire from guns of all calibres indicated an intended enterprise at this point. We had not deceived ourselves. When the enemy considered the effect of his artillery sufficient, on Sunday, June 20th, he set his fresh, well-rested troops in motion for the attack on our positions on both sides of the Tranchée.

The French here followed the method, which as a rule they prefer, of sending strong forces in succession against single selected points, often from several different directions. They succeeded finally in forcing their way into a section of our foremost trench, into some connecting trenches leading toward the rear, and even into a small part of our second line. During the same night, from Sunday to Monday, the regiment which had been struck by this forward thrust undertook a counterattack in which every one down to the last man took part. We succeeded, too, in taking

back from the French the portion of the second line they had seized and the connecting trenches, and in doing so captured a number of prisoners. But the enemy did not let up. About noon of the 21st day of June he renewed his attack with fresh forces along the whole line. To the west of Tranchée he was continually, on the following days also, thrown back with heavy losses. To the east of the Tranchée, on the other hand, where the breach he had made still remained in his possession, he succeeded, pushing forward through this, in again winning ground inside our lines. Here, therefore, he had to be thrown out again.

For this task dawn of the 22d of June was fixed upon. The enemy, seemingly, was surprised. He vacated the trenches, leaving behind a considerable number of prisoners. Now, the French took our entire positions under heavy fire, lasting for whole days. For this purpose they had strengthened the numerous heavy artillery which they already had at this point by other batteries of heaviest calibre taken from other parts of the front. They used also in great quantities shells which, upon exploding, developed asphyxiating gases. The effect of such missiles is a double one. They act not only by means of the exploded fragments but also, by means of their gases, render men within a larger radius unfit for battle, at least for some time. To protect themselves against this action where shells of this sort have struck near their own infantry the French in the battles here described all wore smoke masks, [respirators.] * * * With such an enemy we had to contend in embittered hand-to-hand combats during the following days and nights.

The new means of close fighting with their terrible moral side-effects, here, too, again played an important rôle. Here belong especially the mine-throwers and hand grenades of varied construction, these, too, like the artillery shells, in the case of the French developing asphyxiating gases. Yet already on the 22d of June was shown the indisputable superiority of our infantry over the French. Whenever we undertook to attack we could overthrow even much stronger enemy

forces and especially in individual combat drive them out of their positions, however strongly built. Only against overwhelming artillery fire our brave troops had a most difficult task to stand. As soon as they had retaken a piece of trench the enemy's artillery directed against it a murderous fire which it is a physical impossibility to withstand.

In these embittered battles raging back and forth we could not deny our appreciation to the French infantry. Again and again they let themselves be sent forward to the attack, regardless of our very effective artillery and infantry fire, and regardless of the fire of their own artillery, which was laid without any consideration to where the French infantrymen had to carry out their attack. Inconsiderate, too, were the attacking troops, whose ranks were filled again and again from the rear, toward themselves. Again and again they stormed over the bodies of their comrades who had but just fallen, or had fallen in recent days of the battle, and lay in the blood-drenched thickets of the forest. Again and again they used heaps of these corpses as cover against the fire; indeed, even utilized the bodies of the brave fallen as regular breastworks where they were compelled quickly to establish themselves and dig themselves in. Many hundred corpses covered the narrow space between our and the enemy trenches. When, late in the evening of the 24th of June, we definitely secured possession of all the communicating trenches leading to our lost forward line these ditches were filled to the top with French bodies.

For days the French had held out here beside and on the bodies of their fallen comrades. Let it remain unsettled whether self-control or lack of feeling here played the greater part. For us, at any rate, this chamber of the dead was no fighting position. We filled in these trenches and made a common grave of them for the brave ones fallen there.

Nor shall mention be omitted in this connection of the fact that, according to the unvarying reports of all prisoners, the French infantry in the days from the 20th to the 25th of June received no warm food. Though this, like other tes-

timony of prisoners, may not be absolutely accurate and be calculated to awaken pity, yet it should be borne in mind that experience shows that in the reports of prisoners there is usually some truth. The miserable condition of the prisoners confirmed this.

Our attack of the 25th of June came to a stop before that foremost part of our trenches which, to an extent of barely 300 meters, still remained in the enemy's possession. On the 26th of June we went forward to attack to the east of the obstinate battles just described, in the direction toward les Eparges. Not this village, lying in the valley, however, was the object aimed at in this undertaking, but the wooded mountain ridge sloping down toward it, on which the French had for a long time constructed strong defenses. These were to be taken. About noon, after careful preparation, our movement for the attack began. The enemy seemed not to have expected anything of this sort at this place. Without any extraordinary losses and in a comparatively short time, we succeeded in taking the first hostile positions by storm and in an uninterrupted further advance in conquering also the enemy's main position lying behind these. Such of the enemy as did not fall victims to our fire and our bayonets fled down the steep slopes toward Les Eparges, to reorganize themselves there.

Our attentive artillery did not neglect this opportunity to take this village under fire, as well as to block with well-directed shots, the roads leading to it, on which the enemy was bringing up his reinforcements. Shortly thereafter Les Eparges, with the war materials accumulated there, went up in flames. For us the task was now to hold the newly won advantageous position on the point of the projecting mountain southwest of Les Eparges, for we had to reckon with obstinate attempts of our enemy to retake what he had lost. On this very evening of the 26th of June the French counterattacks began. They continued all night long to the 27th without any success. Here, too, as at both sides of the Tranchée, the French have suffered extraordinarily heavy losses.

However the situation may shape itself here further, the Second French Army Corps and the other French forces brought into action here have neither been able to force the intended break in one line at the Tranchée nor to maintain the dominating height to the southwest of Les Eparges against the surprise storming attack carried on with unparalleled courage by our battle-trying troops.

REPORT CONTINUED.

From the German Great Headquarters by the Wolff Telegraphic Bureau, the following appeared in the Frankfurter Zeitung of July 20:

Our last report of events on the heights of the Meuse closed with the comment that further undertakings of the French for the recapture of the important positions near Les Eparges, which had been taken from them were to be expected. The next day brought the confirmation. Since then the embittered battles there have continued. The terrible effect of the heavy artillery of both sides and of aerial and subterranean mines has converted the battleground at Les Eparges and Grande Tranchée de Calonne, as at Combres, into a chaos of stone heaps, rocks, tree stumps and scrub, interwoven with tangles of barbed wire, which had been shot through, and with destroyed fighting material of all sorts. In between were pits of explosions which had torn up the ground into veritable ravines. Here the task is a heavy one for the defender to find positions in trenches capable of defense, and for the attacker to work his way through this field of wreckage.

However monotonous the following description of the battles at Les Eparges may sound, yet for him who had to live through them they were fearfully exciting and a terribly wearing experience. These battles bear eloquent testimony to the mental and moral worth of our troops, who for days had to endure the hostile fire in their trenches and still hold themselves ready in positions filled in with earth and wreckage to make front against the enemy wherever he might dare to attempt to advance.

After a heavy artillery fire directed

at our position from Les Eparges to beyond the Tranchée, two attacks occurred simultaneously on the 27th of June, at noon, one of them against our newly won positions southwest of Les Eparges, the other to the east of the Tranchée. Both were repulsed. In the evening the enemy again attacked, this time against the whole extent of our north front. This attack also was repulsed.

During the night preceding the 28th the French reinforced their artillery with additional guns of heavy calibre. These were emplaced for concentrated fire on our new position at Les Eparges, and the position at the Tranchée. Then on the 28th in the earliest dawn they opened a murderous fire against our entire forward and supporting lines. Shortly after 8 A. M. they undertook an attack from the Sonvaux ravine against our lines on the ridge at Les Eparges which we were able to repulse without difficulty. Four other attacks made in the course of the day against the same point met with similar lack of success. The day again had brought the enemy very heavy losses, but not the slightest gains. At the Tranchée no attacks were undertaken by either side on this day.

In the night preceding the 29th took place an extraordinarily heavy artillery surprise attack on our positions from Combres to beyond the Tranchée. A French storming operation seemed to be planned. Our fire, however, prevented its execution. Only to the east of the Tranchée the French in the night pushed forward on a narrow front. The attack broke down in our fire. All day long then our positions lay under heavy bombardment. At 12 o'clock noon the enemy then renewed his attacks at Les Eparges. For this he employed especially strong forces, apparently withdrawn from other places. But not even with their help did he succeed in breaking into our positions. This attack, as were three others made in the course of the afternoon, was again repulsed with heavy losses to the French. During the rest of the day and through the whole night the enemy covered our entire positions with an extraordinarily heavy fire. Also all roads leading into the Côtes Loraines, as well as the vil-

lages on these heights and those at their foot on the edge of the plain of Woevre, which, however, for a long time had not been inhabited by us, were again plentifully showered with fire.

Again on the 30th of June an attempt was made at an attack under continued strong bombardment. Then the enemy apparently saw the hopelessness of his ever repeated attacks. Perhaps, too, his heavy losses or want of ammunition was responsible for the fact that, from the evening of the last day of June onward, his efforts to retake the lost heights decreased. The first of July passed in comparative quiet. Any one, however, who should have approached our positions on the heights of the Meuse as a stranger to the conditions of this sort of fighting might well have believed that new battles were in progress for this much-fought-for point. For even when the fire here slackens down any one who is not accustomed to these uninterrupted battles at close range and to the echoing of the fire of all calibres in these ravines gets the impression of a regular large battle. Neither day nor night can there said to be quiet there. Even as the French in their desperate efforts make every sacrifice to secure gains, though ever so small, that shall in some measure make up for the failures they have suffered there, so we also do not cease to take under effective fire their ever repeated offensive efforts by timely bombardments of the villages in which they gather their troops for the attack, of their columns preparing to storm, and of their trenches of the front and the supporting lines, from which the forces for the attack are rushed forward.

Here the fliers have an especially valuable task. In these wooded hills, which make direct observation extremely difficult and in great part excludes it entirely, leaders and troops must depend on the reports which our brave airmen supply. For hours they circle over the sections assigned to them to be cleared up and report with signs agreed upon in advance every movement of the hostile batteries or of single guns. The enemy, for his part, knows the danger which the hostile fliers brings. He knows quite

well that shortly he will be the object of attentions from the foe's artillery. The repulse of the airmen, therefore, is a task undertaken with zeal by both sides. In addition to the batteries specially assigned for this purpose and to the infantry and machine gun detachments, this task recently has fallen to special fighting aeroplanes.

We have already on another occasion pointed out that the German fliers, undoubtedly, have gained the ascendancy over the enemy's air machines in aerial battles. Here, too, between the Meuse and the Moselle we can record similar success. Recently one of our fighting fliers succeeded in shooting down a French aeroplane in the neighborhood of Essey. Wherever German fighting aeroplanes appear the French fliers, since this and other successes, now without hesitation yield the air and in this admit their inferiority.

On the 2d of July we had opportunity to observe at length the activity of our own and French fliers. As the events of the next following day showed, the enemy had strengthened his artillery for combatting our positions on the Meuse heights, and employed the next day especially in obtaining the range for his new batteries, by firing test shots at our positions and roads of approach with the help of the fliers, in so far as our watchful battle aeroplanes permitted him. We therefore had to count on the continuation of the fighting in this section. During that night, in fact, the enemy increased his fire not only against the points which hitherto had been the main objects of attack, but also against the neighboring positions on the Combres Heights, and further to the northeast in the plain, as far as Marcheville and Maizeray.

The 3d of July brought renewed infantry attacks, introduced each time by heavy artillery fire, especially with bombs carrying asphyxiating gases, and accompanied by a hail of hand grenades, for the employment of which the Frenchmen latterly show a special fondness. Four times on this day the enemy violently attacked Les Eparges, and as many times was driven with bloody heads into flight.

It then seemed as if the impossibility of penetrating here had finally been realized and all further attempts given up, for the 4th and 5th of July brought only artillery fighting. But again on the evening of the 5th the increasing violence of the enemy's fire gave reason

to expect the repetition of infantry attacks.

After two attempts late in the evening of the 5th to break into our positions had failed because of the watchfulness of our grenadiers, the 6th of July brought heavy fighting throughout the entire day.

Activity at the Dardanelles

British Reinforcements Made to Capture Gallipoli

IN THE ANZAC ZONE.

An Associated Press dispatch from London dated Aug. 11, 1915, made this statement:

WHILE the Russians are fighting desperately to extricate themselves from the cordon of Austro-German troops which is steadily pressing them more closely in Poland, their allies are working feverishly and with considerable success to open the Dardanelles, through which they hope to pour into Russia the much-needed munitions of war.

Since Saturday night, [Aug. 7,] when fresh British forces were landed on the Gallipoli Peninsula, there has been almost continuous fighting on the Krithia Road. In these operations Australians and New Zealanders in the "Anzac" region (a name taken from the initial letters of the words "Australia-New Zealand Army Corps") have co-operated with new forces to the north. Following up the successes of the troops on the Krithia Road and those to the north of the "Anzac" zone, the Australians and New Zealanders took the offensive yesterday and succeeded in trebling the area formerly held by them. Their comrades to the north, who assisted them, made no further progress, however.

These actions are believed here to be preliminary to a much more ambitious attempt which has been planned by the Anglo-French commanders to sweep the Turks before them. Very heavy losses, which already have been inflicted on the

Turks, have had a discouraging effect upon the Ottoman troops, according to reports from Greece.

An official British statement given out on Aug. 11 said:

The latest report from Sir Ian Hamilton states that severe fighting continued yesterday in the Gallipoli Peninsula, mainly in the Anzac zone (on the western side of the peninsula) and in that to the north. The positions occupied were slightly varied in places, but the general result is that the area held at Anzac has been nearly trebled, owing chiefly to the gallantry and dash of the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps.

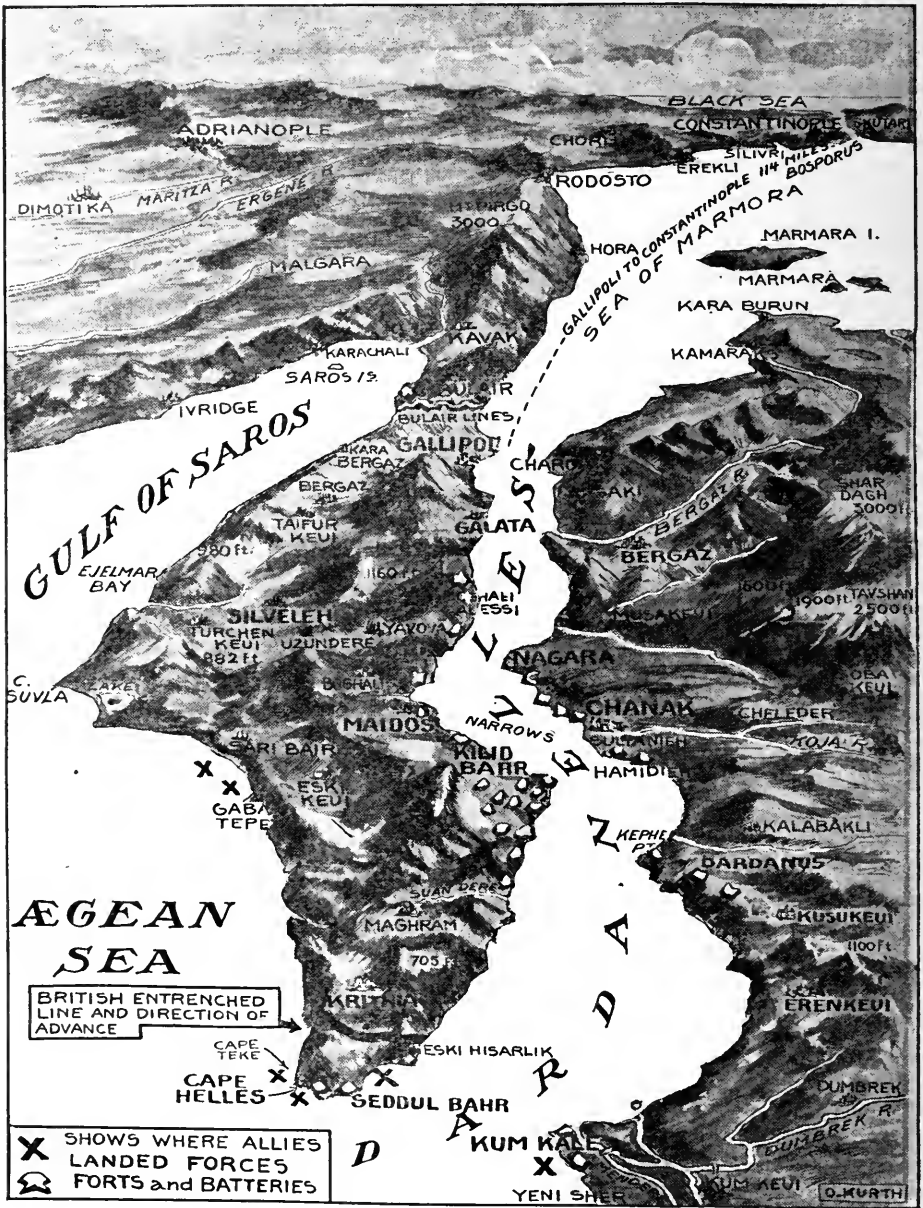
While to the north no further progress has yet been made, the troops have inflicted heavy losses on the enemy, and the French battleship *St. Louis* is reported to have put out of action five out of six guns in the Asiatic batteries.

A GERMAN REPORT.

In a Constantinople dispatch of Aug. 9 by way of Berlin, transmitted by wireless to Sayville, L. I., on Aug. 11, appeared the following:

Enver Pasha, the Turkish Minister of War, said today that, according to his information, the Entente Allies in their latest operations at the Dardanelles had landed three divisions of troops, comprising about 50,000 men. The losses among them, however, he asserted, had already been very heavy.

Enver Pasha's statement was made in an interview with a correspondent of



Perspective Map, Showing the Situation at the Dardanelles.

The Associated Press. The Turkish War Minister said:

“I am fully confident that we will be able to keep the Allies in check on the Gallipoli Peninsula, even if other large reinforcements are coming. We knew

that the Allies’ action of two days ago was due, and we prepared for it, with the result that we were not caught napping.

“According to my information, the Allies landed three divisions, about 50,000 men. No doubt part of them no longer

count, considering the heavy losses they sustained in attacks incident to the new offensive. The allied losses have been very heavy so far in this new attempt to force the Dardanelles."

Enver Pasha had just had a conference with his Chief of Staff at which the final report from the Gallipoli Peninsula operations was discussed. The War Minister seemed in the best of spirits, as he had just received news that a Turkish aeroplane had destroyed a submarine of the Entente Allies near Bulair. Reviewing the events at Sedd-el-Bahr during the last two days, he said:

"The Allies experienced dogged resistance in their attempts to force the Turkish positions at Sedd-el-Bahr. Two regiments attacking our centre there were annihilated with the exception of about sixty men, who were captured.

ALLIED FORCES JOINED.

A special cable from London to THE NEW YORK TIMES reported on Aug. 17:

Evidence of the improvement of the allied positions at the Dardanelles, both on land and sea, is found in a dispatch from Athens published in *The Daily Chronicle* this morning. The announcement that the fleet has been actively cooperating with the landing parties, particularly the latest, that at Suvla Bay, which has joined hands with the forces already in position on the heights of Sari Bair, gives ground for the belief that the allied naval commanders can now afford to disregard the menace of

German submarines which sent them to cover for a considerable period.

The *Chronicle's* correspondent telegraphs:

"The new successful landing on the Gallipoli Peninsula at Suvla Bay and the manner in which it was effected cannot fail to exercise a moral effect on the enemy. The landing took place on the foreshore in front of Salt Lake. Only a small observation force of Turks was on the spot, the Turks having been led by recent activities and reports to concentrate their forces on the Asiatic side of the Dardanelles and at Smyrna, where they thought attacks probable.

"Our whole landing force, with its ammunition, baggage, and artillery, reached shore practically without opposition and with only very few casualties. The force immediately advanced and quickly seized the positions which it was planned should be taken. These strong intrenched positions were organized. The right wing was thrown out and a junction effected with the left wing of our forces established before Sari Bair. Our new positions threaten the Turks' communications by land with the extremity of the peninsula.

"The enemy eventually brought up forces to attack the newly landed troops, but these were easily repulsed with serious loss. This defeat of the enemy enabled our forces still further to consolidate their positions.

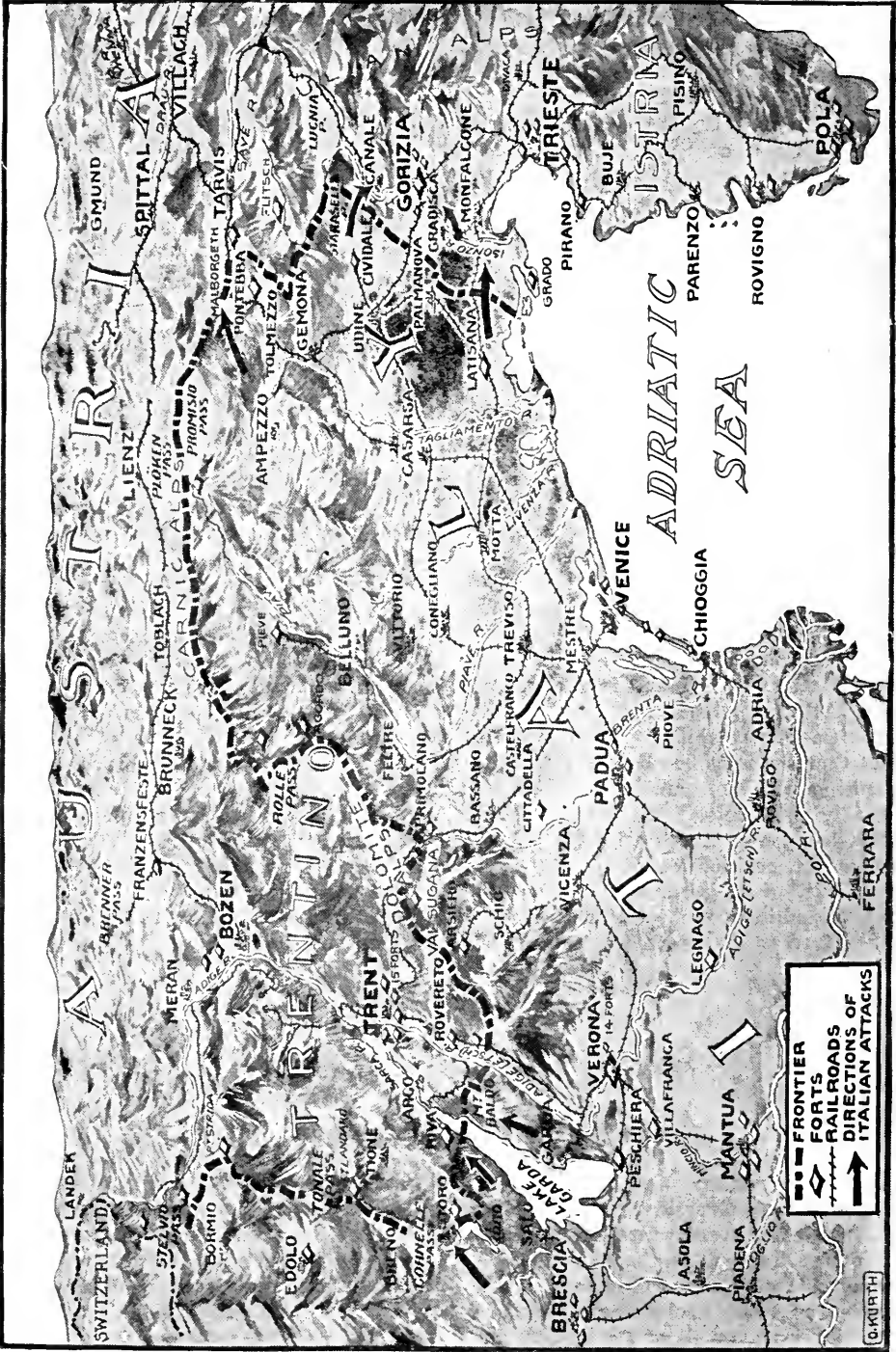
"The fleet during the last few days has been very active."

Stone Coffins Unearthed

[From The Sphere of London.]

A French officer, in a letter to his wife, mentions a diversion from shells, that of digging for Greek antiquities in the soil of the Gallipoli Peninsula. The following note will prove full of interest for students of Greek archaeology. "We are on a Greek necropolis of the highest antiquity," he writes, "some five or six centuries before our era. In digging

trenches we come on enormous stones which resound. They are the lids of tombs. With great care (but not always) we remove the covering stone. Underneath is the interior of a stone coffin, which we empty little by little. Grain by grain for centuries the soil has gently intruded. Inside there is a skeleton more or less preserved.



Perspective Map of Austro-Italian Frontier, Showing Scene of the Recent Military Operations.

Italy's Attack on Gorizia

Positions Consolidated Preceding a Final Attempt on Austria's Fortress

WHILE the movements on the Italian fronts, as reported from official sources, have tended to confirm the objects of the campaign—the neutralization of the Trentino, the holding of the passes through the Carnic Alps, and a strong offensive along the Isonzo from Tarvis and Tolmino to the sea, including the capture of the heights around Gorizia in the centre and the investment of Trieste over the Carse Plateau in the south—little beyond incidentals has been achieved. These incidentals, however, are claimed to be of great potential value to the invaders.

In the Trentino, although the main artery which supplies the territory from Vienna has not been cut, it is announced that the railway from the north to Bolzano and Trent has been bombarded and on one occasion a troop train and its soldier passengers destroyed. In the south the lines around Rovereto and Riva, at the head of the Lago di Garda, have been contracted. The most prominent elevations captured in the vicinity of Go-

rizia have been Monte San Michele, from which the Austrians could bombard not only the approaches to the Carso but also the Italian positions at Gradisca and Monfalcone, and Monte dei Sei Busi on the southern ridge. On the Dalmatian coast a naval force has also captured the islands of Pelagosa (Grande and Piccola) and destroyed the wireless stations there and on the Island of Lagosta.

On Aug. 14 General Cadorna allowed the information to transpire at Udine that a general attack would shortly be made along the Isonzo front which would lead to the early fall of Gorizia and open the road over the Carso Plateau to Trieste. It was added that the General Staff was hopeful that this campaign would be completed early in September.

This may be interpreted to mean that the commanding heights in the region were then in the possession of the Italians, but that a few days must elapse before placing the proper guns on the crests so that their occupation may be rendered effective for a general advance of the field armies below.

"The Glory Hole"

[From The London Daily Chronicle.]

The scene of Lieutenant Smyth's miraculous relief expedition with ten Sikh volunteers, across 250 yards of bullet-swept plain and through a river with a heavy box of bombs, which might have exploded at any moment.

"Praise to our Indian brother, and let the dark face have his due,"

Thanks for the loyal red blood that is flowing like water in France!
Life for a life they demanded, till all their munition was through.

Then—there was more in reserve. So was death, and they leaped at the chance!

British Lieutenant for leader, and ten swarthy Sikhs at his back,

Dragged the huge boxes of fireballs—was ever a deadlier freight?
Facing a fountain of bullets and under a sky shrapnel-black,
Threading a trenchful of corpses and crossing a river in spate.

Two of that noble Eleven won through with their perilous load,

One in the moment of triumph to fall in defending the Hole;
Only the British Lieutenant unscathed on the gun-riddled road!

Yet, has their angel recorded, "Eleven arrived at the goal."

A. W.

The Guarantees of a Lasting Peace

By Count Julius Andrassy

This article should be read in connection with the report that Germany has made overtures for peace with Russia, after her victorious Polish campaign.

Count Julius Andrassy, one of the foremost statesmen of the Dual Monarchy, is the son of a still more famous sire—that Count Julius Andrassy who, with Bismarck and Beaconsfield, engineered the Berlin Treaty of 1878, which contains all the seeds of the present war, beginning with the assignment of Bosnia-Herzegovina to the Austrian Empire, and the constriction of Bulgaria. The present Count Julius Andrassy has been Minister of the Interior for Hungary, and is a hereditary member of the Hungarian House of Lords. He was born on June 30, 1860. This article by him is taken from the *Revue de Hongrie*, of Budapest.

A PEACE is "good" when it gives to the belligerent State what it desires. It is easier to establish the goals of the aggressors than those of the attacked. Thus, it is clear that for France an advantageous peace would be one which gave her back at least Alsace-Lorraine, and for Serbia a peace that should give her at least Bosnia-Herzegovina and Dalmatia.

As for ourselves, it is harder to indicate the guarantees of a lasting peace. Before seeking them, we must make clear why we are at war.

It is not because we aim at universal domination; we can as boldly say that of ourselves as of Germany.

The exclusive domination of one nation, or of a group of nations, would mark a step backward for civilization as much as for the whole of humanity, and, besides, could not last, because, soon or late, everything is condemned to disappear which does not conform to the interests of progress, or which tends to make permanent the results of a momentary success.

In the war literature of today it is frequently maintained that it is to the interest of humanity and civilization that England and France should come out of the war victorious and mark with the seal of their genius the evolution of humanity; or that, on the contrary, the domination of Germany is rather to be desired, since Germany is the country of the highest civilization.

These are exaggerations which will not bear examination. It is impossible to say to which people humanity owes its

finest progress in the past or which nation is called to render the greatest service in the future.

It is impossible to settle whether Shakespeare or Goethe, Helmholtz or Pasteur, was greatest and has rendered the greatest services to humanity.

There is no "first nation," and even if there were one it would not be desirable that it should set the imprint of its particular genius on civilization. The qualities of any given people cannot take the place of those of others. The general interest demands that progress should be as varied as possible, that the greatest possible number of races should cooperate in the work of civilization, in freely unfolding their genius and their inborn qualities. Humanity needs not great nations only, but little nations also.

We must not forget that Homer and Phidias were the sons of a nation weak in numbers but independent, that the Michael Angelos and Raphaels were born and grew up on the soil of cities which had their separate life, that a Rembrandt and a Petöfi belonged to little nations. It is especially for us Magyars not to lose sight of this great truth, since we are members of a nation which is not willing to lose its identity in another, however great that other may be, and which is convinced that humanity has a stake in its preservation. * * *

I do not wish to enter into questions of detail; I have not in view to establish conditions which would be absolutely necessary for the conclusion of peace; I am not at all weighing the chances of the possible and the practicable. It even

seems to me that in the present war the changes and chances of which cannot be foreseen, public opinion would be wrong to express categorical desiderata and to wish to impose on the Governments stipulations fixed in advance. I shall therefore limit myself to looking at the question from a purely theoretical point of view, and to defining the conditions which, while safeguarding the interests of the Central European powers, would offer the guarantees of a lasting peace, but at the same time I wish to insist on the fact that in politics it is before all with possibility that one should count; it is in basing one's self on the calculation of real forces that one may see whether what one has proposed to one's self is practicable and bears a due proportion to the sacrifices imposed upon the country.

The present war has arisen from three powerful antagonisms—the Franco-German antagonism, the Anglo-German antagonism, and the antagonism between Muscovitism and its western neighbors.

To find the conditions of a "good" peace, we must therefore consider these antagonisms one by one and seek the solution which fits each of the problems which have provoked the conflict. * * *

The Franco-German antagonism goes back to a time when the French and German national consciousness, properly so called, was not yet in existence. * * * One of the goals of this war is to dissipate this ancient antagonism, which is a permanent danger to universal peace. This goal can be attained in two ways—either by an accord between the two countries or by the crushing of France.

The first solution is preferable. * * * If Germany does not profit by her victory to annex new territories, it will be difficult to make the French believe, as they have done in the past, that Germany has dreams of aggrandizing herself at the expense of France.

But if this hope should not be realized and the victories of Germany should only excite anew the hatred of the French for Germany, if they remain in the conviction that Germany is pursuing a policy of aggression toward their country, then Germany will see herself forced to put

an end to this struggle of the two peoples by the final weakening of France.

Bismarck said, as early as 1887, that if Germany was forced once more to draw the sword against France, and came forth once more victorious from the conflict, she would have to knock France out for thirty years, and so act that at least one generation could not bear arms against Germany. "The war of 1870," he said, "would be child's play in comparison with the next war, when they would try to bleed each other white."

Today it is still possible for the French to avoid this fate for their country. The Germans have no hatred for them, and would be altogether rejoiced to remove, by an amicable arrangement, the sword of Damocles which the enmity of France suspends over Germany's head.

They will only swerve from this path, they will only put Bismarck's threat into execution, if France does not give guarantees of a radical change of policy: such would be the conclusion of a separate peace. May God grant that Germany may not be forced to have recourse to extreme measures! The general interest demands that France should submit to the decree of fate, in case her adversaries are victorious, in order to conserve her vital forces, so precious for humanity.

The Anglo-German antagonism has a quite different character. It is of quite recent origin and has no historic causes. * * * There is only one new fact: the economic rise of Germany and the growth of her fleet. These are the only grievances which England has against Germany. The growing prosperity of the commerce of Germany, the rapid growth of her population, and in the same proportion of her naval power—this is what provoked the anger of England, made her conclude the entente, and drove her to take part in this war.

But it is precisely for this reason that the pretensions of England are a peril for the whole world. It is for this reason that the cause of Germany has become that of the freedom of the seas. If England considers as a menace the economic prosperity of one of her neighbors, its export trade, and the creation

of the fleet necessary to assure its protection, this means that she wishes to dominate maritime conditions and bar the way to every nation which is developing.

Therefore, Germany is struggling to break England's guardianship, to force the recognition of her right to become a world power, to possess a war fleet, to spread abroad her colonial commerce. It is hoped that the English in their turn will recognize the legitimate character of these aspirations, and will realize that Germany is much too strong to subject the necessities of her economic growth to the good pleasure of England.

It would be desirable that, in delineating their spheres of influence, the negotiating powers should agree on conditions that would permit Germany to develop in perfect liberty. We hope that England will end by resigning herself to this, when she sees that Germany cannot be conquered, that the Continental Allies will run the risk of being ground to pieces, as in the epoch of Napoleon I., and that a prolongation of the struggle would impose so many sacrifices on her that they would make the war "bad business." But it is possible that England—which for centuries has not been decisively conquered—may persist in wishing to go to the end, "to conquer or die." In this case a durable peace can only be realized by crushing England completely. Europe and all humanity would suffer equally from such an eventuality, for it would be making permanent a sanguinary struggle which could profit none of the belligerents and would find its inspiration in hatred, thirst for revenge, rather than an inevitable conflict of really vital interests.

The third element of the general war is the antagonism which exists between the aspirations of the Russian Empire for universal domination and the vital interests of her western neighbors. The Franco-German and Anglo-German antagonisms did not at first concern Austria-Hungary, and we only became the enemies of France and England because they are the enemies of our friends, but the struggle with Russia is also our struggle; we are, indeed, most nearly touched by it. Therefore, while Germany

will have a decisive rôle in the settlement of accounts with her neighbors to the west, it is we who must have the last word to say in the questions which touch Muscovitism. * * *

It is clear that if we wish for a durable peace we must block the expansion of Russia toward the west and force Serbia to resign herself to the fact that the provinces inhabited by Serbians which form a part of the Dual Monarchy should so remain to the end of time, and to recognize that to seek to make conquests from a power stronger than herself is to commit suicide. * * *

We are the more authorized to believe that, after a complete defeat, Russia will renounce, at least for a long time to come, her policy of expansion toward the west, for a disaster would probably create for her internal difficulties which would make all action in the domain of external politics impossible for her.

We must create in the Balkans a condition of things which will deprive Russian policy of the means of action which she has hitherto used in these countries. * * * At the conclusion of the peace, as well as by our future Eastern policy, every one must be made to perceive that he who is against Austria-Hungary loses thereby, while he who is for us will find this profitable to him.

If we pursue this course systematically and if we fortify our frontiers from the strategic point of view, if we succeed in coming into direct contact with the Balkan States which do not touch our frontiers, we shall be able finally to ruin Russia's dominant and aggressive influence in the Balkans, which will be an added reason for the Czars not to squander their forces in the execution of ambitious projects which are ever less and less realizable. * * *

Even with regard to Italy we should be wrong to allow ourselves to be fascinated by the beauties of nature or to respond to the memories of the past and the suggestions of our just anger. To wish to dismember or subjugate a country whose population burns with a patriotism as ardent as that of the Italian people would be for us a source of weakness. In reason, it can only be a ques-

tion of certain rectifications of frontier, and not of conquests. Italy will have to indemnify us in cash, not in territory. * * *

In creating in the Balkans an equilibrium of forces favorable to Austria-Hungary, in maintaining and strengthen-

ing Turkish domination at Constantinople and across the sea, we are working for the grandeur of Magyarism and enriching it. * * * In case of victory, the situation of the Hungarian Nation will be more advantageous than it has ever been in the past. * * *

The Quiet Harbor

By CAROLINE RUSSELL BISPHAM.

"No harbor is so sheltered but that the ship of death may sail in."
—Old Scotch Proverb.

Far, far away I just can see
A little boat sail toward the quay.
What does it bring—whose can it be?
It looks so small across the sea,
The cold north-sea that runs, ah, me,
Between my soldier-love and me!

I see it now beyond the lea,
Now near, now far, it seems to be—
Perhaps it brings my destiny;
Perchance it bears the mystic key
That unlocks pain or joy for me.
Oh, bring me joy, not pain—woe's me,
Nor man, nor maid e'er loved as we!
I could not bear his death—but, see,
They hail us—Jamie, where are ye?
And Jock, run quick, here's twice yer fee
If ye bring back good news to me—

Look, look! they wave—they call for me!
They stand with bared heads by the sea!
They've heard bad news—what can it be?
Oh, for wingèd feet that I might flee
As swift as sight across the lea
To see what they have brought to me!

They laid it at the feet of me
Upon the gray sands of the lea,
The long black box that came by sea,
And I cried in my agony—
"God, God, explain the mystery
Of Death!" * * * But silence answered me,
When they brought back my love to me—
Brought my dead soldier home to me!

Magazinists of the World on the War

Condensed from the Leading Reviews

The antagonisms between Germany and Russia are brought into sharp relief by the subjoined extracts from the review articles written by the exponents of the respective nations' causes, while the personal sketch of Russia's new War Minister, a translation of which leads the series of extracts from the reviews of the chief nations in the war, is one of the first presented to English-speaking readers.

General Polivanoff, the New Russian War Minister

[From the Petrograd Niva.]

THE Petrograd Niva ("The Field") gives one of the first Russian sketches of General A. A. Polivanoff, the new Russian Minister of War, who takes the place of General Sukhomlinoff:

The new War Minister, Infantry General A. A. Polivanoff, was born in 1855. He is full of life and energy. His biography shows him to be a profoundly instructed, hard-working man of action.

Completing his studies in the Classical Gymnasium (High School) and in the Nicholas College of Engineering, after a brief service as construction officer in the Second Battalion of Sappers, and in the Grenadier Regiment of the Life Guards, A. A. Polivanoff in 1876 entered the Nicholas Academy of Engineering. But the Russo-Turkish war, (which broke out in the following year,) led him to return voluntarily to his regiment, with which he fought gallantly in the valleys of Bulgaria and in the Balkans; he was gravely wounded under Gorny Dubnyak—a bullet through the chest—and for military excellence he received two decorations, the Cross of Saint Anne of the fourth degree, with the badge "for valor," and Saint Stanislaw of the third degree, decorated with swords and with the ribbon. In the year 1878, A. A. Polivanoff returned to the Nicholas Academy of Engineering, and there completed his studies, in the first rank. Returning once more to the Grenadier Regiment of the Life Guards, he entered another military academy in 1885—the Nicholas General Staff—where he finished brilliantly in the year 1888, with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel on the General Staff.

Colonel Polivanoff was then 33. For the next eleven years he worked hard in inconspicuous posts, first as senior adjutant of the Kieff military circle, then as director of the Military Science Committee, and finally as head of

a department of the General Staff. To this period of his activities belongs his important work of military research, "A Sketch of the Commissariat of the Russian Army in the Danubian Theatre of War in the Campaign of 1853-4 and in 1877," (Petrograd, 1894,) marked by the distinction and solidity of its method and the soundness of its deductions. In April, 1899, Colonel Polivanoff was appointed assistant editor, and in August of the same year editor in chief, of the official military organs, the journal, "The Russian Invalid," and the review, "The War Magazine"—and showed himself to be a gifted journalist.

He soon waked up the Russian war periodicals, and his editorial sway of the Russian Invalid and the War Magazine forms the most brilliant period of their history.

Completely changing the former character of these publications, notably broadening their scope, and attracting to their columns the younger literary talent of the army, Polivanoff gave his collaborators ample elbow room for the many-sided ventilation of scientific, departmental, and statistical military questions, and he succeeded in making the specialist military official gazette and magazine interesting to a wide circle of Russian society.

For five years he served the Russian Army and Russian society in the character of a man of letters; in the year 1904 he became a permanent member and director of works of the Grand Committee on Fortifications, in 1905 he was for a short time the Second Quartermaster General of the General Staff, and in the same year General Polivanoff was appointed Chief of the General Staff. In the year 1906 he was appointed to the recently created post of Assistant Minister of War, and at the same time was appointed a member of the Council of the Empire.

It would be of high interest and ad-

vantage to the whole civilized world should it fall to the lot of General Polivanoff to write the Russian history of the present war, as General Kuropatkin, one

of his predecessors at the War Ministry, wrote the Russian history of the Campaigns of Plevna, Lovcha, and Shipka, in the Turkish war of 1877.

Does Russia Menace Sweden

By Nicholas Emilianoff

SVEN HEDIN'S attack on Russia has brought a forceful Russian reply. Sven Hedin bases his attack on the assertion that Russia, to get an open ice-free port, needs to expand toward the Atlantic. He did not look forward to the opening of the Dardanelles; he saw Russia's outlets toward the sea blocked in the direction of the Persian Gulf and the Pacific. The Baltic is also closed. For this immense suffocating empire, he exclaimed, the only possible issue to the sea is across the Scandinavian peninsula. "If I were a Russian," he adds, "I should myself recognize in this policy a vital necessity for my country." Sven Hedin was so possessed by this idea that one might think he wished to "suggest" it to Russia, so eager was he to put Sweden on her guard against this "inevitable danger."

It is easy to understand the effect that this passionate propaganda had on Swedish opinion, creating not so much an aggressive hatred of Russia as a profound apprehension of her aims.

Nicholas Emilianoff, who has given the answer to Sven Hedin in a Swedish pamphlet, is the constructor of the new railroad which Russia is now building between Petrograd and the Murman coast, situated on the Kola Peninsula, north of Finland, on the Arctic Ocean, to the northwest of the White Sea and Archangelsk, at the northwestern corner of Russia. Thus Emilianoff speaks of this region with authority.

He demonstrates that the Murman coast, thanks to the passage of the Gulf

Stream, remains free from ice all Winter, and thus allows unbroken communication by sea with the rest of the world to be maintained all the year round. The natural harbors are excellent and easy to equip. The waters are full of fish, among the best in the world. These regions, hitherto wholly waste, only need a railroad to open them up to civilization and prosperity.

While the White Sea and the harbor of Archangelsk, although situated further south, are blocked by ice during the greater part of the year, the Murman coast enjoys a relatively mild climate, for the warm waters of the Gulf Stream permit no icebergs to approach. If Russia had built this railroad sooner, she would not now be short of munitions. The Murman coast, linked by the new railroad with Petrograd, will, therefore, have a high importance for Russia, strategically, in time of war; economically, in time of peace.

Emilianoff concludes that, given these circumstances, the fears of Russian aggression against Norway and Sweden are unjustified. The Murman coast once utilized, Russia needs no port on the coast of Norway. Then why should she menace the Scandinavian countries, and challenge a conflict with England, which might not look favorably on the creation of a Russian naval base opposite her coasts?

The construction of the new line was decided in part in the month of October, 1914, and in part in January of the present year. Before this date, therefore, there was justification for Sweden's uneasiness.

German War Literature

By a Russian Critic, "Eusis," in *Sovremenny Mir*

(The Contemporary World)

DURING the first five months of the war there were published in Germany 1,460 books, pamphlets, and reviews (counting their titles, but not separate issues) dedicated to the war. During the same period, according to the reckoning of a Munich professor, more than 3,000,000 patriotic poems were written. If to this we add the fact that the majority of general periodicals which existed before the war have now been transformed into special war journals we must admit that the Germans hold the record for the rapidity and extent of their mobilization of literature for war needs. The Germans themselves are proud of this record, especially in comparison with France, where the presses have not been able to print a tenth part of what is produced in Germany. To study this whole literary output is impossible; at best, one could only measure it by statistics, as so many hundredweight of spoiled paper and printer's ink, or express in square miles the extent of the pages consumed by this war literature. There is no doubt that in time German lovers of statistics will carry out this task, and we need only await that happy day, conscious that, taken as a whole, the German "Kriegs literature" deserves no more delicate characterization. This literature is, for the most part, apologetic and polemical. The subject of the apologetics is: Germany and her rulers; the method of apology is every distortion of thought and fact within the power of a man who is ready for anything and despairs of everything. The polemics are of the same kind: without measure or bounds, without the sense of responsibility, without sparing even their own honor. They say that Danton, in controversy with the Girondists, exclaimed: "I spit upon my honor, if only France may be saved!" Almost all Germany is now in the same

mood. And to this mood one cannot apply ordinary human standards. The critic's problem may be, neither an estimate of this literature nor a controversy with it, but only the selection from it of that part which continues the normal work of thought, not yet quite distorted by delirious ideas, but which is trying to understand the situation created by the war, to show the nation its problems, to remove the difficulties of the war, to explain its causes, to try to divine its issue, and so forth. It stands to reason that, in its service to society, the war literature of Germany, as of every other country, is in many ways different from the literature of a time of peace. Even in the most tranquil people, the temperature and pulse do not remain normal at such a time. But precisely these perturbations in the normal development of thought have a special interest, making clearer the meaning of the more important complexes of the nation's life—of course up to the point where the writer goes completely crazy, when criticism must give place to psychiatric diagnosis.

The war literature consists chiefly of pamphlets. A book is a rarity. Only military statistics run to fat books. And this is natural. The time for scientific analysis has not yet come. And a nation which is carrying on a contest, not for life, but for death, does not need, and does not recognize, scientific analysis. It demands that thoughts should be pelted at it, like bombs, in rapid succession, in sufficient quantity, and sufficiently concentrated. What is now demanded of an idea is not its scientific soundness, but its ballistic quality, and the effectiveness of its impact. It is all one whether that idea is conservative or ultra-democratic; it must possess such qualities as will be significant in an atmosphere of bursting bombs. Defense and attack are carried out by the same

means, and raise equal quantities of dust. In their war literature the Germans have been true to their great benefactor organization. In Germany there are now fewer people who stand alone, or who walk alone, than in time of peace. There are hardly any critics, and this, if you wish, is the most characteristic trait of human thought in time of war; extraordinary credulity, a proneness to accept without criticism any and every thought, if only it tends in the desired direction. War creates a mass of Utopias. The future will criticise them.

Another characteristic trait is the extraordinary contagiousness of ideas. People, crowding together more than usual, feel that they belong to the mass, and need each other's support. They crowd together, and, where the way is open, where the road is wider, where there is more fight, whether natural or artificial, there the crowd takes its way.

War literature must be popular in form. War literature is a word of command. And in a word of command, the most desirable qualities are lucidity, brevity, and definiteness of direction. You cannot command like this: if such and such facts are so and so, then, if

the remaining conditions are unchanged, and so on. A command of that sort is useless. For this reason, even the most moderate and undecided minds have now become firm and decided. For this reason, many who were leaders in time of peace have left the stage. They have yielded their places to others, perhaps less thoughtful, less talented, less conscientious, but at the same time more definite and decided—sometimes even impudent and shameless. This is seen in every region. Among the conservatives, the talented Delbrück has become almost silent, and the almost talented Schiemann has become altogether silent, but, in compensation, Baron von Zedlitz and the upstart Hetsch have suddenly become the leading minds of conservative politics. Among the liberal professors, most conspicuous are Franz Liszt and Sombart; on the other hand, Brentano and Schmoller have grown too old for such a stormy time, and in the strenuous activities of national economic science and practice their names are hardly heard. Among the Social Democrats, Kautzky has almost retired into the shade, while Heine, Schiemann and even a certain Lentsch have suddenly become the enlighteners of the multitude.

“Russia on the Way to Revolution”

By Dr. Theodor Schiemann,

Professor in Berlin University.

THIS very interesting and unusually well written pamphlet by Dr. Schiemann is an excellent example of the kind of literature Germany produces in such abundance, to mold German public opinion concerning the war. Dr. Schiemann, who is a personal friend of the Kaiser, holds that the work of revolutionary propaganda has been carried on in Russia by wounded men sent back from the front:

All the thousands and other thousands who returned home, discharged as no

longer fit for service, everywhere related the same thing in town and village, that they were badly treated and badly led, that the officers reveled and caroused, and refused to go into battle. The poor soldiers were knouted by the Cossacks, when they did not wish to go forward, and forced into action by machine guns and artillery. They described how they had to wait in the trenches without weapons, until rifles were available for them, because their comrades had been killed, and what a contrast there was in the camp of the Germans. How superbly they were treated, how well they were all taken care of, how the officers were at once brothers and fathers to their men,

and how fearful they were in battle. "To fight victoriously against the Germans is impossible!" That was the refrain.

Therefore they set themselves to foment a revolution. And the same thing was going on at the front, so that, by last Christmas, from a fifth to a quarter of the army was ready for the "uprising."

Since then this movement has made even more rapid progress—for the revolutionary propaganda has been pressed uninterrupted—particularly since the best elements of the army, the German peasant sons of the colonists, perhaps 200,000 in number, aroused by learning that, in accordance with the Czar's law of February, 1915, their families had all been given over to annihilation, have been waiting in unspeakable bitterness, with eager malice expecting the dissolution, and determined to surrender at the first opportunity.

Dr. Schiemann thinks that, under these circumstances, Russia will be eager for peace, and that, should she succeed in obtaining peace from Germany

the whole blame for the miscarriage of the war will be laid at the door of France and England, and on the non-Russian races, the Jews, Germans, Esthonians, Letts, Lithuanians, and Poles; these will be expropriated, expelled, annihilated, and the Germans in Russia will suffer terribly.

For these reasons, Dr. Schiemann thinks an early peace with Russia is inexpedient, from the standpoint of Germany. Dr. Schiemann is also author of "How England Prevented an Understanding With Germany," and to the same series of pamphlets Dr. Richard Grasshoff has contributed "The Guilt of Belgium."

The Fight for Constantinople

A German View

By G. Ast

WRITING in the Socialistic *Neue Zeit*, (The New Time,) Herr Ast naturally tends to find economic explanations for events which appear to be purely political. In spite of this bias his views are both original and interesting, and at any rate suggest additional factors in what is, without doubt, a complex and very important question. Herr Ast begins by searching for the motives which led Italy, after many months' hesitation, finally to enter the war. The time did not seem propitious:

On both the western and the eastern front the state of affairs was such that there was no immediate inducement for Italy to depart from her previous policy of waiting. It was rather the contrary. So far as the inducements and motives which have brought about the intervention of Italy lie outside that country they should only be sought in the Turkish theatre of war and in the development of affairs in the Turkish Orient. The Dardanelles adventure of the Triple Entente powers, which involved the question of the partition of Turkey, thereby so raised the

war fever of Italy that the elements which wished to spare Italy the horrors of war were defeated. On the other hand, from the Dardanelles adventure there has arisen in the Near East a decisive contest for power, which has compelled England and France to strain every nerve to win over Italy and the Balkan States, and in this way to save the situation for themselves. Therefore it was the inducements, terms, and threats of the Triple Entente that finally compelled Italy to go to war. The urging of the policy of expediency of the Italian commercial class and the proceedings of the Triple Entente powers set before Italy the question: Now or never.

How high was the price for which the ambitious Italian commercial class sold the peace of Italy and the lives and treasure of the Italian masses to the insatiable Moloch of war we do not know. That the promises and threats of the Triple Entente were not significant we may conclude from the fact that the great offer of Austria was not able to outweigh them. The case of Italy and the pressure on the Balkans are examples of the haggling, the tortuousness, the corruption, of the secret diplomacy of existent States.

So far as the Balkan States are concerned the chief obstacle which has prevented their intervention has been in gen-

eral the circumstance that no one of them could, or can, take the momentous step alone. For any of the Balkan States a separate entry into the war would be in the highest degree dangerous; for these States are so hostile to each other, because of the last Balkan war, that all attempts to bring them to a common understanding have, up to the present, failed. But here we must not overlook the main factor—as so often happens. The circumstances mentioned have kept the Balkan States from making a separate entry into the

war and have made a previous mutual understanding among them an indispensable condition precedent, but the antagonisms between the Balkan States and the political developments in the Near East by no means preclude such an understanding in the future. Precisely the mutually outbidding offers of the warring powers, which have up to the present entered the Balkan region and Turkey, as if they were the authentic lords of these lands, may presently lead the Balkan States to a mutual understanding.

The Health of the Armies

[From The Lancet of London.]

A review entitled "A Year at War: The Health of the Armies," declares that in no previous war has such recognition been immediately extended to the value of medical assistance, and this "has been the attitude both with our enemies and with all the allied nations." Of the Germans it says:

We have learned enough from various sources of the organization of the German Army to appreciate that the German treatment of their sick and wounded has been very thorough, even though on many occasions their prisoners have had a right to complain of the harshness of their captors. The German military medical service has been from the first helped by elaborate preparations, made, we presume, in expectation of the war which has eventuated. The possible wastage of men from untreated wounds and sickness or unprevented epidemics was carefully guarded against.

The Austro-Hungarian soldiers were not so well guarded against infection:

Medical service in the Austro-Hungarian Army has apparently been much less satisfactory, and at various points here epidemic diseases—typhus, typhoid, and cholera—have made their appearance. The outbreaks, however, seem to have been met and cut short with promptitude, and considerable powers of strong and prudent administration have been displayed by the authorities at Vienna and Budapest. The comparative freedom of the Turks from epidemic illness has been remarkable, and we are inclined to think that with regard to Constantinople we do not know the true story.

Among the Allies, the condition of the Russian troops, at first a matter of great

concern and menaced by the peculiar problems of living and transportation over vast distances, showed after all "a good bill of health throughout a terrible year." On this subject The Lancet says:

The recruiting of the army, the transport of stores, the collection and dissemination of material for war, and so on, have all suffered in Russia from the immense distances which have to be traversed either by mobilized troops or dispatched goods, and for the time being Russia is suffering severely for what is not unpreparedness, and is certainly not inefficiency, but rather is an unmanageable geography. The medical men and the hospitals which they were destined to serve when not with the troops at the various fronts, being in those centres which possess a railway service, the medical side of the Russian military administration has been comparatively good, while from various correspondents we have heard of the unstinted attention paid to the wounded by the voluntary nurses and civilian medical men who have had charge of numerous cases.

The story of Serbia is a triumph of preventive medicine, and the United States and Great Britain between them may lay claim to the credit:

There was a time when the Serblans, who had valiantly beaten off huge crowds of invaders, looked likely to perish en masse from disease, and the stories of the epidemics of typhus at the beginning of last Winter, terrible as they were, are now known to have by no means exaggerated the real plight. Serbia was largely without hospitals or doctors when epidemic disease became added in the horrors of war. American generosity, the British Red Cross Society, and the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, and private charity.

alike came to the rescue; hospitals were run up, the sick were segregated and treated, crusades of cleanliness were inaugurated, and with something of the same rapidity with which disease got a grip upon the country that grip was made to relax.

The allied troops in France and Belgium have not been so free of epidemics that prompt and vigorous treatment could be dispensed with. On this subject *The Lancet* remarks:

On the western front there have been several rather smart epidemics of typhoid fever, but neither in the French, British,

nor Belgian lines was the disease ever allowed to make grave headway, the policy of preventive medicine and the expert advice of sanitarians combining to keep the outbreaks under. The French Army has throughout been practically free from this scourge. In common with the German Army there was much suffering in the lines of the Allies from exposure in the trenches during the Winter. The cold and wet did not, however, produce the amount of pneumonia or rheumatism that was anticipated, and among the British soldiers the principal cause of disability was "trench-foot," affecting those who had to spend long days and nights in trenches permanently filled with semi-freezing mud.

General Botha and the Kaiser

General Louis Botha, speaking in Cape Town at a banquet given in his honor by the citizens, said that one of the most interesting discoveries in German Southwest Africa was a map showing the redistribution of the world "after the Peace of Rome, 1916." It placed the whole of Africa south of the equator as a Greater German Empire. There was a small portion segregated as a Boer preserve.

This and other indications of the same character, said Botha, showed the German designs upon the Union of South Africa, and how much faith could be placed in their word. It was established that the Boer rebel, Maritz, had sent a delegate to German Southwest Africa as long ago as 1913, and had received an encouraging reply. Before the European war broke out the Boer rebellion was brewing, and, in the circumstances, Ma-

ritz sent a delegate to inquire how far the rebels would be able to obtain assistance in artillery, arms, and ammunition, and how far the independence of South Africa would be guaranteed.

Then correspondence took place between the Government of German Southwest Africa and the Kaiser. The Kaiser's answer was as follows:

"I will not only acknowledge the independence of South Africa, but I will even guarantee it, provided that the rebellion is started immediately." "When one hears such guarantees," said General Botha, "one feels inclined to say, 'Poor Belgium!' Thank God their designs have been frustrated, thanks to the people of this country. So long as the people of South Africa maintain their honor we need not fear the future."

The French Magazines

A LITERARY REVIVAL.

French critics believe that their country is on the threshold of a great literary revival that shall have a universal appeal, like that of the eighteenth century. Surely they must be right about the revival: the New France which has revealed herself on the battlefield, as well as in the Chamber of Deputies, the Cabinets of

the Ministers, and the sentiment and work of the people must find expression. But will the appeal be universal?

One of the first signs of an attempt to make it so is the appearance of a new monthly magazine published simultaneously in The Hague and Paris. It is called *La Revue de Hollande*, and is to be devoted to matters literary, artistic,

and documentary. The first number is a superb octavo of 150 pages, printed in large, clear type on linen paper, inclosed in a parchment paper jacket. The illustrations are fine woodcuts and a few portraits in half-tone—just as half-tones should be when a very fine screen is used. In explaining, but not attempting to excuse, the fact that the review is printed in the French language, the editors mention the Dutch contributors to the Great Encyclopaedia and show the bonds that have always connected the artistic and poetical life of the Low Countries with French letters. Besides, all Dutchmen know French and have preserved many of its eighteenth century traditions better than they have been preserved in France herself.

The opening article is by Dirk Coster. It is a magnificent review of Dutch literature, various phases of which will be treated of in subsequent papers. Henri Malo writes on the famous battles of the Yser in the past, and Edzaed Falck on "The Princes of Orange." Emile Verhaeren has an essay on "The Past of Flanders." Naturally, Belgium is not forgotten. Louis Pierard writes on "From One Belgium to the Other," introduced with a clear and dispassionate exposition of the real causes underlying the defense of the country against Germany's invasion and how a new Belgium must be inevitable, merely as a matter of evolution, when the German scourge shall have passed. Meanwhile the Belgians are working in silence and by the grace of God:

In spite of the most careful guarding of the frontiers, many young men, at the peril of their lives, left the country—only to come back with the army from France and England. And those who remain are a source of encouragement and help to each other. These Belgians, who write from time to time to their kinsmen in the land of exile, convey, in spite of the censor, more than the fact that they have the best of news from Aunt Victoire and Cousin François.

A review of the most important literary, artistic, and biographical events of the world occupies several pages at the end of *La Revue de Hollande*.

The *Mercure de France*, now changed from a fortnightly to a monthly publica-

tion—"but only during the war"—in "*Montparnasse et la Guerre*," by Claudien, presents in the August number an exposition of the formative influences of the French literary revival noted above. "It is even in the humanity and spirituality of this revival that the advocates of the impossible Kultur may find the inspiration for new life and hope."

GERMAN "KULTUR."

We find this Kultur treated of from several points of view in other articles: "The Pan-German Paradox," by G. Vacher de Lapouge; "Carlyle and the German Empire," translated by E. Masson from the English of David A. Wilson; "The Errors of Force," by Aurel, and "A Revision of German Philosophic Values," by Péladan. M. de Vacher writes:

Like Sparta and Japan, Prussia has ever lived under a régime of artificial survival of the fittest, which has subordinated to the interests of the State and King those of the individual. Her Constitution has come from decrees. From that have been evolved her rigid character tainted with socialism, and this paradox of an individualistic race in which individuals abdicate all rights before the State.

And the cause of it all? Down to the twelfth century "Prussia was still inhabited by the savage tribes of the Lithuanian race, living by hunting and fishing, idolaters and man-eaters." Two forces combined to change their habits, but not their spirit—Christianity and the Brandenburgers. The first taught them fear of superiors; the second that these superiors were material. Then came the mobilization of the forces thus disciplined under Frederick the Great, which paved the way to Jena, to Sadowa, Sedan, and to Versailles.

With this foundation there has been formed a mental attitude which we can hardly understand, imbedded in the character of the race by an inflexible education. This mental attitude has inspired books which for generations have made Germans think in the Prussian way, and so little by little has made the German nation, and then the State.

The author quotes from German writers to show how every phase of private and public life, every expression in the arts, finally conformed to the Prussian

rules of thought and conduct, until it became inevitable that those whose very existence depended upon these rules must try, in sheer egotistical desperation, to apply them elsewhere:

The Pan-German paradox is therefore from the point of view of anthrosociology, a unique phenomenon which is entirely German. It has only an incomplete knowledge of this science, but this very incompleteness produces most terrible results, as are revealed by the 7,000,000 dead or wounded, the billions of wealth destroyed, and civilized countries shaken to their foundations.

It is a question whether Carlyle, in introducing certain German thinkers and writers of verse and fiction to English readers, wished to exploit a curious discovery, or whether he really thought he was adding something to the heritage of Bacon and Shakespeare. "Carlyle and the German Empire," while not solving the problem, gives us data from which deductions may be made and a working hypothesis established thereon.

On "The Errors of Force" Aurel writes:

If war is the "judgment of God and of force," as Proudhon says, we must conclude that a war without results which are sufficient for Germany must have been, for the originators, a mere "brain storm," and not a matter of vital necessity—the satisfying of a "holy appetite" of a people who must slay and despoil in order to live—as they have been made to believe by Treitschke, Mommsen, Giesebrecht, &c.

The author shows that the German creed of force cannot possibly prevail, simply because it is contrary to all human life, and human life will not permit itself to be controlled by force alone. Force in human life is merely one element in the complex fabric of progress, and history has shown that where it was regarded as an end in itself it has been annihilated by itself. Force of itself never proved anything but its power to destroy; least of all has it proved the right. And so the author adds that the Romans who conquered the barbarians by force only proved their right in so far as they planted justice where injustice had hitherto prevailed. They, in turn, were conquered by the barbarians of Central Europe, and then both were conquered by Christianity.

The war, among other great things, writes Péladan, has given one the opportunity tranquilly to examine the claims of German art and philosophy and see if they be worthy of the position the world has hitherto assigned them. Have Kant and his disciples, Wagner and his, made the world better and a happier, a more joyful, place in which to live? To be sure, he says, Kant freed knowledge, just as the religious reform had the conscience. But what then?

Doubtless Kant did not aim the cannon which destroyed the Cathedral of Rheims, any more than Jean Jacques Rousseau manipulated the lever of the guillotine; but they fabricated the brains of the artillerists and the Terrorists. A philosopher owes his fame less to what he says than to what he implants in the mind. He sows, and people judge him by the harvest.

What will be the harvest of Kant, Schelling, Hegel, Schopenhauer, Herder, and the rest?

THE WAR'S DURATION.

In *La Revue Hebdomadaire*, Gabriel Hanotaux has an article on the duration of the war. It is not enough, he says, that military forces should be mobilized. That has been done. The civil forces must also be mobilized, for the victory will not be the result of a glorious combat, but will belong to the last battalion, the last platoon, the last breath of will, the last effort of courage; and he quotes Lord Kitchener, who said: "Our forces must go on ceaselessly increasing, just as those of the enemy ceaselessly diminish."

This, says M. Hanotaux, applies not only to the military, but to all material, physical, and moral strength which has been mobilized for the war. The war has taught many things to the Allies which Germany knew and had prepared herself for—transit, ammunition, and other material necessities for a gigantic campaign—and which are now being put into perfect practice by the Allies. Germany's failure to get to Paris in October was a salutary lesson. Others have been learned.

But how will it all end? I am not in a position to answer. But first of all I would ask that you pay attention to actualities, and not to words.

In principle, he says, this war is a usurious war. It will last a long time, possibly a very long time. Engines wear out and must be replaced, like men. The taking of Constantinople will have an immense material and moral effect; but this must not be exaggerated. Two or three millions of Teutons have already been slain. But that fact must not be exaggerated, either. Nor must the appearance of Greece, Rumania, and Bulgaria on the side of the Allies, any more than the entry of Italy gave a sure promise, as many believed, of shortening the war. All these elements are contributive and cumulative, but the forces against which they are contending are

still infinite. It is no exaggeration to say, however, that their limit will soon be observed.

As for us Frenchmen, writes Raphael George Lévy in an appeal on behalf of the nation for gold:

At present no Frenchman should keep a goldpiece in his house. He can employ it in two ways. He can buy State bonds or the stock of the National Defense; or he can exchange it for national bank notes. In both cases he will act like a good citizen. * * * All our funds must be mobilized under one form or another, just as General Joffre concentrates our armies on the frontier. Let us not hesitate to fulfill a duty which costs nothing, which can, on the contrary, bring in an ample return, and at the same time render easy the most happy result for the country.

Italian Magaziners

AN ECONOMIC LEAGUE.

The *Nuovo Antologia*, the most serious and important of Italian reviews, published in the middle of every month at Rome, opens its July 16 number with an article by a certain famous political economist, now a member of the present Government, who for years has written under the pseudonym of "Victor." The current article is entitled "The Economic League of Victory and Peace." The writer says that the time has arrived for the nations allied against the Teutonic empires and Turkey to form a league which shall not only shorten the war but which shall re-establish peace with justice for all and upon a permanent basis. The program of the original Entente powers to which Italy has given adhesion is defined as follows:

1. The independence of little States, particularly Belgium.
2. The affirmation of the principle of nationality to the future demarkation of Europe.
3. The assignment to each State of exact geographic and military boundaries on land and sea, to the end that it may live in security and tranquillity.
4. The demobilization of the German military, which would otherwise continue to threaten the peace of the world, ruin

nations with war expenditures, and restrict every economic and social progress.

To these conditions, says the author, there should now be added an indemnity which Germany must pay for what she has destroyed on land and sea. But all this is not sufficient; the economic future of Germany and Austria must be considered as well as the rights and obligations of neutral nations, for it is necessary that when the war ends that the business of the world should be resumed not only within the shortest possible period but that such resumption should be brought about with the least possible confusion and waste. For that reason three economic aspects must be viewed:

1. Economic conditions of the States already belligerent, the Entente powers on one side and the Teutonic empires on the other.
2. Conditions of the allied States among themselves.
3. Conditions of the allied States with neutral countries.

No country more than Italy, says "Victor," has sought to attain an economic ideal which should promote social solidarity and at the same time assure the freedom of exchange. But the war brought to the attention, as nothing else could possibly have done, the lengths to which Germany and Austria had gone to

rupture not only international good fellowship but also international economics.

When information of the three foregoing groups of conditions shall have been ascertained the author suggests the following international economic program:

1. A central international office for the public debt of the allied States.
2. A federation of all loan banks.
3. An association formed among all the great banks of deposit and savings.
4. The establishment of an international standard of discount and exchange.
5. Commercial treaties, with reciprocal tariffs.
6. Navigation treaties, with reciprocal privileges.
7. Improvement in fiscal, postal, telegraphic, and telephonic communication.
8. A confederation of railways, &c.

After such an economic system shall have been examined in the light of European conditions the author would then apply it abroad. Here he takes for an illustration the example evolved by the growth of the British Empire, which, with a few alterations, would be the ideal sought. In this way he deals with the European colonies in Africa, America, Asia, and the Pacific, and then with the independent countries in these regions, showing the enormous waste among the colonies, the obstacles to their development, and their lack of enterprise—all due to the fact that an understanding was lacking among the mother countries in Europe. He shows by statistics and deductions made from tables of exports and imports how both the producer and the consumer could have been measurably benefited if even a knowledge of needs and productive ability had been exchanged between the European colonizing nations in the past.

His treatment of the emigration question is entirely new, although based upon long-recognized political and economical principles. Too much in the past has been left to chance. Emigration has brought forward questions which have been dealt with as they came up, whereas they should have all been settled before emigration began. Formerly emigrants fleeing from religious or political persecution sought new lands where freedom of conscience and action had

been guaranteed or where they thought they could establish it for themselves. These were followed by emigrants moved by economic reasons. The latter did not go where they were most needed, but where conditions were most easy and the monetary rewards the largest, so that very often their appearance changed the conditions which had obtained before their arrival. Much capital has been wasted in attempting to apply it to these new conditions when it should have been applied elsewhere in order to invite emigration. Emigration is not a matter in which only two countries are concerned—the country of departure and the country of arrival—it concerns all countries which have financial or commercial dealings with the two directly interested. Emigration, if unguided, will continue to flow along the lines of least resistance to where life is easiest and labor lightest and the rewards theoretically higher. In the meantime:

It is difficult to conceive how the States of South America—Argentina, Brazil, Chile, or Peru—can prosper as they have in the past without the aid of regulated capital, navigation, trade, and emigration from England, France, Italy, &c. An economic crisis would injure them severely.

Hitherto each European country has exploited South America according to its own immediate benefit, real or imagined. Many things have been withdrawn because it was believed they were useless; others have been put forward only to find that they were useless. A better understanding among the suppliers of capital, commodities, and emigrants would have obviated all that.

The author then declares that the United States will play a still more important rôle than she has hitherto played. He outlines the past history of this country and shows how in enterprise, morality, and restraint it has given lessons to the world. All these things contribute to make the United States an example for all.

What a spectacle, says the author, has been offered by Germany's violations of all international precedent and law, which finally found expression in the sinking of the *Lusitania*, and the moderate, restrained method pursued by the

United States in dealing with this catastrophe, while at the same time emphasizing the fact that international obligations, at least in so far as they concerned humanity and the lives and property of neutrals, must be made to prevail!

The author does not look for the armed intervention of the United States, but he believes already its moral intervention on the grounds of humanity has had a salutary effect.

The Economic League of the Allies would offer to the United States an easy but most powerful means to develop a decisive and rapid action in the vast European conflict and toward its happy conclusion. The spontaneous participation of the United States in the league on the side of the Allies would gather into the league itself such a colossal complex of economical forces which would crush any and all resistance. Thus the United States could, without armed intervention, vindicate and consecrate in Europe and in the world those principles of liberty, humanity, and justice which form the origin of the United States themselves, and which no brutal or barbaric force, no militarism, no matter how well organized, could ever obliterate from the history of nations.

GERMAN AND ITALIAN CULTURE.

With a full consciousness of how Germany and Austria have tried financially, commercially, and politically to exploit Italy for their own benefit, while injuring not only Italian industry but taste and feelings, Guido Manacorda contributes an article on "German and Italian Culture." On this theme the readers of CURRENT HISTORY are already pretty well informed. Many side lights are thrown on the long struggle between Latin and Teutonic culture which began in Caesar's time and has now been resumed with the same ideals in conflict.

PROVISIONS FOR WAR.

Ezio Bottini writes on "The Methods of Communication Employed by the Various Armies in the Present Conflict," dealing with everything from the aeroplane to the automobile. An important article on "The Problem of Meat During the War" is presented by Massimo Torelli. At the beginning of the war, he

tells us, only two nations were using preserved meats—Germany and England. After the battle of the Marne, when the French found that they would not immediately need the immense herds of cattle that had been collected in case of a possible siege of Paris, cold storage was first cautiously introduced and has been gradually developed. This is most curious, as it was a Frenchman who invented cold storage.

As to Italy, although it had been again and again affirmed that Italians did not use preserved meats, either of the chilled or the frozen variety, yet when the war came it was found that the Government had built no fewer than 1,400 cold-storage warehouses, principally in the north of Italy, and that great orders for preserved meats had been placed in Argentina, Australia, and the United States. For the first time in its history the Italian Army is now being fed on preserved meat.

ITALY "REDEEMED."

The popular magazines continue to keep their readers informed of what their army is doing. Taking the most recent War Office reports as a theme, but never anticipating them, they present well-illustrated articles on the Italy that has already been "redeemed," with historical articles giving narratives of former attempts for redemption. For example, we have in *Il Secolo XX*. "Views from the Front," by Vittorio Podrecca, and "Grado Redeemed," by Giovanni Franceschini, to contrast with "A Century of Conspiracy at Trieste," by Angelo Scocchi, and "Garibaldi in the Trentino," by Isa Pini. The pictures which accompany the articles on current subjects give a splendid idea of the beauties of the territory invaded by the Italians, its natural as well as its historic elements, and also of the gigantic obstructions to the advance.

THE ALPINE SOLDIERS.

La Lettura opens with an article on "Our Alpine Soldiers," by G. Perucchetti, describing in pictures and text the history of the remarkable corps and its achievements in the wars against

Austria of 1859 and 1866. There is also an article, of historical as well as current interest, on the "Gulf of Trieste," by Paolo Revelli. The Foreign Minister, Baron Sidney Sonnino, who conducted the protracted negotiations with Austria-Hungary before Italy entered the war, forms the subject of a picturesque and informing paper by Guido Biagi. While not dealing with the Baron's most famous exploit in diplomacy, the author

presents a careful survey of those political influences and that natural ability which caused Sonnino first to rival Giolitti and then to defy him with a new and regenerated Italy eager for war at his back. What the Banca Roma scandal could not achieve in regard to the man who for thirteen years had held Italian internal politics in the hollow of his hand was performed over night by Sonnino with a popular foreign program.

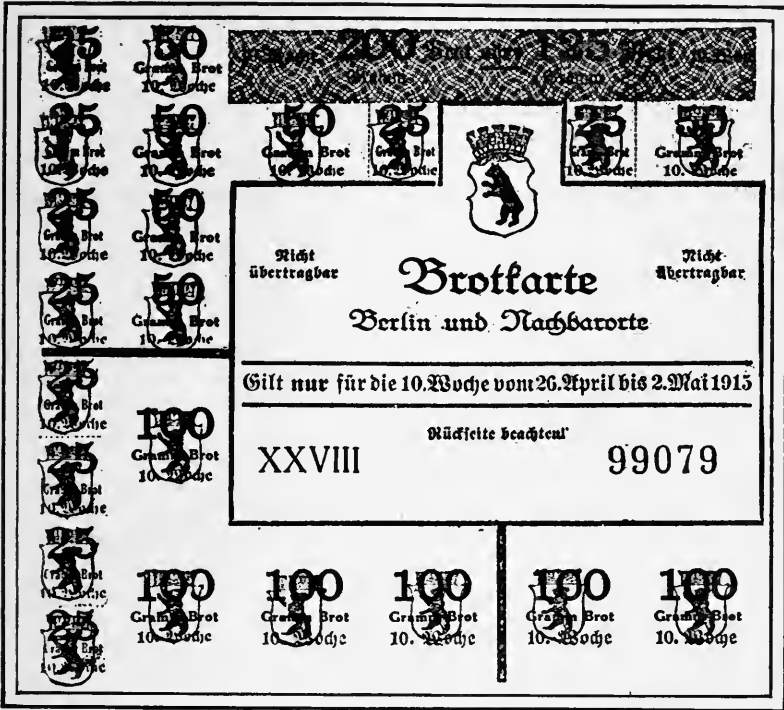
Robin Williams, K. O. Y. L. I.

(Eton, King's College, Cambridge, and the Roll of Honor, April 18, 1915.)

[From The Westminster Gazette.]

"Who dies if England lives?" O England's son,
 Not thou, who thus too punctually hast
 paid
 Thy double debt to Henry's Holy
 Shade
 With precious blood and duty nobly
 done;
 And, equaling England's gift to thee,
 has won
 The death of the undying, and the
 grade
 Of thine illustrious hero-peers who
 made
 Our England's freedom safe upon its
 throne.
 With a great sum, God knows, did She
 obtain
 This freedom, and with greater yet
 must hold;
 Coin'd is the cost from ore of English
 vein—
 Metal of Martyrs—the celestial gold
 Of hearts like thine, that must light up
 a fane
 For Reverence, howsoe'er the Earth
 grow cold. G. C. C.

A German War Bread Card



The authentic bread card, partly used, of which an illustration is here reproduced, was inclosed in a letter from a young business man of Berlin not yet drafted for the front, but at the disposal of the military authorities for service in the Landwehr Artillery. The letter is dated May 23, 1915, and reads, in part, as follows:

WHAT remains of my bread card of a few weeks ago will show you how liberal an allowance of bread the Government grants to each individual. These cards, issued every Monday morning, have small coupons calling for 25, 50, and 100 grams of bread, making a total of 1,950 grams, or nearly two kilos—about 4½ pounds of English weight—per week per individual. Now, I have the normal appetite of a full-grown man, and, as you will see from the inclosed card, I used only 550 grams of my allowance without stinting myself in the least. Even the most hard-working laborer could not consume more bread than the Government permits him to obtain.

At first, when the new regulation for the distribution of bread and flour came into effect, on Feb. 15, there was a general grumbling of dissatisfaction in Berlin. The war has not quelled in us Berliners the atavistic inclination to kick about anything at any time. It is a condition of our mental and physical comfort. But the kicking did not last long. We soon realized the superior wisdom of the Government in regulating Germany's bread supply and preventing a number of scare-headed women from hoarding up enormous stores, to the detriment of the rest of the community. We also found that the new system runs smoothly and is not at all vexatious to the individual.

If you keep house, each member of the

household has his or her bread card, and upon supplying bread, rolls, and flour the baker clips corresponding coupons from these cards.

If you are a bachelor, like myself, and take your meals at restaurants, you tell the waiter what sort and how much bread you wish, and he does the clipping. The cards are not transferable. Thus, when you are a guest at the table of some friend, either you bring your bread with you, or, if you arrive early enough, you deliver your card into the hands of your friend's servant, who takes it to the baker and returns with the bread. It is all very simple, and no one thinks any more about it, now that thirteen weeks of quiet working have accustomed us to the little formality.

When you call for your new card, the old one has to be returned, with the unused coupons, to the authorities. I am really risking six months' imprisonment, or 1,500 marks' fine, by sending you this

one, for all infringements of the regulations of Jan. 25, 1915, are punishable to that extent, as the letterpress on the back of the card will tell you.

What would you pay in New York at a decent restaurant for a meal consisting of soup, fish, or entrée, roast with vegetables and potatoes, and dessert? Now, as before the war, I pay 80 pfennigs (or 20 cents) for such a meal at my usual restaurant! Nor have the portions been reduced in size. With 10 pfennigs' worth of beer in addition, and a 10-pfennig tip for my old waiter, I consider myself most comfortably cared for.

England may try her best to starve us out; she is failing completely. In fact, it will soon become known officially that the Government's husbanding of foodstuffs has been so efficient that Germany has now a surplus of supplies and will not need to begin using the new harvest until the end of September.

Peace Rumors

By HENRY ALTIMUS.

Hark! I hear the beat of a wing,
The caged bird is free.
The sun goes up in a wreath of hope
In waking Germany.

Now all the world lays by its work
And listens breathlessly
For the word that will make men kin
again
With the men of Germany.

The ear made blunt by cannon-roar
Vibrates with prophecy,
For rebel tongues have raised a cry
That rings through Germany.

A voice is raised; it will not still;
It thunders o'er the sea,
And men are calling loud to men
From distant Germany.

For they are wakened now and miss
The broad fraternity
Of borderless, hand-clasping men
That call to Germany.

Their sword will soon be scabbarded
And love will set them free.
Beware, Red Kaiser and your band,
The wrath of Germany!

India's Loyalty

By Rabindranath Tagore

Translated from the Original Bengali by Basanta Koomar Roy

The following article, as translated, appeared originally in *The International* for August, 1915.

LOYALTY is one of our inherent characteristics. There is something special in the loyalty of India. To the Hindu the King is divine, and loyalty is a religious cult. The people of the West cannot understand the true significance of this. They think that this bowing down before power is a sign of our national weakness.

The Hindu cannot but take almost all the relations of life as ordained. To him there is almost no chance relation. For he knows that however wonderful and varied the revelation may be, the original source is one. In India this it not only a philosophy, but it is the religion of the people as well. It is not only written in books or taught in academies, but it is also realized in the heart, and reflected upon every-day duties of life. We look upon our parents as gods, our husbands as gods, and chaste women as goddesses. By showing respect to our superiors we satisfy our religious sense. The reason is not far to seek. From whatever source we derive benefit we see this primal source of all beneficence. To be separated from all the varied expressions of divinity around us, and then to pray to a benevolent Father in a distant heaven is not the religion of India. When we call our parents gods we never think of such an absurdity as that they are omnipotent. We fully know their weaknesses and their good qualities. We are also certain that the benefits they are showering upon us as father and mother are an expression of the fatherhood and the motherhood of the Universal One. That is why Indra, (the god of the clouds,) moon, fire, and wind have been spoken of as gods in the Vedas. India was never satisfied until she could feel the presence of the all-powerful One in the varied expressions

of nature. To us the universe is alive with a divine life.

It is not true to say that we worship power owing to our weakness. Every one knows that India worships even the cow. She knows that it is an animal. Man is powerful and the cow is weak. But the Indian society derives various benefits from the cow. Similarly the workman bows in reverence to his tools, the warrior to his sword, and the minstrel to his harp. It is not that they do not know that tools are mere tools, but that they know as well that a tool is only a symbol. The joy and benefit derived from it is not the gift of the wood or the iron, for nothing which is not kindred can touch the soul. It is for this that his gratitude and worship is offered through the tools to Him who is instrumental to all expressions.

Nothing can pain India more than to feel that this governmental affair is only a machine. She, who is satisfied by feeling a kinship of the soul even with the inanimate, how can she live unless she can find a real personification of the heart in such a vast human institution as the State? One can bend wherever there is a relationship of the soul with its kindred. Where there is no such relationship, and if one is constantly forced to bend low, there he feels insulted and grieved. Therefore, if we can realize the life of the supreme power and beneficence as the ruler, we can bear the heavy yoke of government. Otherwise the heart breaks down at every step. We want to worship the State after infusing it with life; we wish to feel the kinship of our hearts with it. We cannot bear force as mere force.

It is true that loyalty is the very heart of India. In her the King is not merely to please her whims. She does not like to see the King as an unnecessary ap-

pendage. She wants to feel the King as a reality. For a long time past she has not yet found her King, and she is becoming more and more grieved. How this vast country is being afflicted in her heart of hearts by the burdensome yoke of her many Kings from beyond the seas, and how she is sighing helplessly all the time is known only to the omniscient. India only knows how painful it is to bear with the heartlessness of those who are merely sojourners, who are always longing for the holiday, who live a life of exile in this "land of regrets," as they call it, only for their livelihood; and with those who are working the administrative machinery by being paid for it, and with whom we have no connection whatever, India, with her innate feeling of loyalty, is thus humbly praying: "O Lord, no more can I bear with these little Kings, temporary Kings, and many Kings. Give me the one King who will be able to proclaim that India is his kingdom—a kingdom, not of the merchant, not of the sojourner, not of the paid servant, not of Lancashire. O Lord of the universe, give us one whom we can accept as our King whole-heartedly."

To rule man with a machine and ignore the connections of the heart or of society is not possible. Justice cannot bear the arrogance for any length of time. It is not natural. It hurts the universal law. No talk of "good government" or "peace" can satisfy this intense heart famine. The British officials may get angry and the police serpents may raise their heads at such statement, but the famished truth that is wailing within the hearts of 300,000,000 of the people of India cannot be rooted out by any man or superman.

We cry for bread but we are given only stones. No wonder that our hearts regret and refuse everything. It is then that in our heart of hearts the spiritual India is awakened: "Be not deceived by outward appearances—all this is mere play." In this play, even he who is dancing does not know that he is merely an actor in disguise. He thinks he is a King, he is a magistrate, he is a Viceroy. The more he is being enveloped

with this veil of falsehood the more he is forgetting the real truth. If you remove his actor's dresses today, then in the eternal truth what is left? There is no difference between him and me. In this universe I am as big a King as any King on earth. * * *

Where there is only show of authority, excess of force, and where there is only whip and cane, prison and fine, punitive police and armed soldiers, there can be no greater insult of self, no greater insult to the all-knowing God within us, than to be afraid and bend. O motherland, with the help of your eternal, noble, and inspiring knowledge of Godhood, keep the head unmoved and untainted high above those insults; refuse with all thy heart these high-sounding falsehoods, see that wearing an awe-inspiring mask they may not influence thy inner soul in any way. Before the purity, the sacredness and the all-powerfulness of the soul these loud declamations and punishments, this pride of position, these huge preparations for the economic drain are merely child's play. If they pain you, see that they do not make you mean. Where there is a bond of love, to bend there is glorious; but where there is no such bond, one should keep his heart free and head erect. Never bend. Give up mendicancy. Do organize yourself in silence and in secret. Do not slight small beginnings. Keep an invincible faith in yourself. For, surely, you have a mission in this world. That is why with all your sufferings and tribulations you were not destroyed. Mother India, your throne lies stretched at the feet of the sacred Himalayas, and it is being washed on three sides by the great oceans. Before your throne the Hindus and the Mohammedans, the Christians, Buddhists and the Parsees have been attracted at the call of the Father. When you will again occupy your own seat, then, I am sure, the differences of knowledge, work, and religion will be solved, and the all-envious, poisonous pride of the modern, cruel, political system will be softened at thy feet. Do not be hasty, do not be deceived, do not be afraid. Know thyself and awake, arise and stop not till the goal is reached.

American Opinion of Germany

By Herman Oncken

Dr. Oncken, one of the foremost German historians, and Professor of Modern History in the University of Heidelberg, is well known as the author of "America and the Great Powers." This article is taken from a long discussion of Germany's struggle with public opinion in this country.

THE difficulties are greater than we thought, and the entrance to the portals of the mentality of another nation, which we sought to attain, can hardly be essayed in view of the broad stream in which conceptions coined in England swamp public opinion in America. For here it is not the question of an influence, the exertion of which is only beginning now, but the food which emerges from the kitchen of the organization for the manufacture of British public opinion has been served Americans regularly for decades past, seasoned and prepared in such a way that the American stomach has become unreceptive for anything else. The war, however, has given the English the possibility to bring their system to a height never before attained. They have worked in two directions in order to secure the monopoly of the market; on the one hand through a cutting off of German information, so long as it could be done, and on the other through a systematic and clever furnishing of its own product.

Even those who reckoned with the inner relationship between English and American thinkers as an indestructible fact, this time were surprised by the unusual exhibition of inward dependence which over there became manifest almost everywhere in treating of the immediate reasons of the war, and fully whenever the deeper underlying causes were to be considered. Almost everywhere one met the same chains of thought, the same prejudices, the same sources of errors and the same conjuror as in the public opinion of England. The conception of German "militarism" at present held by the masses in America in its most minute details, even in its very mental composition, is "made in England." And the most surprising thing is how this Eng-

lish argument, known to be framed for the war, a weapon more diabolical in calculation than the weapons of the battlefield, is now being accepted in America, without condition, as if it contained unbiased truth. It thus becomes the mental property of a nation that does not want to be a partisan, but instead wants to be neutral.

With complete disregard of their mental rooting, the phrases coined in England have been greedily grasped, and not only in the spheres where the comfort of not thinking is pairing with sanctimonious pathos, but even in the leading upper strata the accusation resounds, that the German spirit in its depths carries the responsibility for the world war; that Nietzsche and Treitschke, the pan-Germans, and General von Bernhardt, are its exponents.

The irony of world history has burdened the much-tried Nietzsche with the fate of being proclaimed as the mental originator of the modern Germany which he detested so deeply. All his dazzling brilliancy has not spared him, the aristocrat, from being recoined by pure ignorance of the masses like the shallowest of every-day talk. There was nothing he was so proud of as his Slavic blood, and nothing at which he cast such amorous glances as his Romanic mentality. No other German of later days had announced his sympathy with French education, his hatred of the part of German culture in the world and of the German Empire, in the past as well as in the present, to the extent this unhappy human, who did not want to be a German but a European, did these things.

With the name of Treitschke it is another matter. He belongs to the new Germany in the making, for which he

struggled, and to the completed Germany, whose face he helped to mold: a glowing and powerful expression of the spirit that has created our State. Englishmen and Americans should be the first to understand him, for if anything distinguished him, it was this—that he, stepping forth from the political champions of the new empire, imbued historical writing with a fiery national pride and a conscious political determination, such as it is a matter of course for the Englishman, as is manifested by Macaulay or, perhaps, by George Bancroft in his naïve self-confidence in his great and glorious American fatherland. Every thorough student knows that Treitschke formed the climax and also the finishing point of a period in German history writing, and I need not discuss why Ranke was bound to be to the present generation of historians something higher than that. G. P. Gooch, one of the few Englishmen who even felt a breath of the wealth of this mind, recently very correctly wrote, in a characterization teeming with vigor: "It had grown out of a national need and its *raison d'être* ceased when the need was satisfied." In that mental isolation of England, of which the finer minds of the island again and again complained sorrowfully, for a long time no attention whatever was paid to Treitschke, and even in the lectures by Professor J. A. Cramb on "Germany and England," which have recently appeared in print, the late new historian of Queens College in London, in shame addresses to his countrymen the reproach: "Not a page of Treitschke's greatest work has been translated."

Certainly Treitschke has never been a friend of England, (just as little as Macaulay was a friend of the Germans,) for in his knightly soul he felt no relationship with the insular methods of politics; but it is absolutely inhistorical to seek the sowing of an alleged hatred against England, as the root of all evil, in a man who died almost twenty years ago and never lived to experience that rising wave of envy and malice that since was to come over here. Just a single example to show how precipitately the

effort is now suddenly being made to burden the memory of Treitschke. Even a man of the education of Cramb adds to the characterization of the English as "a nation of shopkeepers" the quotation "Treitschke. *Politics* 2, 358"—although every German student of national economics could have taught him that the designation in question was originally coined by an English classic, by none other than Adam Smith ("Wealth of Nations," 114, Chapter 7, Part 3). They have forgotten their own people!

The book on "Pan-Germanism" published by the American Roland G. Usher, Associate Professor of History, Washington University, St. Louis, emerges from these depths of English journalism. But, then, I am very well aware of the fact that the academic titles of Mr. Usher form only a modest step in the unwritten but recognized order of rank of the learned life of America, and I would not mention his poor piece of work here if it were not being sold over there in many thousands of copies, and if it were not a significant expression of that mental dependence of subordinate circles. The elevation of this book may be gathered from the following sentences taken from it at random in which this historic thinker seeks to inform his countrymen concerning the political situation in Southern Germany. (Page 258):

Moreover, Prussia and Austria are thoroughly well hated in Southern Germany. The comic papers of Munich are fond of printing scandalous cartoons and squibs about the Emperors; it is popularly supposed that neither Emperor would dare venture into Southern Germany without a large bodyguard. It must not be forgotten that the German Constitution gives the Southern States important military privileges, which could not fail to be of consequence in time of war. Furthermore, Southern Germany controls important approaches to Alsace, the passes through Switzerland, and the whole upper half of the Rhine and Danube Valleys.

The entire mental equipment of the book is upon the level of this strategy. Every page discloses abysses of lack of general education. Evidently the much-read book owes its origin to the utilization of journalistic "chance," but not to an interest even half-way scientific. Its familiarity with the funda-

mental principles is of a sort that a historic political discussion of it is not at all worth while. Therefore, let us leave the phantom of this Pan-Germanism, against which Mr. Usher, in the name of the culture of the world, calls all nations to assistance, to all those who have learned nothing from history. One is only obliged to think the one thing: It is conceivable if something of this sort is being produced by our enemies as a means to antagonize, but it is more difficult to understand it when public opinion assumes ownership on these second-hand arguments without suspecting the "Made in England."

But, then, England and America are able to serve up an additional crown witness, who is alleged to combine in the strongest warlike formula our true political desire, and therewith to expose it involuntarily to the world: This is General von Bernhardt and the book he wrote a few years ago on "Germany and the Next War." This book of a cavalry General, retired five years ago, in Germany has attracted attention only in small circles. It soon was played against us in England so much the more actively in that its author was an official personality of political influence; and after the outbreak of the war the English factory of public opinion has not taken hold of any export article in a more loving manner. In America the book in the English translation has reached a circulation of a million copies, more than a hundred times the number of its circle of German readers. And if, of late, the book can be sold for the cheap price of twenty-five cents, this fact proves that those who are behind this distribution are promising much to themselves of this effective number for a circle of readers without judgment. Why, even a man like Roosevelt, who, taken altogether, might well be called an American mental congener of Bernhardt, thought to attack the German original sin itself with a phrase of Bernhardtism, coined by himself.

Therefore this book has undoubtedly exercised an influence very unfavorable to us. It is being swallowed over there

like an unintentional self-criticism of German militarism. I do not wish to enter here into a discussion with its author, who, like almost all former officers, has re-entered the service before the enemy, but one may be permitted here to state that the son of intelligent Theodor von Bernhardt has not inherited much of the latter's diplomatic prudence. Of course, cavalry Generals hardly ever are to be found among the most astute politicians, and Americans will remember that we are even able to show the type of sabre-rattling Admirals with strong words. But, then, Bernhardt is not a Clausewitz, and his book never leads us to the high elevations of the other's discourse "About War." It rather belongs to a class of literature which is not strange to any of the great nations—one could place the writings of Lord Roberts as a parallel alongside of it—which, whether in the form of a novel or in the presentation of political military argument, seeks to educate up to a warlike feeling and a forceful foreign policy.

I also admit that in this book sentences are found which very few people among us would sign, considering them as impolitic and indiscreet, but I do not admit the correctness of the final deduction which is being drawn from this book. For one thing, Americans overlook that Bernhardt is so little in accord with the responsible authorities of the Imperial Government that he openly affirms that they have lost public confidence in consequence of the peaceful solution of the Moroccan question, and if a dissatisfied General out of service desires to have German policy of the last years replaced by another, then one can hold the ruling German spirit of the German State just as little responsible for his opinion as the Administration of President Wilson can be held responsible for all declarations of Theodore Roosevelt. But to attempt to contradict the peace policy of our empire for forty-four years past with a book of a private individual without influence—the peace policy in particular which according to admission of the entire world has been maintained by our Emperor for a quarter of a century—that is no longer honest fair play. And

if the point is raised that Bernhardt is a characteristic exponent of our public opinion—as indicated before, he is no such thing—then one should pay a little closer attention to the part that has been played by the *Matin* in France and the newspaper concern of Lord Northcliffe in England. This is disturbing peace and poisoning the wells in a circle of millions of readers.

Is the cause of the slogan "German militarism" to be found in the inborn insular aversion to general obligatory military service, which is in vogue in France and Russia just as it is in Germany?

A nation having obligatory military service takes an absolutely reversed view of things. It looks at war as something tragic for the reason that it concerns all without exception, the Prince and the laborer, the academician and the peasant, in the same manner and carries the same worries into castle and hut. General Hamilton may say with a vanity of the aristocratic professional soldier: "Yes, conscription is a tremendous leveler. The proud are humbled; the poor-spirited are strengthened; the national idea is fostered; the interplay of varying ideals is sacrificed." We Germans know that this dreadful equalizer produces the true democracy of duties, which is not based

upon the supermankind of Nietzsche, but upon the categorical imperative of Kant. But, above all, such a democratic army of general obligatory service is not an instrument to be used according to whim for the conquest of the world, but a means of defense of the home country, of the defense of all by all, only to be employed in case of need. In the English army of professionals the world-conquering poor devils may sing in the verses of Rudyard Kipling:

"Walk wide o' the Widow at Windsor,
For 'alf o' Creation she owns:
We 'ave bought 'er the same with the
sword an' the flame,
An' we've salted it down with our
bones."

In the German peoples' army, however, there resounds the old song of the comrade with the refrain composed and added to it by the people themselves: "In der Heimat, in der Heimat, da gib'ts ein Wiedersehen" ("At home, at home, a reunion there will be")—for they are standing in the field to protect their home and all it stands for.

The German peoples' army therefore is peaceful by nature—and so has been our policy since 1871. The English professional army is by nature on conquest bent—and so has England's policy been from time immemorial.

A Legend of the Rhine

[From Punch.]

(German bakers are now producing cakes with "Gott strafe England" on them.)

Young Heinrich at the age of ten,
An offspring of the Huns,
Joined manly hate of Englishmen
With childish love of buns;
And so it filled him with delight
When bakeries divulged
A plan whereby these passions might
Be both at once indulged.

In fervent love of fatherland
Young Heinrich swiftly brake
The patriotic doughnut and
The loyal currant cake;
To guard his hate from growing less
Through joy at this repast
He saved—precocious thoroughness!—
The "strafe" bits till last.

Alack! his well-intentioned cram
Cost little Heinrich dear;
Disorder in the diaphragm
Concluded his career;
To find out why he passed away
They bade the doctor come,
And "strafe England," so they say,
Was printed on his tum.

The Moral Right to Thrive on War

By Dr. Kuuo Francke

Dr. Francke is Professor of the History of German Culture and Curator of the Germanic Museum in Harvard University.

Cambridge, Aug. 9, 1915.

To the Editor of the New York Times:

I HAVE worked, during the last months, on the side of those who seek to avert the danger of this country being involved in civil dissensions arising from racial sympathies or antipathies concerning the European conflict. In particular, I have repeatedly expressed my conviction that sympathy with one or the other of the warring nations should not induce American citizens to attempt to coerce our Government into deviating from the strict observance of the accepted rules of neutrality.

I have therefore advocated non-interference on the part of our Government with the internationally legalized traffic in arms and munitions of war, even though, through circumstances over which the United States has no control, this traffic turns out to be of decided advantage to one of the belligerents and of very serious disadvantage to the other. For the inhibition of this traffic would be equally to the advantage of one of the belligerents and to the disadvantage of the other, and as a positive Governmental measure it would make the United States in a much stricter sense legally a partisan of one of the warring powers than mere non-interference with this traffic does.

But the time has come, I believe, when this question should also be looked at from another point of view. Through the course of events it has ceased to be a question of international legality only, and has come to be a vital question of national and international morality.

Is it moral, from the national point of view, that the United States, a nation which officially stands for the policy of peace and against excessive

armament, should now permit within its own borders the manufacture of arms on so large a scale that this industry bids fair to become one of the leading industries of the country?

Is it moral, from the national point of view, that our Government should permit the rise in this country of a set of capitalists whose interests are exclusively or predominantly identified with war, and which, therefore, by its own self-interest, is bound to abet and to foster the war spirit among masses of people?

Is it moral, from the international point of view, that this country, while officially holding aloof from the gigantic carnage which is now devastating Europe, should, as a matter of fact, through its continued shipment of arms make itself a participant in this destruction, and indeed thrive upon it?

And if—as is by no means impossible—the continued sale of arms to one of the belligerents from an officially neutral country should finally come to be one of the decisive factors in the issue of this war, would that be an issue to which the United States would have reason to point with pride as a victory of international morality? Would not that be the result of a positive assistance from this country to one of the warring groups which could not any longer be reconciled with moral neutrality?

These are questions so momentous, so far-reaching, and so pressing that Congress should, the sooner the better, have an opportunity to discuss them. They are questions which should be decided without the bias of racial sympathies or antipathies, solely upon the ground of American national welfare.

Italy in War Time

By G. M. Trevelyan

This article, by the author of "Garibaldi and the Making of Italy," appeared originally in *The London Daily News*. Written while the Germans were making their victorious thrust at Warsaw, it constitutes an appeal to Italy's and Europe's historic past.

ITALIAN fortitude has been quite undisturbed by the fall of Lemberg. The Italians of their own choice entered the war at the time when the Russian retreat had begun and they were prepared for the events that have since occurred. If the Italians had failed to take the Alpine passes of Trentino and Carnia, and to establish themselves on the line of the Isonzo, they would no doubt be more alarmed about the possibility of the Germans coming down in force upon the Lombard plain. But that is felt to be an impossibility since the passes have been seized, and the fact that Germany, though it sends volunteers to the Trentino, will not actually declare war against Italy, is held to indicate that Germany seeks to minimize the Italian war and its effects, rather than to attempt any big coup on this side of the Alps. I do not think it will be possible to minimize the effects of the Italian war in the long run. The spirit of the people and of the army is so strong, so quiet, so patient, so determined. There has been no grumbling at the comparative want of progress of the last fortnight; for people here have watched the great war long enough before they entered it to understand that quick results on a big scale are not to be looked for till the Allies as a whole are on the advance again. The Italians are doing their duty of the hour in drawing off more and more Austrians from Galicia. They are acting as a much-needed "magnet" to the forces of the common enemy. And meanwhile they are making real progress on the Carso, the bare plateau of limestone uplands above Monfalcoux, Gorizia, and Trieste.

Two things have tended to maintain public confidence here in the last few days. The news from England and the news from Russia. The Lloyd George

munitions campaign and the rising up of the English people to face the adverse hour is as much commented on as the Czar's spirited manifesto and the similar uprising of the Russian people of all classes and parties to continue the war till final victory. It is believed here that something of the spirit of 1812 has been aroused in Russia by the recent defeats. The spirit of England and of Russia respectively has been watched, and is at this moment approved. The spirit of France is not even watched, for the Italians know that the tragic determination of every Frenchman is to die rather than to fail of victory. England is well beloved here, but she is distant and relatively a stranger. With France there have been more quarrels in the past, but she is more kith and kin to Italy. Her ways, whether in war or peace, are simpler and more understandable to the Italian. There is also a deep feeling for the enormous sacrifices of men that France is making. The wrongs of Belgium are also very deeply felt by the people of Italy. That feeling meets one here at every turn.

I was present at a pro-English demonstration last night at one of the theatres. It was a patriotic revue of the war and the Italian politics that led up to it. There was Aristophanic political license, Giolitti and Bülow being as important dramatic personae as Cleon before them. Such uncensored freedom would, one fears, have been sadly abused and vulgarized on the English stage, but here it was used most delightfully. The civilization "of twenty-five centuries" knows how to do these things. There was a true delicacy of wit in the scene where Bülow, who looked his very self without any caricaturing of his Ambassadorial dignity, unrolls to Giolitti and his "Parliamentary Majority" an

enormous scroll, containing in one corner of it a list of the infinitesimal "concessions" that he will make on Austria's behalf. Some one suggests they might ask the Italian Government about it. "There is no Government," says Giolitti. Then the mob breaks in on the conspirators, and the "Parliamentary Majority" vanishes. The scene ends with Giolitti looking around the room behind all the chairs with a match, to find his "Majority"; but it has disappeared.

As the British Ambassador was known to be present—it was a benefit night for the Blue Cross—a tableau had been specially put in about the British Navy. A British naval officer, looking, I fear, more like a representative, say, of the Chilian Navy, read a spirited speech about how England had drawn sword for honor and Belgium; and then we all got up and clapped for the British Ambassador to the strains of "God Save the King." A little later, when an "old Garibaldino" was singing his song, the presence of Ricciotti Garibaldi was detected in one of the boxes, and we all got up and clapped for him to the strains of Garibaldi's hymn; thereupon Ricciotti Garibaldi made us a speech about how his horse was wounded in the 1866 campaign, and gave a shriek of pain that he has never forgotten, and how we should all subscribe to the Blue Cross in aid of the wounded horses. Outside these demonstrations in the theatres no one now demonstrates or shouts in the streets, as they were constantly doing during the ten months of Italy's "neutrality." This is quite as it should be. The municipality has just put up a notice to tell us what we are to do if an air raid is made upon Rome. We are already very considerably darkened at night.

To return to the patriotic "revue." The song that was most often encoored was a trio by a Socialist and anarchist and a priest, all united to go to the front. The song was witty and at the same time stirring, and when the actor representing the priest waved a tricolor handkerchief and cried "Avanti Savoia" he brought down the house. There was certainly no contempt or malice implied against the priest, quite the opposite. That reminds

me that this Sunday there were again held patriotic services in several of the principal churches of Rome and in the Cathedral of Milan, with a war sermon there by Cardinal Ferrari on patriotism. It is not merely on the stage that priests are patriotic today.

Another of these patriotic revues was about the old dying wolf, Austria, and the bellicose mastiff, Germany. It reproduced in the most forcible manner both the character of modern Germany and the hatred of Italians for the historic idea of Austria. The black and yellow wolf, hobbling on a crutch shaped like a gallows, was in himself an artistic creation. We had Cavour, Rossini, and I know not whom beside. The appeal was to historic memories—what "our fathers have told us"—and it moved a vast audience far more than anything that happened fifty years ago could touch a corresponding English audience. Me it moved, because it is part of my profession to understand the multitude and delicacy of the historical allusions. Certainly Austria is paying now for what she did in Italy between 1815 and 1866. And her retention of Trento and Trieste have kept the memory of the old yellow and black hangman alive in Italian hearts, in spite of all the delusive appearance of the Triple Alliance. Trentino and Trieste are everywhere the magic words. To the Italian populace those are the two objectives of the war.

But Germany had her due share in the piece. One of the best songs was a trio by a German commercial traveler, a spy, and a professor. The part of the German professor in the present European tragedy is as well appreciated here as with us. These revues no doubt are trifles, but they serve to illustrate the various phases of public opinion at the moment.

It is with very different feelings from those of the detached and light-hearted tourist that one walks the streets of Rome today. Formerly an Englishman in Rome has felt as though this wonderful *mise en scène* of the agonies and tragedies and achievements of three thousand years of Italian history, which are bounded in the little circle of this

city, were a glorified and joyous plaything for the visiting scholar or poet from the isle of safety. "Dulce mari magno." Ever since, in the Winter that followed Waterloo, the flocks of "Mirlords Inglesi" came in their private chariots to possess the Piazz di Spagna, after their twenty years of war-exile from Italian joys—ever since that date, now a century old, we English have moved about in Italy and Rome in a privileged position. For we alone have been citizens of a State in no fear of being conquered by an insolent foe, persons free from the heavy burden of the race-feuds and military despotisms of the Continent, safe in our inviolate isle. We watched with too little understanding the convulsions of all Europe in 1848; we pitied the agony of France in 1870, but never feared her fate for ourselves; even the long struggle for Italian freedom with all its sufferings and postponements, though it moved our sympathy, was a thing remote from our own experience. And so we have always trodden the historic streets of Rome, where liberties and empires so often rose and fell, as persons detached from the cruelties, sacrifices, and catastrophes of its history ancient and modern, observing all with the snug pleasure of an art-critic before a masterpiece.

And now, behold, these ancient tragedies and agonies are become flesh and blood to us. We, too, strive for our lives

and our liberty against the Tedeschi, sworn to enslave us. Our far-flung empire is in danger as was once that of Rome. Divisions or want of forethought now would ruin us, as Italy was ruined when Landsknecht and Spaniard sacked this city near 400 years ago. And so, as we move about among the present inhabitants of Rome, amid a people that has risen to its dangerous duty at this crisis of European freedom in a mood so sober and with preparations so well made, we English feel heart-brothers with them, sharers at last in the agonies and sacrifices and dangers which their fathers knew so well as their daily portion. We are blood-brothers with Europe now. "Sink or swim, survive or perish," we are in for it together now. That this change will profoundly alter our character I cannot doubt. Whether mostly for good or mostly for bad, it is far too early even to guess.

Meanwhile the Italians are watching, with friendly but penetrating eyes, to see how we drag ourselves out of the dangers among which we have fallen. They have heard that the Englishman is best when he has his back to the wall. They are watching, and they think the munitions campaign and the loan a good beginning. They are waiting to see if England also is capable of a Risorgimento on a mightier scale of organized effort than that which sufficed to free Italy two generations ago.

The Land of the Brave and the Free

By ONE OF THE LATTER.

[From The Spectator.]

Old England glories in her Volunteers;—

"Tis splendid! Let the other fellow go,
While I remain—a prey to poignant
fears

Lest he should suffer harm. He's
dead? Ah, woe!

Resignedly I check the rising sob,
Then hurry out to try and get his job.

"National Service?" Would you have
us slaves?

Free I was born and free my friend
shall die.

It is because he likes it that he braves
Thirst, hunger, cold, fatigue, and
agony.

And if he die, what matter? I foresee
Another England bred from men like
ME.

H. W. B.



VICE ADMIRAL GRIGOROVICH
Russian Minister of the Navy
(Photo from Paul Thompson)



M. THÉOPHILE DELCASSE'

Minister of Foreign Affairs of France. He Resigned This Place in 1905
at Germany's Behest

(Photo from Bain News Service)

Britain's New African Colony

By Charles Friedlander, F. R. G. S.

Mr. Friedlander, whose article appeared in The London Daily Chronicle of July 15, was for eight years legal adviser to the German Government in West Africa.

THE great news of General Botha's superbly successful and glorious campaign has been in all men's mouths this week. The King, the Commons, and the War Office, and the self-governing dominions have expressed to him the congratulations of the empire, to which he has added a large and valuable colony. The writer has had several opportunities of visiting what was then German Southwest Africa, and a few details as to its past, present, and future will suffice to show the extreme importance of the conquest effected.

The history of the territory in question, which extends roughly from the Orange River mouth to Portuguese West Africa, along the west coast of the African Continent, and about 250 miles inland, dates further back than that of most Southern African territories.

To this day, on the hill southwest of Luederitzbucht, there is uplifted a cross, presently composed of steel, and a replica of the cross erected by Bartholomew Diaz in 1486, when he first circumnavigated the Cape of Storms.

The original was removed by the order of the German Emperor, and is now believed to be in the Museum of Historical Research in Berlin. The hill in question was known until 1908 as Diaz Point, but since the discovery of diamonds in this part of the territory, the point and the hill behind it have been renamed Diamond Hill.

From the time of its first sighting by Diaz the bay behind the point, called until the time of the German occupation, Angra Pequena, (the Narrow Harbor,) remained a port of call for stray vessels traveling to and from the Dutch East Indies, and especially so after the settle-

ment of the Dutch East India Company had been established at the Cape of Good Hope.

From time to time, and more particularly during the early and middle nineteenth century, whalers also made use of this part of the coast, but the inhospitable nature of the country discouraged all and sundry from even attempting to penetrate into the interior, as well as from settling near the harbor itself. In order to complete the historical survey, it is only necessary to add that the country was taken possession of by the British Government, and the Government of the Cape Colony carried on the immediate administration. Toward the latter part of the nineteenth century, by agreement between the Imperial and Colonial Governments, the territory was abandoned, and it was immediately seized by Germany, which country had previously claimed it, as having been acquired for Germany by one Anton Luederitz, a German trader and hunter. From that date until its surrender to General Botha's victorious army it has been a German colony, and for the last few years the largest, most prosperous, and best administered, and the one with the greatest prospects of becoming not only a self-supporting, but a remunerative part of the German colonial empire.

The country was originally abandoned by the British chiefly by reason of the fact that it seemed wholly unproductive, utterly barren, and without any promise for the future. And, indeed, the aspect to the visitor from either East or West is appalling enough. Coming from the east, the only means of entry is across the Kalahari Desert, through trackless, waterless country, swept by sand storms, and repellent from every point of view. From the west the approach is by sea.

Coming from Cape Town, you find a belt of barren, shifting sand dunes stretching inland for miles and miles. There is not a sign of life, human, animal or vegetable. Dense fogs and storms abound, and the Benguela current increases the dangers of navigation. The only safe port in the middle of the nineteenth century was Walfish Bay, then, and since, a British possession, but now rapidly silting up. The port of Angra Pequena is a small, almost entirely landlocked harbor, into which ships of great draught cannot enter. For ships of a somewhat shallower draught it has been made available by the work done since the German occupation. The only other port is Swakopmund, immediately north of Walfish Bay, an open roadstead exposed to the full fury of the gales and seas coming across the Atlantic from South America. Since the abandonment of the territory and the German occupation it has, however, been found that, once the forbidding outer defences have been passed the country itself is found to be most suitable to many forms of activity, and is likely, owing to its magnificent climate, to be able to support a large white population.

In the south the revolution has come in the discovery of diamonds in 1908 in a form never known before in the history of the world's precious stones. Certain natives working on the railway line then being constructed from Luederitzbucht inland found among the gravel and sea-sand stones which they knew, from previous experience in the diamond mines of Kimberley, and in the river-diggings of the Western Orange River Colony, to be diamonds of an exceptionally fine quality.

In 1906, after the temporary prosperity due to the money expended by the German Government during the Herero campaigns in 1904, Luederitzbucht was bank-

rupt. In 1910 it was a large and flourishing town to which settlers had flocked from all parts of the earth, and north and south of which for scores of miles there extended an unbroken chain of diamond fields, practically from the Orange to Walfish Bay. The export from these fields, all alluvial sand, in 1913 exceeded the value of £1,250,000. From August, 1908, to about February, 1910, life in Luederitzbucht was almost a replica of the days of the American goldfields in the '40s, and many stirring and quaint stories can be related in connection therewith.

The first large company was formed in Cape Town and is a British company. It was this company which paid £100,000 for its claims, and put active work as well as capital into the mines that made the fields. When it was successful, the German Government immediately stepped in, and the German Emperor decreed that no further foreign company should be allowed to own diamond claims in German Southwest Africa. After the war, under British rule, there should be great opportunities for the development of this important industry, as a very large section of the ground has been worked by or for the German Government and another large section has been entirely closed to private enterprise.

In the north very valuable copper deposits have been found at Otavi, the terminus of one of the two branch arms of the railway running northeast from Swakopmund toward the Caprivi enclave. They are being worked under the auspices of a Johannesburg mining firm. Other valuable mineral deposits have been reported from time to time, and there seems to be no doubt that great mineral possibilities lie hidden in the interior, which is very largely, from the prospector's point of view, a terra incognita.



No Militarism in Germany

By Dr. Rudolf Leonhard

Professor of Law in the University of Breslau.

Breslau, Germany, July 11, 1915.

To the Editor of the New York Times:

AMONG many things read today with astonishment the most astonishing for the German public is the often declared purpose of our adversaries to continue the war until German militarism should be destroyed. The acquaintances of mine regard these utterances as a very riddle. They do not understand what such words mean, because we have no other militarism than the Continental States of Europe, which struggle against our country.

Such a weapon is absolutely unavoidable for every commonwealth, which must protect the people against the hostile desires of the neighbors. The care for such a weapon would naturally not be diminished, but increased in the case of a defeat. But there are also other opinions about the sense of the mysterious opposition against Germany's so-called militarism. Many foreign people believe that there exists a German military caste, to whom the Emperor himself belongs, having the tendency to begin as many wars as possible in order to enlarge the German territory and to bring other nations into a dependence upon Germany. But we know our Emperor's love for peace from daily experiences and cannot be mistaken about it.

However, it seems that the opposite feeling abroad is the result of a wrong interpretation concerning some former utterances of the Emperor made in order to deter those who would disturb the peace. The form of them seemed sometimes to be a little rough. But this was the natural consequence of the good conscience of the speaker and of his peace-loving heart. People who did not understand that were very bad psychologists.

Nowadays the "militarism" is more and more regarded as a dangerous quality of the whole German people, to begin bloody quarrels in order to conquer a

dominion over the world. We all know here that nothing is further from the German mind than such desires. Therefore, it is difficult to conceive how such a misrepresentation about our tendencies could arise.

Asking for the reasons, we must confess that, indeed, there have been among us some enthusiastic persons, the so-called Pan-Germanists, a little party without any influence, who uttered from time to time rather fantastic ideas about the splendid future of our country. Their opinions were usually not even mentioned in the most widely spread German newspapers. The less they were respected in Germany the more they have been quoted abroad by the political enemies of our country in order to spread the illusion that such incautious aspirations were the very expression of the German desires. If that be true, we would observe now after the victories a development of such tendencies in Germany. But they cannot be discovered here. I cannot deny that there are some patriots who dream of leading German thought toward the education of the world, but such hopes do no harm and have no political consequence.

If our foes really have made up their mind to destroy German desires of conquest under the name of militarism they cannot have any success. It is impossible to destroy a thing which does not exist. Therefore, if the war really will last until such a goal is reached, it will never end.

I do not say it in the interest of my people. I say it in the interest of the foreigners who are deceived by their rulers, in order to sacrifice them for an impossible thing. Certainly the very goals of the deceivers are other ones, which they carefully hide, because their poor victims would not like to give their blood for the real wishes of their rulers. So I regret less my brethren than the

brave soldiers of our enemies, among whom I had many very good friends before the war. It is worth while to die for his people, but it is not worth while to die for the destruction of a phantom.

Although I do not overrate the influence of my words, I think it is my duty to say my opinion openly. I cannot help them who do not wish to learn the truth.

Night in the Trench

By H. VARLEY.

It eynt quite as 'omelike as old 'Ampstead 'Eath.

To crawl on yer belly like worms,
Wiv water an' mud arf-an-arf underneath,

An' live things as bites till yer squirms.
Yer down't care a 'ang fer the Germans as lives.

In 'oles just a few yards aw'y,
Fer alw'ys yer gives 'em as good as they gives

Wotever they do or they s'y.

Yer down't even mind w'en a blarsted shell drops

So long as yer eynt 'it yersel';
It's part o' the gyme—an' yer grin till yer flops

An' dies wiv a smile where yer fell.
If the 'Un fellers charge yer it eynt arf as bad—

Yer gives 'em a 'ellstorm o' lead;
They runs on yer baynit like men as is mad—

An' yer twists it aht reekin' an' red.

Yer down't even care if the rations runs aht

An' yer drink o' the filth as is near.
It's "Are we down'earted?" yer yell an' yer shaht—

But yer'd give up yer soul fer a beer.
An' 'unger evnt notin' so long as it's d'y
An' yer rifle is 'ot wiv the fight;

But arfter the sunset, w'en black is the sky;

O Gawd! That's what gets yer—the night.

No 'ell can be worse than to 'ear the wild screams

Of soljers who fights in the'r sleep;
An' dreading' the orful things 'auntin' yer dreams;

The red flood as drowns yer down deep.

Yer fear fer yer senses, the thread as m'y bryke;

Yer bryne nearly bursts wiv the stryne,
Until in the gray o' the dawn yer awyke,
An' a day-full o' fight comes agyne.

France's Fight Against "Kultur"

By Paul Sabatier

M. Paul Sabatier, author of the "Life of St. Francis of Assisi," has addressed the following eloquent letter to Professor Falcinelli, the President of the International Society for Franciscan Studies at Assisi, of which M. Paul Sabatier is Honorary President. It was written and published in *The London Times*, in reply to a letter in which Professor Falcinelli inclosed a resolution in favor of peace which the council of the society had passed shortly before Christmas. M. Paul Sabatier, one of whose brothers fell at Gravelotte in 1870, and whose only son is fighting in the Argonne, was for many years pastor at Strassburg after the German occupation. The great influence which he acquired in Strassburg rendered him obnoxious to the German authorities, who, after having failed to silence him, expelled him from Alsace. One of his books, "L'Orientation Religieuse de la France Actuelle," first revealed, some years ago, the moral strength of France. In his present letter he defines, for the benefit of his Italian friends and fellow-students of St. Francis, the spirit in which France regards the war.

MY Dear President: My hearty thanks for your cordial letter. I hasten to reply; excuse me if I do so more briefly than I should wish.

First let me express my delight that your friend and mine, Luzzatti, should have accepted the Presidency of the committee Pro Belgio. The noble Belgian Nation is doubtless to be pitied, but it is still more to be admired. Its tribulations will pass, but its laurels will not fade.

The Belgians went to certain destruction, with a firmness unexampled in history, in honor of a principle, whereas they might easily have secured handsome payment for granting a right of way through their country, and might also have made millions out of the German troops. Without a moment's hesitation, without giving a thought to these profits, they replied with a non possumus of which other nations have not, perhaps, understood the lofty heroism.

Dec. 29.—I was interrupted the other day and have not been able to continue before. I took advantage of the Christmas holidays to go and speak in the neighboring villages and to admire the quiet courage of our countryside. It is as though the words "In your patience possess ye your souls" had been spoken for our people.

As to my feeling about your manifestation in favor of peace, you understand, do you not, that, as a belligerent, and a belligerent the more determined in that I

was before firmly pacific, I look upon it all with an eye very different from yours? A Frenchman cannot now utter the word "peace." To use it would be akin to treason. When a quarrel is for money, or for a strip of territory, one can make peace without moral loss. To make peace when an ideal is at stake is an abdication; even to think of it is to be false to the voice which tells us that man is born for other things than to enjoy the moral and material heritage of his fathers.

It is the honor of Belgium, France, and their allies to have seen at once the spiritual nature of this war. No doubt we are fighting for ourselves, but we are fighting, too, for all peoples. The idea of stopping before the goal is reached cannot occur to us—and we find some difficulty in understanding how it can occur to lookers-on. We are grateful to them for the excellence of their intentions, but we are somewhat embarrassed by the thought that they are more careful of our physical than of our moral life. Our soldiers are martyrs; they bear witness to a new truth. Their defeat would mean the triumph in Europe of brute force, supported by the two spiritual forces which it has mobilized—science and religion. Before permitting that it is our duty to fight, without even thinking of what may befall. And if our soldiers go down to the last man everybody who had not yet taken up arms will fight to the last cartridge, to the last

stone of our mountains that we can hurl against a "Kultur" which is nought save worship of the sword and of the golden calf.

The France of today is fighting religiously. Catholics, Protestants, men of Free Thought, we all feel that our sorrows renew, continue, and fulfill those of the Innocent Victim of Calvary. But they are birth pangs; we may die of them, but we have not the right not to bless the present hour and to take up with rejoicing the task before us.

The peace which St. Francis preached was not peace at any price, peace as an end in itself. Like many others before him, he repeated "Righteousness and Peace have kissed each other"—righteousness first and then peace. There is no true or lasting peace that is not based on justice. He did not beg the people of Perugia no longer to make war on Assisi. He began by fighting them; and later on, at the end of his life, he did not preach peace to these same people, but told them that the wrongs they had committed would be avenged.

Besides, unless I am mistaken, you will soon feel what I am saying. It seems to me that Italy is preparing soon to enter the lists. She will come in at her own time for practical reasons, and also, I am sure, for reasons of ideal. And in the thrill of enthusiasm that will run through you all, from furthest Sicily to the Alpine peaks, you will feel the mysterious workings of spiritual creation, as yet incomplete, but which strives to realize itself in and by us. You will then see how necessary it is for a nation, as for a man, to take the rare chances that are offered him to fulfill his destiny and realize his ideal.

This is what our soldiers—I see it by

their letters—and what our peasants—I hear it in their talk—feel and understand better than I can express it. What France of the Crusades stammered, what France of the Revolution saw dimly, France today desires to accomplish. She believes with all her strength in victory because she has indomitable faith in the ideal of justice and truth that is in her heart. But she does not need to believe in victory in order to fight, for to give up fighting would be to betray her past, her ideal, her vocation. What matter that she die at her task if she has done her work?

The other day I read in a Swiss newspaper that one must go to France to see a people whom the war has not perturbed. It seems that in neutral Switzerland there is greater moral distress than in France. This is quite natural. In the ideal work we are now doing we have again found the secret of the life of nations—to labor together at a hard task and to be faithful to the Spirit of Life that is embodied in the Creation. This is why I have found no trace of hatred of the enemy or wish for reprisals in the letters of our soldiers, who are enduring what they endure.

My son Jacques is grateful for your thought of him. He is still in the first line in the Argonne. His last letter is dated Dec. 23.

Au revoir, my dear President. In these last days of 1914 I embrace you and wish I could embrace all the people of Assisi, the "black," the "red," and the "white"; for I shall never be able to tell you how fond I am of you all. Long live Italy! and may 1915 bring to the eldest of the Latin nations those victories, material and spiritual, that will reform Europe and place civilization itself on new foundations.



The War and the Jews

By Israel Zangwill

Mr. Zangwill's article on "The War and the Jews" appeared in the Metropolitan Magazine for August, and the major part of it is here reproduced by permission.

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THE WANDERING JEW.

THERE is no luck for Israel," says the Talmud. Individual Jews are frequently shrewd and fortunate, but as a people Israel is, in his own expressive idiom, a Schlemihl, a hapless, ne'er-do-well. Twenty centuries of wandering find him concentrated precisely in the valley of Armageddon. And here in a hundred places he must again grasp the Wanderer's staff. Symbolic is the figure of the Chief Rabbi of Serbia wandering across Europe to beg for his pitiful flock. A workhouse and a hostel at London are congested with Belgian Jews. Forty ravaged towns have poured their Ghettos into Warsaw. Prague, Vienna, Budapest, seethe sullenly with refugees. A census taken of 4,653 Jews, who fled into Alexandria showed subjects of England, France, Russia, Spain, America, Turkey, Persia, Rumania, Italy, Greece and Serbia, while another thousand had already wandered further—to other Egyptian cities, to America, Australia, South Africa, Russia. The only important section of Jewry that has escaped the war is that which has poured itself into the American Melting Pot. And not only are ten of the thirteen millions of Jewry in the European cockpit; nearly three millions are at the fiercest centre of fighting—in Poland.

Poland—be it German, Russian or Austrian Poland—is pre-eminently the home of Jewry, and Poland even more than Belgium has been the heart of hell. For two of the Powers that combined to dismember it are now fighting the third across its fragments, and Jewish populations are at their thickest along those 600 miles of border country through which Russia invades East-Prussian

Poland or Galician Poland, Germany hacks her way toward Warsaw, or Austria hurls her counter-attacks.

The accident of a series of peculiarly wise and tolerant monarchs opened Poland to a large volume of Jewish immigration and even gave its Jews a measure of autonomy and dignity. They were the recognized providers of an urban and industrial population to a mainly agricultural people. Thus were they collected for the holocaust of today. For, of course, the partition of Poland left them still pullulating, whether in Prussian Danzig, Russian Warsaw or Austrian Lemberg. And not only have they duplicated the tragedy of the Poles in having to fight what is practically a civil war; not only have they suffered almost equally in the ruin of Poland so poignantly described by Paderewski, in the burnings, bombardings, pillagings, tramlings; not only have they shared in the miseries of towns taken and retaken by the rival armies, but they have been accused hysterically or craftily before both belligerents of espionage or treachery, and even of poisoning the wells, and crucified by both. Hundreds have been shot, knouted, hanged, imprisoned as hostages; women have been outraged, whole populations have fled, some before the enemy, many hounded out by their own military authorities, wandering—but not into the wide world. Into the towns outside the Pale they might not escape—these were not open even to the wounded soldier. In the long history of the martyr-people there is no ghastlier chapter. Yet it is lost—and necessarily lost—in the fathomless ocean of Christian suffering, in the great world-tragedy. But while Poland and Belgium are crowned

by their sorrows and cheered by the hope of rebirth, while the agony of Belgium has become an immortal heroic memory, the agony of Israel is obscure and unknown, unlightened by sympathy, unredeemed by any national prospect, happy if it only escape mockery. It is related that when one of these ejected foot-sore populations, wandering at midnight on the wintry roads, with their weeping children, met marching regiments of their own army, the women stretched out their hands in frantic beseechment to the Jews in the ranks. But the Jewish soldiers could only weep like the children—and march on.

TO THEIR TENTS, O ISRAEL.

"You are the only people," said Agrippa, trying to hold back the Jews of Palestine from rising against the Roman Empire, "who think it a disgrace to be servants of those to whom all the world hath submitted." Today, servants of all who have harbored them, the Jews are spending themselves passionately in the service of all. At the outbreak of the war an excited Englishwoman, hearing that the Cologne Gazette, said to be run by Jews, was abusing England, wrote to me, foaming at the quill, demanding that the Jews should stop the paper. That the Jews do not exist, or that an English Jew could not possibly interfere with the patriotic journalism of a German subject, nay, that the abuse in the Cologne Gazette was actually a proof of Jewish loyalty, did not occur to the worthy lady. Yet the briefest examination of the facts would have shown her that the Jews merely reflect their environment, if with a stronger tinge of color due to their more vivid temperament, their gratitude and attachment to their havens and fatherlands, and their anxiety to prove themselves more patriotic than the patriots. It is but rarely that a Jew makes the faintest criticism of his country in war-fever, and when he does so, he is disavowed by his community and its press. For the Jew his country can do no wrong. Wherever we turn, therefore, we find the Jew prominently patriotic. In England the late Lord Rothschild presided

over the Red Cross Fund, and the Lord Chief Justice is understood to have saved the financial situation not only for England, but for all her allies. In Germany, Herr Ballin, the Jew who refused the baptismal path to preferment, the creator of the mercantile marine, and now the organizer of the national food supply, stands as the Kaiser's friend, interpreter and henchman, while Maximilian Harden brazenly voices the gospel of Prussianism, and Ernst Lissauer—a Jew converted to the religion of Love—sings "The Song of Hate." In France, Dreyfus—a more Christian Jew albeit unbaptized—has charge of a battery to the north of Paris, while General Heymann, Grand Officer of the Legion of Honor, commands an army corps. In Turkey, the racially Jewish Enver Bey is the ruling spirit, having defeated the Jewish Djavid Bey, who was for alliance with France, while Italy, on the contrary, has joined the Allies, through the influence of Baron Sonnino, the son of a Jew. The military hospitals of Turkey are all under the direction of the Austrian Jew, Hecker. In Hungary it is the Jews who, with the Magyars, are the brains of the nation. Belgium has sent several thousand Jews to the colors and at a moment when Belgium's fate hangs upon England, has intrusted her interests at the Court of St. James's to a Jewish Minister, Mr. Hymans. Twenty thousand Jews are fighting for the British Empire, fifty thousand for the German, a hundred and seventy thousand for the Austro-Hungarian, and three hundred and fifty thousand for the Russian. Two thousand five hundred Jews fight for Serbia. Even from Morocco and Tripoli come Jewish troops—they number 20 per cent. of the Zouaves. Nor are the British Colonies behind the French. From Australia, New Zealand, from Canada, South Africa, from every possession and dependency, stream Jewish soldiers or sailors. Even the little contingent from Rhodesia had Jews, and the first British soldier to fall in German Southwest Africa was Ben Rabinson, a famous athlete. In Buluwayo half a company of reserves is composed of Jews.

When Joseph Chamberlain offered the

Zionists a plateau in East Africa the half-dozen local Britons held a "mass-meeting" of protest. Yet today, though the offer was rejected by the Zionists, fifty Jewish volunteers—among them Captain Blumenthal of the Artillery and Lieutenant Eckstein of the Mounted Rifles—are serving in the Defense Force enlisted at Nairobi. Letters from British Jews published in a single number of the *Jewish World*, taken at random, reveal the writers as with the Australian fighting force in Egypt, with the Japanese at the taking of Tsing-Tao, with the Grand Fleet in the North Sea, while the killed and wounded in the same issue range over almost every British regiment, from the historic Black Watch, Grenadier Guards, or King's Own Scotch Borderers down to the latest Middlesex and Manchester creations. The Old World and the New are indeed at clash when a Jewish sailor on Passover eve, in lieu of sitting pillowed at the immemorial ritual meal, is at his big gun, "my eye fixed to the telescopic lights and an ear in very close proximity to an adjacent navyphone, and the remainder of the time with my head on a projectile for a pillow." Anglo-Jewry, once the home of timorous mothers and Philistine fathers, has become a Maccabean stronghold. One distinguished family alone—the Spielmanns—boasts thirty-five members with the forces. A letter of thanks from the King has published the fact that an obscure Jew in a London suburb has five sons at the front.

And in all these armies the old Maccabean valor which had not feared to challenge the Roman Empire at its mightiest, and to subdue which a favorite General had to be detached from the less formidable Britain, has been proved afresh. "The Jewish bravery astonished us all," said the Vice Governor of Kovno, and, indeed, the heroism of the Russian Jew has become a household word. More than 300 privates—they cannot be officers—have been accorded the Order of St. George. One Jew, who brought down a German aeroplane, was awarded all four degrees of the order at once. In England Lieutenant de Pass won the Victoria Cross for carrying a wounded man

out of heavy fire, and perished a few hours later in trying to capture a German sap. In Austria up to the end of the year the Jews had won 651 medals, crosses, &c. "I give my life for the victory of France and the peace of the world," wrote a young immigrant Jew who died on the battlefield. A collection of letters from German soldiers, published by the Jewish Book-shop of Berlin, reveals equal devotion to Germany. And to the question, "What shall it profit the Jew to fight for the whole world?" a Yiddish journalist, Morris Myer, has found a noble answer. There is a unity behind all this seeming self-contradiction, he points out. "All these Jews are dying for the same thing—for the honor of the Jewish name."

THE RIDDLE OF RUSSO-JEWRY.

The devotion of the Jew to the British flag needs no explanation. Both socially and by legislation England has given the world a lesson in civilization. And if France only just escaped the pollution of the Dreyfus affair, if Germany and Austria are anti-Semitic in temper, all these countries have yet given the Jew his constitutional rights, and the Kaiser in particular has had the sense and the spirit to turn his ablest Jews into friends and henchmen. The appointment of several hundred officers during the war has probably removed the last tangible grievance of German Jewry. As for Turkey, she has been since 1492 a refuge of Jewry from Christian persecution, while Italy, which has had a Jewish Prime Minister as well as a Jewish War Minister (General Ottolenghi), stands equal with England in justice to the Jew. But that the Russian Jews, yet reeking from the blood of a hundred pogroms, should have thrown themselves into Russia's struggle with almost frenzied fervor, this is, indeed, a phenomenon that invites investigation, and invites it all the more because the Jews in America, remote from the new realities, continue their barren curses against Russia, and include in their malisons those who, like myself, proclaim the cause of the Allies the cause of civilization.

It would be easy to dismiss the enthusiasm of the Russian Jews as more politic than patriotic, or to say that they have made a virtue of necessity. But it bears all the marks of a sincere upwelling, a spiritual outreaching to their fellow-Russians. Such scenes as marked the proclamation of war have never been known in Russian Jewry. The Jewish Deputy in the Duma and the Jewish press were at one in proferring heart and soul to the country. From the Great Synagogue of Petrograd five thousand Jews, headed by the Crown Rabbi, marched to the Czar's Palace and, kneeling before it, sang Hebrew hymns and the Russian anthem. Their flags bore the motto, "There are no Jews or Gentiles now." At Kieff ten thousand Jews, carrying Russian banners and the Scrolls of the Law, paraded the town, and similar demonstrations occurred wherever Jews dwelt. A Warsaw writer records that the Jews wept with emotion in the synagogues as they prayed for Russia's victory. Thousands of youths who had escaped conscription offered themselves as volunteers; in Rostoff even a girl smuggled herself among them and went through several battles before she was detected. The older generation poured out its money in donatives. The Dowager Empress accepted and named a Red Cross Hospital. One wealthy Jew in the province of Kherson undertook to look after all the families of reservists in six villages, or 1,380 souls.

Something must, perhaps, be discounted for the hysteria and hypnosis of war time. And other factors than patriotism proper may have entered into the enthusiasm. The young generation had reached the breaking point. Baffled of every avenue of distinction, the most brilliant blocked from the schools and universities by the diabolical device of admitting even the small percentage by ballot and not by merit, grown hopeless of either Palestine without or the social revolution within, the young Jews hovered gloomily between suicide and baptism, between depravity and drink. Some with a last glimmer of conscience and faith had thought to

avoid the stigma of Christianity by becoming merely Mohammedans; others to dodge at least the Greek Church had exploited an Episcopalian missionary. But even for these Russia refused to open up a career. To this desperate generation the war came as an outlet from a blind alley, a glad adventure. Hence the reckless bravery on the battlefield. But there was reason, too, in the ecstasy. England, ever the Jew's star of hope, was at last to fight side by side with Russia. For the Russian the alliance was a pride, for the Jew an augury of liberty. The great democracies of the West would surely drag Russia in their train. And for the elders the fear of Germany was the beginning of wisdom. The very first day of the war she had taken possession of the undefended town of Kalicz on the Russian border, and in this town, more than a third Jewish, had initiated her policy of "frightfulness." And mingling with this sinister first impression came the stories of wealthy Jews returning from Karlsbad, Wiesbaden, and other Summer resorts from which they had been ejected as "alien enemies." The Jew began to cling to the devil he knew, to realize that, after all, Russia was his home.

But when every allowance is made for lower factors, there remains a larger and deeper truth underlying the enthusiasm, the truth which it takes a poet to feel and which found its best expression in the words of the Russo-Yiddish writer, Shalom Asch, whose dramas have been played in Berlin and whose books were published in English. Germany's aeroplanes had rained down on the Pale not bombs, but leaflets, announcing herself as the deliverer of the oppressed peoples under the Russian yoke and promising to grant the Jews equal rights. To these seductive attempts to exploit the Jewish resentment against Russia, Shalom Asch answered sternly: "The oppressed peoples under the Russian yoke have risen as one man against the German bird of prey. * * * The Jews are marching in the Russian ranks for the defense of their fatherland. Nor is it the youth alone

that has done its duty. In every town of Russia Jews have established committees; our sisters are joining the Red Cross, our fathers are collecting funds. * * * Thousands of Russo-Jewish volunteers have enlisted in France * * * even from America, where Germany has tried to exploit our sufferings, they are beginning to come. For this is not a war to defend the Russian bureaucracy which is responsible for the pogroms, but to defend the integrity of our fatherland. * * * Nor do we do our duty in order to 'earn' equal rights * * * but because, deeply hidden in our hearts, there is a burning feeling for Russia. * * * Look at America, where hundreds of societies and streets bear the names of our Russian towns. * * * No Pale, no restrictions, no

pogroms, can eradicate from our hearts this natural feeling of love for our country, and God be thanked for it! * * * Nobody gives a fatherland and nobody can take it away. We have been in Russia as long as the Slav peoples. The history of the Jews in Poland begins with the very first page of Polish history. Equal rights must be ours, because for a thousand years and more we have absorbed into our blood the sap of the Slav soil, the Slav landscape is reflected in our thought and imagination. *We shall fight against the system of government which refuses to recognize our equality, as we fought against it in 1905. But the Russian soil is sacred, it belongs to the peoples of Russia, and whoever dares to touch it will find in the Jew his first foe!*"

Poland, 1683—1915

By H. T. SUDDUTH.

Thy valor, Poland, stemmed the tide of fate
 Onrushing from the East in olden days,
 When proud Vienna saw, with dread amaze,
 Vast Turkish hosts before her walls, elate
 In victor pride, inflamed with zealot hate!
 Then Sobieski did thy banner raise
 Triumphant, bore it through the battle blaze,
 And saved from Crescent rule the Christian State!

And what was thy reward, O Land of Woe?
 'Twas thine to see thy kingdom torn and rent,
 And all a proud and vanquished people know
 Whose necks beneath a conqueror's yoke are bent!
 Yet thou hast kept through all thy centuried night
 An altar flaming clear with Freedom's light!

And now again the tide of war has swept
 In mightiest wave the world has ever known
 Across thy plains by battle scarred, and prone
 A nation lies! War's fury that long slept.
 To greater madness waked! The bounds it kept
 In older times are swept away, and strown
 Thy fields are with thy dead, while moan
 Of dying men shows where War's cohorts stopt!

And Warsaw fair, where slow the Vistula flows,
 Where Kosciusko fell in Freedom's cause,
 Now once again a conqueror's presence knows
 While issue vast that all the world now awes
 Hangs trembling in the balance stern of Fate
 Whose dread decree all nations now await!

The Collective Force of Germany

By Gerhard von Schulze-Gaevernitz

Dr. von Schulze-Gaevernitz is Pro-Rector and Professor of Political Economy in the University of Freiburg and a member of the Reichstag. This article is part of an essay published by The New York Evening Mail, which Dr. Gaevernitz handed to The Mail's Berlin correspondent as an answer to his question: "What do the educated Germans really believe about England?" The part selected contrasts the German ideal of collective efficiency with the British ideal of individual freedom.

ALTHOUGH the machinery creaks a bit, and for the time being friction is more apparent than the actual benefits, there has never been a more perfect organization of a free people than is evidenced in warring Germany of today. One of the most singular chapters of economic history is being written for the benefit of posterity. The socialization of the German State has been so rapid and complete that it will take science years to record what has been achieved. We can state also that Germany has never been economically so strong and so firmly knit together as now, after nearly a year of war.

Similar advancement is apparent in the technical field. Germany, like the sleeping beauty, has been aroused out of her century-long sleep by the electric spark which touches the blackness of anthracite to bring forth the magic colors of aniline dyes. War stimulated progress. Saltpetre was literally extracted from the air.

The great revolution in means of transportation since the days of Napoleon has benefited Germany more than any other nation, as Frederick List predicted. The Prussian railway system is not only the largest single enterprise in the world, but it is the most efficient mechanism ever created, typifying German unity and striking power. The railway has welded together nations which otherwise could hardly come into touch, such, for example, as Germany and Turkey.

With the help of her Allies and of such neutrals as are contiguous by land, and with her control of the Baltic Sea, and, through Turkey, of the Black Sea, Germany commands an economic terri-

tory which could support itself for years in case of necessity. And these changes have been effected during a period when the British industrial has been losing its mobility!

In a moral and intellectual sense, also, England has been living the life of a retired capitalist, the richest capitalist of the world. England's tremendous heritage still towers over her head as a globe encompassing dome, but the foundation arches of this heaven-storming structure are cracking. The religious life of the Anglo-Saxon has aged into formalism, and, having lost the power of adapting itself to scientific progress, is degenerating into little more than hypocrisy.

"No Englishman," said Carlyle, "any longer dares to pursue Truth. For 200 years he has been swathed in lies of every sort." And even that phenomenon of disintegration called "Enlightenment," which England never succeeded in outgrowing, offers no substitute for the truths that slipped from her as her religion withered into formalism; no mechanical formula will solve the riddle of the universe; no utilitarian calculation of happiness will satisfy the anxious longings of the heart.

Herein lies England's internal danger; here gapes the abyss which Carlyle and Emerson sought to bridge with building stones of German philosophy.

And, in fact, it was upon German soil that the basic lines of that universal temple were thought out which was to furnish a new home for the searching human spirit. German idealism outstripped the British mind since it fused puritanism and enlightenment to a higher unity. The rigid greatness of puritan-

ism lived on in old Prussia, to which it had always been bound by threads of spiritual history. But Kant placed this same old Prussia upon the judgment seat of reason when he vanquished the greatest skeptic of all times, David Hume, the final product of British thought.

Amid the doubts of the intellect and the perplexities of the soul the "mandate of duty" becomes the granite block upon which man can rise to "freedom" and bring "order" into his affairs—"order" into conflict between knowledge and desire of the man who understands and acts. Looking up from that rock man inevitably attains to faith in God and to confidence in an all-embracing plan of salvation, even when in places the continuity of the ordained purpose remains veiled in darkness.

But the synthesis achieved by German thought was even richer than this. When old Prussia allied itself with Western Germany, with its warmer blood and its quicker perceptions of art, duty and individual liberty were merged in the "idea of the whole"—from Kant to Hegel!

The discipline of the individual as a part of the social whole is, for the German, no servitude, as the Briton is wont to imagine, but a higher step toward freedom. For the individual in that way confers the place of transcendent value upon society.

"Law seems to bind with rigid fetters Only the mind of the slave who spurns it."

The collective force of Germany, which interlocks the free individual with the social whole, is stronger than the forceful individuals whom old England produced. This tendency is observable in the German Army, in German state enterprises, and in the kartel organization of German capital. At his best the Briton succeeded in subjecting the world to British dominion through strong personalities for the glory of a world-strange God.

The German, on the other hand, does his best in creating a highly organized community for the purpose of furthering in society the historic development of eternal values. Thus the idea of the Kingdom of God (*Civitas Dei*) and its

visible manifestation in the Christian Church, continue to produce beneficent results. Corresponding to this difference in philosophic outlook between the two races, there is a difference in political aims. The formal freedom of the Briton the German regards only as the first step beyond which he must go by bringing about a rational organization of the State for material justice, and in this respect the Prussian State Socialist and the Social Democrat are at one.

The German strives for rational order, where the British ideal of competition places the blind forces of finance upon an arbitrary throne. No one knew this better than an Englishman himself—Carlyle—who thought that Germany when she took the lead in Europe had secured several hundred years more for the attempt to build out of the germs then in existence a new social order.

Beyond these national aims the German does not strive for world dominion, but for a rational organization of the world on the basis of voluntary co-operation. Kant's "Eternal Peace" is to him an ideal always to be striven for, even though unattainable. But between this indefinite remote aim—"One flock and one shepherd!"—and the today, full of national antagonisms, the German believes that he can realize certain intermediate steps through a welding for a federal union of nations akin in interests and civilization.

That such a political organization can be expected Germany has proved by its kartels, wherein stronger and weaker units exist with advantage to all. Switzerland, essentially German in character, constitutes such a federation, comprising three of the principal European nationalities. Similarly, Austria-Hungary should be such a federation, assuring equal rights to Germans, Magyars, Rumanians, west and southern Slavs.

A commercial and political union of the two Central European powers lay in the direction of Bismarck's thoughts, and is today more than ever felt as a need consequent upon the present brotherhood in arms. By leaning upon such a Central European nucleus the Germanic States of the north and Slavic States of the south-

east would obtain the advantages of State organization on a large scale without losing their independence.

But the German idea of a federation of nations goes still further. It is no Utopia; no idler's day dreams to safeguard the peace of the Western European Continent by a league of its principal powers. Such a peaceful confederacy among Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, and Italy would consolidate and unite nations that have vital interests in common. This would furnish a balance to England's sea monopoly and world-power which for centuries has been the source of Europe's strife. Demands for such a federation will make themselves felt after the madness of the present war.

The war with France was entirely avoidable, for Germany demanded from France nothing but her neutrality. And why did France go to war? The French themselves, in the territory now occupied by us, have answered again and again: "Nobody knows why!" The war with England was not quite so groundless, but it, too, could have been avoided because it was in England's ultimate interest to

accept the position of "first among equals," ("Primus inter pares.") But war with Russia was inevitable at some time or other.

Germany might have waged it, with Western Europe neutral, for the liberation of the Russian people itself, for the independence of the subjugated nationalities, and for the security of neighboring people menaced by "Holy Russia." There may have been a time when tyranny and serfdom were essential to the education of mankind. But today the time has come for the organization, instead, of free units, each protected by the whole—a German conception of civilization.

The ideal of organization, the thought of a tremendously valuable whole, uniting its free members for effective work, labors in the sub-consciousness of millions of Germans; labors even where it does not come to the light of philosophic discussion. The very fact that our opponents call us "barbarians" proves that these ultimate sources of strength are closed to them and that they cannot gauge our power and invincibility, but only imitate externals.

The Flow of Tears

By the Bishop of Lund

[From King Albert's Book.]

AMID the press of incalculable sorrows, of which this terrible war is the cause, there is yet one element which uplifts the spirit as we contemplate it. From every country which is involved in the war there is evidence that that nation is united, that no schism of class or party exists, but that all citizens are one in accepting every sacrifice which may be required for the safety and honor of the fatherland.

Little can he who stands afar off from the scene of fighting realize how much suffering has already been caused and must continue to be caused by this struggle. To comprehend the agony one must live, day by recurrent day, under the very experience of anxiety and loss. But sympathy we give from the depths of our hearts, sympathy to all the nations who are taking their part in this war; most of all to Belgium, which, so far as we can understand, has suffered most.

And inwardly we yearn to see advance every effort made to stanch the flow of tears.

A Cheerful German Emperor

By Dr. Ludwig Ganghofer

An interview with "a changed Kaiser, a joyous, triumphant Kaiser," is described in the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* by Dr. Ludwig Ganghofer, the German novelist, who at an earlier stage of the war described a meeting with the Kaiser on the west front, and again in the east just before Italy's entry into the war, when the weight of adverse events was pressing heavily upon the German ruler. In the latest article, however, Ganghofer describes the War Lord triumphant as the German forces swept through Lemberg and onward into Russian Poland. His account appears below.

LET me narrate, without omission, wandering back to the Lake of Janow and feeling again the glowing evening hour in which I saw that the German Kaiser had arrived. I did not want to stay, did not wish to intrude; wanted to go away after I had seen with joy how happy and lively the Kaiser was, how healthy and fresh and full of strength he looked—no longer so serious and severe as on the 8th of May, when I was permitted to see him at the depot at Brzeskow, that time when the impression of the victorious Spring days on the Dunajec was embittered and overshadowed for him by worry about the decision of Italy. Worry? No! What then spoke so seriously and severely out of the eyes of the Kaiser was neither care nor wrath—it was the painful sorrow for an event which he saw coming and in which, in spite of all, he could not believe, because it seemed incomprehensible and impossible to him in the loyalty of his own nature.

In those days that followed, from the 20th to the 24th of May, the question intruded itself a hundred times upon me, "How will this heavy disappointment affect the Kaiser?" And now, when I saw the Kaiser in the wood of Janow, standing over there in the clearing, under the thunder song of the cannon, so erect, so joyous in the fateful hour, and so full of life—now I had my answer, the answer that made me happy! As the Kaiser was, so he is still! Those who are strong within do not change. Let happen what may, they do not bow, they do not stoop under their burdens. Therefore they are victors. One foe more or less does not count.

I wanted to depart.

"Herr Doctor," inquired an officer, stepping up to me, "will you not wait?"

I shook my head. My clothes were soiled and dusty, my hands gray, my face covered with perspiration.

"I beg of you, stay! The Kaiser has already seen you. Here he comes."

With a cordial smile the Kaiser extended his hand to me:

"Ganghofer! Are you everywhere?"

I reported where I had come from, and the Kaiser made me happy by saying:

"The news has just come in that the Russians have been driven out of the advanced point of support by the next corps."

"Indeed!" It came as a cry of joy from my heart. One always hears joyful news from the Kaiser! I had to tell him about myself, and the Kaiser asked how long I would remain with the army. I told him at least until Lemberg.

"You are good," laughed the Kaiser gayly; and then he grew serious: "You are right; energetically to wish for something which is necessary helps to attain it."

And when he heard that since early morning I had been on my legs, he asked immediately: "Have you eaten your mid-day meal anywhere?" I shook my head.

"For heaven's sake! Then you must have something at once!"

He ordered a cup of tea brought to me and two big slices of cake; thrust one hand into a tin box that was on the table, and stuffed my coat pocket with zwieback. And while he was speaking with me I had to nibble all the time, for he kept urging me: "Eat, please eat!"

In reporting to him about my travels

on the front in the last few weeks I told him also that I had met Sven Hedin in Przemysl. The Kaiser's eyes lighted at the mention of the name, and he said quickly: "I am very glad that you made his acquaintance. This Swede is a splendid man. If you see him again, pray greet him cordially for me."

Then followed a few moments in which an embarrassing fear seemed to choke me. High above us a whirring sound made itself heard in the air, ever louder and louder. A Russian aviator! He came from the east, glowed in the red evening sun like a lightning bug, and flew over the clearing almost perpendicularly above us. Surely he must see the many persons down here! And if he—no, I could not think out this harrowing thought! And now the fear has already passed. Behind the rapidly vanishing gadfly of war a little cloud of shrapnel puffed up. The Kaiser stood there calmly looking up and said:

"Too low."

The next shots also fell short of the flier. The Kaiser nodded meditatively.

"Ay, to have wings—for the others that always means to come too late."

He turned suddenly toward me, looked at me, and again in his eyes there was that sorrowing earnestness like that at the depot of Brzeskow on May 8. And when he spoke his voice had a subdued ring, although he emphasized each syllable severely and slowly:

"Ganghofer, what do you think about Italy?"

Could I but portray the tone of those words! That was no query that demanded an answer from me; it was a painful recollection of the Kaiser, a confession of his inmost thought, a renewed amazement at the impossible that could not

happen, but had nevertheless happened. In Brzeskow the Kaiser had the firm belief: "Even if a part of the Italian people may be led astray by the war jingoes, we can depend upon the King!" And now the glance of the Kaiser, in this half murmured query, so shook me that my eyes almost grew moist, and that silently I gritted my teeth. Only after a pause could I say:

"Your Majesty, it is better as it has come to pass. Better for Austria and for us. The clean table is always the most valuable piece of furniture in the honest house."

The Kaiser nodded. He breathed deep, straightening up; and again joyous calm shone in his eyes.

And then, in farewell, the Kaiser told me something that fell like a brilliant prophecy into my joyous, startled soul. Today I must still keep silent about this something, although I know that it would be a refreshing draught for millions in the homeland, a deep well-spring of faith, a new steel band for holding them together. But for important reasons I may tell about this word of the Kaiser only on the day when it shall have become truth. That day will come soon.

The evening began to draw on. Under the restless grumbling and rolling echoes the Kaiser went from battery to battery. The trip home became for me a dreaming joy, a foreshadowing fraught with rich pictures.

On the following night, at Jaroslav, about the first hour of morning, the Commanding General von Mackensen sent word to me:

"Depart as early as possible! The Russian position at the Lake of Janow has been captured. Tomorrow Lemberg will fall."

The War of Notes

[From Truth.]

Opposed the two musicians sat;
Each twanged his rival harp;
Fritz thought at first that Sam was flat,
But found him soon grow sharp.

Yet up each straining tone still floats,
Grows strident more and more.
I wonder if this war of notes
Shall end on notes of war!



ACTUAL STATE COUNCILOR BARK
Minister of Finance of Russia
(Photo from Bain News Service)



DR. J. LOUDON

Minister of Foreign Affairs for Holland
(Photo (c) by Harris & Ewing, from Paul Thompson)

Self-Sustaining Germany

By the War Committee of German Industries

The following article is reproduced from Pamphlet 13 of the Authoritative Propaganda of Reassurance Conducted by the War Committee of German Industries in Berlin.

IN the present war Germany's enemies are endeavoring to bring about the economic as well as physical collapse of the German people by cutting off the overseas imports of food and rawstuffs. The imports in these important articles were before the war very large, and the enemies of Germany have succeeded in diminishing them to a great degree. On the other hand, they have not by the action attained the goal they had hoped to.

Even now every thinking person outside of Germany must be fully aware that, in spite of the diminution of the imports in provisions, the German civil population and the army are not threatened with starvation. Above all, however, German science has found ways and means of replacing the raw materials now lacking by materials of like value at present being reproduced in Germany. For example, an economically successful method of extracting nitrogen from the air, whereby the German powder industry and German agriculture are supplied with this otherwise missing rawstuff, has been discovered. The importation of petroleum having more or less completely ceased, this supply has also given out. Gas and electricity, for whose manufacture only coal, of which Germany has large quantities, is necessary, have taken its place as illuminants. The lack of fodder has been in part compensated for by an invention whereby the food values in straw are made accessible for feeding stock. And now another discovery is to be recorded which is not only of great importance as assuring the nourishment of our cattle, but arouses the greatest astonishment as an act of scientific boldness. The Institut für Gärungsgewerbe (Institute for Yeast Industries) in Berlin has discovered a process for making food yeast with over 50 per

cent. albumen in the simplest manner from sugar and ammonium sulphate. These quantities of albumen will easily replace the supplies of fodder barley that were formerly imported. Since ammonia is not only a by-product in the manufacture of coke, but can also be obtained directly from the air, this method has been correctly described as the extraction of albumen from the air.

These inventions, which will doubtless be followed by others in the course of the war, will have, above all, an effect on the financial world. Germany's enemies are compelled to draw a large part of their supplies of ammunition and arms, as well as provisions, from abroad. Since at the same time the purchasing power and prosperity of large transmaritime territories have been seriously damaged by the European war, the enemies of Germany are drawing smaller incomes from their foreign investments, while the exports of these countries have diminished during the same period. The excess of imports over exports in the foreign trade of Germany's enemies has, therefore, in the course of this war been enormously increased.

The result of this is that the payment of the very considerable sum to foreign countries which they have to make for these increased imports is made on the basis of an exchange very unfavorable for Germany's enemies. The argument that the exchange rate is unfavorable to Germany bears little weight here, for, in consequence of the interruption of German foreign trade, Germany has, in comparison with times of peace, small payments to make to foreign countries. The enemies of Germany, however, are compelled to pay in cash not only the contract sums, but also the deficit caused by the unfavorable rate of exchange.

The enemies of Germany have now

tried every means, or, rather, have been compelled to do so, in order to influence the rate of exchange. England has shipped some of the gold at her disposal in Canada to the United States. Russia and France have taken up foreign loans, not to get new cash but to make payments to their foreign creditors from the balances thus created, and thereby avoid the exchange. According to recent reports, England intends doing the same thing, in order thus to relieve the embarrassment caused her by the turn the exchange rate has taken.

But it must be remembered that the taking up of such foreign loans does not do away with the burdens imposed by the unfavorable rate of exchange, but simply postpones its effect until after the treaty of peace. These countries have, as it were, capitalized the losses growing out of the exchange rate and had their payment postponed by taking up foreign loans. But after the war the interest on these loans, as well as the sums for the liquidation of the debts, will all flow into the coffers of the foreign nations, and thus continue to influence the international monetary basis.

Matters will have quite a different aspect for Germany after the treaty of peace. Germany will then not be indebted abroad, as the costs of the war are all being covered at home. On the other hand, in consequence of the new discoveries made during the war and the newly built factories, she will be in a position to reduce the necessary payments to foreign countries and improve her exchange rate.

If the Germans, indirectly forced to it by the war, continue to use gas and electricity instead of petroleum, artificial nitrates instead of saltpeter, strawmeal and artificial fodder yeasts instead of fodder barley, in large quantities, the war will have brought about a strengthening of Germany's international financial position. Germany's enemies will then in this respect have shown themselves to be a power which, like Mephisto in Goethe's "Faust," always strives to evil and accomplishes only what is good.

Contrary to the deprecating assertions

of her enemies, the economic life of Germany is in the course of the war developing in a manner which, in consideration of the extraordinary conditions, may be said to be more than satisfactory. It is well known that the deposits of the German savings banks are constantly increasing. This in part explains the huge success of the war loan. Meanwhile, the German postal check service has reached a figure never touched before the war. During March, 1915, the number of persons having postal bank accounts in the imperial postal territory was 105,473—818 more than in the previous month. In March the credits on these postal check accounts amounted to 2,142,000,000 marks, as against 1,779,000,000 in February and 1,875,000,000 in January of the same year; and the debits amounted to 2,124,000,000 marks, as against 1,764,000,000 in February and 1,877,000,000 in January. The payments made through this medium amounted, accordingly, to 2,352,000,000 marks in March, as against 1,982,000,000 and 2,020,000,000 in February and January, respectively.

These figures are seen in their true light when we remember, for example, that in the period Jan. 1-April 10, 1915, the withdrawals from the French savings banks amounted to 44,065,088 francs more than the deposits. The commercial war started by Germany's enemies seems to agree with them much worse than with the country they attacked.

The nations * * * being courted by the Allies have so far been able to keep their heads cool. They consider, and rightly, too, how much of all that which is promised in time of need the Allies will do or be able to do, and whether or not some reasonable national ideal may be realized at less cost than participation in this bloody struggle. But even should the future have surprises in store for us, the quiet confidence of the central powers that they will attain their goal is not to be shaken. For this goal is not the subjugation of the world, as their envious enemies would have it appear, but simply the desire to be freed from the strangle hold which hindered them in their normal development. It is not that Germany has a lust for world

empire, but that England has hitherto haughtily assumed the rôle of world ruler. That she no longer has the power to force her will upon the whole world

the course of the war has shown; it should also have shown in what manner she would use this power were she ever again in a position to possess it.

The Wealth of William II.

By R. Franklin Tate

The following estimate of the personal fortune of the German Emperor appeared in The London Daily News of July 29 as special Paris correspondence:

IT was stated recently that the Kaiser had already lost by the war a sum of four millions sterling. The Temps, while recognizing that he must have suffered heavy losses, shows that this statement is not borne out by what we know of the Kaiser's private affairs.

At the time of the financial census for the assessing of the tax which was to provide the sum of 40 millions sterling as a war contribution the Kaiser stood first among his subjects with an income of £900,000, whereas he only stood third in the general classification of fortunes. Frau Bertha Krupp von Bohlen headed the list with 83 millions sterling and an income of £640,000 per annum; Prince Henckel von Donnersmarck was second with 10 millions and an income of £520,000 per annum. The Kaiser's visible annuities, according to the same statistics, were: Civil list, £875,000; rents, &c., £175,000; interest on Crown Treasury, £225,000.

According to the same statistics, his visible estate consisted of: Real estate, Crown forests, &c., £3,500,000; developed estate, £2,000,000; property in Berlin, £900,000; total, £6,400,000. In transferable securities: 1, Crown treasure, established by Frederick William III. after the battle of Jena, together with the addition of £250,000 made by William I. out of the French indemnity of 200 millions sterling—making a total of one million sterling; 2, the Kaiser's share of the fortune of four millions sterling left by William I.; 3, the Kaiser's investments since he came to the throne.

It is impossible to estimate these investments, but the Kaiser is known to have a big holding in the Hamburg-Amerika, the Reichsbank, and especially Krupp. For this purpose he figures under the name of Privy Councilors Müller and Grimm. His share in William I.'s fortune is estimated at £125,000.

Admitting that William II. inherited something under the will of Queen Victoria, that he has saved money, and that his investments have proved lucrative, his fortune at the beginning of the war may have been about two and a half to three millions sterling. But with the exception of Krupp his investments have all depreciated enormously.

English and German Ideals of God

By Eden Phillpotts

The following article, which originally appeared in *The London Daily Chronicle*, is here reproduced by special permission of the author.

"Our Good Old God."—THE KAISER.

A GREAT religious idea is declared to be under the watchword of "Teuton above All." Their Kaiser to the Germans represents more than a King; he is the right hand of the King of Kings, and his subjects' eyes assume a reverential expression, their speech drops a note, when they say "Our Kaiser." The nation is, moreover, Christian; it subscribes to one faith and professes the Christian ideal.

We may assume that, even in the face of their present opposition, all the contending powers would agree that there is but one God. There is but one God of the Germans and of the English, of the Austrians and the French, of the Belgians and the Turks. We are not concerned with His prophets, but Himself. It suits Germany to predicate a *Jaweh*, who regards with approval their doctrines of "Frightfulness" and a "necessity" that may be greater than any human oath; it better serves our purpose to protest at this conception and declare for a God of mercy and forgiveness and truth. Their God inspires them to strike for themselves and seek to impose the ideal of their reigning classes upon the rest of the world; our God inclines us to recognize the sovereign rights of all mankind, be they weak or strong, able or impotent. We argue that the accident of Belgium's salvation embracing our own has nothing to do with our action: that had Belgium been Serbia and our word given, we should have similarly set forth on her behalf.

Now, the English and German ideals cannot both be of God, because they contradict each other. We may argue that the virus of hate which has for the moment poisoned German thinking cannot be an inspiration of Heaven, since it leads

to no culture, breeds bad air, and results in a mental and physical condition of absolute exhaustion from which no temporal or spiritual advantage can possibly spring to man or race; they, on the other hand, characterize their ebullition as righteous wrath and the just outcome of what they conceive to be our present attitude to them. We speak of "envy, hatred, and malice"; they describe the same emotion as the natural outpouring of a nation's spirit, which finds itself frustrated, foiled, outraged by a sister nation with a giant's power and the evil will to use it like a giant.

There would seem no common ground of reconciliation. A kingdom spoon fed by its rulers and trained to the platter of a fettered press has slowly absorbed ideals which we view with distrust and dislike; while their wisest and best are honestly of opinion that things have come to such a pass with Germany that only her cannon can make civilization listen to her. Her philosophers have subscribed to that opinion and hold that the conspiracy of Europe to deny their country the right to impose her culture (or *Kultur*, i. e., Civilization) upon it, can only be put down with fire and sword. But a nation that cringes to a Junker Lieutenant has ostracized its well-wishers, and for Herr Lamprecht to declare that Germany is the freest country in the world simply means that he and his fellow-kinsmen have forgotten what freedom is. A Goethe or Schiller, could they return, would find Germany chained and manacled.

On our part, with an immense and, for the most part, successful experience of colonization, we hold that any imposition is fatal, and that to speak of "England over all" would be to destroy our

empire with a phrase. We have seldom attempted this political folly, but rather allowed existing nations influenced by us to preserve their individuality and encouraged new nations sprung of our loins to develop their own genius in their own way. When we fell from this ideal, as we have done, swift and terrible punishment followed. The Indian Mutiny was born of our errors; the United States exist as an everlasting monument to our fatuity. We placed a mighty and proud people in an impossible position, and they shook off our dust from their feet forever.

But our ideals have stood the test of time; those of Germany, tested by our achievements, have only to be stated to be condemned. We decline to believe that any State has Divine authority to impose itself upon the world; we see nothing, and the world sees nothing, in Germany's present principles, practices, or purposes to justify the belief that their acceptance would make of earth a happier, freer, and more contented abiding place. We deplore only an unexampled arrogance, an extraordinary lack of the perspective sense, an ideal absolutely unjustified by any appeal to history or religion.

The fact, however, remains that religious, political, industrial, and racial Germany is at one in this adventure. Monist Haeckel, Christian Harnack, mystic Eucken, agree that their country must and shall be first; and if the world, declining the super-position of Germany, takes measures to oppose it, then they hold all means are justified to overcome the world. Every teaching of Christianity, every precept of justice, every bright maxim of humanity polished through the centuries may be discarded before this ambition. Infinite evil may be done that the infinite good they foresee shall at last be attained, and it matters not whether the "good old God" of the Kaiser be floated to his throne on the blood of a widowed world, so long as he arrives, to be acclaimed and worshipped by the remainder of mankind.

We have now an impartial account of the atrocities in Belgium, and, allowing for the inevitable, "atrocities" is not too strong a word. Drunken men inflamed

with the passion of fighting and in the shadow of their own deaths will do evil things, though it remains to be seen whether British culture has so far permeated our trained troops that they anon deny themselves similar excesses; but the real atrocity was a part of the campaign, premeditated, plotted. Germany took with her machines which would make the task of burning Belgium swift and easy; her "fearfulness" was long ago worked out in cold blood at the headquarters of her high command. She will bring these tools here if she can. The machinery by which she set out to do the will of her Kaiser and her God is before the world, and if it be possible to say that her reigning class was alone responsible for it, we have also to admit that every other class applauded it, sanctioned it, and hoped that it would prevail. The nation must, therefore, be confident that God also approves these methods, and that, in His name, the Fatherland will fight and conquer with them.

One may note in passing that neutral States have uttered no public word before her horrific achievements. No King, no President has allowed enthusiasm for humanity to open his mouth and record a whisper of protest from any nation in the enjoyment of peace. They know that moral influence is as powerful as the sword, but abstain from exerting it, since at present to state their opinion of Louvain, or Rheims, or the massacre at Andenne, would be an unfriendly act. The neutral ruler sells his soul for his country's peace and in the name of politics. As politics are constituted that is often the sudden sacrifice they demand, and few be they who will make it.

There is but one God, and all who believe in Him, from the primate to an infant schoolchild, agree that His will is presently to be done, and that the issue of this catastrophe lies in His keeping. Neither the nations that are fighting nor any others doubt this fact for an instant. The minority in all States who deny a supreme intelligence and believe that blind Forces rather than one all-seeing and self-conscious Will are responsible for the war, need not be considered at this time.

And here lies the tremendous plea for reason when the end comes, the forceful appeal to the losers to accept the will of the only God, and recognize that once again, through the destruction of civilization, His eternal purpose is made manifest. At present each side is conscious of its own rectitude; but, when the issue has been determined, it behooves the nations crowned with the diadem of victory, and those who sit in sackcloth and ashes, alike to acknowledge that God in which they believe has conquered and His ways have been justified to man.

There is no other course open to a God-fearing and God-trusting kingdom. If peace finds us a protectorate of Germany, or Germany deprived forever of her Prussian Poland, her French acquisitions of 1870 and her Hohenzollerns, we, or she, must be equally prepared to say "The Lord's will be done." We must in the event of defeat confess that a democratic ideal has not at present the sanction of Divine wisdom; while Germany, if the fortunes of war leave her naked and stricken, should be prepared to grant that her determination to conquer the world for the good of the world was based on a fearful misreading of the Almighty's purpose.

Such a confession should abate bitterness and banish after-hatreds. It would be no more than logical from God-guided and God-fearing nations; and if those in authority publicly declared to their beaten land that all must accept without murmuring the just payment of their unfortunate errors, then such a doctrine should speedily leaven the lump of the defeated and help to reconcile them to their Master's will.

The truth about the world's belief in God must emerge from this peace. To argue that the war itself proves very sufficiently that nothing but an academic adherence is accorded to the theory of a Supreme Being, is vain, since both sides (in different senses) argue this a Holy War and cry to one God to bless their opposing banners; but the outcome cannot fail to determine whether civilization still veritably believes; and not only the attitude of the beaten nations to their faiths, but also the power of their faiths to control their conduct in defeat and direct their subsequent destinies will challenge deep scrutiny in this generation and provide a fruitful field for such philosophic writers as examine the question in years to come.

Savings

[From the London Daily Chronicle]

Here a little and there a little,
 Paring away the waste;
 Courses shortened and waistbelts taut-
 ened,
 Drilling the spendthrift taste;
 Freaks of fashion and pleasure's passion
 Disciplined, checked and chaste.

Here a little and there a little,
 Tighten the leaking cork.
 Taste the phial of self-denial,
 Saving is storing work;
 Purse-strings tighter will help the
 fighter,
 War to the knife—and fork!

A. W.

Touring Europe in War Time

By Mme. L. de Hegermann-Lindencrone

Writer of "The Sunny Side of Diplomatic Life," published a few months ago, and of "In the Courts of Memory," which appeared last year, Mme. L. de Hegermann-Lindencrone has won a unique place in the hearts of American readers with her vigorous sketches of an American woman's life in the capitals and Courts of Europe. The following article reassuring travelers recounts her recent experiences, starting from Copenhagen, Denmark, where she has lived for several years since her husband retired from the Danish Diplomatic Service, and crossing Germany through the Alps into Italy. As a story of tranquil Germany and of traveling in war time it is in marked contrast to many of the stories we read.

YOU have certainly read the many harrowing accounts, written, of course, by eyewitnesses, of the difficulties and dangers which beset those wishing to travel through Europe in these (w)awful days.

Although all newspapers abroad and at home were full of direful stories, and although they warned people from venturing abroad and advising them strongly to remain at home, we determined to start for Italy.

I was particularly anxious to get away from the cloudy north and longed for sunshine and flowers.

The obstacles that we would encounter were put forward in a lurid light, but we turned a deaf ear to everything, and, as the saying goes, "Ce que femme veut, Dieu le veut," the wish of the "femme" seemed about to be fulfilled—my husband being the "Dieu" and I being the "femme."

I will jot down some of the things which, according to all probability, were to happen to us.

In the first place—the mines. The Baltic Sea, which we had to cross, would be full of mines. The only way to avoid them would be to sail to Norway, from there to Edinburgh, then a boat could carry us to Genoa. This seemed a rather roundabout way, and would take almost a month to get to our destination, whereas by the regular route through Germany and Switzerland the journey would only take *two days*. We decided to risk the mines. We thought being blown up rather a novel sensation. The large ferryboats that ply between Denmark and Germany, as a general rule, take

two or three passenger cars, and as many others to carry the post and baggage. Now there are none but cattle wagons, filled with poor cows on their way to be slaughtered in Rostock and destined to feed the German Army. No boats cross at night.

Secondly, it would be dangerous to speak any other language than German. We *pooh-pooed* at this. Why should we not talk German? This obstacle was therefore barred out. None but German books should be found among our things. If we wished to write letters, they would have to be written in German. Letters in other languages would be examined and perhaps destroyed by the police. We said we did not object to write letters and postal cards in German.

At the Custom Houses on the different frontiers we were admonished that we would be submitted to the severest searching. The men, from the very linings of their hats to the soles of their boots, and all their possessions would be dragged out of their pockets and all their papers searched. Women would be forced to let down their hair. Even their hatpins and shoelacings would be under suspicion! There would be no end of annoyances and delays at every moment.

We said that we did not care. We were sure that, armed to the hilt as we were with passports and documents, we would not be troubled.

Among minor obstacles it was mentioned that the trains would not be heated and that we would freeze to death. We answered that we did not like overheated compartments.

All the trains would be belated. There

would be no restaurant cars, no sleeping cars, no porters. We should be obliged to carry our traps ourselves. There would be no vehicles of any kind to meet the trains. We should have to walk to the hotels.

We risked being shut up with closed windows in stifling compartments, surrounded by insolent soldiers, probably smoking vile pipes, and also we risked that our wagon would be left on a side track for hours in order to let the trains with soldiers pass.

It certainly was not a pleasant outlook. Our friends and family saw us, in their minds' eye, starved, frozen, arrested, maltreated, and I don't know what more. Had we listened to and believed all that was predicted we never would have dared to sally forth, making straight, as we were doing, for the lion's den. However, our gigantic foolhardiness made us blind to arguments and forecastings. We fixed the day, and off we started.

Our family, convinced that they were seeing the last of us, came in a body to the station to "speed the parting" souls—not to say fools—some with flowers, as a sort of "last tribute." They would have thought it quite in keeping had our farewell words been "morituri salutamus," followed by a flood of tears. Even up to the final whistle they said: "You can still change your minds—it is not too late now to stay."

Before we started we four (my husband, my son, myself, and my maid) were obliged to have our photographs taken and glued on to the corners of our different passports.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs was up to its ears preparing these documents, and the Legations of Germany, Italy, and Switzerland had been busy writing special letters to their Custom House officers in order to facilitate our passage through those dreadful places of torture. The German Minister sent a particularly helpful telegram to the commanding officer at Warnemünde, the landing place in Germany.

Behold us, then, on our way comfortably ensconced in our compartment with one other occupant—a Swiss gentleman, as we found out later by prudent diplo-

matic proddings. He had just come from Norway; he had his head on his shoulders, that is to say, he had not been mined nor blown up! Thus far we were encouraged, for if a person can travel from Norway to Denmark why not from Denmark to Germany? We feared that the blinding blizzard which accompanied us through Denmark would prevent the boat from leaving its shores, but when we reached Gjedser (Denmark) the sky was clear and the sea as calm as on a Summer day.

A little after we had passed the Danish light boat we saw an aeroplane flying over our heads, (a German one, of course.) The people on board (those who think they know everything) were sure that it was sent by the German Government to guard against the mines. Whether this was true I can't tell, but the protecting angel hovered over us all the way and guided us safely to land under its buzzing wings.

On the boat the only German we spoke was to ask for our coffee. This being a German boat, we should in any case have talked its language. Thus far we had escaped mines, bombs, and language. . . .

The next ordeal was the Custom House.

The passengers filed out on the platform and were shown into the shed which serves as the Custom House.

The soldiers who were walking about with guns on their shoulders were polite and not at all warlike or aggressive.

We were about to follow the others when out stepped from the crowd a tall, handsome officer, spick and span in his light gray uniform, his helmet shining like silver. He came toward us with a pleasant smile, clicked his heels in true military fashion, touched his helmet in salute, and asked my husband if he was "his Excellency." On his reply that he was, the officer then asked if I was "her Excellency." When he learned that we were both ourselves he led the way, pushing people aside to make a passage for us, and we went into the room where the passports were examined. He said that "this had to be done! It could not be avoided." The looking at our passports and the comparing of them with the originals took only a moment. My vanity

suffered a pang when the official, after contemplating the hideous portrayal of me, evidently said to himself, "*This is enough,*" for he did not give me a second glance. We were not obliged to open any of our numerous bags and belongings. Even the enormous bouquet I carried, every flower of which might, for all they knew, have contained some secret missive, passed unexamined. Everything was quickly checked off. The polite officer whose appearance and manner belonged more to the Imperial Schloss in Berlin than in the Custom House in quiet little Warnemünde, put us himself in the train and, bowing, smiling, and saluting, went home to his 5 o'clock coffee, followed by our warmest thanks.

H., (my son,) who is of a friendly nature, hobnobbed with the Mecklenburg warrior who was on duty on the quay. He offered him a cigar, which the soldier pocketed quickly with a whispered "*Danke schön.*" The footing on which they stood must have been very friendly, for the sentinel waved his gun as a parting salute when the train steamed away.

The Swiss gentleman with whom we had traveled, and with whom we had conversed in French and English at our sweet will, said that in the Custom House he had had been asked to show all his papers and that he had been felt over and "*patted*" from his shoulders down; that his pockets had all been "*gone through,*" but everything had been done in the most courteous way, and the searchers had seemed rather to beg his pardon for putting him to so much inconvenience.

The other passengers, however, did not fare even as well as he did, and one (a Russian) did not fare at all. He was retained at Warnemünde, and was to be sent back by the next steamer. I must say that I never saw a more spyish-looking person in my life; I would not have trusted him across the street even in times of peace.

One man had a gold piece in his pocket. It was taken from him, but replaced by paper money of the same value. He had also a note book in his valise, in which he had written his impressions. One was that a "*smukke pige*" (Danish for pretty

girl) did not mean a smoked pig. These he was obliged to explain in detail. H. helped him, as he did not speak German, being from Argentina.

Our route passed through Mecklenburg-Strelitz. This part of Germany is very familiar to us, as we once spent a delightful Summer there.

We had a most excellent dinner in the dining car, even better than formerly, consisting of a good soup, a very good filet de boeuf, hot potatoes, cheese, and fruit. We were, as you see, far from being starved. We had fared well—better than was dreamed of by those who bade us farewell. The only thing out of the usual that I noticed was that there were fewer men in the stations, almost none in the fields, and not many in the towns as we passed through them. But the railroad service was just as always.

We arrived on the stroke of time in Berlin, and found our former servant (Otto) at the door of our compartment. He had been sent by Count M. to invite us to luncheon the next day. All the automobiles had been taken, and Otto was some time finding two droschkes to convey us and our baggage to the hotel. There were plenty of porters about, and we were *not* obliged to burden ourselves with our bags, as predicted.

We went to the Hotel Bristol, Unter den Linden. How dimly the lighted and dull streets looked! How deserted they were! How quiet this usually so brilliantly lit centre seemed! Hardly a pedestrian and no carriages. I would never have known our old Berlin. The hotel, the rendezvous of all that was chic and fashionable, was filled only with serious elderly men, eagerly reading the newspapers. The head waiter rushed up to us, as if welcoming his dearest friends, (evidently thinking we were American millionaires.) He rubbed his hands and asked us if we would "*sup,*" (speaking in English,) beaming with happy anticipation of a princely *bourboire*, and chanced an "I remember you when you were here before." He received a short and to-the-point reply in German to the effect that he was *not* remembered and that, as some one once said, "his face was not as familiar as his manner." A Brodkarte (bread

card) was given to us. There were ten coupons on each, and each coupon was good for 25 grams of bread, sufficient for one day—supposed to be all you need. You cannot get more.

When you go to a restaurant you must take your Brodkarte with you, otherwise you go without if you can't borrow one. The bakers provide their clients with just that amount, and no more. Of course, in the hotels it is put on your bill.

Many signs were hung on the walls of the hotel begging people to be economical, not to waste anything. A particular stress was put upon potatoes. They should be boiled with their skins on, and if they were pared the parings must not be thrown away. Why? I wondered.

I went to see my jeweler the next morning. There was hardly any one in the street, (Friedrichstrasse.) It was generally so full of traffic, but now noticeably empty. Occasionally an officer would limp by, leaning on his cane, and another with a loose-hanging sleeve. What a sad tale this told!

Although there were so few people to be seen, all the theatres are open, and, it is said, very well attended. Certainly the restaurants showed no sign of lack of customers. Both hotels and restaurants are filled to overflowing.

I met the Princess Wied in the corridor of the hotel—not the ex-Queen of Albania, but her sister-in-law, (the daughter of the King of Württemberg.) She presented her son to me. He is very young, at least he looked so. He goes to the front tomorrow. She seemed very sad, and looked with loving eyes at the handsome young fellow.

We lunched with Count and Countess M., and met some of the American Embassy, and after lunch Countess M. took me out for a drive in her motor. She has my former chauffeur. It seemed natural to be driving about the old familiar road to Grünewald and by Kaiserdam. My favorite promenade! When we passed the new building devoted to exhibitions and sport, the chauffeur said it was the largest edifice in the world. (I wonder.) The hall alone is 1,200 meters long and 18 meters high. It covers 19,000

meters of ground, and is lighted by 15,000 electric lamps at night; it is lighted "al giorno" from the ceiling and behind glass.

It must be splendid! *Colossal* is the only word to apply to it. My jeweler said that he would be called to do his military service next year.

"Next year!" I cried. "Surely you don't think that the war will go on till then?"

"Why, of course," he answered; "there is no doubt of it."

I hope that he is wrong. It is a dreadful thought that this state of things should continue!

Now our real journey, fraught with dangers and surprises, was to commence. We started from Anhalt Bahnhof the next day. The station was crammed with soldiers. Every train that came in brought them, and every train that went out took them away. The poor young fellows looked hardly over twenty. They carried their bundles on their backs and paper *cartons* tied with strings. They were going to receive their knapsacks at the end of their journey. . . . And what more! Poor creatures!

They appeared quiet and serious; there was no shouting nor running about, after the manner of soldiers. The Captain marshaled them about with low-spoken words of command. Their uniforms, as those of the officers, were of dark cloth. Their helmets were covered with the same cloth to hide (I suppose) the shininess of them. Our first-class compartment was almost filled with officers, but when we came they politely left us to ourselves and stood in the corridor.

The luncheon and dinner on the restaurant cars were well served, and there was enough of everything for the many passengers. Our bread was given to us in small packages, but we had plenty. The train was crammed with soldiers; they stood in all the corridors. H. gave them some cigarettes and I handed out what chocolate I had taken with me. It was not much, yet they seemed very grateful.

All the factories we passed seemed to be closed; there was no smoke to be seen anywhere. In the fields, which appeared

to be full of Spring promise, one saw none but women. They were sowing grain, and plowing the fields behind the slow and ponderous oxen. We saw them sawing wood and cleaning out stables. Man's work! They replaced their husbands just as the oxen and dogs replaced the horses. Of them only the weak-kneed and blind were left.

In some towns we went through the women were acting as conductors on the tramways.

We passed many camps for prisoners. They were a little way from the railroad, but one saw them very well. One regiment (I think it must have been a regiment) was in French uniforms. They were walking along the high road accompanied by some German soldiers. They seemed to step along briskly as if their lot was not an "unhappy one."

When one thinks that Germany has to provide not only for its own people but for more than 800,000 prisoners, one can truly admire the organization and the resources of the country. I, who was craving an adventure, an emotion, or a thrill of some kind, was disappointed. No plainer sailing or anything more humdrum and emotionless and normal than our journey so far can be imagined!

The only difference I noticed was that women were selling beer and newspapers in the station, which, as a rule, except for the moving of soldiers, was very devoid of excitement. The trains started on the minute and arrived on the minute.

At Stuttgart we walked to the Hotel Marquand, as it is next to the station. This hotel, whose prices are equal to its pretensions, was full; however, we found very good rooms. I think that we were the only strangers, and we seemed to convey the impression that we were the nabobs the waiter in Berlin took us for. The expectant maid, who stayed in the vicinity of my room, certainly was one of those "made in Germany"—she never spoke to me without saying "Gnädige." The other guests, evidently as "heartless" as we, did not mind showing that they had money to spend. I was glad to find other "cruel" people willing to throw away a little of theirs in a country that needed it. The country seemed

very pleased to get the little we threw. The next morning we took the train *en route* for Switzerland, and found on it our Swiss friend Mrs. M. and a German diplomat on his way to Rome. They had traveled all night very comfortably in the sleeping cars from Berlin. The fourth person in their compartment was an elderly lady, who dozed peacefully and who only waked up occasionally to ask whether we had reached the frontier. On hearing that we had not, she moved closer to her corner, to make room for me, and dozed off again. Happily, they were amiable enough to allow us to be there, (we sat squeezed three on a seat,) otherwise we should have been obliged to stay in the corridor and stand on a Landwehr's toes.

No one, apparently, had had any difficulty anywhere. They seemed very comfortable; they had neither frozen nor starved nor waited on side tracks.

The German diplomat must have received special orders from his Government to avoid conversation with the humbler sex, for none of us three ladies could worm a glance from him, even the elderly lady's questions about the *frontière* were snubbed.

But as soon as one of my gentlemen attacked him, he was all smiles and blinkings behind his spectacles, evidently proud of himself that he had repelled the advances and withstood the wiles of *women!* He had in his eyes a sort of "retro Satanical" look.

We had no delay at the Swiss-German Custom House. The Swiss officer opened his eyes when the avalanche of passports was unbosomed and thrust at him, every one of them in a different language and garnished with portraits. We had been told that our photographs must be taken in the *identical* clothes we would wear on the journey, but, womanlike, we had changed our minds as we had our dresses and hats. Therefore, it was very hard for the man to see where the difference was, and, as we had not the time for puzzling over the mystery, he handed the passports back, with a tired but polite sigh.

This was my last hope of an adventure. Nothing had happened, and certainly now

nothing would happen. I looked out of the window at the Schafhausen Cascade, (the place where the beautiful Rhine commences its career before it begins to make wine and grow hops,) and felt somehow as if I had been defrauded unduly of emotions. I had one, nevertheless.

The elderly lady who had shown such anxiety about the frontiere whom we thought was Russian, caught sight of my flowers and remarked that they were beautiful, and added: "If you want to keep them you must cut their stems a little every day"; I said I would remember to do so.

The ice being broken, I said: "These carnations are already three days old. I can't expect to keep them forever."

"From what country did you say they came?" I had not mentioned any country! Nevertheless I told her. "I am from Sweden," she said. The ice by this time had become thin enough to walk on. She talked rapidly and in Swedish. "Do you know Mrs. —?" and spoke my name. I nodded my head. "Have you read —?" and mentioned my book. I murmured something, trembling to hear a verdict. "Oh! how I should like to know her!" she said.

"You have not far to go, Madame," I said; "you are talking to her *now*," and pointed to the third button of my blouse.

"Nae," she cried, "Nae, I cannot believe it," and gasped for breath. I think, also, that it must have been hard for her to believe that the lady she wanted so much to know was the tired and travel-stained lady before her.

"I have not your book with me. It is too precious, [perhaps it was too heavy.] I own *two*. I keep one in my salon and the other on my nightstand; I read a chapter every night."

Like the Bible, thought I, or could she mean that it was to invite slumber? In any case I was overwhelmed. . . .

What pleased this enthusiastic lady the most was that she had praised the book before she knew who I was. I took some flowers from my bouquet and gave them to her; I could not do less, could I? She pressed them to her lips, and begged me for my autograph. I never was so flattered in all my life.

We stayed that night in Zurich. It was very cold, and we decided to push on to Locarno. Before we left the hotel the next morning I received a twenty-five-word-long telegram from the Swedish lady repeating in a condensed form her effusions of the day before.

It was a dark and cold day, but when we came out of the long tunnel of St. Gothard the sun burst forth in a blaze of glory.

Reindeer for Berlin

Ten thousand living reindeer are to be imported from Norway in order to be slaughtered for consumption in Berlin. The *Allgemeine Fleischer Zeitung*, the leading organ of the German meat trade, which makes this announcement in a late June number, states that one reindeer has already been imported and slaughtered. It had, however, suffered somewhat during the long railway journey, and it is believed that better provision can be made for the transport of large consignments than was possible in the case of a single animal.

Russia's German Bureaucrats

By Jean Finot

FROM the outset of the war Russian "barbarism" and "savagery" have been much harped upon by the Germans. In this way they wished to influence the neutrals, even the Allies themselves. The "Cossacks" became the incarnation of the cruelties and inhumanity of earlier wars; they represented pillage, robbery, violation, incendiarism, destruction of property, murder of non-combatants.

Intellectuals in various countries allowed themselves to be caught in this clumsy trap set by German diplomacy with the aid of German savants, newspapers, agents, and spies.

Reality soon tore the mask from these lies. Compared with the semi-civilized Germans, the Cossacks have proved to be angels of sweetness and mercy. The illusion of Russian savagery has been swept away. The Germans themselves, for the purposes of their cause, now find more interest in turning about and denouncing the criminal egoism of the English.

But it is not without interest to take up again the psychology of the Russian people as it is understood in the Old and New Worlds. The Europe of tomorrow must become better acquainted with the elements that must work together in creating it.

First, one must draw a distinction between the Russian people and its rulers. The formation of the Russian Nation makes it impossible to identify these with each other. The Romanoff dynasty has tried for many years to become identified with the needs and aspirations of the people; now, at last, everything leads to the belief that it has succeeded.

The nobility of the three Baltic provinces, entirely Germans, in whom are rooted the worst instincts of the Prussian Junkers, had until the war a dominant influence on the evolution of Russian destinies. Military leaders, statesmen, the

highest office holders, were recruited principally from the Junkers of Courland, Livonia, and Esthonia. Always intriguing with Prussia, toward whom they were attracted by similarity of tastes and aspirations, they can be considered only superficially Russians. Were it not for the immense extent of the empire and the resistance of the real Russians, this little selected body, working without restraint, would have drowned the Russian soul in the German ocean.

The Franco-Russian alliance was confronted for years with insurmountable obstacles. The iron will of an Alexander II., of a Nicholas II., was needed to make headway against the petty intrigues of the Baltic nobility, backed by the Hohenzollerns. But what contributed most efficaciously to awakening the Russian Court and to exasperating the national sentiment was the unskillful conduct of the Kaiser and of his diplomats, who looked upon Russia as a conquered province.

Pan-Slavism, and the orthodox religion, so radically opposed to Germanic tendencies, also helped to save the empire of the Czars. The present war will be, for Russia, a war of permanent deliverance. The mountain of crimes erected between the two nations will make the resurrection of the past impossible.

Nevertheless, German influence has not had its last word. While Russia is fighting her "holy war," numerous German emissaries paralyze her life and seriously compromise her repute. The far-reaching words of the Czar offer peace and kindly tolerance to his subjects, but at the same time agents from Berlin are doing their best to foment trouble which threatens to discredit the decrees and promises of Nicholas II.

Scattered through the Russian Empire, the Germans have always sought to make trouble among its constituent elements. High German officials are almost always responsible for Russian blunders; they

keep up their policy of fomenting dissension in order to weaken the empire. Disguised as true Russians, nay, as ultra-Russians, they support the newspapers of the "Black Band," in which France and England are slandered and Germany praised. Even while the heroic Russian Army is shedding its blood in the cause of the future of humanity, newspapers in the pay of Germany are plunged in grief because the land of Czars is arrayed against the Kaiser, who is represented as the good genius of the dynasty, of reaction and of orthodoxy.

Foreigners ignorant of this complexity in Russian life tend to confuse the two sides of the medal. It is necessary to turn away from the hideous and criminal "Black Band," which continually imperils the noble Slavic soul, and look only upon the real Russian Nation, its writers, savants, and philosophers, who alone reflect its worth.

It is in the words of Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, Turgenieff, Gorky, Tchekoff, Korolenko, and so many other poets or novelists; in Solovieff, the great psychologist of Russian religious feeling; in Borodine, Pavloff, Mendelejeff, Metchnikoff, in the brilliant galaxy of sociologists, publicists, and historians, that one finds the ability and worth of the Muscovite nation. Its intellectual forces, compared with those of present-day Germany, would bear away the palm both as to number and intrinsic value. In studying the Russian people as depicted by a Tolstoy one perceives their profound morality. I have had occasion to bear witness to this in a series of studies of modern saints and inspired writers. All that impresses us in the superhuman morality of a Tolstoy, whose nobility of soul is sometimes inconceivable to other European countries, is in reality nothing more than the reflection of the life of the ordinary Russian mujik. Among people divided against each other in hundreds of sects we find the greatest of evangelical truths formulated with touching simplicity. Centuries of misery and sadness have purified and ennobled the popular conscience to a remarkable degree.

Meditating upon the sorrows of this world, a poor Russian peasant often ex-

presses thoughts worthy of a Seneca or a Spinoza. But alcoholism, that formidable enemy, and the far too great misery caused by exploitation at the hands of the State through centuries have at last robbed true Russian genius of its character.

The prohibition of the sale of alcohol just promulgated by the Czar will save and radically transform the lower classes, who exceed 150,000,000 in number. Under the régime of enforced temperance Russia will present an unexpected spectacle to the human race of tomorrow. Within twenty years people will understand of what prodigies a nation will be capable which has not succumbed under the ravages to which from time immemorial its moral and material life was exposed.

II.—GERMAN DIPLOMACY AND THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR.

Above all, one must visualize the developments of tomorrow. My sincerity as to moral and political Russia, as to its Government and people, has become strengthened on a number of occasions. For a long time I stood almost alone in protesting against various aberrations of those at the helm in Russia, which were followed by acts harmful to the nation.

We know now that the unfortunate Japanese war turned Russian evolution from its natural course. The historian of the future will discover among the principal reasons for this the hidden influence of Germany. In order to weaken Russia in Europe, Germany drove her to dangerous ventures in the Far East. This seemed to me so clear that I have continually called attention to it in these very pages.

The Russo-Japanese war nearly ruined the Russian Empire and nearly prevented it from fulfilling its obligations toward France. It was evident that if war could be stopped, an alliance of the two belligerents, which had become necessary, would quickly make good the damage done.

In this opinion I stood almost alone; by some, in fact, it was declared paradoxical and harmful. And when high finance, anxious first of all for its profits,

decided to negotiate a loan of 1,000,000,000 francs for Russia, I braved the impossible to halt this financial move, as disastrous to the Franco-Russian Alliance as to the whole human race. The loan was already signed at St. Petersburg; nevertheless, the impossible succeeded.

An article of mine entitled "How to Save Our Millions" signed "a friend of the alliance"—for I had never given up believing in its necessity and advantages—produced a tempest in legislative circles.

In that article I tried to demonstrate that, if the war continued, Russia would find it impossible to pay the interest on her loans, and that a catastrophe of this nature would bring about the ruin of French investors and the final fall of the third republic.

M. Rouvier, Minister of Finance at that time, asked me to stop my campaign, which he considered unpatriotic. Nevertheless, being a man of high intelligence, he became convinced, after a long conversation to which he summoned me, that the real interests of France required, before all else, the immediate termination of the war.

Besides, Japan rightly thought that this impending loan was an act of hostile intervention harmful to her interests. Baron Motono, the eminent Japanese Ambassador, said to me: "As France is such a tried friend of our country and of Russia, and as she is not able to send her armies to the Far East, she should not send her money there. After the war, Indo-China might sooner or later pay the cost of this intervention, even contrary to the wishes of the friends of France."

Furthermore, the Franco-Japanese rapprochement, foreshadowed in *La Revue* during the war (in 1905) by my eminent friend, Viscount Suyematsu, son-in-law of Marquis Ito, came true as soon as the war was over, and it is the reason why France, Russia, and Japan stand together today on the same side of the barricade.

Thus our perspicacity was justified. It sufficed to look at reality without prejudices to see that the Russo-Japanese

war was one of the most illogical in history. The perfect good faith with which both nations have since accepted peace proves the sincerity of their humanitarian aspirations.

One thing must never be lost sight of—left to itself, the Russian people is essentially peaceful. The idea of conquest is foreign to it; schemes of territorial aggrandizement have always been inculcated into it by those in high position or by foreign influences. The only wars that are popular in Russia are those whose object is the deliverance of Slavic peoples. In 1879, when it was a case of freeing the Balkan peoples, the enthusiasm of the Russians knew no bounds. But in 1905 they were opposed to a campaign which they considered monstrous and inconceivable. And now they are filled again with enthusiasm for the great crusade of civilized peoples whose goal is to free Russia from German influence and to preserve not only the Slavic principle but the political rights and moral acquisitions of Europe.

So this nation, looked upon as barbarous and savage, has waged several wars for an ideal! It will suffice to compare it to the German Nation, which has never helped any people and never fought for a lofty principle, in order to understand on which side moral supremacy lies.

III.—THE PARADOX OF A MONGOL PEOPLE.

Russia is taxed with being a Mongol or Tartar nation. A victim of the barbarians, she has needed centuries to emancipate herself from their influence and become Christian and moral. Germany, in her past, has had no such tragic event to deplore. Therefore she is today committing a crime that is all the more monstrous because she is separating herself from the civilized and falling voluntarily into sheer savagery.

It will suffice to study the main currents of Russian thought during the last half century to realize how much her "idealists" remain superior to the German "intellectuals." Ever since the Russians of 1840, whom Herzen describes with so much talent in his "Byloie i

Doumy," ever since Granovsky, Pisemsky, Stankevitch, since Slavophiles like Kirevsky, Khomiakoff, Aksakoff, a breath of great humanitarian principles has animated Muscovite literature and life. How many reforms have been introduced since 1860—the emancipation of the serfs, judiciary reform, the organization of municipal and provincial autonomy! The germ of a free Parliament like the present one gives promise of a brilliant future for the Russian Empire. Russia will become a great free and civilized nation on the day that she succeeds in ridding herself once and for all of the harmful influence of the Germans, who have ceaselessly paralyzed her life and aspiration.

IV.—REAL RUSSIAN ASPIRATIONS.

Russian psychologists boast rightly of Russia's innate aspirations toward liberty and justice. Alexander Herzen calls the autocratic power of the Czar essentially German. "Perfect concord reigned formerly between non-believers and Catholic Slavs in Russia," declares the great publicist, Gradovsky. "Jews, Moslems, and Christians lived together in perfect harmony there."

The subjugation of the people, who become in the course of centuries veritable slaves, originated in the invasion of the Tartars. Peter the Great, instead of Europeanizing Russia, simply Germanized it. He tried to graft upon it the formal and external sides of German civilization. Thanks to his successors, the only thing Russian about whom was their title, the Germans settled in Russia as if it were a conquered land.

Nevertheless, for the last fifty years one may note intermittent tendencies on the part of the Czars to free themselves from German influence. Often they encountered insurmountable difficulties. In the wake of German Princes and Princesses, a train of favorites and courtiers always flowed into Russia, creating rich and influential families, always opposed to the principles dear to genuine Russians. When one adds to these the German families of the Baltic Provinces it is easy to understand that this interne-cine struggle had necessarily to last for some decades more.

The German families who have succeeded in throwing off the Prussian influence are very few. So unfortunate an imprint has Prussia left on the life of the empire that all farseeing patriots never tire of deploring it. On this subject great Generals and statesmen educated away from German influence are unanimous. Here Tolstoy clasps hands with General Skobelev, the revolutionary writer Herzen agrees with Aksakov or Soloviev, both so closely bound to tradition. Let us recall the words uttered by Skobelev in 1882: "We Russians, when we are at home, are not in Russia."

V.—RUSSIANS DO NOT TRUST THE GERMANS.

Recent happenings simply throw a tragic light on the statements of Russian patriots. The generous intentions of Czar Nicholas II. seem very sincere.

But the bureaucrats find the way to reduce his projects to nothing; they continue to persecute the Poles and their language. They have even gone so far as to send Russian prelates into Galicia! They are organizing Jewish pogroms and deporting to Siberia the most beloved of Finnish representatives. These are crimes of *lèse-majesté* committed by the very men who should be the most faithful servants of the Czar.

What is the purpose of these vexatious measures if not to compromise Russia in the eyes of her allies and alienate from her the sympathies of neutral countries? Sweden having shown hostility toward Russia on account of Finland, the result of such measures has been to alarm her once again.

In Russia there are at present more than 250,000 Jewish soldiers whose courage and devotion to their country are proved by the official communiqués. But the bureaucrats have been able to drive the Jewish wounded from certain places on the pretext that "they have not the right to live there!" Moreover, by organizing pogroms at the moment when the sacred union of the nation is at its zenith, they seek to destroy the harmony between Russian citizens and foment civil war.

Russia will need many millions for her economic and financial reconstruction;

no matter what happens, she cannot dispense with the aid of international finance. Already the enmity of the great Jewish bankers is being aroused against her; those in the United States have shown their violent hostility to "Russian barbarism" as a result of the pogroms.

The Poles are giving proof of superhuman courage and devotion. Despite the devastation of their provinces and the destitution which is ravaging their lands, they are sacrificing everything, their life and their last belongings, for the profit of Russia and her allies. And the Russian bureaucrats choose this opportunity for exasperating Polish susceptibility and robbing the Poles of all faith in the Czar's promises!

The Bourtseff case is most significant. This veteran revolutionist, who won so much sympathy while staying in Paris and London, relinquished his aims at the outbreak of hostilities and returned to Russia to preach national union even under the banner of autocracy. Before departing he proclaimed the necessity for all advanced parties to rally around the Czar and his Government in order to fight the common enemy. Trusting to the generosity of his sovereign and to the sacred union of the Russian people, he crossed the frontier. He was arrested. Then the Court of Assizes, which sentences without a jury, found a way to condemn him to deportation for life.

The French and English Governments, which have succeeded in arousing the same patriotic enthusiasm in Socialists, pacifists, and revolutionists, are now inundated by the claims and protests of friends of liberty. It would be hard to admit that we have to do here only with conscienceless or stupid officials. How so? Can one believe that they do not understand the importance of the events developing about them nor the moral value and humanitarian tendencies of the nations taking part therein? Rather should we see in such acts a continuation of that German influence which is exerted in Russia against the interests of the people and the formal will of the sovereign.

It would be unbelievable that the Czar should instigate a world war in order to

deliver little Serbia and refuse to save his own people! It is useless, says Epicurus, to desire to kill tigers and lions in distant lands if we cannot rid ourselves of the wild beasts in ourselves.

But our limited enthusiasm for the Muscovite Government does not keep us from professing unlimited faith in the Russian people. In the gigantic battle against barbarism Russia will win her own salvation—liberty for herself and deliverance for all time from Prussia and the Prussians.

VI.—RUSSIAN REACTION AS A COUNTER-BLOW TO GERMAN MILITARISM.

We must not forget that after the great convulsion produced by the war with Japan Russia clearly wished to rest her political organization on new foundations. The creation of the Duma was followed by the law of April 17, 1907, which gave religious liberty to the country. Had she continued on this road, Russia might have changed her autocratic régime into a liberal monarchy which would have brought her boundless prosperity and constitutional liberties to her inhabitants.

It is well known how greatly the interview of Czar Nicholas with the Kaiser at Cronstadt in 1907 transformed the Russian policy. Under the baleful influences of the Berlin crank, the Duma miscarried and the famous "law of tolerance" of 1907 became a dead letter.

The peaceful evolution of Russian liberty came to an abrupt stop. Popular discontent, apparently stamped out, was bound to burst forth sooner or later in the form of a revolution which the Russian liberals awaited as a deliverance and which the conservatives feared as the last judgment.

The war put an end to this painful agony of a prostrated ideal.

Victory by the Allies will bring to the vast empire of the Czars that national reconciliation so ardently desired, which will develop into a perfect accord between the ruler and his people.

The Czar and the Grand Duke Nicholas doubtless do not know just now what has become of their magnanimous prom-

ises. But let us not be deceived; the day is near when those who have committed crimes against the security of Russia will be severely punished. The Germans, who wish above all else to make Russia distrusted and hateful to the Allies, to neutrals, and to international finance, are now in their death-agony. They feel sure that they can easily destroy Russian credit during the war and prevent its restoration in future.

The Chancelleries of Paris and London should draw the attention of the Russian Government to the crimes committed in its name. They seem to be escaping the notice of the immediate entourage of the Czar and the great and honorable man who now directs Russian foreign policy. The unfortunate victims of these harmful measures and of the misdeeds already committed know doubtless whence they come.

Poles, Jews, Finns, and Armenians should feel convinced that their martyrdom will cease when normal life is resumed and Germany decisively defeated. Official Russia will be unable to elude the fulfillment of her obligations without incurring the risk of taking Germany's place in the estimation of other nations.

The Czar's energetic attitude precludes all doubt as to the worth of his promises, and the victims of the Russian bureaucrats and of German machinations should spurn the seditious advice given them by those who have always been their enemies.

Russia's basic interests will oblige her to develop more and more along liberal lines. Her empire, which has become one of the greatest ever known in history, will require for its existence the "Roman Peace" in the highest sense of the phrase,

and the only way to build up this peace will be by winning the respect of the peoples forming the empire. Only at that price can Russia maintain the unity of her provinces and assure peace at home.

Joined once more with France, England, and all other civilized countries, Russia will guarantee a worthy and happy existence to the two hundred millions of inhabitants whom she will possess before long. Ennobled and purified by this tremendous war, which she has undertaken for an ideal, Russia will work with other civilized countries for an evolution of the Europe of tomorrow, which will be based more than ever before on justice.

The discord which seemed to alienate the Czar and his people, a discord zealously fomented by the Hohenzollerns, will likewise vanish in time, and the union between Czardom and the Russians, consolidated and sealed by the sacrifices suffered with so much heroism by the entire nation, will forge indissoluble bonds between them.

Never have the Hohenzollerns ceased to work against Russian liberty; a constitutional Russia was to them a perpetual menace to Prussian autocracy. The Kaiser, moreover, could not continue with impunity his assaults on the German Constitution except by keeping at fever heat the German hatred for a despotic and barbarous Russia. Being unable to arm against France with any show of decency, he armed against a Russia branded as "Cossack" and savage.

Ties of friendship and family having been broken once for all between Romanoffs and Hohenzollerns, Russia will be able to follow her national aspirations untrammelled and win the brilliant future to which she is destined.



To the French Soldiers at the Front

By Anatole France

The subjoined article by M. Anatole France celebrating the festival of the 14th of July appeared originally in the *Petit Parisien*, and is translated by Winifred Stevens, editor of "The Book of France."

DEAR soldiers, heroic children of the Fatherland, today is your festival, for it is the festival of France. The 14th of July breaks in a dawn of blood and glory. We celebrate and we honor your brethren fallen in immortal battles, and you, to whom we send our good wishes, with this heartfelt cry: Live! Triumph!

One hundred and twenty-six years ago today the people of Paris, armed with pikes and guns, to the beating of drums and the ringing of the tocsin, pressed in a long line down the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, attacked the Bastille, and, after five hours' conflict beneath deadly fire, took possession of the hated fortress. A symbolical victory won over tyranny and despotism, a victory by which the French people inaugurated a new régime.

The sovereignty of law! Therein lies the significance of the Bastille taken by the people and razed to its foundations. The coming of justice! For that reason patriots wearing the tricolor cockade in their hats, and citizenesses in frocks striped with the nation's colors, danced all night long to the accompaniment of violins, in the gay brilliance of the illuminations, on the leveled site of the Bastille.

Hour of confidence in human goodness, of faith in a future of concord and of peace! Then did France reveal her true place among men; then did she show with what hopes the Revolution swelled the hearts of Europe. The fall of the Bastille resounded throughout the whole world.

To Russia the good tidings came like the bright flame of a bonfire on some day of public rejoicing. In the proud city of Peter and of Catherine nobles and serfs, with tears and cries of gladness, embraced one another on the public squares. The French Ambassador at the

Court of the Empress bears witness to this rapture. "It is impossible," he writes, "to describe the enthusiasm excited among tradesmen, merchants, citizens, and the young men of the upper classes by this fall of a State prison, and this first triumph of tempestuous liberty—French, Russians, Danes, Germans, Dutchmen were all congratulating and embracing one another in the streets as if they had been liberated from some onerous bondage."

In England workingmen, the middle classes, and the generous minded among the aristocracy all rejoiced over the victory of right won by the people of Paris. Neither did their enthusiasm flag, despite all the efforts of a Government strenuously hostile to the new principles of France. In 1790, the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille was celebrated in London by an immense banquet, presided over by Lord Stanhope, one of the wisest statesmen of the United Kingdom.

These are the memories we recall and the events we celebrate today.

Dear soldiers, dear fellow-citizens, I address you on this grave festival because I love you and honor you and think of you unceasingly.

I am entitled to speak to you heart to heart because I have a right to speak for France, being one of those who have ever sought, in freedom of judgment and uprightness of conscience, the best means of making their country strong. I am entitled to speak to you because, not having desired war, but being compelled to suffer it, I, like you, like all Frenchmen, am resolved to wage it till the end, until justice shall have conquered iniquity, civilization barbarism, and the nations are delivered from the monstrous menace of an oppressive militarism. I have a right to speak to you because I am one of the few who have never de-

ceived you, and who have never believed that you needed lies for the maintenance of your courage; one of the few who, rejecting as unworthy of you deceptive fictions and misleading silence, have told you the truth.

I told you in December last year: "This war will be cruel and long." I tell you now: "You have done much, but all is not over. The end of your labors approaches, but is not yet. You are fighting against an enemy fortified by long preparation and immense material. Your foe is unscrupulous. He has learned from his leaders that inhumanity is the soldier's first virtue. Arming himself in a manner undreamed of hitherto by the most formidable of conquerors, he causes rivers of blood to flow and breathes forth vapors charged with torpor and with death. Endure, persevere, dare. Remain what you are, and none shall prevail against you.

You are fighting for your native land, that laughing, fertile land, the most beautiful in the world; for your fields and your meadows. For the august mother, who, crowned with vine leaves and with ears of corn, waits to welcome you and to feed you with all the inexhaustible treasures of her breast. You are fighting for your village belfry, your roofs of slate or tile, with wreaths of smoke curling up into the serene sky. For your fathers' graves, your children's cradles.

You are fighting for our august cities, on the banks of whose rivers rise the monuments of generations—romanesque churches, cathedrals, minsters, abbeys, palaces, triumphal arches, columns of bronze, theatres, museums, town halls,

hospitals, statues of sages and of heroes—whose walls, whether modest or magnificent, shelter alike commerce, industry, science, and the arts, all that constitutes the beauty of life.

You are fighting for our moral heritage, our manners, our uses, our laws, our customs, our beliefs, our traditions. For the works of our sculptors, our architects, our painters, our engravers, our goldsmiths, our enamellers, our glass cutters, our weavers. For the songs of our musicians. For our mother tongue which, with ineffable sweetness, for eight centuries has flowed from the lips of our poets, our orators, our historians, our philosophers. For the knowledge of man and of nature. For that encyclopedic learning which attained among us the high-water mark of precision and lucidity. You are fighting for the genius of France, which enlightened the world and gave freedom to the nations. By this noble spirit bastiles are overthrown. And, lastly, you are fighting for the homes of Belgians, English, Russians, Italians, Serbians, not for France merely, but for Europe, ceaselessly disturbed and furiously threatened by Germany's devouring ambition.

* * * * *

The Fatherland! Liberty! Beloved children of France, these are the sacred treasures committed to your keeping; for their sakes you endure without complaint prolonged fatigue and constant danger; for their sakes you will conquer.

And you, women, children, old men, strew with flowers and foliage all the roads of France; our soldiers will return triumphant. ANATOLE FRANCE.

A Farewell

[From The Washington Gazette.]

Though we laugh at little things,
As in days by laughter blest,
The great actual phantom flings
Now a shadow on the jest.

Then it was mirth's overflow
Seeking from itself relief.
Now we laugh because we know
We are all besieged by grief.

Welcome nonsense, rendering sane
We who go and we who wait;
For the loosing of the strain
Sense is too inadequate.

D. S.

The Spirit of France

By Emile Boutroux

The subjoined article by M. Boutroux, who is a member of the French Academy, appeared originally in *The London Daily News* as an authorized translation by Fred Rothwell.

I HAVE been asked to say what I think as to the spirit in which my country is passing through this terrible war. Clearly, in such times as these words are of little importance; it is deeds that are the real arguments. And it is advisable that we judge France by her conduct in the immediate past and in the present. If we would be faithful disciples of Descartes, we must make no attempt whatsoever to court the good opinion of the world by skillful evasion, for we recognize that all men have the right—which we claim for ourselves—to bend the knee to truth alone.

There is one principle which it is important to follow: We must not allow trifling facts, or presumptions, or reasonings of any kind, however subtle, to take the place of important facts which are manifestly self-evident. The text must not be buried beneath a mass of commentaries.

For instance, consider the attitude of France previous to the war. When did this one of the great powers depart from her pacific and conciliatory attitude? What did she do of a nature to render her responsible, in the slightest degree, for the war forced upon her?

We have often read that France wanted war because she wanted her "revenge." The accusation comes strangely, indeed, from the mouths of those who, even in these days, are crying for vengeance on Quintilius Varus and on Mélaç; and who, from the time of the battle of Leipsic, have never ceased singing, "Wir wollen Rache haben." Besides, it is devoid of foundation. As regards Alsace and Lorraine, it is anything but "revenge" that the French claim; the affected use of the word in this connection is pure sophistry, intended to delude people. The facts are very simple and

speak for themselves. In 1871 the representatives of Alsace and Lorraine said to France: "Your brothers in these two provinces, who for the time being are separated from the one common family, will ever retain a filial affection for absent France, until she comes to win back her former place." The Alsations and the Lorrainers, before being French, had indeed a home, "Heimat," as they say in German, but they had never had a country of their own, a "Vaterland." France is the first and only fatherland they have ever known. They have remained faithful to France, and she has proved herself faithful to them.

Since 1789, moreover, the very function or the signification of France throughout the world has been the affirmation of the right, which belongs to nations, great or small, to dispose of themselves as they please. "Damals," said Goethe, when declaring the good news which the Frenchmen of 1792 had brought, "damals hoffte jeder sich selbst zu leben," (at that time every man hoped to live his own life.) He added that this thought was the loftiest that man could conceive: "das höchste was der Mensch sich denkt."

It is such a motive that an attempt is being made to ridicule by calling it a "desire for revenge."

But then, some people say, to uphold the principle of nationalities was to wish for war, since the conquerors, in the name of the right of conquest, the only one they acknowledge, as also by reason of their might, which they had rendered formidable, stated that they were determined to keep their prey.

France did not look upon the right of force as the only one to be recognized by modern nations. She relied on the Alsace-Lorraine question, along with other similar questions, being brought, sooner or

later, before an international tribunal, and on the differences between men being settled by justice, some day, in a society which claimed to attach value to Greek culture and the Christian religion. And she set to work to develop ideas of justice and humanity, both in France herself and in other nations.

It is the same principle which they took upon themselves to defend by pacific measures, that the French are now upholding and defending, arms in hand.

They did not consider the question whether it would have been better for them to put up with the tutelage of their powerful neighbors, for, by adopting such an attitude, they would have lost their honor. Given the way in which their adversaries stirred up and waged this war, the French are conscious that they have undertaken the defense, not only of the rights of man in general, but also of the right of nations to independence, dignity, and the untrammelled development of their own distinctive genius. And this consciousness is awakening within them the zeal and ardor they showed in 1792, while a calm appreciation of the conditions of the present struggle inspires in them such a degree of constancy and patience as no difficulties, however great, will be able to crush.

We are not now dealing with something akin to the generous, though rash and unsteady, outbursts of passion often attributed to the French of former days. Our determination now is that we will be resolute and immovable, just as right and truth are immovable and invincible. In this connection, may I mention the letters daily sent to me from the front by the young men, intrusted to my charge, in normal times? They show that the writers are brimming over with enthusiasm, determination, and good humor. With shells bursting all around, they tell me what they are doing and relate their impressions with the same lucidity and mental calm they showed when studying with me. One feels that it is real happiness for them to fight in a cause indisputably noble and just, and that they are sure this same feeling, dominant in all hearts, both in civil life and in the army, will give France the perseverance and energy needed to carry on the war to the end.

Yes, indeed, France is still a youthful and enthusiastic nation fighting for an ideal. Henceforth, however, she will be as deliberate and thoughtful as she has always been full of zeal and ardor. As one of her proverbs says, by helping herself, indefatigably and with all her might, she calls down the help of heaven.

Current Small Talk

By ELLA A. FANNING.

When I am out in company,
I'm careful what I say,
If venturing to make remarks
On topics of the day.

My friends excite my wonder, awe,
As glibly they converse,
And brashly mention Langenfeldkopf,
Travenanzas—or worse!

They praise Duke Nicolaivitch,
And never fail to lug
Into their chat some references to
That place they call "The Bug!"

I sit in silence, must seem dull,
When "Ammerertzyviller" they say.
Quote General Yanovskévitch,
In their familiar way.

The war they settle out of hand;
Of Krasnostav they talk,
And Sedd-el-Bahr, and Ossowiec,
As though they said "New York."

Britain's Tribute to Italy

By British Men of Distinction

Anthony Hope Hawkins has published in the British press the letter which appears below, addressed to the Italian Nation and signed, on the invitation of Lord Bryce, Lord Balfour of Bureleigh, Lord Reay, Sir George Trevelyan, and Robert Henry Benson, by more than a hundred and fifty people of distinction and authority in Great Britain.

THE LETTER.

WE, whose signatures are here appended, desire to place on record our admiration and respect for the conduct of Italy at this supreme crisis in the history of the world.

Italy and Great Britain are now companions in arms, fighting side by side for the triumph of the same cause. Circumstances drew our own country into the conflict from the beginning, while the ghastliness and the magnitude of the task before us were still only dimly manifest. Yet none of us will forget the crisis of decision through which we passed in the first days of August, 1914.

Italy has had a still harder path to tread. Immediate action was not her part, and she had to bear the strain of nine months' suspense before her hour of decision arrived. During these nine months she saw all the established regulations and mitigations of warfare swept away by the enemy's systematic and cold-blooded resort to methods of a cruelty to noncombatants unprecedented in modern history.

Yet, in spite, or rather because, of all which she knew she would have to face in a conflict with the Germanic powers, Italy nerved herself to the ordeal, resolved to do her utmost toward securing that such horrors as Belgium saw, and as the ocean has seen, should never again threaten the civilized world.

She made her decision at a moment when the prospects of early victory seemed remote, and only the arduousness and the imperative necessity of the task were apparent, and she had to reach this decision through a series of the most complex diplomatic negotiations, which demanded the coolest judgment and most perfect mutual confidence from both Government and people.

At last the suspense is over. Since May 20, 1915, Italy stands in arms at our side; and we feel that an expression of this comradeship on the part of a few among her British friends—we say a few, because every one in these islands is Italy's friend—would be both welcome to her and congenial to ourselves.

The Italian people is at war to liberate its own brethren from an old oppression, and to avert from the whole of Europe the threat of a new military domination. Italy has staked all that she has for the same principles of nationality, humanity, and public right that inspire our own endeavors in this war. We hope with all the earnestness in our hearts that her national aspirations will now be consummated, and we wish the heroic Italy of 1915 to know from our own lips that we feel toward her as our fathers felt toward the heroic Italy of the Risorgimento.

THE SIGNATORIES.

The letter is signed by:

Archbishop of Canterbury	W. H. Bowater, Lord Mayor of Birmingham.
Sir T. Clifford All- butt, Cambridge University.	A. C. Bradley, Glas- gow University.
William Archer, Lord Balfour of Bur- leigh, St. Andrews University.	Robert Bridges, Poet Laureate.
Sir C. B. Hall, Bart., Dublin University.	Viscount Bryce.
H. Granville Barker.	John Burnet, St. An- drews University.
Sir Thomas Barlow.	J. B. Bury, Cam- bridge University.
Sir J. M. Barrie.	Hall Caine.
J. E. Bedford, Lord Mayor of Leeds.	R. C. Carton.
A. C. Benson.	C. Haddon Chambers.
E. F. Benson.	Rev. R. H. Charles, Canon of West- minster.
R. H. Benson.	G. K. Chesterton.
Laurence Binyon.	Sir W. Watson Cheyne.
Bernard Bosanquet, St. Andrews Uni- versity.	Albert C. Clark, Ox- ford University.
Helen Bosanquet.	A. Clutton-Brock.

- Sir Sidney Colvin.
 Sir E. T. Cook.
 William Leonard
 Courtney.
- Sir James
 Crichton-Browne.
 The Earl of Cromer.
 Lord d'Abernon.
 Sir Samuel Dill,
 Queen's University,
 Belfast.
- Sir Arthur Conan
 Doyle.
 Thomas Dunlop, Lord
 Provost of Glasgow.
 Sir Frank W. Dyson,
 Astronomer-Royal.
 Sir Edward Elgar.
 Earl of Elgin.
 C. H. Firth, Oxford
 University.
- H. A. L. Fisher, Shef-
 field University.
 John Fitzgerald, Lord
 Mayor of Newcastle.
 Sir George Frampton.
 Sir J. G. Frazer,
 Liverpool Univer-
 sity.
- Douglas W.
 Freshfield.
 John Galsworthy.
 Percy Gardner, Ox-
 ford University.
 Sir Archibald Geikie.
 W. M. Geldart, Ox-
 ford University.
 J. G. Gordon-Munn,
 Lord Mayor of Nor-
 wich.
- B. P. Grenfell, Ox-
 ford University.
 Anstey Guthrie,
 (F. Anstey.)
 Sir H. Rider
 Haggard.
 Viscount Haldane.
 J. S. Haldane, Ox-
 ford University.
 Earl of Halsbury.
 Thomas Hardy.
 J. H. Hargreaves,
 Lord Mayor of Hull.
 Frederic Harrison.
 F. J. Haverfield, Ox-
 ford University.
 Anthony H. Hawkins,
 (Anthony Hope.)
- Sir W. P. Herring-
 ham, London Uni-
 versity.
 J. P. Heseltine.
 Maurice Hewlett.
 Robert Hichens.
 E. W. Hobson, Cam-
 bridge University.
 The Rev. Henry Scott
 Holland, Oxford
 University.
 Sir Charles Holroyd.
 Sir Henry Howorth.
 A. S. Hunt, Oxford
 University.
 Sir Courtenay Ilbert.
 Henry Jackson, Cam-
 bridge University.
 Jerome K. Jerome.
 F. B. Jevons, Dur-
 ham University.
 Sir Charles Johnston,
 Lord Mayor of Lon-
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- Sir Frederic G.
 Kenyon.
 W. P. Ker, London
 University.
 Rudyard Kipling.
 Walter Leaf.
 Sir Sidney Lee.
 Sir John Dillwyn
 Llewelyn.
 W. J. Locke.
 The Bishop of
 London.
 Sir Oliver Lodge.
 E. V. Lucas.
 Daniel McCabe, Lord
 Mayor of Manches-
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- Rev. Alex. R.
 MacEwen.
 J. W. Mackail, Ox-
 ford University.
 Rev. John Pentland
 Mahaffy, Trinity
 College, Dublin.
 D. S. Margoliouth,
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 John Masefield.
 Claude G. Montefiore.
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 er, Royal Academy
 of Arts, London.
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 Oxford University.
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 James Taggart, Lord
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 J. Arthur Thomson,
 Aberdeen Univer-
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 Sir Joseph J.
 Thomson.
 George Macaulay
 Trevelyan.
 Sir George Otto
 Trevelyan.
 Sir A. W. Ward,
 Cambridge Univer-
 sity.
 Humphry Ward.
 Mary A. Ward (Mrs.
 Humphry Ward.)
 Oliver C. Wilson,
 Lord Mayor of Shef-
 field.
 The Bishop of
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 C. Hagberg Wright,
 London Library.
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 ford University.



Germany Fed

By Dr. Max Sering

Senior Professor of Economics in the University of Berlin.

Richmond, Va., July 17, 1915.

To the Editor of *The New York Times*:

Herewith I beg to hand you a translation of a letter recently received by me from Professor Max Sering, the senior professor in the Department of Economics at the University of Berlin. During the eighties he twice visited this country and wrote a book entitled "Agricultural Competition of North America." Since that time he has written a great deal, particularly on agricultural subjects. He was actively engaged in the great work, undertaken many years ago, whereby the State bought up great tracts of small land parcels and redivided the whole into compact tracts, giving to each former owner the equivalent of his previous possessions and at the same time effecting great economic gains and establishing a helpful settlement of farmers in large portions of the eastern part of the empire.

As may be seen from the letter, Dr. Sering has been, since August of last year, busily engaged in working out the food problems arising out of Germany's isolation from transoceanic grain-producing countries. The information he gives is therefore authentic.

W. S. McNEILL.

THE LETTER.

MY Dear Mr. McNeill:

Your letter of Dec. 3, 1914, gave me a great deal of pleasure. It was like a ray of sunlight breaking through the clouds of hatred and distrust which the English writers and press have drawn, like a curtain, between your and our country. From your letter and from your essay, "America's Attitude Toward the War," I saw how bravely and intelligently you have stood up for Germany and her moral rights in this war.

If, in spite of this, I have not answered any sooner, it was because you

asked for information with regard to the question whether we would be able to get along with our food and war material supply. At that time, however, I was somewhat in doubt with regard to the matter, and did not want to confide my fears to a letter. It is evident that, in consequence of the attitude of America and other neutrals, we had to solve some very serious problems, for heretofore we have been in the habit of importing from one-fifth to one-fourth of all our raw materials and foodstuffs. Since the outbreak of the war very little is being imported. In consequence of this, very difficult organizations became necessary, the finding of substitutes, and a governmental regulation of the demand, which were to safeguard everything that was absolutely necessary for the conduct of the war and for the feeding of the population, even at the expense of the production and the consumption of things not so necessary or more easily spared. I, myself, have participated in the work of solving these problems.

Since the outbreak of the war I have worked on only this from morning until night, but now I can say that the problems have been solved completely and in every direction. We can now continue the war indefinitely. I have reported about all this in an address before the Academy of Sciences. As soon as this address has been printed I shall send you a copy. I shall mention only the most important part here.

The complete cutting off of the supply of Chile saltpeter during the war has been made good by our now taking nitrogen directly out of the air in large factories built during and before the war. With extraordinary rapidity the question has been solved how the enormous quantities of the needed ammunition were to be produced, a question which in England still meets with diffi-

culties in spite of the help from America. It is, however, not only for the needed explosives that we take nitrogen from the air, but also for the nitrogen-containing fertilizers which we formerly imported in the form of Chile saltpetre.

As to our foodstuffs, you will know that the Government on Feb. 1, 1915, took over all the grain, and prescribed to each one a certain portion of bread and flour. In the beginning this portion was somewhat scant because we wanted to be sure that our supply would last until the new crop. Now, however, it has been found that the thrashing results of the last crop were more favorable than we had estimated. We are entering the new crop year with such large stocks that some weeks ago the prices for flour and bread could be reduced considerably and the bread portion of the working population could be enlarged.

Potatoes also, which for a while were very expensive, have lately become quite cheap, because, unexpectedly, large supplies were found when the potato pits were opened. The prices for bread and potatoes, and even for beef, are now much lower than in England, where things were allowed to regulate themselves.

As our industry fitted itself with the greatest elasticity to the problems brought about by the war, unemployment is less than before the war, the workmen receive higher wages, and the masses with us are well nourished. You would find in Berlin and in every other place in Germany a people enjoying good health, and who on every nice Sunday and holiday have plenty of relaxation and pleasure.

In the final analysis this success is due to the high degree of education in our population. Many little discomforts, which we were obliged to put on them, were borne cheerfully; people hardly talked about them. The first year of the war being happily behind us, we do not worry about the second year, as now we have accustomed ourselves to the new conditions, all organizations are working well, and the crops in Germany are

sufficient to supply all the wants of the population generously. The supply of meat will become somewhat scant by and by, but that does not matter, as we have been in the habit of eating too much meat. The hygienically necessary quantity of albumen and calorie is at the disposition of every one.

We are, of course, very curious to learn how President Wilson will handle the Lusitania case, and are satisfied that a peaceful solution can be found if he does not insist entirely, as heretofore, on the English viewpoint. * * *

Should Germany be overcome in this war, something I consider out of the question, the strongest of the European national States would thereby be condemned to inertia; then there would be from Norway to the Persian Gulf only Russian or English vassal states. European culture, however, is based on a general mixture of different nationalities, of which each can unfold itself in a separate State. A defeat of our country would therefore be equivalent to the destruction of European culture. If you lived in our country it would give you pleasure to see with what calmness and absolute assurance of final victory our youths and our men march to the front, how proud and full of assurance their letters sound, and what an astonishing physical and moral strength an organized people of nearly 70,000,000 can put forward. Here everything is full of young soldiers, only now the recruits for the year 1915 have been called to the colors, (those 20 years old,) while the French are sending already to the battlefields 17-year-old boys, and even the Russians have called in already the recruits of the year 1916.

The attempt to destroy a great people, only because by diligence and thoroughness it has become uncomfortable for the idle and the rich in other countries, and because it insisted on being treated as an equal by States which surpass it in territory and in number of inhabitants, this dastardly plan of the British statesmen from Edward VII. to Sir Edward Grey will surely fail.

M. SERING.

Spain and the War

By Leaders of Spanish Thought

Some Spanish intellectuals have published the following manifesto, which appeared in the British press late in July. It will be observed that among the signatories are members of all Spanish political parties. Side by side with Radicals, Reformists, and Republicans appear the names of Conservatives, and even Traditionalists or Carlists. Along with the name of the great Republican and Professor of Comparative Jurisprudence, Señor Azcárate, appears that of Azórin, the famous author of "Voluntad," who is counted among the Conservative followers of Señor Maura. The name of the author of "Episodios Nacionales," Señor Perez Galdós, whose anti-clerical campaign is well known to all, runs together with that of the priest Don Julio Cejador, famous for his philological studies. It is also noteworthy how many of the signatories have had ties with Germany. Señores Maeztu, Araquistain, both journalists of European reputation, and Perez de Ayala, the novelist, have lived in Germany; Señores Zuloaga, Anglado-Camarassa, Acosta, and Romero de Torres have obtained the highest awards in German exhibitions, while others have been open admirers of German literature and science. Among the names appear those of Señor Simarro, Professor of Experimental Psychology; Señor Cossio, Professor of Education; Señor Orteaga y Gasset, Professor of Metaphysics; Señor Unamuno, Professor of Greek in the University of Salamanca; the dramatist Señor Martínez Sierra, the novelists Señores Vallé-Inclán and Palacio Valdés, the poets Señores Machado and Mesa, and Señor Acebal, the editor of the review *La Lectura*.

THE MANIFESTO.

MODESTLY and soberly we raise our voice to utter these words as Spaniards and as men. It is not fitting that in this, the greatest crisis in the history of the world, the historian of Spain should say that she was inarticulate and indifferent to the course of events; that she stood on one side, a barren and insensate rock, or turned her back to the future, to reason and to morality. It is not fitting that at this moment of profound gravity and intense emotion, when the human race is racked with intolerable suffering in giving birth to a closer and firmer fraternity of mankind, Spain, in her blindness, should remain unmoved by the pangs with which the world is torn. Worse still would it be that her part should be to stir up the bitterness of voices inflamed by unreasoning passion and the insults of mercenary writers and newspapers.

We have no time to speak, except that given by quiet lives devoted to the pure activities of the mind, but we feel that in order to serve our country by being honest and useful citizens of the world, and so we are confident that we are doing our duty as Spaniards and as men by declaring that we share with all our heart and soul in the conflict which is

shaking the world to its foundations. We stand firm on the side of the Allies, inasmuch as they represent the ideals of liberty and justice, and therefore their cause coincides with the highest political interests of the nation. Our conscience reprobrates all actions which detract from the dignity of mankind and the respect which men owe to one another, even in the fiercest moment of the struggle.

Most ardently do we hope that when peace comes the lesson may be turned to the honor and profit of all nations, and we trust that the triumph of the cause that we hold to be just will lead to the recognition of the essential part which the life of each nation, great or small, weak or strong, has played in the progress of mankind, will destroy the riot of egoism, domination, and devilish brutality which led to the catastrophe, and will lay the foundation of a new international fraternity in which force will be directed toward its true object, namely, the preservation of reason and justice.

The letter is signed by:

PROFESSORS.

Gumersindo de Azcárate.	Enrique Díez Canedo.
Nicolás Achúcarro.	Américo Castro.
Domingo Barnés.	Julio Cejador.
Odon de Buen.	Manuel B. Cossio.
Adolfo Builla.	José Goyanes.
	Luis de Hoyos.

G. R. Lafora.
Eduardo Lopez
 Navarro.
Juan Madinaveitia.
Gregorio Marañón.
Ramon Menendez
 Pidal.
Manuel G. Morente.
José Ortega y Gasset.
Gustavo Pittaluga.

Adolfo Posada.
Fernando de los Rios.
J. Eugenio Rivera.
Luis Simarro.
Ramon Turró.
Miguel de Unamuno.
Rafael Ureña.
Luis Urrutta.
Luis de Zulueta.

SCULPTORS AND CRAFTSMEN.
Julio Antonio.
Miguel Blay.
Juan Borrell Nicolau.
José Clara.
Enrique Casanovas.
Manuel Castaños.
Mateo Inurria.
José Puig Ferrater.
Mateo Fernandez de
 Soto.
Joaquin Sunyer.
Jerónimo Villalba.
José Villalba.

COMPOSERS.

Manuel Falla.
José Turina.
Rogelio del Villar.
Amadeo Vives.

PAINTERS (*con primera medalla.*)

Herme Anglada
 Camarasa.
Ramon Casas.
Anselmo Miguel Nieto
José Rodriguez Acosta
Julio Romero de
 Torres.
Santiago Rusiñol.
José Villegas.
Ignacio Zuloaga.

AUTHORS.
Francisco Acebal.
Mario Aguilar.
Gabriel Alomar.
Luis Araquistain.
Manual Azaña.
Azorin.
Eduardo G. de Baquero
José Carner.
E. Gomez de Baquero
Francisco
 Grandmontagne.
Amadeo Hurtado.
Ignacio Inglesias.
Antonio Machado.
Manuel Machado.
Ramiro de Maetzu.
Gregorio Martinez
 Sierra.
Enrique de Mesa.
Armando Palacio
 Valdés.
Benito Perez Galdós.
Ramón Perez de
 Ayala.
Ramón del
 Valle-Inclan.

"Much Distressed"

By WALTER SICHEL

[From the London Daily Mail]

The Kaiser (after the Allies' air raid on
Karlsruhe) is "much distressed."

When Herod of Jewry
Had sated his fury
By massacres—east and west—
Of the child unoffending,
'Mid anguish heartrending,
And the babe at its mother's breast—
It is said he was "much distressed."

When the musical Cæsar—
By Tiber, not Yser—
Had burned with an epicure's zest,
Sans reason or pity,
To light up the city,
Noble martyrs who Christ confessed—
'Tis believed he was "much dis-
tressed."

So when Attila, Kaiser
And torture-deviser,
Finds hellishness put to the test,
How he whimpers, yet, Hunnish,
Calls Heaven to punish
The requiters of murder and pest—
Yes, the biter when bit is "distressed."

England's Saving Qualities

By J. H. Rosny

Translated from the French by Thomas Hardy.

The article which follows is quoted from "The Book of France," just edited by Miss Winifred Stephens, and published by Macmillan, for the twofold reason that it well represents the excellent literary material in the work and that it is an able analysis of the inherent British qualities which help that nation through its ordeal.

FOR centuries England has been the most fortunate nation in Europe. Her very mistakes—and some of them have been grave—seem to have turned to her advantage. Her errors have done her no harm. In war time she has shown herself capable of repairing the faults of an organization often defective and sometimes deplorable.

For example, she was totally unprepared for her struggle with Napoleon. Nevertheless, she was by far the most formidable adversary of imperial France. At the opening of the Crimean war her army was quite out of date. In the Boer war she had foreseen neither the difficulties nor the new methods of warfare which were to prevail in that struggle, although she ought to have learned them from the events of 1881.

England's success, therefore, has not always been the result of her foresight or of her prudence. It even involved a certain risk for which a less gifted nation might have had to pay dearly. It is "character" which, with the English throughout all ages, has repaired the errors and faults that have arisen from an overweening confidence in the resources of the three kingdoms.

Into this national character enters, in addition to a relish for adventure and risk, a certain reasonableness which imposes limits, and, among the best, a certain dogged tenacity and indomitable will served by admirably clear vision. Hitherto no one in the world has known so well as the Englishman how to blend those qualities which inspire grand enterprises with the prudence which sees how to avoid haste, excess, and infatuation. And this it is which, combined with her insular position, has enabled

Great Britain to organize a dominion more vast than that of ancient Rome.

Yet another cause—at least in modern times—has contributed to her success. I refer to England's tolerant attitude toward other European nations, great and small. It is long now—indeed ever since the opening of the industrial era—since England first learned to respect the rights of other peoples. Take her own Dominions, for example: she has put French-Canadians into such an advantageous position that, quite naturally, they include themselves among the empire's most loyal subjects. After the Boer War the Boer General in Chief became the political leader in South Africa. In India the natives have been generously governed, and Great Britain has done her best to improve the lot of the poor and to put an end to the scourge of famine.

Toward foreigners England has behaved with equal justice. Holland has not been disturbed in her possession of vast colonies; Portugal peaceably holds her African possessions; and France, since 1871, has been able to build up a great colonial empire. Besides favoring the liberation of Greece and Italy, England has always been kind to little neutral countries. All Europe never for an instant doubts that England grows more and more inclined to act justly toward all civilized nations; that, from the Balkans to the Atlantic, she aims at no territorial conquest, and that she is not moved by any tyrannical motives.

How can she avoid exercising a magnificent moral influence, at a time especially when another nation, formidable alike through its military and industrial power, is threatening all liberty, despis-

ing all rights, tearing up all treaties which have become inconvenient, recognizing no rule save her own will, no laws save those dictated by her appetites, her pride, her scorn, or her ferocity?

Today England's fate is intimately linked with that of Europe, far more intimately than in the beginning of the nineteenth century, for the French spirit did not then menace the very essence of the movement toward civilization, which began at the Renaissance. With

Germany victorious, "lasciate ogni speranza!" (give up all hope.) It would mean the end of a glorious epoch. * * * But the Allies will not be conquered. Heroic France has returned. England, the undaunted, out of her soil has miraculously caused armies to spring. Russia stands ready for gigantic battle.

Once again England shall be happy England. From this terrific ordeal she will come forth greater, fairer, more beloved.

Sons of the Prairie

[From Truth.]

"They are lost, our guns, to the conquering Huns."

"'Lost?' will you tell us so?"

In the lingo's test of the grim Far West,

'Tis a word we do not know."

And they gritted their teeth their lips beneath,

Those Prairie's hard-bit sons,

As from man to man the catchword ran,

"We'll have back the captured guns."

On that quest all bent at the foe they went,

The lads of the great Far West,

Their blood on fire with a righteous ire,

And they fought like men possessed.

One brief hot spell of loosened hell;

Hell for the baffled Huns,

But a time was this of wild mad bliss

To the Prairie's dashing sons.

They slew, were slain, yet knew no pain

In the thrill of the breathless hour

When the big guns flash and the bayonets clash

And you're gripped in the war-lust's power.

And the Teutons fought as they should and ought,

All martial Deutschland's sons,

But the Prairie breed were the men at need,

And they had back the captured guns.

Their fame resounds to the empire's bounds,

Lads of the grim Far West,

Who saved the day in that breathless fray

And bettered the foeman's best.

And methinks that foe will now be slow

To boast of his captured guns,

While accounts are there and still to square

With the pick of the Prairie's sons.

The French Fighting As One

By Owen Johnson

Owen Johnson, the novelist, who returned at the close of July from a month in France, where he had been gathering material for magazine articles, declared that the thing that struck his attention most when he landed in New York was the green and red parasols of the women on the pier. "There are no colors in Paris," he said. "Every one is in black or some other dark stuff. Those who feel like rejoicing themselves refrain out of delicacy, for fear they may offend the feelings of some one else who has reason to mourn." One of the purposes of Mr. Johnson's visit was to present to the French authorities, as an American who had lived in France and was strongly sympathetic with the French cause, the advisability of allowing a little more publicity for the French side of the war in this country. His statement appears below.

THE French have seen the results of the great German campaign for American public opinion, and naturally they are reluctant, for this reason as well as for others, to set their side of the case out more fully. The French people are proud. Their attitude in this war has been, "We are doing as we should, but we will let other nations find this fact out for themselves." They are inclined to think that a sister republic would naturally give them her sympathy. They fail to realize the American psychology, and are apt to think that when a true presentation of the case is given once that is sufficient.

The result is that the idea has tended to grow up in some circles in this country that the war is a German-English conflict primarily. Many French leaders are now beginning to realize this, and many American friends of France are urging that something be done to correct it—to allow the freer passage of news, to permit American observers to see more of the French side of the war, and to send representative Frenchmen to tell stories of the heroism of French troops.

I am inclined to think that some such measures will be taken—perhaps next Winter. I had interviews of an hour's duration with President Poincaré and Foreign Minister Delcassé; I also talked with Premier Viviani, Paul Deschanel, President of the Chamber of Deputies, and former Premier Briand. I had an

hour's talk with General Gallieni, Governor of Paris, and an hour with General Joffre, in the course of the period of several days which I was allowed to spend at the front.

The unanimity of the French is of course amazing; they are absolutely determined to end the possibility of the recurrence of a similar war. From the President down to the factory workers, they all said the same thing: "We realize that it will take a long, hard fight to beat the Germans, but we want to finish things up so that our children will never have to go through this sort of thing."

*Mr. Johnson not only saw the officials and officers—he went into factories, into hospitals, into trenches—into the 200 great *ouvroirs* in Paris which furnish employment to about 350,000 women whom the war would otherwise have made destitute—women, many of them of good family, now working for from 1 franc 25 to 1 franc 75 a day, making clothing and other supplies for the army. He thinks that the spirit of all France as he saw it ought to be put before the Americans by representative Frenchmen—"such men as the philosopher Bergson or Pastor Wagner," he suggested. "Men like James Hazen Hyde and Whitney Warren are doing a great work in Paris, but there ought to be more chance for Americans to find out what France is really thinking."*

One thing that Mr. Johnson says has injured the reputation of the United States in France is the poor quality of

some of the goods shipped over on the first war contracts. He continued:

All Americans who are interested in the French cause feel very keenly the fact that of the first lots of supplies, such as shoes, socks, kitchens on wheels, and so on, that were shipped to the French Army many were very bad, indeed. I know for a fact that some of the representatives of the best American shoe manufacturers happened to be negotiating for orders in Paris when some of the early shipments of shoes made by inexperienced, and in some cases irresponsible, firms arrived, and the poor quality of these kept the real American shoe manufacturers from getting the orders. It was very probable that some of the first commissions sent over from France were not as well qualified to judge on the quality of the goods presented as were their successors, but it was a serious blow to the reputation of American commercial integrity. Any European nation in our position would have its war shipments inspected by a commission of its own, sitting in the capital; and certainly there ought to be some way to handle the situation in this country. I should think that the Chambers of Commerce might very well take some steps to safeguard the quality of shipments in such a situation as this, where our nation's commercial reputation may be determined for years in the minds of foreigners by these products. I think that we should even come to the point of publishing the names of the firms guilty of shipping over supplies that are of insufficient quality, as a guarantee to future purchasers and a sign of the national disapprobation.

Mr. Johnson had unusual opportunities of getting over the French lines at the war front. He was in a party containing Walter Hale, the artist; Arnold Bennett, the English novelist; a representative of the British Foreign Office, and one or two American newspaper men. They got near enough to the front to be

under fire three times; and in one case Mr. Johnson went so far forward in a French mining gallery that he was actually under a German trench. On this subject he said:

I happened to see the Germans bombarding the Cathedral of Rheims about June 20, and the Cathedral of Arras some ten days later. There was absolutely no excuse for it in either case. Later I lunched with M. Dalimier, Minister of Public Instruction, under whose department comes the care of historic monuments, and he told me that he was afraid the Germans would in time destroy even what was left at Rheims. Every time the French won a success anywhere, he said, the Germans evened up by another bombardment of cathedrals; he said that at Soissons was also suffering. "There is in the Cathedral of Rheims," he told me, "some of the priceless old stained glass, several centuries old, which has survived all the bombardments so far. We do not dare to put up scaffolding to take it down and take it away to a place of safety lest the Germans will use that as a pretext—calling it an observation tower, or something of the sort—for the complete destruction of the building."

More than once we got out into the open rather carelessly and were made the target of German shells. Fortunately you can hear the shells coming about a second before they get to you, and that second gives you time to throw yourself on the ground and roll into one of the fifteen-foot-deep connecting trenches which run all about through the country in the rear of the firing line.

One thing that shows how the nation is united is the fact that on the Executive Committee of the Secours National, which arranges for all the war relief among soldiers' families, you find the Archbishop of Paris, the chief rabbi, the chief Protestant minister, Royalists, Bonapartists, and Radicals. That never happened before in France.

British Excuses for Not Enlisting

(Report of the London County Council)

The correspondence of The Westminster Gazette of July 27, 1915, gives suggestions as to why eligible young men do not enlist. A report of the L. C. C. brought before the Council on that date presents actual reasons, given officially, as to why young men who are seeking scholarships or extensions are not anxious to join the army. Subjoined are excuses, selected from the circular, the figures in parentheses being the ages of the candidates:

IS supporting a widowed mother and three young children, and is a bound apprentice with one or more years to serve, (20 years, 8 months.)

Has to support a widowed mother and assist in supporting a younger brother. His elder brother and several relatives in the army, (19 years, 8 months.)

Is apprenticed, with two more years to serve. Two brothers in the army, and, being the only one left at home, has been asked by his parents not to enlist, (18 years, 10 months.)

Has endeavored to enlist, but is half an inch too short, (19 years.)

Has two brothers in the army, one training for the navy, and another engaged on munitions. He is only son left at home, and parents do not wish him to enlist. Has now undertaken munitions work, (18 years, 5 months.)

Is apprenticed to an architect and surveyor and hopes to "assist in rebuilding the war area," which, if his studies are interrupted by enlistment, he would not be qualified to do, (19 years, 8 months.)

States that his father is out of work and he has to help to support his mother; further, that two of his brothers have enlisted, (19 years, 8 months.)

States that when he was 18 he enlisted in the Nineteenth Hussars, but bought himself out after six months, and does not intend to join again unless it is

absolutely necessary, (26 years, 3 months.)

Is married and serving as a Special Constable. In addition, has been engaged on work for the Government, (31 years, 2 months.)

States that he is apprenticed to a firm which is engaged on Government contracts and which has been asked by the War Office not to allow the employes to enlist, (20 years, 11 months.)

States that he is employed by a firm of Government printers who have been notified by the War Office that no men are expected to enlist from the firm, (23 years, 11 months.)

Is conducting a building business in the City, and states that it is impossible for him to enlist at present, (25 years.)

Is not of military age, and thinks it would be a mistake to join the army in the middle of his studies, which would ruin the prospects of his future career. Is engaged in the alizarine dye industry, and has offered to make war munitions in his spare time, (18 years, 1 month.)

States that he has no intention of enlisting except as a munition worker, and that his present firm is partially engaged in such work, (20 years, 4 months.)

States that he intends to join the army if possible in two or three weeks' time, but that if unsuccessful will do so when he is 19, (17 years, 11 months.)

States that he is engaged as a chemist at Woolwich Arsenal and holds a badge and certificate that he is so employed. Is quite willing to enlist, but the authorities at the arsenal do not wish it, (22 years, 9 months.)

States that he has objections to military service, (19 years, 6 months.)

Wishes to progress with his studies in order to earn his living as soon as possible, and so give financial help at home, which his father's failing health renders necessary, (21 years, 5 months.)

States that his father is dead, and as

he is an only child it is his mother's wish that he should not enlist, but that he is applying for a position in a small arms factory, (22 years, 3 months.)

States that, owing to the collapse of his father's business, the upkeep of the home depends entirely on his brother and himself, otherwise he would have enlisted, (22 years, 9 months.)

States that he is unable to enlist owing to his having had rheumatic fever, but has registered himself as a municipal volunteer, (21 years, 5 months.)

States that he is an only son; that his father is in his seventy-ninth year and mother an invalid, and that they look to him for support, but that he will enroll himself as a munition worker, (20 years, 1 month.)

Describes the hard struggle he has had since he was twelve years of age to better his prospects, his mother being a widow; that he has seriously considered the question of enlistment, but feels that a long interruption of his study would be seriously detrimental to his future prospects, (23 years, 6 months.)

States that he is a member of the religious body known as the "Christadelphians," (20 years, 5 months.)

Letter from parent stating that two of the candidate's brothers have been killed, and that the candidate is not physically strong enough to enlist, (19 years.)

States he could not pass medical ex-

amination, and adds that home circumstances prevent him enlisting, (20 years 8 months.)

Is not yet of military age, and states that he in an indentured servant; that his employers expect Government contracts, and do not see their way clear to relinquish the services of any more employes, and that he does not feel physically fit for military service, (18 years, 2 months.)

States that he endeavored to enlist in the Territorials in August last when age limit was 18 to 35, but was rejected on account of his size, (18 years, 3 months.)

Is an only son, and has to keep a small private business going to help his mother, and that he is under the required height and chest measurement, (20 years, 5 months.)

States that his parents object on the ground of his health not being good, (18 years, 11 months.)

Has no wish to join the army, "being in the mechanical line," but is quite willing to do munition work, (18 years, 7 months.)

States that his mother is a widow relying for support on her family, of which he is the eldest son; that if he joined the army he would have to defer the completion of his apprenticeship; that in the event of being disabled or killed his mother would receive no allowance. He is particularly anxious to compete for a post in the stationery stores, (18 years, 4 months.)

Through the Mouths of Our Guns

By ANATOLE FRANCE

We will carry on this war, which we did not want, to the bitter end. We will continue our terrible and beneficent task until the German military power is completely destroyed. We love peace too dearly to allow it to be unstable. It is criminal to cry for peace and criminal to desire it until we have reduced to nothingness the forces of oppression which have weighed so much upon Europe for the last half-century. Until this is done we must only talk through the mouths of our guns. So many heroes must not have died in vain.

If I were to learn that any Frenchman allowed himself to be seduced by masked phantoms of a hideous peace I would ask Parliament to declare a traitor to his country anyone who would propose to treat with the enemy whilst he occupies the smallest part of French or Belgian territory.

A Vision of the Battle Front

By Pierre Loti

This article, by Pierre Loti, (Captain Viaud,) recording his observations on the French war front, appeared originally in *L'Illustration*, and is translated for *THE NEW YORK TIMES CURRENT HISTORY* by Charles Johnston.

WALKING on that bullet-riddled ground, where the storm of grapeshot has left hardly a tuft of grass here and there, a little moss, a poor flower, I come first to a line of defenses being prepared as the second line, in the unlikely event that the first, a little further forward, should yield. Our soldiers, transformed into navvies, are working in the trench, shovel and pick in hand, all full of determination and joyous, hurrying to complete it; and it will be terrible, surrounded by the most dangerous snares. It is the Germans, I admit it willingly, who, with their careful, evil minds, have invented this whole system of tunnels and ambuscades; but, as we are keener than they, and quicker in mind, we have in a few days equaled, if not surpassed, them.

A thousand paces further forward I reach the first line. It is full of men, this trench which is to stop the rush of the barbarians; day and night it is ready to bristle with guns. And the men who are living in it, just concealed in the earth, know that from one minute to the next may begin the daily sprinkling of shells, carrying away heads that venture outside, crushing in breasts, mangling entrails. They know also that at no matter what unforeseen hour, beneath the pale sun or in the gloom of midnight, the rushes of the barbarians, of whom the forest over there is still full, may come down upon them; they know how they will come, running, with cries to arouse fear, all holding each other by the arms in a single maddened mass, and how, before fatally entangling themselves in our barbed-wire nets, they will find means, as always, to do much harm. They know this, for they have already seen it all, but all the same they smile with serious dignity. It will soon be

eight days that they have been in this trench, waiting to be relieved, and yet they complain of nothing. "We are well fed," they say. "We have as much as we wish to eat. So long as it does not rain, we are warm at night in our foxes' earthen, under a good blanket. But we have not yet got woolen underclothing for the Winter, for all of us, and we shall soon need it. When you go back to Paris, mon Colonel, perhaps you could remind the Government of that, and all those ladies who are working for us."

(Mon Colonel is the only title the soldier knows for officers with five stripes. During the last expedition to China I had already been mon Colonel, but I did not expect to become so again, alas! for a war on French soil.)

The men who are chatting with me, at the edge, or from the bottom of that trench, belong to the most widely separated classes of society; some of them have been men of fashion and leisure, others workmen, farmers; there are even some, with their military caps tilted a little too much on one side, and with the accent of the slums, whose past it would doubtless be better not to inquire into, and who have none the less become here not only brave fellows, but fine fellows. This war, at the same time that it has bridged over our distances, will have purified us all and made us greater; without wishing it, the Germans have done us this good, which is surely worth while! And then our soldiers all know what they are fighting for, and this is their greatest power; indignation will inspire them to their last breath.

"When you have seen," two young Breton peasants say to me, "when you have seen with your own eyes what those brutes do in the villages they pass through, it is quite natural, is it not, to

give your life to try to keep them from coming to do the same thing in our homes?" And the roar of cannon accompanies this naïve declaration with a deep, incessant bass. . . . And it is the same thing from end to end of this limitless line; everywhere the same determination, the same courage. At one place or another, to chat with them is equally comforting, and inspires equal admiration.

But it is strange to tell ourselves that, in our twentieth century, to guard ourselves from savagery and horror, we have had to construct trenches like these from the east to the west of our dear country, double and triple, running unbroken for hundreds of miles, like a kind of Chinese wall a hundred times more to be feared than the wall which guarded China against the Mongols, a wall twisting like a serpent, almost beneath the earth, stealthily, and which is filled with the heroic youth of France, ceaselessly on the watch, ceaselessly dabbled with blood. . . .

This evening, the twilight drags on sadly under the heavy sky and seems never to end; two hours ago, it seemed already beginning, yet you can still see. In front of us we can still distinguish or divine, as far as the eye can reach, the unrolling of two masses of forest, the more distant of which has almost no outline now in the darkness. And my heart is constricted by the still more poignant feeling of a plunge back into the depths of primeval barbarism, without escape and without remedy.

"Mon Colonel, this is the time when, for the last week, we have our little sprinkling of shells every evening; if you

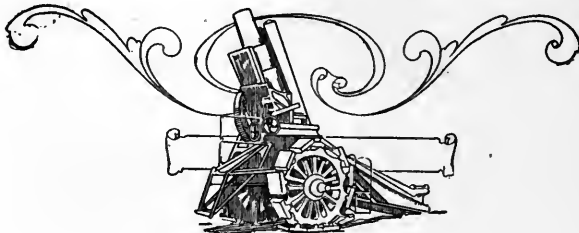
can wait a little, you will see how rapidly they fire and almost at random.

Time to wait, no, I hardly have it; and besides I have already had the opportunity elsewhere to see how rapidly they fire, almost at random. At times you would say parade fireworks, and it leads you to believe they have so much ammunition they do not know what to do with it. Yet I shall very willingly remain a moment more, to see it again in their company.

Ah! . . . Here comes through the air a kind of whirring like a flight of partridges—partridges passing very quickly, with metallic wings—a change from the muffled cannonade of just now, and it is in our direction it begins to come. But much too high, and especially far too far to the left, so much too far that it is certainly not at us they are aiming this time; they would have to be very stupid for that. . . . Yet we cease chatting, our ears are strained. . . . A dozen shells, and it is over.

"It is finished!" they tell me then. "Now their time is past. And it was for our comrades along there. You are not in luck, mon Colonel, this is the very first time that it is not we that caught it. . . . And it looks as if the Huns are tired, this evening!"

Night has come, and I ought to be far away by this time. Besides, they are all going to sleep now; they cannot kindle any lights, of course; cigarettes, at the most. I grasp many hands, one after the other, and I leave these poor children of France in their dormitory which, in the silence and the darkness, has suddenly become as funereal as a long common ditch in a graveyard.



THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[English Cartoon]

A Friend in Need



—From *Punch*, London.

GERMANY: "WHO SAID 'GOD PUNISH ENGLAND!?' GOD BLESS ENGLAND, WHO LETS US HAVE THE SINEWS OF WAR."

The Latest from the Russian Steam-roller



—From *Lustige Blaetter*, Berlin.

“It’s no use— We’ll have to oil it again!”

[American Cartoon]

A World Which Cannot Be Held Back

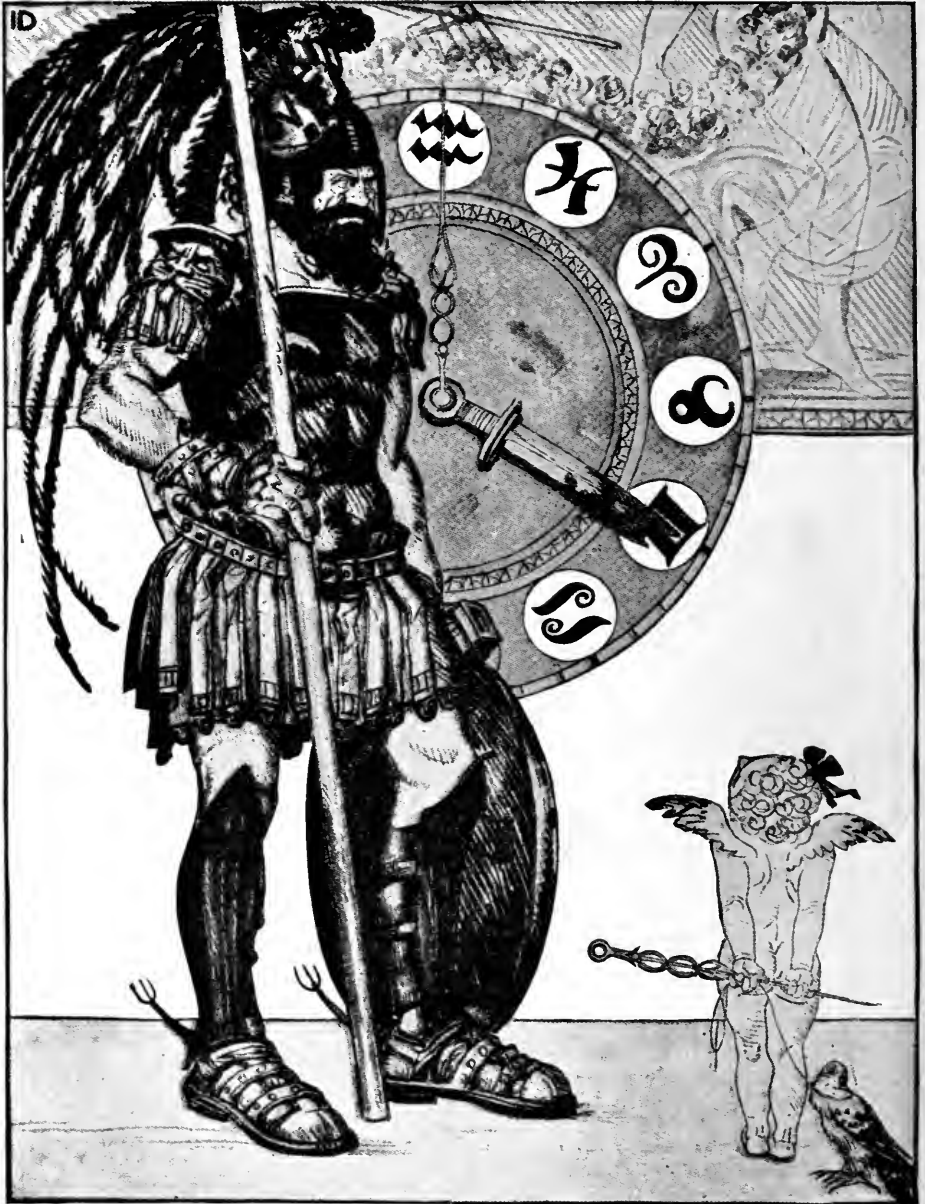


—From *The New York Evening Sun*.

The Kaiser's Task After One Year of War.

[German Cartoon]

The Timid Question



—From *Jugend*, Munich.

“When, Mars, will you let me regulate the clock?”
“Patience, my boy; I’ll be through by Fall. Then the whole winter will be Maytime.”

[English Cartoon]

A New Train of Thought



—From *The Sketch*, London.

THE EXALTED PERSONAGE: Tirp, old man—you remember we sent some submarines overland to Zeebrugge?

TIRP: Yes, Sire.

THE EXALTED PERSONAGE: Then what's the matter with sending the fleet by train to the Dardanelles?

The International Chautauqua

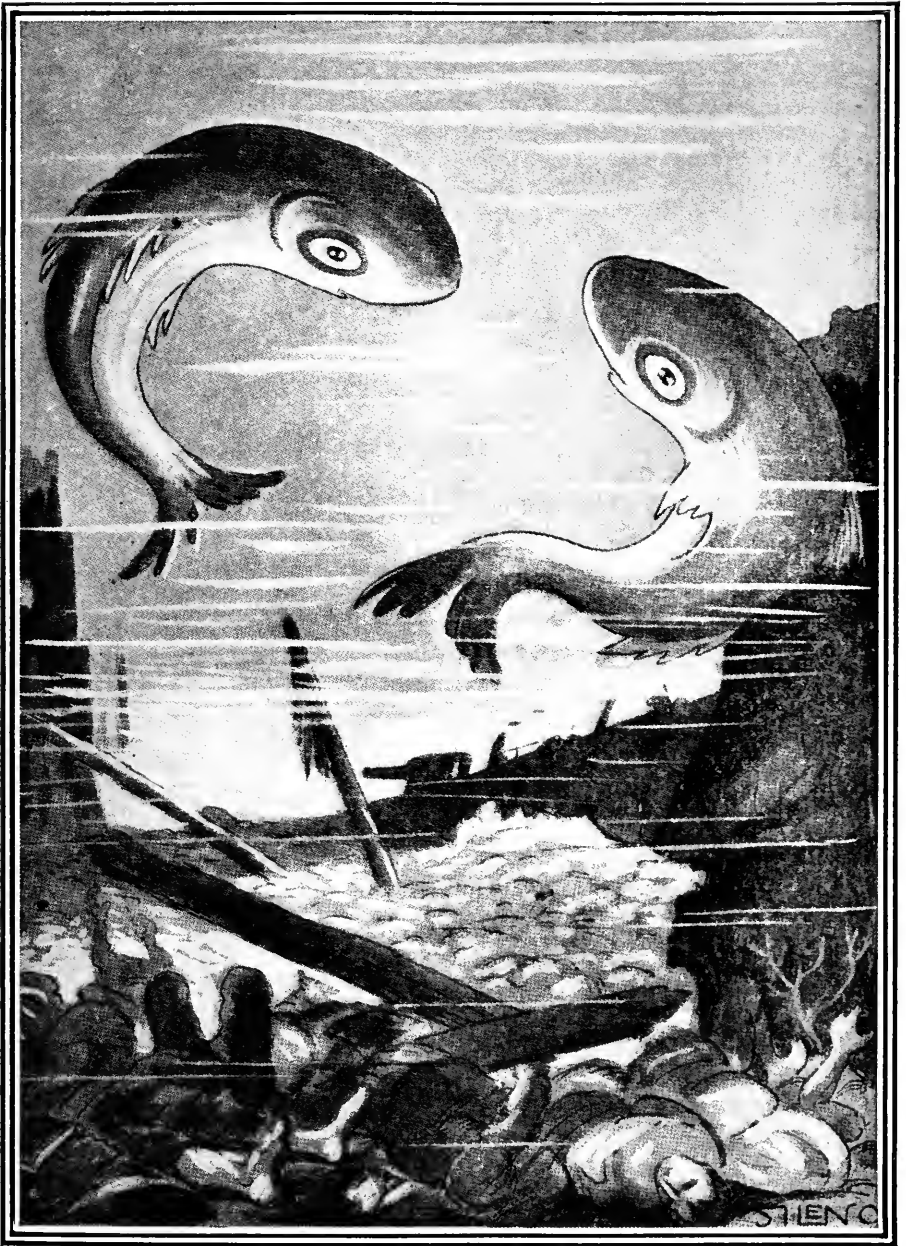


—From *The World*, New York.

His Enthusiastic Audience.

[Spanish Cartoon]

The Blockade of the Seas

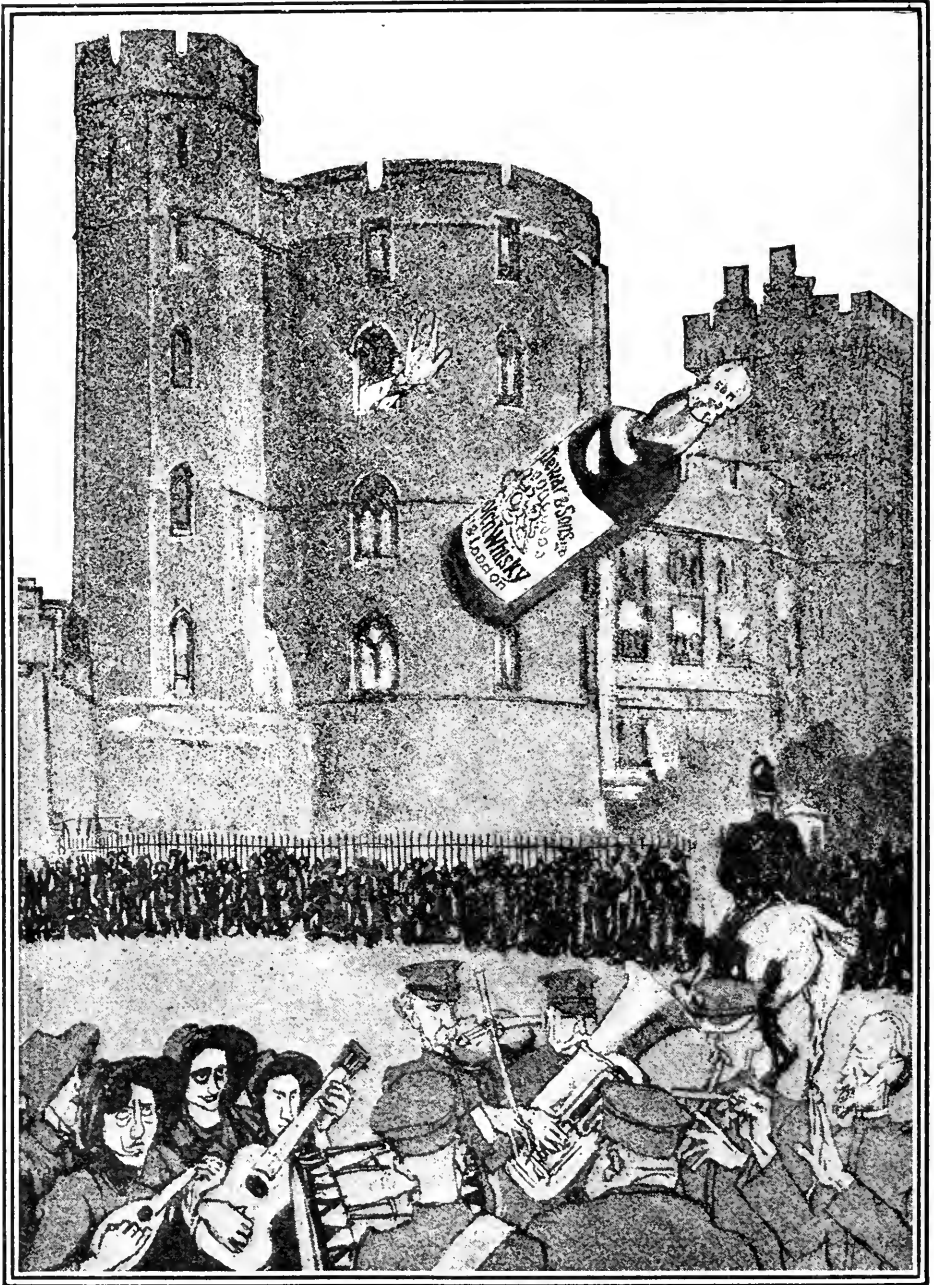


—From *Blanco y Negro*, Madrid.

“Brother Shark, we are assured of subsistence for ourselves and our children while the war lasts—and may it last a hundred years!”

[German Cartoon]

Grave Times at Windsor



—From *Simplicissimus*, Munich.

With the loud approval of the Salvation Army, King George drives out the Demon Rum.

Wilful Murder



—From *Punch*, London.

THE KAISER: "To the Day——" DEATH: "——of Reckoning!"

[Australian Cartoon]
The Iron Cross



—From *The Bulletin*, Sydney, N. S. W.

England's Suffragette Troops



—From *Lustige Blätter*, Berlin.

“We are lost, girls—there’s a mouse!”

[Spanish Cartoon]

The Knight, Death and the Devil



—From *Espana, Madrid.*

With due apologies to Albrecht Duerer.

[English Cartoon]



—From *The Bystander*, London.

A German Choral Society Practicing a Popular Madrigal

[English Cartoon]

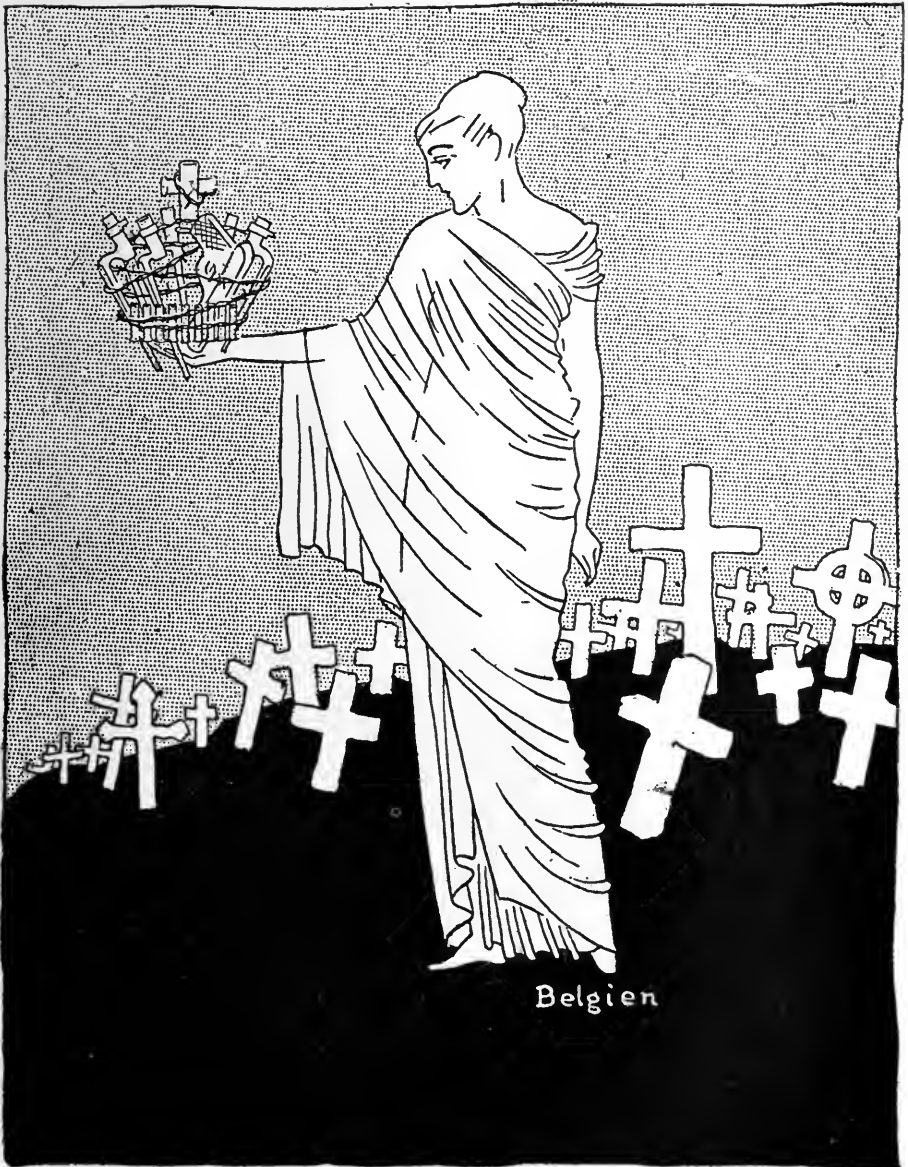


—From *The Bystander*, London.

The Gnashing Room in a Berlin Hate Club

[Swedish Cartoon]

War Crowns



—From *Söndags-Nisse*, Sweden.

This cartoon, published by the *Söndags-Nisse*, refers to the crown offered by the German Regiment of the Fusiliers of Stettin, No. 34, to their colonel, Queen Victoria of Sweden.

Servia's Assistance



—From *Jugend*, Munich.

“Your most gracious Lordship has sent for me! How can I serve you, Sir Grey?”

“Your army, King Peter, can be of no use to us; but you might recommend me a couple of assassins!”

[The paper on “Sir Grey’s” table is marked “Casement, Findlay,” an allusion to the story, firmly believed in Germany, that Cardonnell Findlay, British Minister to Norway, conspired to kill Sir Roger Casement. The small portrait is labelled “Princip,” the assassin of the Archduke Ferdinand.]

The Haunted Ship



GHOST OF THE OLD PILOT: "I wonder if he would drop me now?"

[Australian Cartoon]

Woodrow Wilson, Taxidermist

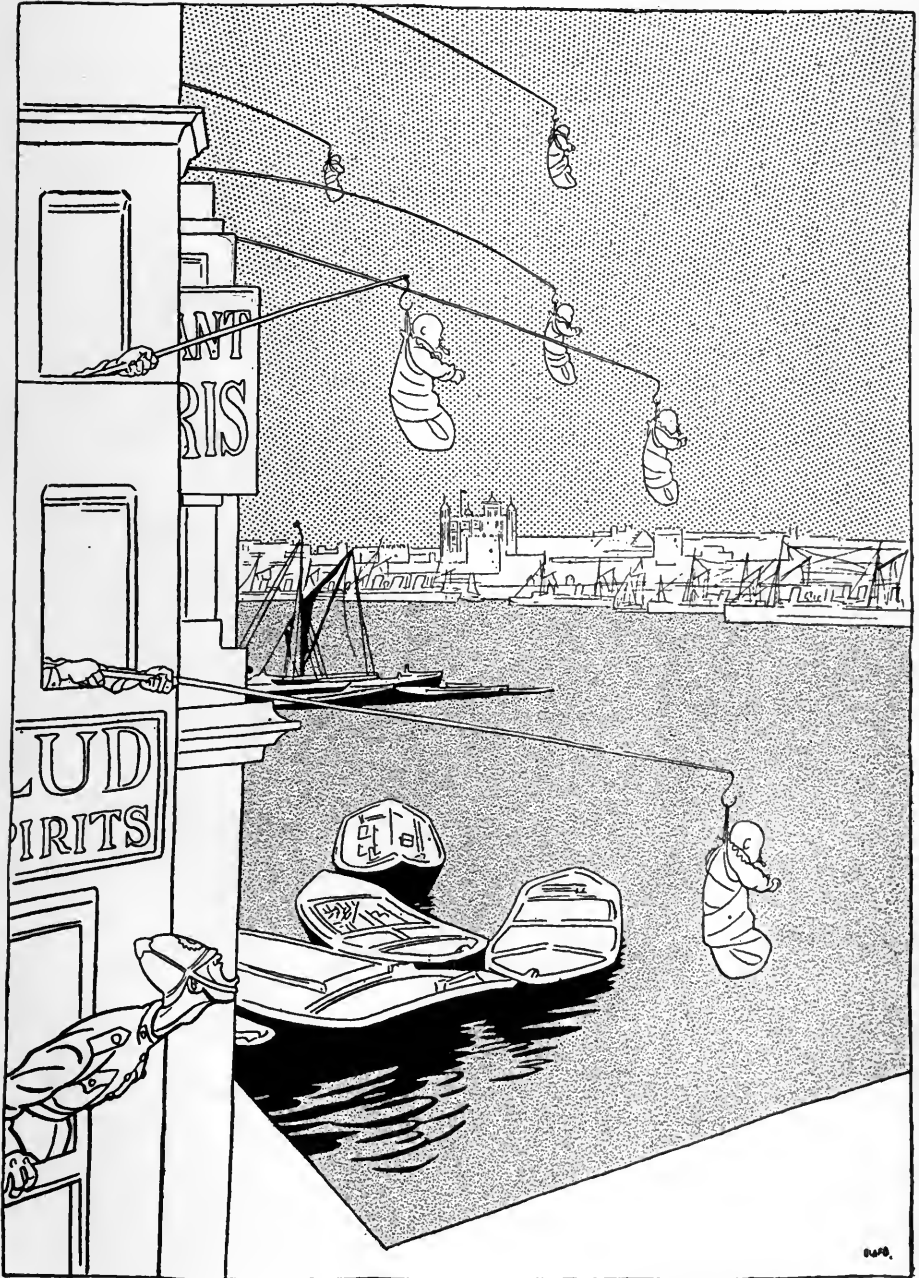


—From *The Bulletin*, Sydney, N. S. W.

“I’ve got to turn this durned bird into a dove somehow!”

[German Cartoon]

"Only A Baby Was Killed"



—From *Simplicissimus*, Munich.

"A Zeppelin! Quick! Out with the babies!"

[English Cartoon]

Hommage À La France!



—From *Punch*, London.

[July 7th ~~is~~ dedicated by Great Britain to her gallant French Allies. Contributions made in honour of "Franco's Day" will be devoted to the French Red Cross, and should be addressed to the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, Mansion House, E.C., and marked "London Committee of the French Red Cross." It is hoped that a very large sum may be raised as an expression of our profound admiration and affection for our brave comrades.]

Chronology of the War

Showing Progress of Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events
From July 15, 1915, Up to and Including August 12, 1915.

CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

- July 16**—A drive toward Warsaw is in progress by the Austro-German armies, Hindenburg advancing from the north while Mackensen moves from the south; Austrian forces cross the Driester and cooperate with the armies in Poland by advancing on Bessarabia.
- July 17**—Russians repulse Austrians on the Vistula.
- July 18**—Germans and Austrians are developing a vast offensive along the whole Russian front, from the Baltic to Bessarabia, nearly 1,000 miles; at some points the Russian line is pierced; Mackensen is pushing north; Hindenburg's drive at Warsaw is rolling the Russians back toward the Narew River.
- July 19**—The whole Russian line between the Vistula and the Bug is falling back, fighting hard, the losses on both sides being heavy; Austrians push over the Wolcza River and also advance north of Sokal.
- July 20**—Austro-German armies advance along the whole line from the Gulf of Riga to Southern Poland; Teutons take Ostrolenka, Blonie, Grojec, and Radom; the German outposts are seventeen miles from Warsaw.
- July 21**—Russians make a stand north, south, and west of Warsaw, battling desperately to save the city; to the north, on the Narew River, Russians are delivering counterattacks from the fortresses of Rozan, Pultusk, and Novo Georgievsk; south of Ivangorod a great battle is being fought for the possession of the Lublin-Chelm railway.
- July 22**—Russian forces southeast of Warsaw withdraw into Ivangorod, which is being attacked by the Austro-Germans; in the north, the Russians have evacuated Windau, setting it on fire before leaving; the Russians are retreating in the Baltic provinces, laying the country waste as they go; a German army is heading for Riga.
- July 23**—Russian forts are checking the Austro-German drive on Warsaw, the Teutons being halted both along the Vistula and the Narew.
- July 24**—Germans tighten their grip on Warsaw from the north, strong forces crossing the Narew River after storming two of the fortresses; Russians hold fast immediately west of Warsaw and along the line of the Lublin-Chelm railroad; Russians are driven across the Vistula at Ivangorod; in Courland an open battle has been fought, the Germans claiming victory.
- July 25**—Russians are threatening Mackensen's flank along the Bug River from east of Chelm to east of Lemberg; to the north, the German forces which crossed the Narew are advancing toward the Bug.
- July 26**—German cavalry to the number of 30,000 are operating southeast of Shavli; the cavalry is attempting to seize the Vilna-Dvinsk railway preparatory to cutting the more important Kovno-Vilna line; Mackensen is being held in his attempt to throw his troops astride the Lublin-Chelm railway; Hindenburg's troops are making progress near Novo Georgievsk.
- July 27**—Russians check the attempted German enveloping movement both north and south of Warsaw; by counterattacks the Russians force the Germans back across the Narew River at several points; Germans advance toward the Vilna-Petrograd railway; Mackensen fails to make further advance toward the Lublin-Chelm railway.
- July 28**—The Russians are holding the Austro-German forces everywhere.
- July 29**—Russians resist successfully at Chelm and Lublin; the Russian newspapers are preparing the public for the evacuation of Warsaw and the whole line of Vistula forts.
- July 30**—Mackensen takes part of the Lublin-Chelm railway; Germans break Russian lines near Warsaw at many points; Warsaw is now practically emptied of its civil population, and Russian troops are demolishing portions of the city.
- July 31**—Austrians occupy Lublin; Russians hold at some points north of Warsaw, but are being thrown back along the whole line elsewhere; Russian troops are evacuating Warsaw.
- Aug. 1**—Mackensen takes Chelm and sweeps on; Hindenburg is checked in the north.
- Aug. 2**—Mackensen continues to advance; in the far north the Germans take Mitau; Germans are moving 42-centimeter guns to batter Warsaw.
- Aug. 4**—Austro-German forces are attacking the fortresses of Warsaw, the Russians having fallen back to the outer lines of the city.

- Aug. 5—Germans occupy Warsaw, capital of Poland and the third largest city in the Russian Empire, the Bavarians, commanded by Prince Leopold, taking over the city in the name of the German Emperor and his consort; the Russian armies are falling back to a new line; the Germans capture few prisoners and little artillery in Warsaw, the place having been stripped; in the north the Germans are ten miles from Riga, which has been evacuated by civilians.
- Aug. 6—Austro-German forces take Ivan-gorod; with the exception of the great intrenched camp of Novo Georgievsk, now invested, the Russians have evacuated the whole line of the Vistula River.
- Aug. 7—Germans attack Kovno and Ossowetz.
- Aug. 8—German army threatening Riga is checked; Germans cross the Vistula near Warsaw; Germans take one of the outlying forts of Novo Georgievsk; Russians are retiring slowly, and along the Narew are offering stubborn resistance; Mackensen's attempt to flank the new Russian line from the south is checked.
- Aug. 9—Germans are heavily bombarding Kovno and Lomza; Russians force back Germans in the Riga region.
- Aug. 10—Austro-German forces capture Lomza.
- Aug. 11—Germans reach the Warsaw-Petrograd Railroad at the junction southeast of Ostrov.
- Aug. 12—Russians repulse Germans near Riga and near Kovno.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE.

- July 16—French recapture most of the ground in the Argonne recently occupied by the German Crown Prince's army.
- July 18—Germans check French at Souchez; French check Germans on the heights of the Meuse.
- July 19—French repulse repeated German attacks on the heights of the Meuse, near Senvaux artillery; engagements in progress near Souchez.
- July 20—British capture 150 yards of German trenches east of Ypres; Rheims is again bombarded.
- July 21—French start a new offensive in the Vosges; they capture heights dominating the valley of the Fecht River from the east; Germans gain on the eastern edge of the Argonne.
- July 22—French win heights both west and north of the town of Münster, ten miles southwest of Colmar, in Alsace.
- July 23—There is severe fighting around Münster, in Alsace, both French and Germans claiming successes; Germans are massing on the Meuse.
- July 24—Lively artillery actions near Souchez and in the Forest of Le Prêtre.
- July 25—French capture advanced German trenches in the Ban-de-Sapt region of the Vosges; Germans bombard Dunkirk;

- British gain ground by mine operations near Zillebeke.
- July 30—Germans, by the aid of flame projectors, take British trenches near Hooge, east of Ypres.
- Aug. 1—British regain part of their lost trenches at Hooge.
- Aug. 4—French repulse lively German attacks in the Argonne.
- Aug. 6—Furious artillery fighting in Artois, the western Argonne, and the Forest of Apremont.
- Aug. 7—French repulse Germans in the Argonne and the Vosges.
- Aug. 8—Violent attacks on the French positions at Linge, in the Woevre, are thrown back with great loss.
- Aug. 9—British capture 1,200 yards of German trenches near Hooge, including all the ground lost on July 30.
- Aug. 11—German Crown Prince's army attacks strongly in the Argonne, winning some trenches.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN.

- July 16.—The Italians are strongly fortifying all positions captured from the Austrians; trenches are being excavated and platforms constructed on which to mount heavy guns; heavy artillery fighting is in progress in Carinthia.
- July 18—Italians begin offensive in Cadore from encampments on Mounts Averau, Busella, and Pore.
- July 20—Italians attack on a seventy-five-mile front, making a general assault from Tarvis to the Adriatic shore; Italians advance five miles in Cadore.
- July 21—Italians, making a general attack along the Isonzo, gain ground, at some points piercing the Austrian lines; Italians capture the approaches to Goritz.
- July 22—Gorizia and Tolmino are practically surrounded by Italians; furious Austrian attacks fail to break the investing lines.
- July 23—Italian offensive continues along the whole of the Isonzo front; Italians are making slow progress near Plava and Gorizia.
- July 24—Italians are pushing operations against Gorizia, General Cardona being in personal command, under the eyes of the King.
- July 25—Austrian General Staff evacuates Gorizia, which is undergoing the heaviest bombardment it has yet received; Italians destroy the strongest fort at Plava; at Ternova the Italians force back the Austrians two miles; Italians are practically the masters of the north shore of Lake Garda.
- July 27—The fighting which has been going on for days along the Isonzo is declared by military observers to be one of the fiercest and most sanguinary struggles of the war, there being enormous losses on both sides.

- July 28—Italians repulse 170,000 Austrians at Gorizia.
- Aug. 1—Italians take a general offensive on the Tyrol, Trentino, and Carnia fronts.
- Aug. 4—Italian pressure is increasing on Rovereto.
- Aug. 6—Italians capture the summit of Monte San Michele, which dominates Gorizia.
- Aug. 12—Austrians repulse strong Italian attacks near Zagora.

TURKISH CAMPAIGN.

- July 19—British gain ground on the Gallipoli Peninsula; official report issued in London states that the British have occupied Sukesh-Sheykh, on the Euphrates River, in Arabia, and are now attacking the Turks below Nasiriyeh.
- July 24—British official statement says there has been further fighting in Southern Arabia, in which the British won; British now hold Sheikh Othman firmly; a Turkish attack on the Allies' positions on the Gallipoli Peninsula is repulsed.
- Aug. 2—Australians and New Zealanders take the crest of an important ridge on the Gallipoli Peninsula, improving the British position.
- Aug. 6—General Sarrail takes command of the French troops at the Dardanelles.
- Aug. 7—Heavy fighting at Ari Burnu and Sedd-el-Bahr.
- Aug. 9—Allies gain ground near Krithia.

CAMPAIGN IN AFRICA.

- July 16—It is officially announced in London that on June 29 the Entente allied forces occupied Ngaundere, an important town in Central Kamerun.
- Aug. 9—It is officially announced in Paris that the French have taken several German posts in Kamerun; the French have captured that part of the Congo ceded to Germany in 1911.

NAVAL RECORD—GENERAL.

- July 20—A fleet of fifty-nine Turkish sailing vessels, laden with war supplies for the Turkish Army in the Caucasus region, was destroyed during the last few days in the Black Sea, near Trebizond, by Russian torpedo boat destroyers.
- July 23—Austrian cruisers bombard the Italian east coast, damaging the Adriatic railway stations at Chienti, Campo Marino, Fossacesia, Termoli, San Benedetto, Grottamare, and Ortona.
- July 25—British trawler Grimsby is sunk by a mine, the crew of ten being killed.
- July 26—For the past three days a bombardment of the Turkish positions inside the Dardanelles has been in progress, the Allies seeking to destroy the Turkish positions on the Asiatic shore.
- Aug. 3—It is reported from Petrograd that nearly 900 Turkish vessels have been burned or sunk in the Black Sea by Rus-

- sian destroyers since the beginning of the war.
- Aug. 4—A French prize court confirms the seizure of the American cotton steamer Dacia, formerly a German ship, the decision meaning that France does not recognize the transfer of belligerent vessels.
- Aug. 8—A German fleet of nine battleships, twelve cruisers, and many torpedo boat destroyers attacks the entrance to the Gulf of Riga, but is repulsed, three ships being damaged by Russian mines; British patrol steamer Ramsey is sunk by German auxiliary steamer Meteor in the North Sea; subsequently the crew of the Meteor blow her up, the ship being surrounded by British cruisers.
- Aug. 9—British torpedo boat destroyer Lynx is sunk in the North Sea by a mine, many of crew being lost; British auxiliary cruiser India is torpedoed and sunk off the Norwegian coast.

NAVAL RECORD—SUBMARINES.

- July 16—The German submarine U-51 has been sunk in the Black Sea by Russian warships, according to information received from Varna, a Bulgarian port on the Black Sea.
- July 17—Cunarder Orduna arrives in New York after having escaped by ten feet a torpedo fired without warning by a German submarine off Queenstown on July 9; the submarine then shelled the Orduna, but missed her.
- July 18—An Austrian submarine torpedoes and sinks the Italian cruiser Giuseppe Garibaldi in the Adriatic, off Ragusa; most of the crew are saved.
- July 21—According to British statements, the battleship recently sunk in the Baltic by a British submarine was the Pommern; semi-official German statement denies that any German battleship has been sunk in the Baltic by a submarine.
- July 23—British submarines are operating in the Sea of Marmora and have sunk Turkish ships.
- July 24—German submarines sink Russian steamer Rubonia and British trawler Star of Peace, the crews being saved.
- July 25—American steamer Leelanaw, with a cargo of flax, which has been declared by Germany to be contraband, is sunk by a German submarine off the Orkney Islands; the ship is given full warning, and the crew safely makes port; German submarines sink French steamship Danae, British steamer Firth, and trawlers Henry Charles, Kathleen, Activity, Prosper, and Briton, all British; the Firth loses four men and the Briton six.
- July 26—British submarine sinks German torpedo boat destroyer near the German coast.
- July 27—German submarines sink British trawlers Rosslyn, Celtic, Cydorna, Gad-

well, Strathmore, Honoria, Cassio, Hermione, Sutton, and Emblem, the crews escaping; German submarines sink Norwegian sailing ships Harboe and G. P. Harbitz, and Danish steamer Nogill.

July 28—German submarines sink British steamer Mangara, British trawlers Icení and Salacia, British smack Westward Ho, Swedish steamer Emma, Swedish bark Sagnadalen, and Danish schooners Maria, Neptunis, and Lena.

July 29—German submarines sink Belgian steamship Princesse Marie Jose and Swedish bark Fortune, the crews being saved.

July 30—German submarine sinks Norwegian steamship Trondhjemsfjord.

July 31—German submarine sinks the British steamer Iberian of the Leyland Line; German submarines sink eight British trawlers, crews being saved.

Aug. 7—German submarines sink British steamer Glenravel, British trawler Ocean Queen, and Swedish steamer Malmåland.

Aug. 8.—British submarine in the Dardanelles sink a battleship, a gunboat, and a transport, all Turkish.

Aug. 9—A submarine of the Entente powers sinks Turkish battleship Kheyr-ed-Din Barbarossa, formerly the Kurfürst Friedrich Wilhelm of the German Navy.

Aug. 10—German submarine burns Danish schooner Jason.

Aug. 11—Italian submarine torpedoes and sinks the Austrian submarine U-12 in the Adriatic Sea; German submarines sink British steamer Oakwood, Norwegian bark Morna, French bark François, Russian bark Baltzer, and seven British trawlers; British submarines torpedo the Turkish cruiser Breslau (formerly German) in the Black Sea.

AERIAL RECORD.

July 16—French squadron of ten aeroplanes bombards the military station at Chauny.

July 19—French dirigible drops twenty-three bombs on the military railroad station and ammunition depot at Vigneulles-les-Hattonchâtel.

July 20—Thirty-eight French aviators bombard the station at Conflans-en-Janisy; six French aeroplanes bombard Colmar station, dropping sixteen shells on buildings and trains; four French aeroplanes drop forty-eight shells at the junction station at Challerange, south of Vouziers.

July 22—French aviators bombard the station of Autry, northwest of Binarville.

July 23—German aeroplanes drop bombs on the railway triangle at St. Hilaire, in Champagne.

July 27—Austrian aeroplane drops twelve bombs on Verona.

Aug. 6—Italian dirigibles bombard Austrian encampments and railroad stations.

Aug. 9—Twenty-eight French aeroplanes bombard the station and factories of Saarbrücken, northeast of Metz.

Aug. 10—A squadron of Zeppelins bombards the English east coast.

GERMANY.

July 17—The Foreign Office has issued a report on conditions in Belgium during the early days of the war, which is a reply to the findings of Lord Bryce's Belgian Atrocity Commission.

Aug. 1—The Teutonic allies, after a year of war, occupy 78,378 square miles of hostile territory.

GREAT BRITAIN.

July 20—Largely through the work and influence of Lloyd George, the Welsh coal miners' strike is ended.

July 27—The casualties in the British Army and Navy have reached a total of 330,995; the total military casualties up to July 18 were 321,889, and the total naval casualties up to July 20 were 9,106.

July 31—British estimates show that the first year of the war has given a total loss in men killed of 2,500,000 and a total loss in men wounded of 5,000,000.

RUSSIA.

Aug. 9—Petrograd newspapers announce that the Czar has rejected an offer of peace made to him by the Kaiser through the King of Denmark.

UNITED STATES.

July 16—Formal notice is given to Great Britain through Ambassador Page that the United States holds that the rights of Americans, who have cases before British prize courts, rest upon international law, and not upon various Orders in Council or municipal law.

July 24—The text is made public of the third note from the United States to Germany on the Lusitania and on submarine warfare generally; President Wilson has called for reports on the subject of national defense.

July 25—Telegrams from people in all parts of the United States, approving the last note to Germany, are received by President Wilson; the Berlin press assails the note, declaring it is unneutral and threatening.

July 26—British Government replies to the American note of March 30, protesting against the British Orders in Council aiming to cut off overseas trade with Germany.

Aug. 2—Two supplemental notes are received from Great Britain defending her blockade; a note is received from Germany upholding her contentions in the Frye case.

RELIEF.

July 25—Official Red Cross statement made public at Washington says that American Red Cross doctors and nurses will be withdrawn from the European battle front on Oct. 1, because of lack of funds to maintain them longer at their stations.

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